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THE HISTORY

OF THE

Jhind State.



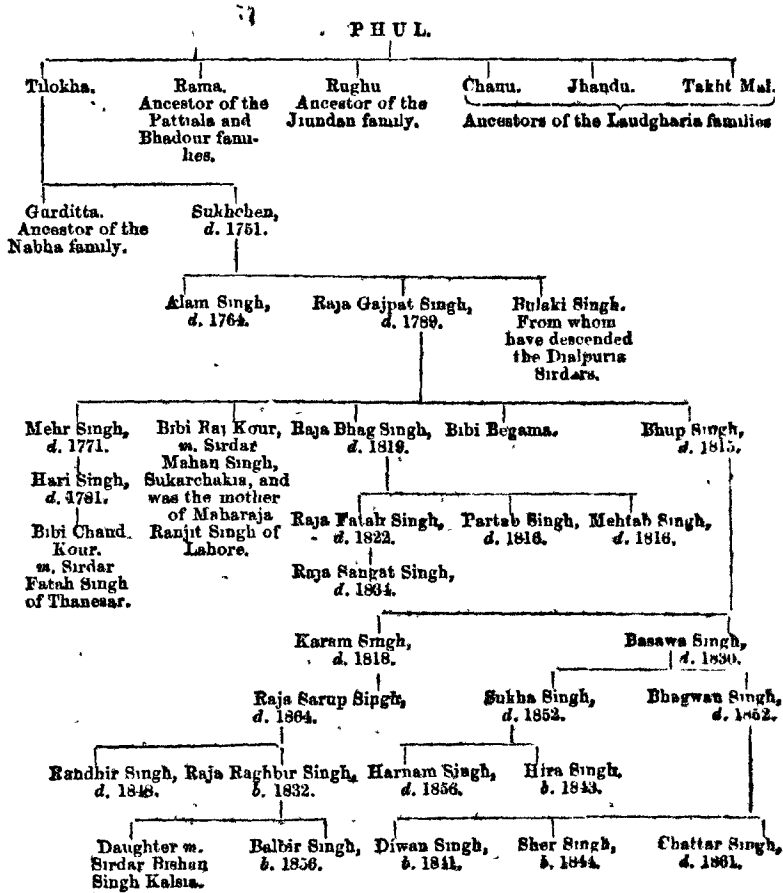
Until the time of Chaudhri Phul, the history of the Pattiala and the Jhind families are the same, and there is no occasion to repeat here what has already been recorded regarding it.*

Tilokha, the eldest son of Phul, had two sons, Gurditta and Sukhchen, from the elder of whom has descended the Nabha family, and from the younger the Chiefs of Jhind, Badrukhan and Bazidpur. Tilokha succeeded his father as Chaudhri, but although he thus became the head of the family, he was not a man of any energy, and made no attempt to increase his share of the estate. Sukhchen, the second son, was a simple zamindar, and nothing worthy of record is known of him, except his marriage to Agán, the daughter of Chuhr Singh, a Bhullar Jat of Mandi, who bore him three sons, Alam Singh, Gajpat Singh and Buláki Singh. He founded several new villages, one of which, called after his own name, he gave to his youngest son Buláki Singh; and a second, Balánwali, to Alam Singh. After having made this division of his estate, he continued to reside with his second son Gajpat Singh, at the ancestral village of Phul, where he died, aged seventy-five, in the year 1758.

* *Ante*, pp. 2—9.

The genealogy.

The following is the genealogy
of the Jhind family :—



It is with Gajpat Singh that Jhind history is specially concerned, and the briefest notice is required of the other sons of Sukhchen.

Alam Singh, the eldest, was a brave soldier,

Alam Singh, the eldest son of Sukhchen. and distinguished himself in many fights with the Imperial troops. After the conquest of Sirhind, in 1763, he took possession of a considerable tract of country, but was killed the following year by a fall from his

horse. He left no children, though he had married three times. His first wife was of a Gill family of Gholia Chubára, his second the daughter of Mán zamindar of Maur Sáboki, and the last a girl, Mala by name, whom he had induced to elope from the house of her father a Dhaliwál zamindar.

Buláki Singh, the youngest son of Sukhchen, was the ancestor of the Dialpúria Sirdars, of whom a notice has been already given in the chapter on the Minor Phulkian Houses.* He died in 1785.

Gajpat Singh, the second son, was born about the year 1738, and grew up a fine handsome youth, well skilled in all military exercises. He lived with his father at Phul, till the latter's death, assisting him against his rival and brother Gurditta, in whose time commenced the feud between the Jhind and Nabha houses, which is even now hardly healed. The great subject of dispute was the possession of Phul, the ancestral village, which each branch of the family naturally desired to own, and to which Chaudhri Gurditta's claims, as head of the Phulkian house, were perhaps the stronger. It was at the instigation of Gurditta, that, in 1743, when Gajpat Singh was five years old, both he and his mother Agán were captured by the Imperial troops and carried prisoners to Dehli as hostages for Sukhchen, who had fallen into arrears with his revenue collections, and who contrived to escape the troops sent to seize him. The mother and child were fortunate enough to soon escape through the fidelity and courage of one

* *Vide ante p. 307.*

of Agán's slave girls, who disguised her mistress in her own dress and remained behind in her place in the prison.

Gajpat Singh married, in 1754, one of the widows of his brother Alam Singh, and succeeded to his estate of Baláuwali. This wife bore him one daughter, Begama. Previous to this he had married the daughter of Kishan Singh of Monshia, of whom were born four children, Mehr Singh, Bhág Singh Bhúp Singh, and a daughter Raj Kour, who was married to Sirdar Máhan Singh Sukarchakia and became the mother of Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Lahore.

Gajpat Singh joined the Sikh army in 1763, when Zín Khan the Afghan Governor of Sirhind was defeated and slain ; and he then seized a large tract of country, including the districts of Jhind and Safidon, overrunning Panipat and Karnal, but he was not sufficiently strong to hold them. Yet, in spite of this rebellion, he did not deny altogether the authority of the Dehli Court. He remained, as before, a *Malguzár* of Dehli, paying revenue to the Emperors ; and, in 1767, having fallen a lakh and a half into arrears, he was taken prisoner by Najib Khan, the Muhammadan Governor, and carried to Dehli, where he remained a prisoner for three years, only obtaining release by leaving his son, Mehr Singh, as a hostage for the punctual payment of what was due. He then returned to Jhind, where, after great difficulties and delay, collecting three lakhs of Rupees he carried them to Dehli, and not only freed his son, but obtained the title

He obtains the title of Raja, under a Royal Firmân of Raja, A. D. 1768. or grant.* From this time Gajpat Singh assumed the style of an independent prince, and coined money in his own capital.†

In 1774, the marriage of Sirdar Mahan Singh Sukarchakia was celebrated with *The marriage of Raj Kour to Sirdar Mahan Singh.* Raj Kour, the daughter of Raja Gajpat Singh, at Bhadra Khan, then the capital of Jhind. The Gujranwala Chief came with a large retinue, and all the Phulkian Chiefs were assembled in honor of the occasion. A trifling incident which occurred during the festivities was the cause of a serious quarrel between Nabha and Jhind. The Sirdar of the former State, Hamir Singh, had a valuable grass preserve or "Bîr" in the neighbourhood of Bhadra Khan, in which the Barâtis, or attendants of the bridegroom, were permitted to cut grass for their horses. But no

* This *Firmân* is dated 25th Shâwal 1185 A. H. (A. D. 1772) under the Seal of the Emperor Shah Alam.

† The right of coining is a privilege which belongs to Independent Chiefs alone, as the term "independent" is technically used in Indian politics.

The following information regarding the Mints in the three Phulkian States of Pattiala, Nabha and Jhind, was collected by Major General R. G. Taylor, C. B., C. S. I., Agent to the Lieutenant Governor Cis-Satlaj States, at the request of the Foreign Secretary to the Government of India. The only other recognized mints in the States in political dependence on the Punjab Government, are in Maler Kotla and Kashmir.

PATTIALA MINT.

I. Political condition.—No trace is ascertainable of any communication having been held with this office regarding the Mint. The Pattiala authorities have alluded to an application made, on the occasion of Lord Dalhousie holding a Durbar at Pinjor in 1851, by the Pattiala Government for permission to remodel the Pattiala State Mint. To this the Pattiala Officers say no definite answer was given, and they presume that the record must be in this office, but I have had it searched for without success.

The Mint of Pattiala is said to have been established by the order of Ahmad Shah Durani, when the Pattiala State was ruled by Maharaja Amar Singh, this would have been about 100 years ago; in fact, in another place in the Pattiala reports, Sambat 1820 (A. D., 1763) is mentioned as the year.

sooner had they commenced operations than Yakub Khan, the Agent of Hamir Singh, more zealous than hospitable, attacked them and a fight was the result, of which no notice was taken till after the ceremony and departure of the bridegroom. Raja Gajpat Singh then resolved to avenge the insult, and feigning to be at the point of death, sent to his cousin of Nabha requesting him to come and see him before he died. The unsuspecting Sirdar arrived in haste, with Yakub Khan, and to his great surprise was arrested and placed in confinement, while his officer was put to death. The Raja then sent a force against Imloh and Bhádson, two strong places in Nabha terri-

II. The nature, title, and character of the coinage.—The Pattiala rupee is known as the Rajah Shahí rupee; it is three-fourths of an inch in circumference, and weighs $11\frac{1}{4}$ mashes: it is of pure silver. The coin is really five rutties less in weight than the British Government rupee, but the amount of actual silver in each is the same, and consequently the Pattiala rupees fetches the full 16 annas, but is subjected some times to arbitrary discount by the shraffs in British territory, and its value also fluctuates with the value of silver in the markets, fetching in this way some times more than the 16 annas.

The Pattiala Gold-Mohur weighs $10\frac{1}{4}$ mashes, and is of pure gold. No copper coin is struck in Pattiala.

The inscription on the gold and silver coin is the same: it runs—

*"Hukm shud az Qadir-i-bechun ba Ahmad Badshah :
Sikka zan bar sim-o-zar az ouj-i-mahi tá ba Mah :
Jalus Meimunut Manus zarb Sirhind."*

The translation of which is: "The order of God, the peerless, to Ahmad Badshah: Strike coin on silver and gold from earth to heaven," (this is the real meaning of the passage; the actual words are "from the height of the fishes back to the moon") "in the presence, favored of high fortune" (here would follow the date) "the Sirhind coinage."

No alteration has ever been made in the inscription: certain alterations are made in the marks to mark the reign of each Chief.

Thus, Maharajah Amar Singh's rupee is distinguished by the representation of a *Kulgi* (small aigrette plume); Maharaja Sahib Singh's by that of a *Saif*, (or two edged sword); Maharaja Karam Singh's had a *Shamsher* (broad sabre) on his coin; Maharaja Narindar Singh's coin had a *Katta*, (or straight sword) as his distinguishing mark.

The present Maharajah's rupee is distinguished by a dagger.

The inscription being long, and the coin small, only a small portion of the inscription falls on each coin.

tory, and attacked Sangrur, which was defended for four months by Sirdarni Deso, wife of Hamir Singh. At length, seeing her cause desperate, she begged the Raja of Pattiala to interfere. This Chief, who had encouraged the attack in the first place, hoping to weaken both Jhind and Nabha and consequently increase his own power, had no wish to see the former become too powerful, and interposed with other Sikh Sirdars, compelling Raja Gajpat Singh to restore Imloh and Bhadson and release Hamir Singh. Sangrur was retained and has ever since been included in the Jhind territory.

The next year Rahim Dad Khan, Governor of Jhind attacked by the Governor of Dehli. Hansi, was sent against Jhind by the Dehli Governor Nawab Majad-ul-dowla Abdulahd Khan, and Raja Bhag Singh summoned to his assistance the Phulkian Chiefs.

III. The annual out-turn of the establishment, and the value of the coinage as compared with that of the British Government.—The annual out-turn is in fact evidently uncertain; the striking of the coin being only capriciously carried out on especial occasions, or when actually wanted.

The officials report that the Pattiala Mint could strike 2,000 coins per diem, if necessary; always supposing that there be sufficient gist for the mill.

The value, with reference to British Government coin, has been given above in replying to question No. II.

IV. The process of manufacture, and any particulars as to the artificers employed.—The Mint is supervised by a Superintendent, a Mohurrir, two Testers, one Weigher, 10 Blacksmiths, two Coiners, four Refiners of Metal, and one Engraver.

The Metals are refined carefully, and thus brought up to the standard of the gold and silver kept as specimens in the Mint; the metal is tested and then coined.

The chief implements are anvils, hammers, scales, dies, pincers, vices, &c.

V. The arrangements for receiving bullion, and the charges (if any) levied for its conversion into Coin.—Metal brought by private individuals is coined at the following rates:—

Silver.—1 rupee 1 anna for 100 coins, of which the State dues amount to 10½ annas, and 6½ go to the establishment.

Raja Amar Singh of Pattiala, who sent a force under Diwan Nanun Mal, Sirdar Hamir Singh of Nabha with the Bhaïs of Kythal assembled for its defence, and compelled the Khan to raise the siege and give them battle, in which he was defeated and killed. Trophies of this victory are still preserved at Jhind, and the tomb of the Khan is to be seen within the principal gate. After this, Gajpat Singh,

Conquests to the south. accompanied by the Pattiala detachment, made an expedition against

Lalpur in Rohtak, and obtained, as his share of the conquered country, the district of Koháná. But Zalita Khan, the son of the Rohilla Chief Najib-ud-dowlah, (Najib Khan), marched with Ghulam Kádîr against the allied Chiefs with so strong a force that they saw it was hopeless to resist, and, at an interview at Jhind, the Raja was compelled to

Gold.—24 Rs. per 100 coins :

	Rs.	As.
State, ...	17	2½
Establishment dues, ...	1	2
Miscellaneous expences, ...	5	11½

VI. The currency is principally confined to the area of the State, but there are a good many Pattiala rupees about in the neighbouring districts, but not probably beyond the limits of the Civil Division.

JHIND.

I. *Political conditions, &c.*—The Jhind Mint would seem to have been established at the same time as that of Pattiala, as the inscription is exactly the same. There does not appear to have been any correspondence with this Agency or the British Government regarding its continuance or conditions.

II. *Nature, title, and character of the coinage.*—The rupee is called the "Jhindia;" it is 11¼ mashas in weight.

The inscription is, as in the case of the Pattiala Rajah Shai rupee, viz :—

"*Hukm shud az Kádîr-i-béckûn bâ Ahmad Badshah;
Sikka zan bar sim-o-zar az uj-i-mahi lâ ba Mah.*"

The third sentence which appears on the Pattiala coin is omitted in the Jhind inscription.

Translation of the inscription has been given above.

III. The out-turn is quite uncertain; on the occasion of marriages large sums are coined, but otherwise only the actual quantity considered

give up a portion of Koháná, though he was allowed to retain certain villages known as Panjgirán, and Pattiala had also to abandon a great part of its conquests in Hissar, Rohtuk and Karnal *

Raja Gajpat Singh was a constant ally of the Pattiala Chief and accompanied him on many of his expeditions. He joined in the attack on Sirdar Hari Singh of Sialba; aided in subduing Prince Himmat Singh, who had risen in revolt against his brother Raja Amar Singh; and, in 1780, marched with a force composed of Pattiala and Jhind troops to Meerat, where the Sikhs were defeated by Mirza Shafi Beg, Gajpat Singh being taken prisoner, and only released on payment of a heavy ransom.

*The relations of the
Raja with Pattiala.*

necessary is struck. The value of the coin is said to be about 12 annas, but I have been unable to procure a specimen in Ambala, and the shraffs in our markets know little about this coin.

IV. Process of manufacture, &c.—The only point noted is, that the die is entrusted to the care of the State Treasurer, the process of manufacture and arrangements of the workshops, &c., is not noticed.

V. The arrangements for the receipt of bullion—Bullion has never been tendered for coining at the Jhind Mint, so no rates for conversion have been fixed.

VI. The general area of currency.—Only within the State.

NABHA.

I. Political conditions &c.—This Mint appears to have been established under Sikh rule; there has never been any correspondence on the subject with the British Government.

II.—Nature, title, and character of the coinage.—The rupee is called the "Nabha" rupee; its full weight is $11\frac{1}{4}$ masha, of which 10 masha $4\frac{1}{2}$ ruttees is pure silver. It is thus 5 ruttees in actual weight, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ ruttees in pure silver less than the British Government rupee.

Gold Mohurs are occasionally struck by the Nabha Government for its own use. The weight of the Mohur is $9\frac{1}{2}$ masha, and it is of pure gold.

The description on both coins is the same, viz:—

"*Deh, tegh-o-fatah nazrat be dirang;*

Yast az Nanak Guru Govind Singh,

Julus meimnat manus Sirkar Nabha, sambat 1911."

The above may be rendered:—

"Food, sword, and victory, were promptly obtained from Nanak by Gúrú Govind Sing."

* *Vide ante* p. 44.

When Sahib Singh succeeded his father at Pattiala, Raja Gajpat Singh did his best to restore order, and assisted Diwan Nanun Mal to put down the rebellion of Sirdar Mahan Singh who had proclaimed himself independent at Bhawanigarh. He also in person marched against Ala Singh of Talwandi, who had thrown off the authority of Pattiala. In 1786, while engaged in an expedition against refractory villages in the neighbourhood of Ambala, with Diwan Nanun Mal and Bibi Rajindar, sister of the Raja of Pattiala, he fell ill with fever and

Death of Raja Gajpat Singh, and his eldest son, Mehr Singh, with the extinction of this branch of the family.

was carried to Sufidon, where he died, aged fifty-one. His eldest son, Mehr Singh, died in A. D. 1780, leaving, one son, Hari Singh, who was put in possession of Safidon by Raja Gaj-

In the above, food is expressed in the couplet by the word *deg*, signifying the large cooking-pan in use among the Sikhs; but I have found it very difficult to introduce *pot* or *pan* into the English rendering; the spirit of the expression is "abundance."

III. *The out-turn of the establishment, value, &c.* The Nabha officials have not noticed the out-turn, but I know that, as in the other States, money is only coined on grand occasions, or where there is supposed to be need of it; so that no rule can be fixed.

The value is exactly 15 annas.

IV. The Mint establishment consists of one Superintendent, one Tester, one Smelter, a silver-smith, and a black-smith.

The silver is carefully refined in presence of the Superintendent, who sees the metal brought up to the proper standard.

V. Silver has often been received from without for coining. Gold has never been tendered.

The mint duty for coining is 14 annas per hundred rupees, which is distributed as follows:—

To Silversmith	...	...	...	4½ annas per cent.
" Smelter	...	...	...	2 ditto.
" Blacksmith	...	...	...	½ ditto.
" Tester	...	...	...	1 ditto.
" Superintendent	...	...	...	½ ditto.
" State dues	...	...	...	5½ ditto.
				—
				14

VI. *General area of the currency.*—These rupees find their way into the neighbouring markets, but not to any great extent.

pat Singh. But he was of dissipated habits, and in a state of intoxication fell from the roof of his house and was killed. This was in 1791, when he was only eighteen years of age. He left a daughter, Chand Kour, who was married to Fatah Singh, the son of Sirdar Bhanga Singh, the powerful Chief of Thanesar. After her husband's death, she, with his mother Mai Jiah, and another widow, Rattan Kour, succeeded to the estate which fell entirely into her possession in 1844, and was held by her in independent right till her death in 1850, when it lapsed to the British Government. The widow of Hari Singh, Dya Kour, retained, till her death, the district of Khanna, which had been given to her by her father-in-law, when it also lapsed.

The town of Jhind was much enlarged by Raja Gajpat Singh, who built *The fort of Jhind built.* a large brick fort on its northern side, but at no time was it a place of much strength.

The possessions of Gajpat Singh were divided between his sons, Bhag Singh and *Raja Bhag Singh.* Bhup Singh, the latter taking the estate of Badrukhan, and the elder, Jhind and Sufidon, with the title of Raja.

Bhag Singh was twenty-one years old when he became Chief. Much of his *His expeditions and wars.* history has been given in the history of Pattiala, with which he was generally allied. In 1786, the districts of Gohana and Khar Khodah, were conferred upon him in jagir by the Emperor Shah Alam, and, in 1794, he joined the Pattiala army under Rani Sahib Kour in the attack on the Mah-ratta Generals, Anta Rao or Amba Rao, and Lachman Rao, at Rajgarh near Ambala, when a night

attack was made on the enemy's camp with great success. In the next year the Raja lost Karnal, which was captured by the Mahrattas and made over to George Thomas, who had been of good service in beating back the Sikhs who had crossed the Jamna in force and threatened Saharanpur,

The wars and conquests of Thomas have been related in the history of Pattiala, and the expeditions which he undertook against Jhind and Sufidon in 1798 and 1799.* Supported by kinsmen and neighbours, Raja Bhag Singh was fortunate enough to repulse his enemy, and in 1801, he went to Dehli in company with other Chiefs to ask General Peron, Commanding the Northern Division of the Mahratta army, for assistance to crush the adventurer whose existence at Hansi, on the southern border of the Jhind State, was a perpetual menace to all the Sikh Chiefs in the neighbourhood.

The expedition against Thomas in which Raja Bhag Singh personally joined was successful, and he was driven from Hansi and compelled to seek an asylum in British territory.

Raja Bhag Singh makes friends with the British, and joins General Lake, A. D. 1803.

Raja Bhag Singh was the first of all the great Cis-Satlaj Chiefs to seek an alliance with the British Government. Immediately after the battle of Dohli, on the 11th September 1803, he made advances to the British General, which were favorably received; he then joined the English camp and his title to the estate of Gohanah and Khar Khodah, in the neighbourhood of Dehli, was upheld by General Lake, who writes of Bhag Singh as

* Ante pp. 81—88.

a friend and ally.* Bhai Lal Singh of Kythal, who had great influence with the Jhind Raja, induced him to declare thus early for the English. He was a remarkably acute man, and saw clearly which would eventually prove the winning side; on this side he determined to be himself, and induced his friend to be equally wise. After having made their submission, they returned to their respective territories, but in January 1805, after the defeat of the hostile Sikhs by Colonel Burn, they thought that active service would prove more advantageous to their interests, and joined the British army with a large detachment. For several months the Raja remained with the General. His services were not important, but his influence had a good effect, and on one occasion, he, with Bhai Lal Singh, held Saharanpur while Colonel Ochterlony was in pursuit of the Mahrattas.†

At length the Sikh Chiefs were tired of a fruitless struggle, and, accepting a general amnesty, peace was restored on the North West Frontier.

Raja Bhag Singh joined Lord Lake in his pursuit of Jaswant Rai Holkar in 1805, accompanying him as far as the Bias, whence he was deputed to Lahore as an envoy to his nephew, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, to warn him of the approach of the English General and against espousing the hopeless cause of Holkar, who was then in the last

His assistance in the negotiations at Lahore with reference to Holkar; A. D. 1805.

* A Sanad from Lord Lake, dated the 26th September 1803, informing the officers of the Shahjahanabad Suba or Division that Parganah Khar Khodah has been confirmed to Raja Bhag Singh.

A Sanad from Lord Lake, dated 7th March 1804, informing the officers of the Shahjahanabad Suba, that Parganahs Gohana, Faridpur, and Barsat, have been allowed to Bhai Lal Singh and Raja Bhag Singh.

† Colonel Burn to Colonel Ochterlony, dated 7th, 18th, and 24th, February, and 8th, 18th, and 27th March 1805.

extremities. An agent of Bhai Lal Singh accompanied him, and the mission was conducted entirely to the General's satisfaction. It is probable that Bhag Singh was able to exert considerable influence with his nephew in favor of the English, and at any rate the negotiations, which had been commenced, were broken off, and Holkar was compelled to leave the Punjab. Raja Bhag Singh returned

The grants made to him in reward for service.

with Lord Lake to Delhi, and received the grant of the pargannah of Bawanah immediately to the south-west of Panipat, as a reward for his services: it was a life grant in the name of Kour Partab Singh. Hansi had first been given him, but at his own request this district was exchanged for Bawanah. The villages of Mamrezipur and Nihana Kalan were also granted him in Jagir.*

The disputes between Pattiala, Nabha and Jhind, and the struggle for supremacy at the Pattiala Court between the parties of the Raja and his wife, ending in the mediation of Maharaja Ranjit Singh have been described in the history of Pattiala.† Raja Bhag Singh gained in territory by his nephew's visit; and during the expedition of 1806 he received from the Maharaja the following estates:—Ludhiana, consisting of 24 villages, worth Rs.

* A *Sanad* from Lord Lake, dated 15th March 1806, allowing Parganah Bawanah to Kour Partab Singh, son of Raja Bhag Singh, on a life tenure.

A *Sanad* from Lord Lake, dated 19th March 1806, allowing the village of Mamrezipur to Raja Bhag Singh, in jagir on a life tenure.

A *Sanad* from Lord Lake at 20th March 1806, informing the officers of Parganah Khar Khodah that the village of Nihana Kalan formerly enjoyed by Raja Bhag Singh, on payment of Rs. 1,200, is granted to him in jagir for life.

† *Ante* pp. 92—104.

15,380 a year; 24 villages of Jhandiala *from the same family*, worth Rs. 4370; two villages of Kot, and two of Jagraon, worth Rs. 2,000 a year: all taken from the Rani of Rai Alyas of the Mahammadan Rajput family of Raikot; while from the widow of Miah Ghos he acquired two villages of the Basia District. During the expedition of the following year, the Maharaja gave him three villages of Ghumgrána, conquered from Gujar Singh of Raipur; and 27 villages of Morinda in Sirhind, conquered from the son of Dharam Singh, and all together worth Rs. 19,255, a year. *

In April 1807, Raja Bhag Singh readily consented to the survey of his country by Lieutenant F. White, and did all he could to make the expedition successful. † A survey in Sikh territory was not then so commonplace a proceeding as at present, for the people were both ignorant and suspicious and generally imagined that a survey of their country was only a preliminary to its annexation, and two years later, in Pattiala, Lieutenant White's party was attacked and nearly destroyed. ‡ But Raja Bhag Singh was not altogether superior to the prejudices of his country-men. He was well disposed to the English and a faithful ally, but he had not entire confidence in his new friends, and it was through his advice that Maharaja Ranjit Singh did not trust himself

* Statement of the conquest of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1806, 1807 and 1808, prepared by Sir D. Ochterlony, *vide* Appendix A. Archibald Seton, Resident Dehli, Circular of 1st November 1806. *Gosha-i-Punjab*, p. 571. Archibald Seton to General Dickens, 20th August 1807.

† Resident at Dehli to Lieutenant White, 26th, 28th, of April, 25th of May 1807.

‡ Captain White to Resident Dehli, 24th and 25th December 1809. *Vide ante* p. 133.

in British territory. This Chief, in the spring of 1808, much wished to visit the sacred fair of Hurdwar, on the Ganges. He sent Sirdar Mohr Singh Lamba and Sirdar Bishan Singh to Dehli to obtain the permission of the Resident, and, at Hurdwar, all arrangements for his reception, including an escort of three thousand followers, were made. But, at the last moment, Raja Bhag Singh *Bhag Singh's advice to Ranjit Singh.* dissuaded him from the idea. He declared that the Envoys, Mohr Singh and Bishan Singh, were playing him false; that they were converting all their wealth into notes and Government paper at Dehli, intending to leave the Punjab for Benares; that their declarations of the security with which the Maharaja would make the journey were untrustworthy, and that he could not travel with any safety unless accompanied by his whole army. The design of visiting Hurdwar was consequently abandoned. There is no knowing on what grounds Bhag Singh considered the Maharaja's servants untrustworthy, but there was probably some reason for his belief, since Sirdar Mohr Singh left the Punjab for Benares a year or two later, contrary to the wish and orders of his master.*

Raja Bhag Singh himself visited Hurdwar, and, after the fair † went to Lahore, *The Hardwar Fair.* where he remained in attendance

* Letter of Maharaja Ranjit Singh to Resident Dehli of 6th August 1808. Resident Dehli to Magistrate Saharanpur, 18th and 22nd March. Circular of Resident 20th March 1808. To C. Metcalfe Esquire, 22nd March, and 2nd April 1808. *Gosha-i-Punjab*, p. 580. *Punjab Chiefs*, p. 544.

† Mr. Metcalfe to Resident Dehli 10th April 1808. An extract from this letter may not be without interest, as this was the first large festival at Hurdwar under the management of the British, and the description is not unlike that given of the Great Fair held sixty years later in March 1867.

on Ranjit Singh, and accompanied him in the Cis-Satlej campaign of 1808, undertaken while Mr Metcalfe, the British Envoy, was with the Sikh camp.*

At the beginning of 1808, Raja Bhag Singh with Bhai Lal Singh, the Nabha *The siege of Ghumgrana.* Raja and a Pattiala contingent, attacked the strong fort of Ghumgrana, owned by Gujar Singh, son of the famous Tara Singh Gheba, who had lately died. The siege proceeded for some time, till Ranjit Singh raised it by a message ordering the besiegers to desist. The Maharaja did not take this course in the interests of the owner, but sent a force of his own against the fort, took it without resistance, and gave it to one of his favorites,

"Rájá Rajgán Sáhib Singh of Patialáh, Rájá Bhág Singh, Sardár Bhái Lál Singh, and Sirdár Gurdit Singh, were the principal Sikh Chieftains that came to the Mela; and though not charged with any prescribed duty with respect to these, I thought that the nature of my situation called on me to pay them every suitable attention, with particular reference to the distinguished rank of Rájá Rajgán Sáhib Singh. All the Sikhs who attended the *mela* in great numbers, behaved with perfect propriety, and the Chiefs did not express any objection to the application to their own followers of the general prohibition against carrying arms into the place when the *mela* was held.

"Amongst the innumerable crowds that were assembled at Hardwar there did not take place the slightest disturbance, and the perfect good order that was preserved had a surprising effect upon the multitude. It is not within the line of my duty to dwell on this subject, but I cannot refrain from remarking that the conduct of the vast numbers that came from all quarters was most gratifying to the feelings of an Englishman. Their prayers for the prosperity of the British Government were most fervent; the respect shewn to an Englishman whenever he appeared struck us all as far exceeding anything that we had met with before; their expressions of admiration at the whole arrangement of the *mela* were unbounded, and they repaid the care bestowed for their comfort with an evidently heartfelt gratitude. I am afraid to attempt to describe what at the place manifest to all, lest you should suspect that the gratification excited by the universal joy might be carrying me into fields of romance, but I am satisfied that the loud praises and thanksgiving of the honest multitude proceeded from the sincere effusions of their hearts; and I am confident that the reports, which they will carry to their distant homes, will considerable extend the fame and reputation of the British Government."

* C. Metcalfe Esq., to Resident at Dehli, October 1st 1808.

Karam Singh of Nagla. Raja Bhag Singh still retained some of the villages which he had seized in its neighbourhood, and though Karam Singh represented to the Maharaja that they were necessary to the completeness of his jagir, yet the latter did not like to compel his uncle to restore villages, to

And its results. which, when all were robbers, he had as good a right as any one else.

A bitter feud between Raja Bhag Singh and Sirdar Karam Singh was the consequence, and perpetual fighting and bloodshed between the rivals took place around Ghumgrana. The British Envoy had himself an opportunity of observing the state of affairs, for, on one occasion, when he was taking his evening ride in the vicinity of the fort, he was fired upon from one of Bhag Singh's villages, whose defenders believed his escort to be their enemies.*

Raja Bhag Singh was one of the Chiefs who were *The ransom of Maler Kotla.* securities for the ransom of Maler Kotla, from which, in October 1808, Ranjit Singh demanded the tribute of a lakh of rupees. Only Rs. 27,000 were at once forthcoming, and for the balance, Pattiala, Nabha, Jhind and Kythal, became security, receiving from Maler Kotla, Jamâlpura and other territory in pledge. By the treaty of Lahore the conquests of Ranjit Singh during his last campaign to the south of the Satlej had to be restored, and Jhind, with the other Chiefs, was compelled to resign the lands given by Maler Kotla, and the Maharaja, after some negotiation, absolved them from the necessity of paying the sum for which they had become sureties.†

* Envoy to Lahore to Secretary to Government 20th November 1808.

† Mr. C. Metcalfe to Government of India 26th October 1808, and Resident Dehli to Government, 10th August and 16th August 1809.

The feelings of Raja Bhag Singh towards the Chief of Lahore and his intrigues. Raja Bhag Singh's confidence in the moderation of his nephew was very much shaken by the unprovoked attack on Maler Kotla, and he perceived that his own possessions would be safe only so long as they were not coveted by his dangerous relation. He accordingly turned to his friends the English with whom he had maintained the most amicable relations, prompted by his adviser Bhai Lal Singh. The Resident at Dehli had addressed, on the 21st November, a letter to the Raja, informing him that although the British Government was not prepared actively to interfere, yet that the Governor General had written to Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and expressed a hope that the Cis-Satlej Chiefs, the friends and allies of the English, would be left unmolested by him. In reply, the Raja declared his unalterable feelings of friendship for the British Government, and his confidence that, under its protection, his power and honor would be secure. The Resident again wrote in general terms, for the idea of a protectorate of the Cis-Satlej States was not yet matured, that the Government had no wish save the perpetuity of the rule of the Sikh Chiefs, and had full confidence in their assurances of good-will.*

The Raja continued to address the Resident and solicit his good offices in his favor, and a translation of a portion of one of his letters will show the mistrust which the Chiefs had begun to entertain of Ranjit Singh.

" I have lately received two letters from you, containing assurances of kindness and friendship, and calculated to

His letter to the Resident to Dehli.

* Letter of Raja Bhag Singh to Resident of 3rd December, and reply of Resident, 4th December 1808.

“tranquillize my mind. The perusal of these letters
 “has inspired me with confidence, and filled me with
 “gratitude : may the Almighty reward you.

“The state of matters in this quarter is as fol-
 “lows :—Previously to the receipt of your letters,
 “Raja Sahib Singh had, with a view to his own safety,
 “made an arrangement for meeting Maharaja
 “Ranjit Singh, and he accordingly proceeded, by suc-
 “cessive marches, to the camp of the Maharaja, and
 “a meeting took place. In conformity to the custom
 “of interchanging turbans, which is established among
 “Sikh Chiefs, the Maharaja and Raja Sahib Singh,
 “exchanged theirs, and seemingly
 “settled everything. But in truth,
 “we four Sardars* are inwardly the

* Raja Sahib Singh,
 Raja Bhag Singh, Sardar
 Jaswant Singh, and him-
 self.

“same as ever, and adhere to the same sentiments to-
 “wards the British Government which we left and
 “expressed on the first day of our being dependant
 “upon it, and which all repeated to you when we
 “visited you, and explained the particulars of our
 “situation. This will doubtless be present to your
 “recollection. Under every circumstance, we trust
 “that it is the intention of the British Government
 “to secure and protect us four Sardars. As Sardar
 “Ranjit Singh is now preparing to cross the Satlej,
 “it is probable that he will soon cross that river.
 “Raja Sahib Singh will take leave at Laknow and
 “return to Pattiala, and Bhai Lal Singh and myself,
 “after accompanying Ranjit Singh to the other side
 “of the Satlej, will return to Pattiala, and after con-
 “sulting together with respect to everything, we
 “will communicate the whole of the result to your,
 “in detail.”

The next month, Maharaja Ranjit Singh having returned to Lahore, Raja Bhag Singh set out for Dehli to have an interview with Mr. Seton, the Resident. He reached Karnal, and from thence he wrote announcing his arrival and requesting permission to proceed. But, at this time, General Ochterlony was advancing with a strong force to the Satlej, to strengthen, by his propinquity, the arguments of Mr. Metcalfe, the Envoy at Lahore, whose tedious negotiations seemed still far from any satisfactory conclusion, and the Resident, thinking Bhag Singh's presence with the English force would have a good effect, advised him to join it, which he at once did with his troops, overtaking the General at Buria.*

Bhag Singh visits Mr. Seton, the Resident. The reason which induced this action on the part of Bhag Singh, was that he had heard that an agent of the Lahore Maharaja was on his way to Pattiala, to summon him, Jaswant Singh of Nabha, and Cheyn Singh, the confidential agent of the Pattiala Chief, to Lahore. To a journey to Lahore Bhag Singh had at this time a strong and natural objection. He was an independent Chief and at liberty to make such friends as pleased him; but his conscience told him that his conduct to Ranjit Singh, who had always treated him with the greatest consideration and had much enlarged his territories, was somewhat questionable, and he had no wish, at present, to meet him. The Lahore agent, accordingly, on his arrival to Pattiala, found Bhag Singh absent, and this was an excuse for

* Letters from Raja Bhag Singh to Resident Dehli, 13th and 25th January 1809.

Resident to Raja Bhag Singh, 15th January, and to Government of India, 15th January 1809.

Maharaja Sahib Singh to decline to send his own agent, an excuse of which he was ready enough to avail himself.*

Raja Bhag Sing was received by General Och-
He joins General Ochterlony. terlony with great kindness, and the information which he was able to give with regard to the disposition of the several Sikh Chiefs was of much value. All of them were, according to the Raja, disposed to welcome the English and joyfully accept their protection, though one or two, like Sirdar Jodh Singh of Kalsia, were under too heavy obligations to Ranjit Singh to come forward at once and declare against him. It was explained to the Raja that the restitution of conquests during the late campaign must in justice be enforced against the friends of the British as against the Maharaja; with which the Raja fully agreed, the more readily that he would by this act of justice lose no more than territory worth Rs. 4,000 a year, which had been taken from Rani Dya Kour and conferred upon him.†

The Raja continued with General Ochterlony
And marches with him to Ludhiana. till his arrival at Ludhiana, at which place the detachment was ordered to halt, and acted as a mutual friend in the negotiations which were necessary between the General and the Lahore agent. On the 10th of February, at Ghumgrána, he received a confidential message from the General, stating that the following

* Resident to Government of India, dated 18th and 19th January 1809. *Vide ante* p. 124.

† Resident Dehli to Government dated 25th January. Raja Bhag Singh to Resident dated 25th January. Government of India to Resident dated 13th and 27th February 1809.

Sir D. Ochterlony to Government of India, dated 20th January 1809.

He assists in the negotiations.

day he would have to march to Ludhiana, which the Lahore troops, in spite of the Maharaja's promises, had not yet evacuated, and asked him, as a friend of both parties, to take such measures as he judged best to prevent the occurrence of hostilities, which would be the result, should the Sikhs not cross the river without delay. The Raja urged the General to halt, but this he at first refused, as he had received direct orders to advance, and expressed his belief that Sirdar Gainda Singh, in command at Ludhiana, would evacuate the fort at his approach, in accordance with the promises of the Maharaja. The Lahore agents who were in camp, denied that their master had ever made any promise of the kind, and the assertion, though evidently made only to delay the advance, so staggered the General, that he consented to march to Sirnawal instead of Ludhiana, and there await further orders from General St. Leger, then Commanding the army in the field.* The conduct of General Ochterlony was severely censured by Government in attending to the Lahore agents rather than to their direct orders, but in the advice given by Raja Bhag Singh there was nothing of treachery, and only a weak desire to maintain such friendship as was possible with both sides.

The detachment arrived at Ludhiana on the 19th of February. This town, well situated on the river Satlej and commanding the principal northern road, had been for only two years in possession of Raja Bhag Singh;

* Colonel Ochterlony to General St. Leger, dated 10th February 1809. Government to Colonel Ochterlony, dated 30th January and 30th March 1809. Colonel Ochterlony to Government dated 14th February 1809, and to Resident Dehli dated 27th January 1809.

and was one of the advantages he had gained from his connection with Ranjit Singh. He was not, however, unwilling to give it up to the English who desired to form there a permanent cantonment,

Raja Bhag Singh willing to exchange it for Karnal,

hoping to obtain in exchange the pargannah of Karnal, which had once been in his family. He addressed the Government to this effect, stating that he would not be able to collect the revenues of the forty-one villages round Ludhiana, having lost possession of the fort, and praying that these should be taken by Government, giving him in exchange the pargannah of Karnal, with the right to collect the duties, or, if this were impossible, the pargannah of Panipat. If the revenue of the latter should exceed that of Ludhiana, which was Rs. 17,800, he offered the pargannah of

General Ochterlony supports his application.

Jhandiala in lieu of the excess. * General Ochterlony, who had evidently a strong liking for the Raja, strongly supported his application, writing to the following effect :—

“ It would be unjust in me were I to withhold on this occasion an expression of the earnest desire I feel to effect the wishes of the Raja, not merely from a conviction that the loss of the fort will occasion a considerable decrease, if not entire loss of the collections of the Taluqa Ludhiana, but because he has in this, and every other instance, acted with an openness and candour which reflects an honor on his character, shewing himself grateful for the benefits derived from the British Government. Without affecting to disguise a very warm interest in the fate of his nephew, Raja Ranjit Singh, at the same

* Letter of Raja Bhag Singh to the Resident Delhi, 25th February 1809.

“time manifesting a readiness to comply with every request which could be considered of importance, beyond even my most sanguine expectations,—as I certainly was prepared for a little hesitation if not a request for a short delay when I informed him that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief had directed the interior of the fort to be immediately cleared and levelled;—and it was most satisfactory to me to observe that without hinting at the request he had before personally urged, he gave an immediate and cheerful acquiescence, observing only that he had experienced too much of British liberality to fear any ultimate loss.” *

The Karnál pargannah, which was in a very turbulent condition, and which required strong measures to keep its inhabitants in order, had already been conferred on Muhammad Khan, a Patan of the Mandil tribe. *The reasons in favor of the exchange.* The Government acknowledged the services of Bhag Singh, and would have been glad to restore, by an act of justice, the district of Ludhiana to the family of Rai Alyas; but considered that there was no obligation to reinstate the latter at the hazard of other political interests. Compensation for the absolute loss sustained by Bhag Singh in the cantonment of British troops at Ludhiana was all that was necessary, for he, commendable as his conduct had been, had sacrificed no interest for which he would not receive an equivalent, while, in common with other Sikh Chiefs, he had derived the solicited benefit of British protection.

An obligation to restore Ludhiana to its former
The Government declines the proposition. Muhammadan owners could be only maintained with great danger and imprudence.

“To pursue the dictates of abstract justice”
 “and benevolence” wrote the Governor General “by
 “the indiscriminate redress of grievances beyond
 “the admitted limits of our authority and control,
 “would be to adopt a system of conduct of which
 “the political inconvenience and embarrassment
 “would not be compensated by the credit which
 “might attend it.”

The Government consequently declined to entertain the Karnal proposal, but allowed Raja Bhag Singh fair compensation, although it was observed that this was the less necessary, as “the
 “occupation of the military post of Ludhiana was
 “only intended to be temporary, and that consequently the fort and the ground at present occupied by the British detachment would revert to
 “that Chief.” * The Military station of Ludhiana has, nevertheless, been retained from that day to this. †

* Resident at Delhi to Government, 24th February and 3rd of March. Government of India to Colonel Ochterlony, 3rd April 1809, and to Resident of Delhi of the same date. Resident Delhi to Colonel Ochterlony, 24th February, 4th and 10th March, and 1st April 1809.

† Ludhiana is a town of small intrinsic value as a military post, and, in 1868, only 300 Native troops were stationed there, with sixty British artillery men in the fort of Philor on the opposite bank of the Satlej. When the English first occupied Ludhiana, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who seemed to know better than the Government that the occupation would not be temporary, directed his General, Diwan Mokham Chaud, to build the fort of Philor on the opposite bank on the site of an Imperial Serai.

That the Government had no intention of retaining Ludhiana as a Military Station when it was first occupied, is evident from the despatch above quoted, and also from former despatches of the 13th of March 1809, from the Governor General in Council to Colonel Ochterlony and Lieutenant General Hewett, the Commander-in-Chief. The right to advance to the Satlej at any time could not, however, be surrendered, and this

Raja Bhag Singh was not at all pleased with the refusal of the Government to allow him Karnal, which, as an old possession of his father's, he much desired to regain, and the next year made another attempt to possess himself of the coveted territory.

A second attempt of the Raja to obtain Karnal.

Bhára Singh, the jagirdar of Dharampur, or in Karnal, a valuable estate worth Rs. 12,000 a year, died early in 1810, and the Raja at once claimed to resume the property. He pleaded that the whole pargannah had belonged to his father, Gajpat Singh, and that the estate in question had continued in the family, though in the name of Bhára Singh, one of its dependants; and in support of the claim he produced a petition from Bhára Singh to Lord Lake, to the effect that the petitioner had long entertained 50 horse for the service of the rulers of Dehli, in consideration of which he had held in *jáidád*, Moranah and four other villages in Karnal, and had, moreover,

The estate of Dharampur.

was one of the reasons that Ranjit Singh was not pressed to relinquish the Cis-Satlaj conquests of 1806, 1807.

Ludhiana remained a Political Agency till the close of the first Sikh war, generally in charge of an Assistant Agent, Sir David Ochterlony and Sir C. Wade being the only officers with the full powers of Agents.

1808 to 1815,	Sir David Ochterlony.
1815 „ 1816,	Captain Brown.
1816 „ 1823,	Captain W. Murray.
1823 „ 1838,	Sir C. Wade.
1838 „ 1839,	Captain E. Robinson.
1839 „ 1840,	Lieutenant J. D. Cunningham.
1840 „ 1841,	Mr. H. Vansittart.
1841 „ 1842,	Mr. P. Melvill.
1842,	Captain C. Mills.
1842 to 1843,	Mr. H. Greathed.
1843 „ 1844,	Captain C. Mills.
1844,	do. S. Abbott.
1844 to 1845,	do. C. Mills.
1845 „ 1846,	do. E. Lake.

enjoyed a pension of Rs. 189, per mensem, for the confirmation of which he solicited a *Sanad*.

The order of Lord Lake.

This petition was endorsed by Lord Lake as follows :-

"On consideration of service and fidelity, the arrangement which prevailed in the time of M. Perron, is hereby continued."

Now it is evident that Lord Lake could not have bound himself to more than he was cognizant of; and his endorsement could thus be only considered as granting that which was solicited on the face of the petition, viz., the continuance to Bhāra Singh of the possession of the estate in question so long as he should furnish the 50 horsemen; and, indeed, a *jāidād* grant is scarcely capable of any other construction. Besides, Raja Bhag Singh, by subsequent admissions, destroyed his own case. It may have been quite true that Dharampur was held by him after the loss of the rest of Karnal, but he also stated that it had been twice wrested from him by the Mahrattas, and that, after this second occupation, it was restored by George Thomas at the time that he received Karnal in *jāidād*. Now it is notorious that Thomas received Karnal in 1795, both as a reward for his successful opposition to the Sikhs at Saharanpur and to enable him to maintain a force to act against them in conjunction with the Mahrattas. It is impossible that he should have allowed Raja Bhag Singh to retain the villages, unless he was an ally of the Mahrattas, and he was, on the contrary, in opposition to them. But even admitting that these villages did not revert to the Mahrattas, yet their right to dispose of them was admitted by

Bhag Singh himself, since he did not deny the grant under which Bhára Singh held them, but, on the contrary, identified, by date and description, his own grant with that of Sindhia of the 23rd of April 1800, about which time Bhag Singh asserted that he bestowed the villages on Bhára Singh, when George Thomas invested Jhind in 1799. The service of the body of horse, moreover, as specified in the grant, was not due to Bhag Singh, but to the Mahrattas, and the pension was paid by them.

The Government were satisfied that the Raja possessed no title whatever to the estate, and, seeing no reason for alienating it in his favour, directed it to be resumed.*

During all the troubles which came on the Pattiala family † in the imbecility of the Maharaja, the Regency, and the intrigues and quarrels among the young Princes; Raja Bhag Singh showed himself the best friend of the house. He was not a man of ability or force of character sufficient to restore order and save the State from the worst evils of misgovernment and anarchy; but what he could do he did, and was almost the only disinterested adviser Pattiala could consult. ‡

But his health was now fast breaking. Like most of the Sikhs Chiefs he was a man of dissipated habits and a hard drinker. Finding that his excesses endangered his

* Resident Delhi to Mr. Fraser 28th June. Mr. Fraser to Resident 8th March and 17th April 1810. Resident to Government 22nd August and 10th September. Government to Resident 18th October 1811.

† *Vide* pp. 135—138.

‡ General Ochterlony to Government of India 12th July 1811, 2nd April 1813.

life, he was induced to give up drinking for a short time, but the habit was too confirmed to be abandoned, and the result of resuming it was a paralytic stroke, in March 1813, which deprived him of speech and almost of the power of motion. There was no doubt that his illness would have a fatal termination, and it became necessary to think of his successor.* About a year before, when the Political Agent was at Pattiala, the Raja had given

The Draft Will by which the elder son was dispossessed. him a Draft Will, containing the arrangements which he desired to take effect at his death. By this he left to his younger son, Partab Singh, the Fort and district of Jhind, and declared him his successor, leaving to the elder son, Fatah Singh, only the districts of Sangrur and Basia, with a request to the British Government that he might continue to hold the jagirs he enjoyed from them for life. When the Raja made this will he was in sound health, both of body and mind, and it was the expression of his deliberate intention and wishes. He had no particular cause of complaint against Prince Fatah Singh, but the younger son was his favourite, the child of a woman to whom he had been much attached and who had long been dead.

The Agent tried to induce the Raja to change his determination. He pointed out that certain ill-feeling and disputes must be the result between the brothers, and that the State would suffer thereby, while the British Government was strongly in favour of the rule of promogeniture; but the

The evils which would ensue if the were carried out.

* Sir D. Ochterlony to Government, 20th April 1813.

Raja had set his heart on the arrangement. He urged that the father had the right of nominating his own successor and bequeathing his lands as he pleased. That he was, himself, a second son, and had been preferred by his father, and that the custom of the Jhind family was not in opposition to the disposition he had made. The contents of the will, which the Raja then made over to Sir David Ochterlony, he desired to be kept secret, and it was only after his paralytic attack that the Agent forwarded it to the Resident at Dehli for transmission to the Government of India.* The secret had now become known, and Prince Fatah Singh with Jaishi Ram and Shadi Ram, the very men who had been privy to the will, were now intriguing to set it aside, for Partab Singh was universally disliked, and very few, save his immediate followers and favourites, regarded his succession without apprehension.

The Governor General was unwilling to sanction the Raja's will, considering that there was no proved custom in the Jhind family of an elder son being superseded by a younger. "Whatever doubt

The refusal of the Government to sanction the proposed arrangement.

The Despatch of the Governor General.

the Governor General might entertain" the despatched continued "with respect to the justice or propriety of opposing the will of Bhag Singh, if there were good reasons to suppose that it was warranted by the laws and usages of his tribe and family, His Lordship in Council can have no hesitation, under the contrary impression which exists

* General Ochterlony to Government, 21st April 1813.

“ in his mind, in refusing to afford the countenance of the British Government to an arrangement which is, in this Lordship’s estimation, no less unjust in its principle than likely to be pernicious in its effects. You are authorized therefore to declare to the parties concerned, and to the surviving friends of the family, after the death of Bhag Singh, that the succession of Kour Partab Singh cannot be recognized by the British Government. You are authorized, moreover, to employ the influence of the name and authority of Government in support of the claims of the elder son to the Raj, and to the possessions generally of Bhag Singh, or rather to that superior portion of them, which, by the terms of the Will, has, together with the Raj, been bequeathed to the second son, signifying at the same time, that care will be taken to secure to Partab Singh a suitable provision, as well as to see the bequest to the younger son duly carried into effect. Your own judgment and local knowledge will suggest to you the most proper means of rendering the influence of Government most effectual in sustaining the rights of the eldest son, without invoking the necessity of its authoritative interposition, which the Governor General in Council will be desirous of avoiding, and which ought on no account to be resorted to without the express sanction of Government; and it will no doubt occur to you that the aid and co-operation of Bhai Lal Singh and other friends of the family, will be profitably employed for the purpose. It may be expected that their discernment will perceive the many advantages attending a fixed and definite rule of succession, and, unless they are misled by

“some personal interest of their own, that they
 “will be disposed to support the pretensions of the
 “elder son of Bhag Singh, in preference to up
 “holding the provisions of a will which appears to
 “have been dictated only by the caprice or injustice
 “of the testator. It is superfluous to observe
 “that in communicating on this subject with Bhai
 “Lal Singh and others, it will be proper carefully
 “to avoid anything that can be construed into an
 “admission of their right to interfere in the regula-
 “tion of the succession or management of the
 “affairs of the family. A just and simple arrange-
 “ment would be, either to reverse the provisions of
 “the will in favor of the eldest and second son, or
 “to assign to the latter other lands equal in value
 “to those designated in the will as the provision of
 “the elder.” *

Regarding the Jagirs granted by the British
 Government to the Raja, and which
 he desired to be confirmed to his
 elder son during his life, the Gover-
 nor General reserved his opinion.

*The grants made by
 the British Govern-
 ment to the Raja.*

These grants were four in number : first was
 Gohána and Faridpur, situated to the south west
 of Barwánah, and granted, in 1804, to Raja Bhag
 Singh and Bhai Lal Singh jointly, in recognition
 of their services against the Mahrattas.

Barwánah was granted to Bhag Singh in 1806,
 in the name of his son Partab Singh ; Kharkhodá and
 Mumrezpúr in the Hánsi purgannah were granted
 him in Jagir in March 1806, having formerly been
 held by him on *istimrari* † tenure.

* Government of India to Colonel Ochterlony, 15th May 1813.

† On fixed rates.

These Jagirs, which were situated in the midst of British territory, had been placed under efficient police supervision in 1810, the inhabitants of the Karnal pargannah having at that time a bad reputation for violence and lawlessness.*

It was decided by the Government that these grants were merely life grants, and should be resumed at the death of Bhag Singh; and, moreover, that the provision made for Partab Singh was so ample, that he was not entitled to any new grant either in land or money on account of those resumed.†

With regard to the estate held, in co-parcenary with Bhai Lal Singh, it was clear that it was not intended to be granted for their joint lives, with benefit of survivorship, nor indeed, did this appear to be the view of the Chiefs themselves, and the Raja's share was consequently resumed on his death.‡

Raja Bhag Singh lingered in a paralytic state for many months. His intellect did not appear to suffer very much, but he was practically incapable of business, and it became necessary to make arrangements for carrying on the administration of the State. At this time the family of the Raja consisted of three sons and two wives. Fatah Singh, the eldest son, was separated from his father who had a dislike to him, and it was thus almost impossible for him to act as Regent during

* Resident Delhi to Mr. Fraser 30th January 1810.

† Resident Delhi to Government of India, 18th June 1813. Government of India to Resident, 9th July 1813.

‡ Sir D. Ochterlony to Government, 16th July 1817. Government to Sir D. Ochterlony 9th July 1813.

the Raja's illness. The second son, Partab Singh, whom the Raja desired to succeed him, had been declared by the British Government incompetent for succession, and it was manifestly undesirable to entrust him with even temporary power. The third son, Mehtab Singh, was still very young. The objection to the Regency of the eldest son applied equally to that of his mother, who was also disliked by the Raja and lived separate from him on a portion of the territory assigned for her maintenance. The mother of Partab Singh had long been dead, and Rani Sobrahi, the mother of Mehtab Singh, seemed the person against whose appointment as Regent the fewest objections could be urged. The Raja was not opposed to this arrangement and the Ministers desired it.

This lady was, accordingly, with the sanction of the Government, appointed Regent. She engaged to respect and advance the wishes of the British Government with regard to the succession, and to abstain from any interference with the eldest son or his mother, who were to be permitted to reside on their estates, without molestation, during the remainder of the reign of Raja Bhag Singh.* Sir David Ochterlony was directed to proceed to Jhind, and himself superintend the new arrangements.† The Rani was installed in the presence of the Raja, Bhai Lal Singh, and all the confidential servants of the State, and the Raja, by most unmistakeable signs, showed his full concurrence in the measure.‡

* Resident to Secretary to Government 28th November. Resident to Colonel Ochterlony, 29th November. Colonel Ochterlony to Resident 15th October, and Government to Resident 23rd December 1813.

† Resident to Sir D. Ochterlony, 2nd February 1814.

‡ Sir D. Ochterlony to Resident 29th August 1814. Government to Resident 4th March 1814.

But Prince Partab Singh was thoroughly dissatisfied. He had for long believed that on the death of his father the power would become his, and the present arrangements convinced him that he was intended to be excluded. He intrigued against the Regent, raised troops secretly, and, in June 1814, the Rani wrote that there could be no doubt that he meditated rebellion and that her life was no longer safe. The Prince was warned that the consequence of rebellion would be only to lose him the provision which would otherwise be made for him, and that he could not hope successfully to oppose the measures which had been determined on by Government; but he would accept no warning, and, on the 23rd of August, took the fort of Jhind by surprise, and put to death the Rani, Munshi Jaishi Ram her principal adviser, the Commandant of the Fort, and many other persons.* The Agent of the Governor General at once wrote to the Officer in command at Karnal to hold himself in readiness to march at once to Jhind, on receipt of orders from the Resident of Dehli, and the force at Hansi was also directed to move to Jhind, if the Prince, as anticipated, should attempt resistance. Sir Charles Metcalfe, the Resident, took instant action, and issued the following memorandum of instructions for the re-establishment of a legitimate Government at Jhind.†

The dissatisfaction of Prince Partab Singh.

He rebels, captures Jhind, and murders the Regent.

The action of the British authorities.

* Sir D. Ochterlony to Government 3rd July 1814, and 24th August 1814.

† Sir D. Ochterlony to Lieut. Colonel Thompson, Commanding at Karnal, 26th August 1814, and to Sir C. Metcalfe of same date.

*The memorandum
of instruction for
the re-establishment
of a legitimate Go-
vernment at Jhind.*

" In consequence of the imbecility of Raja

" Bhag Singh, a provisional Govern-

" ment was lately established at

" Jhind under the authority of His

" Excellency the Governor General.

" in Council.

" The Rani Sobrahi was placed in the manage-
" ment of affairs, though the Government was carried
" on in the name of the Raja as before.

" " This arrangement was at the time judged most
" advisable for several reasons.

" The Raja's eldest son and lawful successor was
" not appointed to the management of affairs because
" he was known to be obnoxious to the Raja. A
" similar reason operated against the appointment of
" the Rani, the mother of the eldest son.

" The Raja's second son could not be appointed
" because it was known that the Raja wished to estab-
" lish the succession in favor of the second son to the
" exclusion of the eldest. The same consideration
" would have prevailed against the Rani, the mother
" of the second son, had she been living.

" Rani Sobrahi, the mother of a third son, a
" youth since dead, from whose claims no apprehen-
" sions were entertained, was appointed to the Re-
" gency, under the idea that this arrangement united
" a sufficient degree of security for the succession of
" the eldest son, with a suitable degree of attention
" to the feelings of the Raja, more than any other
" that could be adopted.

" The second son, Kour Partab Singh, has now
" murdered the Rani, and her Chief Minister, and
" the Commandant of the Fort of Jhind and others.

“ He has obtained possession of the fort, and has
“ usurped the Government.

“ The Raja has been an unresisting or a willing
“ instrument in the hands of Kour Partab Singh in
“ these atrocious transactions.

“ It is now necessary to subvert the usurped
“ authority of Kour Partab Singh, and to re-estab-
“ lish a legitimate Government under the protection
“ of the British Power.

“ The following arrangements are therefore to
“ be effected :—

“ 1st. Kour Fatah Singh, the eldest son of
“ Raja Bhag Singh, to be appointed to the entire
“ management of affairs ; but the Government to be
“ carried on in the name of his father the Raja.

“ 2nd. Suitable arrangements to be made for
“ the dignity and comfort of the Raja, who, in every
“ respect but the exercise of power with which he
“ is not to be trusted, is to be considered and treated
“ as heretofore.

“ 3rd. Kour Partab Singh, and the most noto-
“ rious of his accomplices in the late murders, to be
“ seized and sent in confinement to Dehli to await
“ the orders of His Excellency the Governor General.

“ It is most desirable that these arrangements
“ should be accomplished without opposition, but if
“ opposition be attempted, it must be defeated by
“ the most prompt, decisive and energetic measures.

“ Raja Bhag Singh, the eldest son Kour Fatah
“ Singh, and the second son Kour Partab Singh, will
“ be severally desired to wait on Colonel Arnold and
“ Mr. Fraser. All the officers of the Jhind Govern-
“ ment, Civil and Military, will also be ordered to put

“ themselves under the orders of Colonel Arnold and
“ Mr. Fraser. If all these requisitions be complied
“ with, the arrangements prescribed will probably
“ be carried into full effect without resistance.

“ Kour Fatah Singh resides on his own estate
“ at a distance from Jhind, and to that circumstance
“ is probably indebted for his safety during the late
“ murders. He will no doubt attend in conformity
“ to the summons, and will also be directed to collect
“ his adherents.

“ The conduct of the Raja may probably depend
“ on the will of Partab Singh, and may, therefore, as
“ well as that of Partab Singh's be considered doubtful. Yet if there are about the Raja's person any
“ of those Councillors who have advised him hitherto
“ during his connection with the British Government,
“ it is to be expected that he will comply with the
“ requisition, and submit without resistance to the
“ arrangements prescribed.

“ It is even possible that Partab Singh may do
“ the same, though it is perhaps more probable that
“ he will either determine to resist or endeavour to
“ effect his escape.

“ In the former case his opposition must be overcome by the most decisive measures, as before mentioned, whether it be supported or disavowed by the
“ Raja. In the latter case the escape of Partab
“ Singh will facilitate the unresisted accomplishment
“ of the arrangements in view, but every exertion
“ must be made to apprehend him and his accomplices.

“ It has already been stated that Kour Fatah
“ Singh is obnoxious to the Raja. It is therefore to
“ be apprehended that the Raja will never be reconciled to the Regency of Fatah Singh. The most

“desirable arrangement is that the Raja should be
 “reconciled to the eldest son, and should continue to
 “reside at Jhind, and that Fatah Singh should treat
 “the Raja with the utmost respect and attention.
 “If this arrangement be impracticable owing to the
 “Raja’s strong aversion for his eldest son, the Raja
 “may in that case be allowed to choose another place
 “of residence, and such arrangements as may be
 “requisite can afterwards be adopted to make the
 “remainder of his life easy and comfortable,

“It will be advisable to recommend Fatah Singh
 “to employ in the transaction of the affairs of his
 “Government the the old and faithful servants of his
 “family, accustomed to business, against whom there
 “may not not be any objection founded on partici-
 “pation in the recent atrocities.

“The utmost promptitude in the execution of
 “the arrangements proposed is desirable. A detach-
 “ment should advance at soon as possible to Jhind.
 “No time should be lost in negotiation. But the
 “first appearance of an inclination to resist should
 “be followed on our part by the most decisive
 “measures, consistent with the maxims of military
 “prudence, on which point Colonel Arnold will be
 “the sole judge.

“All the arrangements prescribed are of course
 “to be understood to be subject to the revision of
 “His Excellency the Governor General.”

An attempt was made by Partab Singh to
 persuade the world that the murder
 of Munshi Jaishi Ram and the
 Rani had been directed by the
 Raja himself, and was the punishment for an in-
 trigue which dishonored the family, but of this

*The Prince tries to
 implicate the Raja
 in the murder.*

there was no shadow of proof, and the fact, of so many other persons interested in the continuance of the Regency being murdered at the same time sufficiently explained the reasons for the crime.

Prince Fatah Singh now took charge of the administration, and Partab Singh, knowing that British troops were marching from all sides against him, left Jhind and retired to Balawali, a fort in the wild country about Batinda. The zemindars of Balawali were a turbulent race, and Partab Singh had no difficulty in persuading them to adopt his cause. But he was at once followed by several troops of English cavalry who were directed to surround Balawali and prevent Partab Singh's escape, until a force, composed of five companies of infantry and three guns, which marched from Ludhiana on the 30th September, should arrive.

Partab Singh flies from Jhind to Balawali.

The Prince saw that it was dangerous to remain at Balawali, where his capture was certain, and, the day after he had entered the fort, he abandoned it, carrying off fifteen or twenty thousand rupees with other valuables that had been lodged there; and after a long and circuitous march, crossed the Satlej at Makhawal, with forty followers, and joined Phula Singh Akali who was in force on the opposite bank.*

Thence he crossed the Satlej and joins Phula Singh Akali.

This famous outlaw† had taken up his residence at Nandpur Makhawal and defied the whole power of the Sikhs to expel him. He had with

With whom he makes an expedition south of the Satlej.

* Sir D. Ochterlony to Resident Dehli 30th September 1814. Sir G. Clerk to Agent Governor General 20th March 1836.

† Phula Singh was the leader of the Akalis of the Amritsar temple, who attacked Mr. Metcalfe's party in 1809, and also Lieutenant

him about seven hundred horse and two guns. With this man Partab Singh remained for two months, then persuading him to cross the Satlej and actively assist him at Balawali, which remained in open rebellion against the Raja of Jhind. When it became known that Phula Singh had crossed the Satlej, the Agent at Ludhiana wrote without delay to Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha and the Khans of Maler Kotla, directing them to combine their forces and attack him, though such was the veneration in which Phula Singh was held by the Sikhs that there appeared little chance of the Nabha troops loyally acting against him, and Maler Kotla was not sufficiently strong to act alone.* Balawali,

Partab Singh reaches Balawali, but Phula Singh is compelled to retire.

at this time, was invested by Patalia troops, and was almost prepared to surrender, when its defenders heard of the approach of Phula Singh. They at once broke off negotiations, while Partab Singh went in advance and with a few men threw himself into the fort. Seven hundred of the Patalia troops marched to intercept Phula Singh, who was unable to relieve the fort, and retired

White on survey duty, and, who, for his numerous crimes, had been outlawed by Ranjit Singh on demand of the British Government.

Vide ante p. 123, 132—34.

* Phula Singh had, as an Akali, (a Sikh ascetic class), great influence with his countrymen. The Maharaja tried for years, with half sincerity to capture him, and the English drove him from place to place, but could never seize him. At this very time, when Partab Singh joined him at Makhwal, the Maharaja had sent the most positive orders for the Philor troops to drive him out of his territories. The garrison was accordingly marched against him, but when they approached, Phula Singh sent to ask them if they would kill their *Gûrû*, (spiritual teacher). The Sikhs would not molest him; and the whole force was kept out some two months to prevent his plundering, marching where he marched, more like a guard of honor than anything else. Numberless stories of the same kind can be told of Phula Singh, who was a very remarkable man. He was a robber and an outlaw, but he was nevertheless a splendid soldier, and a brave, enthusiastic man. He made friends with Ranjit Singh later, and won for him the great battle of Teri, in which he was killed, in 1823.

toward the Satlej, taking refuge in a village belonging to two Sirdars, Dip Singh and Bir Singh, who reproached the troops for attempting to offer violence to a poor fakir and their *Gurā*. The Pattiala General did not know what to do in this emergency, and wrote to the Political Agent, who warned the Sirdars against protecting an outlaw whom all the Cis-Satlej Chiefs had been ordered to expel from their territories. The Chiefs of Nabha and Kythal were directed to send their forces to Balawali to co-operate with those of Pattiala, as the latter were afraid of the odium that would ever afterwards attach itself to them should they be the only assailants of Prince Partab Singh. The Pat-

The fort of Balawali at last surrenders, and Partab Singh is taken prisoner.

tiala authorities wished a British force to be sent to Balawali, but this was unnecessary, for the garrison was reduced to great straits and the fort surrendered on the 28th of January. Prince Partab Singh was taken prisoner, but was placed under merely nominal restraint, and declared his intention of proceeding to Dehli to throw himself on the protection of the British Government. His ally, Phula Singh, was more fortunate. He marched to Mokatsar, in the Ferozpur district, and there levied contributions, and being joined by Sirdar

Phula Singh escapes, defeating the Philor garrison.

Nihal Singh Attariwala, gave battle to the Philor garrison, which he defeated with a loss of three hundred killed and wounded, the Akali not losing more than fifty men. The Maharaja was much annoyed at this affair, and thinking Phula Singh might be made useful if he took him into his service, invited him to Lahore, where he declined to go, demanding that Mokatsar, which was a sacred place of pilgrimage

among the Sikhs, should be given him for his residence.*

Partab Singh fled to Lahore, but Maharaja Ranjit Singh refused to shelter a murderer, and gave him up to the English authorities who placed him in confinement at Dehli, where he died in June 1816, and the estate of Barwána, which was granted in his name, lapsed to Government.†

Partab Singh seeks an asylum at Lahore in vain.

His death at Dehli, A. D. 1816.

Partab Singh married two wives, Bhagbari, the daughter of Kirpal Singh of Shamghar, and the daughter of Sadha Singh, Kákar of Philor, but neither bore him any children. His younger brother, Mehtab Singh, died a few months before him, when only sixteen years of age.

Prince Fatah Singh as Regent.

The administration of Jhind was now carried on with tolerable tranquillity, Prince Fatah Singh acting as Regent, and Raja Bhag Singh having no other son, did not oppose an arrangement which was nevertheless distasteful to him.

The dispute regarding the villages of Dabri and Danouli.

In 1817, a case, which gave rise to voluminous correspondence, but which requires only the briefest mention, occurred, regarding the villages of Dábri and Danouli. Twelve years after the British Government had been established at Dehli, and some time after it had taken Hissar from Abdúl Samad Khan, Mr. Fraser, the Revenue Officer, discovered that two villages called Dábri and Danouli, were in the ancient register of the pargannah of Muhim. He

* Captain Birch to Secretary to Government, 7th, 11th, 16th, 17th, December 1814, and 28th January 1815.

† Sir D. Ochterlony to Resident Dehli, 31st August 1816.

found them ten miles distant from any other villages of that pargannah, surrounded by Jhind lands, and, on his own authority, placed them under attachment. The Raja pleaded that these villages were his; that they formed part of the conquests of his father Gajpat Singh, which had been maintained and confirmed to him both by the British and the Mahrattas. His zamindars had tilled the lands of these villages; and had always made use of the

*The villages are
surrendered to the
Raja of Jhind.*

waste attached to them for the pasturage of their cattle. There was little doubt that the claim of the Raja was good, and that set up for the British Government by a too enthusiastic officer was abandoned.*

Raja Bhag Singh died in 1819, and was succeeded by his son Fatah Singh.

*The death of Raja
Bhag Singh, 1819.*

He had married three wives: first, Dya Kour, daughter of Bakhsu Singh of Barí Mánsa, the mother of Fatah Singh; secondly, Sada Kour, the daughter of Pákhari Singh of Jodhpúr Sírbake, who bore him Partab Singh; and, lastly, Subrahí, from a zamindar family of Kaleki, the mother of Mehtab Singh, and who was murdered by Prince Partab Singh.

His family.

The reign of Raja Fatah Singh was very short

*The reign of Fatah
Singh uneventful.*

and quite uneventful. He died on the 3rd of February 1822, at his residence of Sangrur, aged thirty-three, leaving one son, Sangat Singh, eleven years of age, the child of his second wife.

*His death in A. D.
1822.*

* Sir D. Ochterlony to Resident Dehli, 27th April 1817. Letter from Resident to Sir D. Ochterlony, enclosing Mr. Fraser's report. Captain Birch to General Ochterlony, enclosing letter from Raja Bhag Singh, dated 26th December 1816.

Sahib Kour, daughter of Khushhál Singh of Bournemouth. His first wife Khem Kour, daughter of Sirdar Dídár Singh, bore him no children.

No special arrangements were made by the British Government with regard to the Jhind administration, but the officers of that State were directed to carry on the Government in the ordinary manner.*

The installation of the young Raja took place on the 30th July 1822, at Jhind, in the presence of all the Phulkian Chiefs, and Captain Ross, the Deputy Superintendent, who presented the usual Khillat of investiture on the part of the British Government† In April

1824, the young Chiefs was married to Sabhá Kour, daughter of Sirdar Ranjit Singh of Sháhabad, with great pomp, Maharaja Ranjit Singh who was not able to attend himself, sending a deputation headed by Sirdar Baisahka Singh, Captain Murray, the Deputy Superintendent attending on behalf of the British Government.‡

* Captain Ross to Secretary to Government, dated 7th February and 2nd March 1822, and Secretary to Government to Mr. A. Ross, Agent Governor General, dated 16th March 1822.

† Captain Ross to Agent Governor General dated 9th August 1822. Agent Governor General to Captain Ross 22nd May 1822, and Secretary to Government to A. Ross Esq., dated 4th May 1822.

The Khillats presented to Rajas Fatah Singh and Sangat Singh, on their respective installations, were composed of the following articles:—

A string of pearls; a *jigha* (worn in the turban); a Sirpesh (Ditto); a pair of shawls; one square shawl; one piece of Kinkháb; one piece of Gulbadan; a turban; two pieces of Srisaf cloth; an elephant; a horse, a jewelled crupper saddle; girths and elephants' trappings.

‡ Captain Murray to C. Elliott, Esquire, Agent to Governor General, April 1824.

The usual results which a minority produces in Native States, soon began to show themselves in Jhind. The affairs of the Raja fell into the utmost confusion; the territory was ill-managed, the people discontented, and no attention was paid to the remonstrances of the British authorities regarding grievances that he was called upon to redress. To such a point did this recklessness proceed, that the Political Agent at length recommended that the monthly and quarterly cash payments received by the Raja, on account of the Ludhiana cantonments and for the Sayer and Abkari duties thereof, should be suspended until the Raja should satisfy all just claims pending against his territory and subjects.*

The confusion into which the Jhind administration fell.

In 1826, Raja Sangat Singh paid a visit to Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He was met at Amritsar by some Sirdars of the Court, and conducted with honor to Lahore where the Maharaja received him very kindly, and on the festival of the Holí, made his officials present *nazrs* to him. Ranjit Singh invited the Raja to accompany him to Jowála Mukhi, a place of pilgrimage in the Kangra Hills, and he consented to go as far as Dinanagar where he waited for the Maharaja's return, when he received the grant of a jagir in the Jalandhar Doab.

The Raja visits Amritsar and Lahore.

A second visit to Lahore in A. D. 1827.

In 1827, he again visited Lahore. Maharaja Ranjit Singh seems to have taken a great liking for him, and gave him many presents, one of which brought him into some trouble with the British Government. Antiana

* Captain Murray to Agent Governor General dated 3rd October 1824.

The village of Antiana given to Bhag Singh by the Maharaja.

was an estate held by Sirdar Ram Singh, on the south side of the Satlej, claimed by Ranjit Singh as a dependency of Lahore, but the claim to which had not been admitted. This village Raja Sangat Singh suddenly attacked and took from the rightful owner who complained to the Agent of the Governor General. The Raja was called upon for an explanation, and, in reply, produced a grant from Ranjit Singh of the village in question, with two others, named Rajnana and Joghal, in exchange for a *nazrana* of Rs. 30,000, a female riding elephant, and a horse. The conduct of Ranjit Singh in granting a village which did not belong to him was not remarkable; but that of Sangat Singh, while under the protection of the British Government, in accepting or purchasing villages from a foreign power, was

But the British Government insist on its surrender.

most reprehensible. He was consequently directed to restore the villages without delay, and received a severe rebuke for entering, without the knowledge or permission of the Government, into negotiations with Lahore. The Raja had no choice but to obey, and surrendered Antiana to Ram Singh, on which he was allowed to retain the other two villages.*

The jagir grants of the Maharaja of 1826-1827.

The case of the jagirs Trans-Sutlej, which Sangat Singh had received during his visits to Lahore in 1826 and 1827, was also discussed. The annual revenue derived from these was estimated at Rs. 25,500; from some the owners had been ousted to make way

* Sir E. Colebrooke to Secretary to Government, 12th June 1838. Secretary to Government to Sir E. Colebrooke, 3rd July 1828. Sir E. Colebrooke to Captain Murray, 29th July 1828.

for the new master, and others had been already held by the Māharaja's officers on military tenure. The first was Rai Majara, consisting of twelve villages, worth Rs. 13,000, which was given to Sangat Singh at Dinanagar in 1826; Mahrampur, consisting of six villages, valued at Rs. 6,000; Musapur, one village, worth Rs. 4,500; and an assignment of Rs. 200 a year from a jagir, Trans-Satlej, held by Sirdar Dewa Singh, all given during Sangat Singh's visit to Lahore in 1827.*

The Government did not consider it necessary to enforce the relinquishment of these jagirs on this occasion, but laid down the fundamental principle that the circumstance of the alliance with the protected Chiefs required them to abstain from all connection or intercourse with foreign Princes and Governments, excepting such as should be of a purely complimentary nature, without the knowledge and sanction of the British authorities. The jagirs already granted were not directed to be returned, for the reason that it did not appear that the practice had ever been carried, or was likely to be carried, so far as to cause any practical inconvenience, but should such result, action would at once be taken to compel adherence to the principle which had been laid down.†

No sooner had this case been settled, than Raja Sangat Singh again opened negotiations with Lahore without the sanction of Government. The question related to

The principle laid down by the Government with reference to foreign grants.

The Raja again opens negotiations with Lahore.

* Captain C. Wade to Sir E. Colebrooke, 5th August 1828

† Secretary to Government to Sir E. Colebrooke, 18th July 1828. Sir E. Colebrooke to Government, 23rd and 24th June 1828. Captain Wade to Sir E. Colebrooke of 14th August, and Sir E. Colebrooke to Captain Wade of 19th August 1828.

six villages held in joint-proprietorship to the south of the Satlej, by the Maharaja and Sangat Singh, and which the latter desired to possess altogether, farming the Maharaja's share. There was, of course, no particular objection to this proposition in itself. The evils of divided authority were apparent, but it would have been more objectionable and liable to still greater abuse, if the Raja should farm the portion of the estate belonging to the Maharaja, and the latter should retain the Civil and Criminal jurisdiction, which he declined altogether to resign; and under these circumstances Sangat Singh was compelled to abandon the idea of farming the share held by Lahore.*

The Cis-Satlej Rajas all had agents at the Lahore Court. It was almost impossible to prevent the Cis-Satlej Chiefs carrying on independent negotiations with Lahore, when almost every one of them had agents and vakils at that Court. Those of the Nabha and Jhind Rajas were generally in attendance, while the Maharaja of Pattiala had a recognized agent residing at Lahore, and it was seriously contemplated to require all those parties who were accustomed to communicate directly with Maharaja Ranjit Singh to recall their agents altogether; but this idea was never carried into execution.

The mismanagement at Jhind increases, and the Raja deserts his capital. The mismanagement of Jhind continued to increase and it became perhaps the worst of the ill-managed States on the border. The Raja deserted his capital altogether as a residence, and went to

* Captain C. Wade to Sir E. Colebrooke, 17th February 1829. Sir E. Colebrooke to Captain Wade of 10th February, and to Captain Murray 27th March 1829. Captain Murray to Resident 7th February 1829.

live at a town some eighty miles distant, from which he was only recalled by the action of Captain Murray in sending a native official to carry on the Jhind administration. But no sooner was this officer recalled, than Sangat Singh again left his capital, and did not re-visit it for years. Remonstrances were vainly addressed to the Raja, and Diwan Singh, his principal adviser, was able to persuade him that matters could be so arranged as to satisfy the British authorities without any trouble on his own part. Outrages were committed on British subjects for which no redress could be obtained, and the demoralization of the State was extreme.* Nor were the persons of British officers themselves safe, and, in March 1833, Lieutenant Talbot, of the 8th Regiment Native Infantry, was attacked in Jhind territory by robbers, and subjected to personal outrage, as well as heavy pecuniary loss.† Compensation was indeed procured for the loss of property, but the Jhind authorities were unable to bring the offenders to the punishment they deserved.

The detention of British subjects in confinement without just cause by the Jhind authorities was, in 1834, reported to Government by the Governor General's Agent, and the particular grievances complained of were redressed; but the general inefficiency and oppression of the administration remained the same.‡ A short time afterwards, the Raja left on

*Raja Sangat Singh
visits Lahore in A.
D. 1834.*

* Mr. W. Fraser, Agent to Governor General, to Mr. Clerk 20th April 1832, and Mr. G. Clerk to Mr. Fraser dated 28th May 1832.

† Political Agent to Agent to Governor General, 22nd March 1833, and to Lieutenant Talbot of the same date.

‡ Agent Governor General to Mr. Clerk 17th July and 23rd August. Mr. Clerk to Agent Governor General 19th August 1834.

a visit to Lahore, to be present at the Dusehra festival, to which he had been specially invited by Ranjit Singh, with whom he seemed more anxious to remain on good terms than with the English Government, to whom this visit gave just cause of dissatisfaction, occurring so soon after the censure which had been passed on the Raja for his unauthorized negotiations with the Lahore Court. *

But an unexpected close was brought to Raja

*The sudden death
of Raja Sangat
Singh, A. D. 1834.*

Sangat Singh's extravagance and misgovernment. On the 2nd of November he was at Basia in perfect health, though intoxicated, as usual, before evening. The next morning he complained of feeling unwell, and, becoming rapidly worse, was advised by his followers to leave Basia and return to Sangrur. He at once set out in his palanquin, but died before he had passed the gate of Basia. †

At the time of his death, Sangat Singh was

*The evil results of
minorities in Native
States.*

only twenty-three years of age. Left, by the death of his father, the heir to a large principality while still a child, he had naturally, and, indeed, necessarily fallen into the hands of men who found their interest in debauching his mind and encouraging his lowest passions and worst extravagances. The history of long minorities in Native States is ever the same. The Ministers to whom the administration is confided, think only of themselves and their personal gain and advancement: honesty, loyalty, devotion, and truth are unknown; and the young Prince, who is one day to exercise independent power and to whom

* Mr. G. Clerk to Mr. W. Fraser 25th October 1834.

† Mr. G. Clerk to Mr. W. Fraser 6th November 1834.

a whole people must look for their only hope of justice, is abandoned to prostitutes, fiddlers and buffoons; till, at eighteen, with a body enfeebled by debauchery, and incapable of ever giving an heir to his State; with an intellect untrained and neglected, and a morality which would disgrace a brothel; he is useless for any purpose on the earth save to fill the pockets of his greedy favorites; to squander the wealth which his ancestors had laboriously amassed by their energy and courage; and to drag in the dirt a name which was once illustrious.

The natural faults of Sangat Singh's character were carefully encouraged by his ministers for their own ends. His father, Fatah Singh, had left a large quantity of treasure which had been still further increased by Sahib Kour, while Regent for her son. But it was all squandered by Sangat Singh in a thousand extravagances, more especially in his expeditions to Lahore; and for some time before his death, he found the money he required, and for which the legitimate revenue of his country would not suffice, in repeated extortions from all classes of his subjects; administrative duties were altogether neglected; life and property became insecure; while the most faithful servants of the State sought, in British territory, an asylum where they might be secure from the molestations and oppressions of the Raja and his minister Diwan Singh.*

Sangat Singh left no son. He had married three times: first, to Subhan Kour, daughter of Sirdar Ranjit Singh of Sháhabad; secondly, to Súkhan, daughter of

*The character of
Sangat Singh.*

*The extinction of
the direct line of
Jhind Chiefs.*

* Mr. G. Clerk to Mr. W. Fraser 2nd November 1832.

Sirdar Jiun Singh Dhaliwal, and, lastly, to Nand Kour, the daughter of Dúlla Singh of Tibba.

The nearest relations of the deceased Chief were three second cousins: Sarup Singh, Sukha Singh and Bhagwan Singh, the Sirdars of Badrukhan and Bazidpur, who had for long been separated from the Jhind branch of the family. The principality, according to Sikh custom, might justly have been treated as an escheat and have been annexed to the British dominions, for in Sikh States the right of collaterals to succeed did not obtain. But for some time no action was taken, either by Government or the collateral relations of the deceased Chief, and Mai Sahib Kour, the mother of Sangat Singh and Regent during his minority, carried on the administration.

The Cis-Satlaj Chiefs refuse to pay tribute in exchange for the right of succeeding to heirless estates.

Four years before the death of the Raja, the Political Agent had been directed by the Government to sound the principal Chiefs and ascertain if they were willing to pay tribute, on the understanding that should they not do so the Government would take advantage of all lapses as the only means of reimbursing itself for the expenses incurred in protecting the States between the Satlej and the Jamna.

The Political Agent accordingly held conversations with the Pattiala, Jhind, Nabha and Kythal representatives, pointing out to them that although the Chiefs had full liberty to adopt the suggestion or reject it, the consequences of non-payment of tribute might justly cause some apprehension as to the permanency of those estates to which there were no direct heirs. The examples of Jhind and Kythal

were, at the time, before the eyes of the Chiefs, who met at Dhodan, a village situated on their common frontiers, to discuss the matter. But no conclusion was arrived at. Two of the Chiefs thought it desirable to revise their relations with the British Government, but they were overruled by others, who, with true Sikh recklessness, preferred the easy terms which they enjoyed in the present, to a more secure future which involved some present sacrifice. The time very shortly came when they bitterly regretted not having accepted the terms offered them, when their power was materially reduced by the lapse of Kythal and the partial lapse of Jhind.

The intention of the British Government at first was undoubtedly to annex the whole State of Jhind. The Governor General, in January 1835, directed that as the descendants of Hamir Singh (the Nabha house), and Bhup Singh (the Bazidpur and Badrukhan house), had been separately provided for, they had no claims whatever to the Chiefship; whether the widows of the deceased Raja were entitled to a life interest was a point reserved for future consideration and report. In the meantime, Rani Sahib Kour was to continue to act as Regent, and, in case the claims set up by the widows were disallowed, the whole State would be sequestered, Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Lahore being directed to advance any claims he might desire for estates conferred by him on Raja Bhag Singh.*

* Mr. Fraser, Agent to Governor General, to Secretary to Government, dated 7th and 9th of November, and 5th December 1834, and 6th January 1835. Secretary to Government to Agent to Governor General, dated 21st January 1835.

The claims of the widows were conflicting and numerous. By ordinary Sikh law the widows of the deceased Chief would succeed to his estates, but there were many reasons which made such a succession, in the case of Jhind, objectionable in the extreme. The three widows of the late Chief, Ranis Subha Kour, Nand Kour and Sukhan were all very young, the eldest being only twenty-three years of age. This latter claimed to succeed to the whole estate, as being the senior, while the two younger asserted their claims to an equal partition. But the evils attending female rule were so great and notorious, that it was felt that the entire disorganization of the State would be the result were it now permitted. In smaller estates, widows of mature age had, on the death of their husbands, succeeded and carried on the administration with credit ; but the case was different in the case of a large principality like Jhind, which could only with the utmost danger be entrusted to the hands of three young women, little more than children, who would, without doubt, be entirely in the hands of designing favorites, who would use the authority of the Ranis for interested ends, while the honor of the family could not be safe with women whose passions or caprice would be subject to no practical restraint.

Besides the widows of the late Chief, two of his father's widows also advanced their claims to succession. Sahib Kour was the elder of these, and the mother of Raja Sangat Singh, during whose minority she had carried on the administration with considerable ability. Khem Kour was the junior widow, who

The claims of the widows.

The inconvenience of allowing the claim and the evils of female rule.

The widows of Raja Fatah Singh.

claimed an equal share with Sahib Kour, who, on her part, claimed the whole. Neither of these ladies had any legal right whatever.*

Rani Baghbari was the senior widow of Prince Partab Singh, who put in a claim as being the widow of Raja Bhag Singh's favorite son, in whose favor he had executed a will, assigning to him the Raj. But the claim of this lady was "quite invalid, as Partab Singh had never succeeded his father, and the widow could have no right to claim through him.†

The claim of Rani Baghbari, widow of Prince Partab Singh.

The Raja of Nabha advanced a claim as the descendant, with the Jhind house, from a common ancestor ; but this claim was at once disallowed, for his branch of the family had separated from that of Jhind previous to the founding of the principality by Raja Gajpat Singh.

That of the Raja of Nabha.

The Raja advanced in support of his claim, the decision of Government *in re* the Kakrāla estate, which had been adjudged to escheat to the Bhai of Kythal in preference to the other branches of the Bhaikian family.‡ He also urged the importance of transferring the charge of so important an estate as that of Jhind to a State possessing the authority and the means requisite to the due administration of such extensive territories, in preference to adopting, as their sovereign

The arguments in favor of his claim.

* Mr. G Clerk to Agent, Governor General, dated 20th February, 12th March, and 4th June 1835. Agent Governor General, to Mr. Clerk dated 2nd February and 14th May 1838.

† Agent Governor General to Secretary to Government, dated 7th July 1836, and Secretary to Government to Agent Governor General dated 27th July 1836.

‡ Secretary to Government to Agent Governor General, dated 4th April and 4th May 1823.

a less influential member of the family, and expressed his readiness to tender a *nazrāna* of four lakhs of rupees on the recognition of his title to inherit. But the claims of the Nabha Raja were too mythical to be substantiated by any payment of *nazrāna*. *

The only remaining claimants were the Chiefs of Bazidpur and Badrukhan, Sirdars Sarup Singh and Sukha Singh, and to explain their position, it is necessary to trace back a short way the history of this branch of the Jhind family.

The remaining claimants—the Chiefs of Bazidpur and Badrukhan.

Sirdar Bhup Singh was the third son of Raja Gajpat Singh of Jhind. He was a brave man, but not gifted with any particular intelligence, and lost more territory by his imbecility than his courage ever enabled him to gain. Raja Bhag Singh succeeded his father as Chief of Jhind, while the estates of Badrukhan and Bazidpur went to Bhup Singh. The latter had two sons, Karam Singh, by his first wife, the daughter of Arbel Singh of Kaleki; and Basawa Singh, by his second wife, the daughter of Gajju Singh of Ralla. Karam Singh was a man of bad character.

The founder of the Badrukan family, Sirdar Bhup Singh.

The rebellion of his son, Karam Singh.

He quarrelled with his father; and, taking up arms against him, wrested from him the estate of Badrukhan. The dispossessed Chief called to his assistance some of his Phulkian relations and recovered the estate, yet he did not punish his son by entirely disinheriting him, but made over to him, for his maintenance, the village of Muhammadpur. But, with this, Karam Singh was not content, and seized, by force, Bazidpur, which he was not able to retain,

* Political Agent to Agent Governor General, dated 24th June 1836.

and, crossing the Satlej, took service with Maharaja Ranjit Singh at Lahore.

On the death of Bhup Singh his territories were divided between his sons by the Phulkian Rajas, who assigned to the younger son, Basawa Singh, the largest and best estate of Badrukhan, and to the elder, Bazidpur, of far less value, as a punishment for his disobedience and rebellion. Sirdar Bhup Singh received his share in 1789, from which time he was considered as an independent Chief, altogether separate from the Jhind house; and, as such, he was always treated by the British Government. After his death, his sons Karam Singh and Basawa Singh were similarly treated as independent.*

Karm Singh, on his father's death, returned to Bazidpur, where he died in 1818, leaving one son, Sarup Singh, who claimed to succeed to the principality of Jhind.

If the right of collateral succession were admitted by Government, the claim of Sarup Singh appeared good. He was the son of Karam Singh, the elder of Bhup Singh's children, and as such had a preferential right to Sukha Singh, who was of the younger branch, the rule of primogeniture having been affirmed by Government to prevail in Jhind. †

* Political Agent, Mr. G. Clerk, to Agent Governor General, dated 6th November 1834 and 23rd March 1836. Secretary to Government to Agent Governor General, dated 6th January 1836.

† The question of the right of collaterals to succeed has been discussed, with special reference to the Jhind case, in a treatise on "*The Sikh Law of Inheritance to Chiefships*" by the author of the present work.

Sirdar Sukha Singh based his claim mainly on the alleged fact that Karam Singh had been disinherited and disowned by his father, and that, consequently, he was incompetent to succeed; and, secondly, on an alleged custom in the Jhind family by which the estate ordinarily passed to the second son. This latter objection was of little importance. It will be remembered that Raja Bhag Singh urged the same custom when he desired to obtain sanction for the will he had made in favor of his second son, but the Government declined to acknowledge it, nor had it any real existence. In the case of Sukha Singh, moreover, the argument was peculiarly unfortunate, for he had a younger brother, Bhagwan Singh, whose rights would naturally be stronger than his own.

The claim of Sirdar Sukha Singh of Badrukhan, and the objections advanced to Sirdar Sarup Singh's succession.

With regard to the disinheritation of Karam Singh, which his son Sarup Singh denied, there can be no doubt that Sirdar Bhup Singh viewed the unnatural and rebellious conduct of his son with extreme displeasure, and, during the latter years of his life, would never receive him. This feeling was shared by the other members of his family, for, on Karam Singh's death, at Bazidpur, on his return from the Punjab, none of the Phulkian Chiefs paid the usual visit of condolence, a ceremony never omitted among allied houses, while they all sent deputations and paid the highest respect to the family of his brother Sirdar Basawa Singh, on his death, a few years later. This feeling was shown still more strongly in the disposition of the territory after Bhup Singh's death, when the Rajas, believing that the British Government

The disinheritation of Karam Singh.

were anxious that it should be equally divided among the sons, endeavoured to give the partition that appearance, while, in reality, they allotted to the younger son a far more valuable share, that of Budrukhan, of which Karam Singh ever afterwards tried vainly to possess himself.

The funeral rites which, among Hindus and Sikhs alike, are considered of the utmost importance, were undoubtedly performed by Sirdar Basawa Singh alone, and on this point Sukha Singh laid great stress. Karam Singh, it is true, came to his father's funeral, but was excluded from all participation in the ceremonies. On the death of Raja Sangat Singh of Jhind, Sirdar Sukha Singh again performed the customary rites; but this was easily explained in a case of death so unexpected as that of the Raja's, and in a climate where cremation must take place so soon after death. Sirdar Sarup Singh being at a distance was unable to be present, and, apart from other right, the personal superintendence of the funeral ceremonies could not confer a title to inherit.* The claim of Sarup Singh was accordingly held to be good as against that of Sukha Singh, and his disinheritance not to have been complete, for, at all events, by the decree of the Phulkian Rajas, he was in possession of a large share of his father's territory.

* Petition of Sirdar Sarup Singh. Mr G. Clerk to Agent to Governor General, 15th June, 4th July, 9th December 1836. Petition of Sirdar Sukha Singh with Secretary to Government's letter 10th April 1839. Mr. G. Clerk to Agent Governor General 23rd October 1835. Petition of Sarup Singh with Secretary to Government's letter to Agent Governor General 6th January and 27th July 1836. Agent Governor General to Mr. Clerk 10th August 24th October, and 21st November 1836.

The right of Sirdar Sarup Singh of Bazidpur having been admitted by the British Government, the question arose, what principle should be held to govern the disposition of the several portions of the territory. This territory consisted of three distinct portions : that which was possessed by Raja Gajpat Singh, the founder of the family, through whom Sarup Singh claimed, and which comprised the districts of Jhind and Sufidon, the best portion of the territory ; secondly, the grants made by Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Lahore to the Jhind Chief previous to the treaty of 1809, including Ludhiana, Basia, Morinda, &c.; and, lastly, certain grants made by the Maharaja subsequent to that treaty.

Sarup Singh urged that his claim to succeed being admitted, he was entitled to inherit the whole territory, including ancient and modern acquisitions, both old and recent grants ; he urged this partly on the ground that, as regarded collateral succession, the Phulkian family was different in its position from others, and this was, no doubt, true, though not in the manner that Sarup Singh intended it.

The Rajas of Pattiala, Nabha and Jhind, and the Bhais of Kythal, were all *mal-guzars*, or tributaries, of the Dehli Emperors. They had joined with other Sikhs in predatory incursions into Dehli territory, and had forcibly taken possession of country which the Muhammadan rulers were too feeble to retain ; but they, nevertheless, remained nominally, and as far as payment of tribute was concerned, actually the subjects of the Emperors ;

The principle on which Jhind territory was to be disposed of.

Sarup Singh asserts his right to the whole territory.

The nature of the tenure of the Phulkian Chiefs in the days of the Empire.

and when this tribute fell into arrears, they were compelled, by force of arms, to make it good, in the same way as other contumacious *zamindárs*. They were not, and never had been independent, and the British Government, which had assumed towards them precisely the same position that the Dehli Government had held, was entitled to the benefit of all escheats in return for its protection and as a compensation for the non-payment of tribute which

Hindu law as applied to Sikh inheritance.

it did not demand. Sarup Singh pleaded Hindu law and the authority of the Shastras in support of his claim, but these laws applied to personal and private property alone. Besides the Sikhs had abandoned the Hindu faith, and with it the system of law which is the basis of that faith and which was inseparable from it. For a hundred and fifty years they had been governed, as far as Chiefships were concerned, by another code altogether, and it was as reasonable for them to refer to Manu and the Shastras as the source of legal authority, as it would have been for Muhammadans, who had embraced Sikhism, to appeal to the Shara. The Phulkian Chiefs, moreover, had, only a few years before the death of Raja Sangat Singh of Jhind, declined the Government proposal to surrender all right to escheats in favor of a fixed tribute.

They preferred a present to a future good, and would have had no just cause for complaint had the Government decided to treat the whole principality of Jhind as a legitimate escheat. They certainly had no just cause for complaint in the decision, which gave to Sirdar Sarup Singh the Chiefship, the title of Raja, and the possessions which had

The principality of Jhind was a legitimate escheat to the Government.

been held by the ancestor from whom he derived his claim, which constituted the most valuable portion of the territory, resuming all later grants and acquisitions, excepting those which had been conferred by the Government of Lahore subsequent to the treaty of 1809, which justly reverted to the original donor. Raja Bhag Singh had conquered no new territory, and everything which he obtained, beyond what he inherited from his father, was by direct grant from the Maharaja of Lahore, or the British Government.*

With reference to the Lahore grants, Maharaja Ranjit Singh asserted his right to succeed to all the estates which he had granted to Jhind both previous and subsequent to the treaty, but his right to the former the Government declined to allow. He, like Sarup Singh, fell back upon the Hindu Law of inheritance which he had never respected, but which, had it been in force, would have had no bearing on the question at issue. The Sikh Chiefs who claimed British protection were not, it is true, exempted necessarily from all dependence on the ruler of Lahore. Those who were at that time avowedly dependent upon Ranjit Singh in respect to any portion of the lands in their possession, did not necessarily find their relations with that Chief altered by the treaty, which only provided that the

* Mr. G. R. Clerk to Agent Governor General, 28th February, 23rd July 1835. Agent Governor General to Mr. Clerk, 30th December 1835. Secretary to Government of India to Agent Governor General 7th July, 9th September and 16th December 1835. Petitions of Sarup Singh to Governor General, 21st August, and 5th November 1835. Letter of Sarup Singh to Mr. Clerk 6th May 1835. Mr. Metcalfe to Captain Murray, 13th January 1826. Mr. Secretary Edmonstone to Sir D. Ochterlony 14th July 1810. Political Agent Ludiana to Political Agent Ambala, 15th and 25th of November 1834. Political Agent Ambala to Mr. Fraser, Agent Governor General, 29th December 1834.

Maharaja should not commit or suffer any encroachment on the possessions or rights of the chiefs in his vicinity of the territory conferred by him on the left bank of the Satlej. But grants, absolutely ceded without conditions, were held on a different tenure. The Maharaja could not claim, as lord paramount, any escheats south of the Satlej, and neither Hindu nor Sikh law warranted a donor resuming a gift on the death, without heir, of the donee.

The opinion of the Governor General as to Lahore grants. In the letter of the Governor General to the Maharaja of the 15th of June, he stated "the jagirs, which were held by the late Raja's family, before "the treaty of friendship was concluded between "yourself and the British Government, through "my agency, may, as observed by you, be considered with reference to that treaty, but in "respect to those given after the treaty, I agree "with you that you have a right to resume them."

Ambiguous language. The term jagir, used in these letters, was meant to signify such grants as were made by a superior to an inferior on conditions of dependence, and did not refer to unconditional grants. But the term was of a somewhat ambiguous signification, and since the Maharaja had understood, or pretended that he understood it to apply to grants of whatever character they might be, the Governor General was unwilling to dispute the point.

The grants previous to the treaty of 1803. In the Maharaja's first communication with the British Government, he had only asserted his claim to the grants made to the Raja of Jhind previous to the treaty of 1809, and it was only subsequently that he claimed all the estates granted both before and after

that treaty, even hinting that he was entitled to the entire territory possessed by the late Raja in virtue of the law of inheritance. To this last claim the Agent to the Governor General, in his letter to the Maharaja of the 1st February 1836, replied "It is hardly necessary for me to remind "Your Highness that though you may be distantly "allied to the late Chief, yet the succession to "principalities is not governed, either in law or "usage, by the ordinary rules of inheritance which "are applicable to the property of individuals." *

The correspondence regarding the Jhind succession was long continued, and the principle was at length laid down that the Maharaja of Lahore should resume the grants made subsequent to the treaty of 1809; that the new Raja should succeed alone to the acquisitions of Raja Gajput Singh; and that the remaining territory, including Ludhiana, should lapse to the British Government. This decision, which, as far as Sarup Singh and the Lahore Maharaja were concerned, was liberal in the extreme, was conveyed in the following resolution of the Governor General, dated 10th January 1837.†

"3. His Lordship in Council regrets to find "that it is almost impracticable to "lay down any general rules for "succession to property in the Sikh States. The

*Those subsequent
to that treaty to be
resumed by Lahore.*

*The final decision
of the Government
of India.*

* Secretary to Government of India to Agent Governor General, dated 8th July 1835, to Captain Wade, Political Agent, dated 1st February, 11th April and 4th July 1836. Agent Governor General to Maharaja Ranjit Singh, dated 8th July 1835. Mr. G. Clerk to Agent Governor General, dated 23rd July 1835.

Secretary Government of India to Government North Western Provinces, dated 4th July 1836.

† Agent Governor General to Mr. Clerk, Political Agent, dated 11th February 1837.

“information now furnished, so far from affording
“any new light on the subject, tends only to confirm
“the remark contained in Captain Murray’s paper
“on the rules and customs of the Sikhs to the effect
“that ‘the rules of succession to landed property
“‘in the Sikh States are arbitrary, and are variously
“‘modified in accordance to the usages, the interests
“‘and préjudices of different families, nor is it prac-
“‘ticable to reduce the anomalous system to a fixed
“‘and leading principle.’

“4. I am desired to observe that the Governor
“General in Council cannot concur in the opinion
“expressed by the Agent at Dehli in the 11th
“paragraph of his letter dated the 9th ultimo, that
“the claims of the widows in the case of the Jhind
“succession would appear to be strengthened by
“the facts recorded in the precedents cited. It is
“true that in nine of those cases where brothers
“succeeded, they married the widows of the last
“possessors, but it by no means follows that the
“succession was in virtue of such marriage. It by
“no means follows that the succession would not
“have taken place without such ceremony, still less
“that the widows could have succeeded to the pre-
“judice of the male heir, had no such ceremony
“been performed.

“5. When authorities are so conflicting, and
“the practice so unsettled as they appear to be in
“the tract of country referred to, His Lordship in
“Council is of opinion that it is proper and expe-
“dient that some general principle should, when
“practicable, be established by the British Govern-
“ment, and every consideration of usage, justice and
“policy seems to require that as regards the four
“principal Chiefships of Pattiala, Jhind, Kythal

“ and Nabha, the rule ought to be that the estate
 “ should devolve entire to the nearest male heir
 “ according to the Hindu Law, and to the exclusion
 “ of the females. With regard to all the other Sikh
 “ estates, the custom of the family must be ascer-
 “ tained in each instance by the best evidence pro-
 “ curable.

“ 6. Applying the above principle to the case
 “ of Jhind, Sarup Singh would unquestionably
 “ appear to have the best claim, but he can have no
 “ right to succeed to more than was possessed by
 “ his great-grandfather Gajpat Singh, through
 “ whom he derives his title.”

With this decision the new Raja was not con-
 tent, the other Phulkian Chiefs
 uniting with him in urging that it
 should be reconsidered, and the
 whole territory possessed by Raja Bhag Singh
 surrendered. But the Government declined to re-
 open the question, and informed the Raja that he
 had obtained everything that could be considered
 his due.* The disposition of the territory, the
 estates which were made over to Lahore, those
 given to Raja Sarup Singh, and those resumed by
 the British Government, are shown in the following
 table,† which was, however, modified later in one or
 two particulars :—

*The Jhind Raja
 endeavours to obtain
 a reconsideration of
 this order.*

* Sir C. Metcalfe to Mr. G. Clerk, Political Agent, dated 15th June 1837, and 2nd January 1838. Letter from Raja Sarup Singh to Sir C. Metcalfe, 25th November 1837, and Sir C. Metcalfe to Raja, 16th December 1837.

† This sketch, which is not altogether accurate, was drawn up in the office of Mr. Bushby, in February 1837.

STATEMENT OF THE JHIND POSSESSIONS.

To be restored to Sarup Singh.

Purgannahs.	No. of villages.	Estimated Revenue.		REMARKS.
Jhind proper, ...	140	1,20,000		The estimated revenue has been taken from Mr. Clerk's report of the 10th November 1835.
Sufidun, ...	25	42,000		
Assowndha, ...	26			
Salwan, ...	8			
Balawafi, ...	*108	20,000		This estimate is shewn as comprising only 13 villages in Mr. Clerk's report of the 29th December 1834.
Sungrai, ...	11	50,000		
Jichewal, ...	1	4,000		
Bhowki, ...	1			
Samout, ...	1			
Mhelun, ...	1			
TOTAL, ...	322	2,36,000		This is taken from the report of 29th December 1834.

To be restored to Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

Hulwara, ...	1	9,000		* Only one-fourth of these estates appears to have been granted by Maharaja Ranjit Singh agreeably to the translation of the Sunuds received with the Agent's letter of the 30th January 1837.
Talwandi, ...	1			
‡ Mudkee, ...	*			
‡ Gyaspurah, ...	*			
TOTAL, ...	...	9,000		

STATEMENT OF THE JIIND POSSESSIONS.

To be retained by the British Government.

Purgannahs.	No. of villages.	Estimated Revenue.		REMARKS.
Bassia, ...	16	16,000		If any of the places in this list are beyond the Sattlej, they are not of course to be retained by the British Government.
Ludhiana, ...	77	85,000		
Morinda, ...	36	44,000		
3 Mudki, ...	8	10,000		
Jandhiala, ...	9	11,000		This is a grant from Ranjit Singh made in 1807. It is not included in Mr. Clerk's report of the 10th November 1835.
TOTAL, ...	146	1,66,000		
Chuhai, ...	...	2,000		It does not appear how these estates were acquired and by whom. It is doubtful, therefore, whether they are to be retained or restored.
Dialpurah, ...	...	3,000		
Scattered villages, ...	...	*11,000		
TOTAL, ...	...	16,000		*These villages are not included in Mr. Clerk's report of the 10th November 1835; but are mentioned in the 'abstract' rendered on the 29th December 1834.

NOTE.—Nine villages have been ordered to be annexed to the Western Division of the Delhi territory viz., Bumboury, Sundlana, Kaprow, Kharrak, Panihari, Dhab, Bhadour, and Brana Khara Khar Khoda, and of course none of these are to be transferred to Raja Sarup Singh, as they are part of the British Dominions.

(Signed) G. A. BUSHBY,

Secretary.

In November 1837, the Court of Directors, to whom the final arrangements regarding the Jhind succession had been referred, ruled that all portions of the territory which had been acquired since Gajpat Singh's time, otherwise than by grant from Ranjit Singh or from the British Government or its predecessors, might be considered to belong justly to the new Raja. "If any portion" the despatch went on to say, "was acquired otherwise, as for instance by conquest, we cannot perceive on what grounds it can lapse to Government, such possessions, we should conceive, ought to pass to the next heir, Sarup Singh, as private property, under similar circumstances, would do; and the fact that territory may so pass is proved by numerous instances (produced by the agents of the four Phulkian Chiefs) where territory, not derived from the common ancestor, but acquired since his death, has passed to a collateral heir."* This ruling did not affect the decision which had placed Sarup Singh in possession of all the territories held by the extinct branch of the family, excepting such as were grants from other powers.†

The mother and widows of the late Chief were naturally indignant that a man whom they considered an interloper, of far inferior rank to the reigning Jhind house, should succeed to the Chiefship, and urged their claims with great pertinacity, though entirely without success. Ranis Subha.

* Despatch from the Court of Directors, No. 28 of 8th November 1837.

† Mr. Clerk, Political Agent, to Agent Governor General, 19th August 1838, Colonel Richmond 15th February 1844.

Kour and Sahib Kour, especially, in many petitions dwelt upon their grievances, and those of the other Ranis. They complained that they were treated with the greatest harshness and indignity ; that the privacy of the female apartments was invaded ; and the old and faithful servants of the family expelled and their possessions confiscated. They begged that a fresh enquiry might be made into their claims, when the intrigues which had been practiced by the allied Rajas, and the injustice which had been done to helpless women, unable from their position to protect themselves, would be brought to light.*

The complaints of the Ranis had little foundation, their real object being the revival of their claims to the territory, which were inadmissible, and the Raja was only assured that the Governor General would be glad to hear that these ladies had no ground for complaint.†

Of the territory acquired by the English as an escheat from Jhind, the district of Ludhiana was the most important, yielding a revenue of about Rs. 85,000, the remaining acquisitions together yielding a like amount.

The territory which the Government gained by escheat.

Raja Sarup Singh was formally installed in the presence of all the Phulkian Chiefs and the British Agent, in April 1837.‡ The long dispute regarding

The installation of Raja Sarup Singh, A. D. 1837.

* Two long petitions from Ranis Sahib Kour and Subha Kour of Jhind to Mr. Clerk, Political Agent, 23rd August 1837.

† Agent Governor General Dehli to Secretary to Government, dated 16th February 1838, and Secretary Government to Agent Governor General 3rd March 1838.

‡ Letter of Governor General to Raja, dated 19th June, 1837, and Lieutenant Governor N. W. P. to Raja, 31st July 1837.

the succession had not been without its evil effects on the more restless and turbulent of the Jhind people. The Balawali ilaqua rose in rebellion

The revolt of Balawali. early in 1836. The inhabitants of this place, situated near Batinda,

about one hundred miles to the west of Ambala, had always been notorious for their wild and independent character, and it was they, who, in 1815, when Prince Partab Singh had fled from Hansi, under the pretence of supporting his claims, rebelled against the Jhind Government and were only reduced to obedience when Sir David Ochterlony had marched against them with a strong force. Under Jhind they had done exactly as they pleased, and had paid no revenue whatever; but after the death of Raja Sangat Singh, the administration of Balawali came into the hands of the British Government, and the people were called upon to pay revenue. They had preferred what they seemed to consider a prescriptive right to a light assessment; and, taking all the circumstance of the case into consideration, it was thought advisable to make only the most moderate demand from them. But this did not satisfy them. They attacked Mr. Edgeworth, when passing through their country, possibly at the instigation of the Akalis who resorted to Gurusar, a sacred place of pilgrimage of the Sikhs in their immediate neighbourhood, and then rose in revolt, apparently believing that their wild and barren country would secure them from any attack by British troops, whom the authorities would be unwilling to move into camp at the commencement

The leaders of the rebellion. of the hot season. The leader of the insurrection was Gulab Singh, Gil, a resident of Balawali, formerly a Risaldar in the Jhind

army ; and a large number of Jhind troopers joined the insurgents. These soldiers should long before have been paid up and dismissed, and this course was urged upon Mai Sahib Kour, in September 1835, when Regent ; but she refused to take action in the matter, and the consequence was that the country was filled with discontented men, half starving and with no means of subsistence save violence and robbery. The insurrection was encouraged by Mai Sul Rai, widow of Prince Partab Singh, whose brother Dal Singh was one of its leaders ; and the inhabitants of the Bhai Chakian villages also lent their assistance. Great efforts were made by the insurgents to bring over to their side the Maharajkian Sikhs, as turbulent and independent as those of Balawali, but they were too cautious to join in what they considered a hope-

And its suppression. less undertaking. The insurrection was of short duration, for the rebels had no place of any strength in their possession. The fort of Balawali, which was of burnt brick laid in mud, had never been of much strength and it had not been repaired since the refractory zamindars were expelled from it in 1815. On the night of the 17th of March, the rebels surprised it and the Thannah, but a strong body of troops was sent against them and completely routed them. Dal Singh, Lukha Singh and Mai Sul Rai were taken prisoners Gulab Singh was killed in action, and Desu Singh, another of the leaders, stabbed himself when about to be apprehended. A number of prisoners were taken and sent to Ambala for trial, and a detachment was stationed at Balawali and retained there until tranquillity was completely restored.*

* Assistant Political Agent to Mr. Clerk, 19th March. Mr. Clerk to Agent Governor General Dehli, 20th March, 9th May, and 8th of July

Raja Sarup Singh did not abandon hope of obtaining the whole of the possessions which had been held by his predecessors, and several times addressed the Government without success. The escheat of Kythal, in March 1843, furnished him with another argument, for although the lapse of this territory was made on the principle which had regulated the Jhind succession, viz., that a collateral descendant should inherit so much only of the territory as was possessed by the ancestor from whom he derived his claim; yet, on a former occasion, the Kakrála estate, which was a portion of Kythal, had been allowed to pass collaterally without regard to any such considerations: and, accordingly, both Raja Sarup Singh and Maharaja Karam Singh of Pattiala tried their best to obtain a recognition of the full right of succession of the second cousin of the late Bhai of Kythal, believing that if this were once allowed, the right of Sarup Singh to the whole of the Jhind territory would be likewise admitted.* In this expectation, however, they were disappointed. The Government had made in the Jhind succession case quite as many concessions as they considered just, and on the same principle Kythal was resumed. The three Phulkian Rajas intrigued against this decision as long as was possible, and their sympathy and secret advice encouraged a rebellion at Kythal, which was only put down after some bloodshed. Yet, when the insurrection had fairly broken out, they gave every assistance in suppressing it, and

1836. Agent Governor General Dehli to Political Agent, 6th July 1837. Mr. Clerk to Sir C. Metcalfe, 10th November 1835.

* Maharaja Karam Singh to Agent Governor General, 29th September 1844. Raja Sarup Singh to Agent Governor General, 5th October 1844.

their troops captured and dispersed several parties of the rebels.*

Of the resumed Kythal territory, a pargannah, *Jhind obtains a portion of the Kythal territory, by exchange.* Mahala Gabda, was given to the Raja of Jhind, in exchange for a portion of Sufidon, the former consisting of 23 villages, worth Rs. 30,042 a year, and the latter consisting of 38 villages, worth Rs. 33,380. The difference was calculated on the eventual lapse of rent-free lands, the quality of soil and the depth of water, in which particulars Mahala was more fortunate than Sufidon. The village of Sufidon itself was excluded from the transfer, as it was a place of pilgrimage, and a favorite hunting seat of the Raja of Jhind, containing, moreover, the cenotaphs of the family. †

One of the villages which had come into the possession of the British Government, with the Jhind territory, was *The case of the village of Bains.* Bains, which Raja Bhag Singh had given to Jamadar Khushhal Singh, one of the most powerful Chiefs of Lahore. The village had been allowed to remain with the Jamadar by Raja Fatah Singh and was confirmed to him by Raja Sangat Singh. In July 1844 the Jamadar died, and the village was resumed. The grant was a special one to the Jamadar; the British Government were not bound to maintain it after his death; and Khushhal Singh had been so

* Mr. Clerk to Government of India, 30th March. Mr. Greathed, Secretary of Legation to Mr. Clerk, 27th March, and to Raja Sarup Singh, 24th March. Mr. Clerk to Government of India, 8th April. Mr. Greathed to Mr. Clerk, 29th March. Mr. Clerk to Government, 25th April. Maharaja of Pattiala to Mr. Clerk, 13th April 1843. Raja of Jhind to Governor General, 5th October 1844.

† Major H. Lawrence, Assistant Envoy, to Mr. Clerk, 11th May 1843, and 9th July 1843. Colonel Richmond to Government North Western Provinces, 1st August 1843.

much disliked by Raja Hira Singh, the Prime Minister of Lahore, that the greater portion of his jagirs were resumed on his death. But, for all this, the resumption was looked upon by the Lahore Government as an unfriendly act. At this time the Sikhs were in a very excited and suspicious frame of mind, and were particularly jealous of any interference with their presumed possessions. The case of the village of Mourah, in Nabha territory, which had been resumed from Lahore, was of a similar nature, and, in both instances, the Lahore Government considered the action of the English to be inspired by hostile intentions and to prove a desire to annex more of their territory when a convenient opportunity should offer itself.*

The attitude of the principal Cis-Satlaj Chiefs, immediately previous to the war of 1845, has been described in the Pattiala history.† The Jhind Raja was at this time a partisan of Pattiala and a bitter enemy of Raja Devindar Singh of Nabha, who treated him with studied contempt, affecting to consider him as of an inferior branch of the family, and refusing to allow any title of honor to be accorded him. The conduct of the Jhind Raja had strengthened this ill-feeling, for he had gained the support of Devindar Singh to his claim to the Jhind territory by promising to cede to him the district of Sangrur, a promise which he refused to keep after his claims had been acknowledged by the Government. It was thus only to be expected

* Agent Governor General to Secretary to Government, 31th July 1844 and 4th August 1844.

† *Vide ante* p. 199—203.

that, when war broke out, Pattiala and Jhind should be found on one side, and Nabha on the other.*

The Raja of Jhind was undoubtedly well disposed towards the English Government, from whom he has received the most generous treatment, and the recognition of a claim which could hardly be said to have any legal existence. But he was not altogether content. He had received so much that he thought himself entitled to receive all; and never ceased to hope that the course of events would make it possible for him to acquire the whole of the possessions held by former Chiefs. The general feeling of suspicion and dislike to the English which had been so carefully encouraged by the Lahore Government, and the unfortunate termination of the first Kabul expedition, which had shaken the belief of the natives of India in the fortune of the English, had not been without their effect upon Sarup Singh; and, in 1845, his conduct gave very serious dissatisfaction to the Lieutenant Governor of the North Western Provinces when travelling through the Jhind territory, and he also insulted Mr. Metcalfe of Dehli in such a manner as to call for a special communication on the subject from the Agent to the Governor General. †

Early in the month of November 1845, Sarup Singh was called upon to send 150 camels for the use of the Sirhind Division; but this, in spite of promises and repeated

* Agent Governor General to Secretary to Government 26th April 1845. Major H. Lawrence to Government of India 18th September 1846.

† Report of Mr. R. Cust to Major Mackeson, 7th March 1846.

orders, he neglected to do, and the result was great inconvenience to the troops when called upon to march. A fine of Rs. 10,000 was levied upon him by Major Broadfoot, which was realized in the following year. After this warning the conduct of the Raja was quite satisfactory. The exertions of his people in providing supplies and carriage were great; his contingent served with the British troops; and a detachment of it, which accompanied the Pattiala contingent to Ghumrana, under Captain Hay, was highly praised by that officer for its steady conduct and discipline.* Still later, a detachment accompanied the expedition to Kashmir, where Imamuddin Khan, the Governor, was in revolt against Maharaja Gulab Singh.

For these services the Governor General remitted the fine of Rs. 10,000, and sanctioned the grant of lands not exceeding in value Rs. 3,000 a year, as a mark of the satisfaction of Government at his conduct, and double allowances were granted to the troops who had served with the Kashmir force.†

After the war, excise and transit duties were abolished in the Jhind territory, the British Government engaging never to demand from the Raja or his successors tribute or revenue, or commutation in lieu of troops, or otherwise; and the Raja, on his part, engaging to aid the Government with all his troops in the

* Major Mackeson to Government, 27th July 1846. Murásilas from Agent Governor General dated 11th December 1845, 2nd February, 25th March, 1846, complimenting the Raja on the services and discipline of his men.

† Government of India 17th December 1846, to Agent Governor General, and Agent Governor General to Government 11th December 1846. Commissioner Cis-Satlaj to Raja dated 17th March 1849.

event of war, to maintain the Military roads and to suppress *Sati*, slave-dealing and infanticide in his territories. In consideration of the abolition of transit duties, a further grant of lands, worth Rs. 1,000 a year, was given to the Raja from the recent Lahore conquests.*

As to the other Phulkian Chiefs, a Sanad was granted after the war to the Raja of Jhind,† confirming to him his ancestral possessions, and containing assurances of renewed protection, so long as he might continue to serve the Government loyally.

* Letter from the Governor General to Raja Jhind dated 13th February 1847, and from Agent Governor General 16th February, informing the Raja that the example he had set in abolishing duties was an excellent one, and should be notified in the Government Gazette.

† *Sunud to the Rajah of Jhind, dated 22nd September 1847.*

The Right Honorable the Governor General having resolved to bestow certain lands on the Rajah of Jhind as a mark of consideration for his attachment and services to the British during the late war with the Lahore State, and the Rajah of Jhind 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 Sunud or Grant as follows, in order that the Maharajah and his successors after him, may, with perfect confidence, continue to exercise the same rights and authority in his possessions as heretofore.

The Maharajah's ancient hereditary estates, according to annexed Schedule, shall continue for ever in the possession of himself and his successors, with all Government rights thereto belonging of Police jurisdiction and collection of revenue as heretofore. The Maharajah's Chaharumians, feudatories, adherents and dependents, will continue bound in their adherence and obligations to the Rajah 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 Rajah 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 lands, and to testify their loyalty and obedience. The Maharajah has relinquished for himself and his successors for ever all right to levy excise and transit duties, which have been abolished throughout the Jhind territory. His Highness also binds himself and his successors to the suppression of *Suttee*, Infanticide, and slave-dealing within his territories. If unknown to the Maharajah's authorities, any persons should be guilty of these acts, the Maharajah's authorities will, on conviction, punish them with such severity as to deter others. The British Government will never demand from the

When the second Sikh war broke out, Raja Sarup Singh was anxious to prove his devotion to the Government and offered to lead his troops, in person, to Lahore, to join the English army. His services were declined, as they were not needed, but he was warmly thanked for the offer and the loyalty that had prompted it.*

After the annexation of the Punjab, the Raja of Jhind was one of the few Chiefs permitted to retain independent powers, with the exception of the right of capital punishment, which was conceded to him after the mutiny. He showed himself deserving of the privileges granted him, endeavouring to reform his administration after the English model, and to adopt the English system of Revenue and Police. Like most reforms, those instituted by the Raja were not altogether popular, especially among the wild tribes on the border. The peasants of Sujuârah, a village on

Revolt of border villages.

Maharaja and his successors and their dependents above named, 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 Maharajah's authority. Should an enemy approach from any quarter to this side of Beas or Sutlej, for the purpose of conquering this country, the Rajah 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 repair through his own officers, the Military roads through his territory for the passage of British troops from Umballa and other stations to Ferozepoor, 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.

* Commissioner Ambala to Raja, 5th June 1848. From Mr. F. Currie, Resident Lahore, to Raja, dated 31st July and 24th November 1848. Commissioner Ambala to Raja 1st September 1848.

the Rohtak boundary, rose in revolt, killing the Tehsildar who had been sent to measure the cultivated area of villages, with a view to making a settlement and to mark off the surplus waste lands into separate estates. They then called together the villagers of the neighbourhood, belonging to the same clan, and threw up entrenchments, arming and provisioning themselves for a siege.

The Raja marched against the insurgents with all his available force, but before attacking them, by the advice of the British Government, he issued a proclamation granting a free pardon to all concerned except the leaders of the revolt, if they would retire quietly to their homes. This proclamation, and the presence of a strong force, had the desired effect, the greater majority of the insurgents dispersed, their leaders, finding themselves deserted, fled, and the revolt was brought to an end without the loss of a single life. *

When the mutiny broke out in May 1857, Raja Sarup Singh was not behind the Maharaja of Pattiala in active loyalty. When news reached him at Sangrur of the revolt at Dehli, he at once collected all his troops, and by forced marches reached Karnal on the 18th, where he undertook the defence of the City and Cantonments.† His contingent did not exceed 800 men, but it was orderly and well disciplined, and

* Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States, Nos. 68 and 90, dated 28th March, 26th April 1854. Government Punjab to Government of India, Nos. 306 and 396, dated 22nd April, 20th May. To Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States, Nos. 346 and 442, dated 15th April, 13th May 1854.

† Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States to Raja, 14th May, Mr. Montgomery, Judicial Commissioner, dated 16th May. Chief Commissioner 17th May. Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States, dated 19th, 20th, 23rd and 26th May 1857.

its presence at Karnal gave confidence and secured that station from plunder. From Karnal the Raja sent a detachment to secure the bridge of boats at Bhagpat, twenty miles north of Delhi, enabling the Meerat force to cross the Jamna and join Sir H. Barnard's column. The town of Panipat, which was in a most excited state, was restored to order, and the Jhind force marched in advance of the British column, the post of honor, recovering Sunbhalka and Rai, securing the road, and collecting supplies for the army.

On the 7th of June, Raja Sarup Singh joined the British camp at Alipur, and the following day the battle of Badli Serai was fought, in which the Jhind troops behaved well and were complimented on the field by the Commander-in-Chief, who sent one of the captured guns to the Raja as a present. On the 19th of June the Jhind troops aided in repulsing the Nasirabad force which attacked the camp, and, on the 21st, were sent to Bhagpat to repair the bridge of boats which had been destroyed. In three days the bridge was completed, but had to be again destroyed as the mutineers attacked the Raja in overwhelming numbers, compelling him to retire. The Raja had now to return to his own territories where the rebels of the Hansi, Hissar and Rohtak districts had incited Jhind villages to revolt. The disturbance was soon quelled by the energy of Sarup Singh, who then employed himself in raising recruits and purchasing horses for the British force before Dehli; returning to the camp on the 9th of September. The Jhind force, under Commandant Khan Singh, took a prominent part in the assault of the City, scaling

*Raja Sarup Singh's
services in the field.*

*The assault of
Dehli.*

the walls side by side with English troops, and of their number several were killed and wounded.

Raja Sarup Singh was the only Chief who was present with the army before Dehli. In this he was more fortunate, though not more loyal or courageous, than the Maharaja of Pattiala and the Raja of Kapurthalla, both of whom desired to join the besieging force; but their presence was considered more useful elsewhere.

The administration of the district of Rohtak *Rohtak made over to the Raja temporarily.* was made over to the Raja of Jhind during the most disturbed period, and the headmen of villages and the zamindars, were directed to pay their revenue to him, his receipt being sufficient acknowledgment of payment.*

After the fall of Dehli, Sarup Singh returned *The services subsequent to the fall of Dehli.* to Sufidon. He left 25 men for service at the Larsowli Tehsil, and the same number at Dehli; sent a detachment of 200 men with General VanCortlandt to Hansi, and 110 men, under the command of Commandant Khan Singh, to Jhajjar, with Colonel R. Lawrence. Besides these, 250 Jhind troops remained stationed at Rohtak, and 50 at Gohana about 20 miles to the north,†

The services of Raja Sarup Singh were thus *The great value of these services.* of the most valuable kind. The Commissary General, Colonel Thom-

* Proclamation of Commissioner of Dehli dated 26th July 1857. Letter to Raja of same date.

† Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States to Government Punjab, dated 3rd March 1858. Government Punjab to Government of India, No. 202 dated 13th April 1858. Chief Commissioner to Raja, 1st June 1857. From Colonel Dunsford 29th July; from the Viceroy, dated 12th August; Commander-in-Chief, dated 27th September 1857; from the Viceroy dated 2nd June 1858.

son, C. B., * declared that but for the timely supplies furnished by him, the quantity of stores would have been, at first, insufficient for the troops. General Wilson, in his despatch of the 22nd of September, announcing the fall of Delhi, beings "prominently " to notice the admirable service performed by the " Jhind Raja and his troops, who are said not only " to have discharged harassing duties in the constant " escort of convoys, but to have aided the General " on more than one occasion in the field ; and, finally, " to have participated in the capture and assault " of Dehli." The Governor General, in his notification of the 5th November 1857, declared that the steady support of the Raja of Jhind called for the marked thanks of the Government.

But Raja Sarup Singh received rewards more substantial than mere thanks. It

His rewards.

was at first proposed to grant him an estate of about Rs. 50,000 a year near his own territory ; but, for the same reason as influenced the grant to Pattiala, it was subsequently thought desirable to assign him a portion of the confiscated Jhajjar territory. This was, however, situated a long way from Jhind, and would have been difficult for the Raja, whose means were limited, to control, and, finally, the Dadri territory, 575 square miles in extent, which had been

The confiscated territory of Dadri given to him.

confiscated on account of the rebellion of its Nawab, † was conferred upon him. This territory, situated about 20 miles due south of Jhind, and between the estates of Jhajjar and Loharu, was worth about Rs. 1,03,000 per

* No. 51 dated 17th June from Colonel Thomson, C. B.

† Chief Commissioner to Government of India, No. 123—12 B. dated 9th April 1858.

annum, though it was capable of great improvement, and at the present time brings in a much larger revenue. Thirteen villages in the Kuláran sub-district, conveniently situated near Sangrur, and valued at Rs. 13,813 per annum, were also ceded to the Raja in perpetuity. These villages were, Bhaiapura, Alam-pur, Balamgarh, Kularan, Dodura, Rotli, Rangloi, Dharamgarh, Buzurg, Saipura, Mani, Kakrálah and Shahpur. As a memorial of his

His salute and honorary title increased.

services before Dehli, the confiscated house of the rebel Shahzadah Mirza Abu Bakr, situated in that city, and valued at Rs. 6,000, was bestowed on the Raja; whose salute was raised to eleven guns; the number of trays of presents presented to him in Viceregal Durbars was increased from eleven to fifteen, and the honorary title "*Farzand dilband rásikh-ul-itikád Raja Saráp Singh Buhádar wáli Jhind*," was conferred upon him. *

Two villages were held by kinsmen of the Raja, *The villages of Badrukhan and Bumhámwadi, an isolated plot of land near Sangrur, nominally in the Thanesar district, but really 80 miles distant from Thanesar. The Raja had a great desire to become possessed of these villages, which were large and valuable, being worth Rs. 5,171 a year. This revenue was enjoyed by jagirdars, the Chiefs of Badrukhan, who were willing to come*

* Commissioner Cis-Satlej States, No. 65 dated 3rd March 1858 to Chief Commissioner. Statement of the Raja of Jhind dated 15th January 1858. Commissioner Cis-Satlej States to Chief Commissioner No. 89, dated 20th March. Commissioner Dehli to Chief Commissioner No. 84 dated 17th March. Chief Commissioner to Government of India No. 32 dated 13th April. Government of India to Chief Commissioner No. 1549 A. dated 2nd June 1858. Government of India to Government Punjab, No. 5260 dated 18th December 1859.

under Jhind jurisdiction, but there was some objection to the villages being transferred, the Raja having been already amply rewarded. The Badrukhan Sirdars were, however, allowed Police jurisdiction in their village, subject to British control.*

Two years later, Raja Sarup Singh proposed to purchase the interest of Government in these villages. This only consisted of the commutation tax of Rs. 643-14-0, which the Raja was willing to redeem at twenty or twenty-five years' purchase. The transfer, on payment of 20 years purchase, viz.: Rs. 12,877-8 0, was permitted by the Government as an exceptional case, and the Badrukhan Chiefs have since 1867 been feudatories of Jhind.†

There were 14 villages, Chang, Mithathal, Bamla, Naorangabad, Bhund, Ran-kouli, Aon, Bas, Ranela, Saifal, Khairari, Jawa, Bijna, and Changrour, belonging to the Dadri territory but scattered in the Rohtak and Jhajjar districts. The first nine of these had been administered by the District Officer of Rohtak, both as regarded the collection of revenue and criminal jurisdiction, for varying periods, one village having been so administered since 1858, and three since 1853. The criminal jurisdiction of the ninth village, Saifal, had, since 1845, been vested in the Deputy Commissioner of Rohtak, though the Nawab of Dadri had collected

* Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States Nos. 89 and 264 dated 20th March and 14th September 1858 to Chief Commissioner. Chief Commissioner to Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States dated 25th September 1858.

† Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States to Punjab Government No. 131 dated 23rd May 1861. Punjab Government to Government of India No. 311 dated 30th May. Government of India to Punjab Government No. 3265 dated 22nd June. Despatch of the Secretary of State, No. 122 dated 31st October 1861.

the revenue, and the four last villages, both in fiscal and criminal administration, had been subordinate to the Nawab.

For the convenience of both States, and to preserve a satisfactory boundary, a transfer was proposed of these villages to the British Government, in exchange for others of equal value in the Budhwara and Kanoudh Pargannahs of the Jhajjar district. The revenue of the Dadri villages, amounted to Rs. 10,641, and the transferred villages made over to the Raja, viz.: Churkli, Nanda, Tiwali, Sís-wala, Pachobah Kalán, Pachobah Khurd and Todhi, were worth Rs. 10,850 a year. The Raja was perfectly satisfied with the transfer, which was approved by the Government of India and carried into effect.*

In 1861, several villages of the Jhind territory

Exchange of Government lands for outlying Jhind lands.

were exchanged for others of equal value belonging to the Government. There was a district belonging to the Raja, almost surrounded by lands of Hissar, consisting of 12 villages, Banbhori, Bhadakhera, Byanakhera, Panihári, Dhad, Sursanah, Sohnah, Jandlanah, Khurk Punia, Gyanpur, Kapron and Khurkuri, which were inconvenient to manage and the exchange of which for others nearer his principal town of Sangrur was much desired by Sarup Singh, while their transfer would render the boundary

* Secretary to Government Punjab, No. 1016 dated 28th December 1858, and No. 193, dated 17th February 1859 to Commissioner Cis-Satléj States. Commissioner Hissar to Government Punjab, Nos. 102, 103, and 132 dated 29th June and 13th August 1859.

Government Punjab to Commissioner Hissar, No. 895 and 975 dated 8th and 22nd August.

Government Punjab to Government of India, No. 601 dated 30th August. Government of India to Government Punjab, No. 5728, dated 19th September 1859.

line more regular. The Government consented, in exchange for these, assessed at Rs. 8,366, to give twelve villages of the Kularan pargannah, part of which had been already granted to Jhind after the mutiny. The villages assigned to Jhind from the autumn harvest of 1861, were Nagri, Chupki, Mundawala, Lotki, Dhunela, Osmanpur, Siparheri, Murori, Murdanheri, Murlanwala and Nunhera, valued at Rs. 8,345 a year.*

The Raja of Jhind joined with the Maharaja of Pattiala and the Raja of Nabha *The Paper of Requests.* in submitting to Government a paper of requests for regulating the succession to their Chiefships, and soliciting certain favors, a detailed account of which, with the orders of Government thereon, has already been given.†

He also received a new Sanad‡ granting him *The Sanad of May 1860.* full sovereignty* in his new and acquired possessions, embodying the additional privileges which had been conceded

* Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States, No. 57 dated 7th March 1861. Government Punjab to Government of India No. 172 dated 14th March. Government of India to Government Punjab, No. 1454, dated 28th March 1861.

† *Vide ante*, pp. 244—253.

‡ *Translation of the Sanad given to the Raja of Jhind by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General, dated Simla, 5th May 1860.*

Since the establishment of British authority in India, the present Raja of Jhind 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 the present Ruler of Jhind has surpassed the former achievements of his race, by the constancy and courage he evinced during the mutiny of 1857-58. In memory of this abswerving and conspicuous loyalty, His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India, has conferred additional honors and territory upon the Raja for himself and his heirs for ever, and has graciously acceded to the Raja's desire to receive a Sanad or Grant under the hand and seal of the Viceroy, guaranteeing to the Raja the free and unreserved possession of his ancient territories, as well as of those tracts bestowed on the Raja and his predecessors at various times by the British Government.

to him, and the arrangements which had been made for the administration of the State in the event of a minority or the death of the Chief without having appointed a successor, and to this Sanad a schedule of the territory belonging to him was annexed.

A special Sanad was moreover granted, confirming, in almost the same terms
The Sanad of adoption. used in the Sanad granted to Nabha
tion.

Clause 1.—The Raja and his heirs for ever will exercise full sovereignty over his ancestral and acquired dominions according to the annexed list. All the rights, privileges, and prerogatives which the Raja 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 2.—Except as provided in Clause 3, the British Government will never demand from the Raja, or any of his successors, or from any of his feudatories, relations, or dependants, any tribute on account of revenue, service, or any other plea.

Clause 3.—The British Government cordially desires to see the noble house of Jhind perpetuated, and in this spirit, confers upon the Raja and his heirs for ever, whenever male issue may fail, the right of adopting a successor from among the descendants of the Phulkeean family. If however, at any time any Raja of Jhind should die without male issue and without adopting a successor, it will still be open to the Maharaja of Patiala and the Raja of Nabha, in concert with the Commissioner or Political Agent of the British Government, to select a successor from among the Phulkeean family; but in that case a nuzzurana or fine, equal to one-third of the gross annual revenue of the Jhind State, shall be paid to the British Government.

Clause 4.—In 1847 the British Government empowered the Raja to inflict capital punishment, after reference to the Commissioner. It now removes the restriction imposed by this reference, and invests the Raja with absolute power of life and death over his own subjects. With regard to British subjects committing crime, and apprehended in his territory, the Raja will be guided by the rules contained in the despatch of the Honourable the Court of Directors to the Madras Government, No. 3 dated 1st June 1836. The Rajah will exert himself to execute justice, and to promote the happiness and welfare of his people. He engages to prohibit Suttee, 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 5.—The Rajah will never fail in his loyalty and devotion to the sovereign of Great Britain.

Clause 6.—If any force hostile to the British Government should appear in the neighbourhood, the Rajah 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 the requisitions he may receive.

and Pattiala, the right of adoption in case of failure of male heirs.*

The circumstances under which a portion of the Jhajjar district was assigned to Raja Sarup Singh has been re-

Part of Jhajjar transferred to Jhind.

Clause 7. The British Government will not receive any complaints from any of the subjects of the Raja, whether Maafedars, Jagheerdars, relatives, dependents, servants, or other classes.

Clause 8. The British Government will respect the household and family arrangements of the Raja, and abstain from any interference therein.

Clause 9. The Rajah, as heretofore, will 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 Railroads and Imperial lines of road.

Clause 10. The Rajah 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 Raja and his house.

SCHEDULE OF THE TERRITORIES BELONGING TO THE RAJA OF JHIND.

Ancestral possessions.

1. Purgunnah Jhind and the villages surnamed the Punjgraon Circle.
2. Purgunnah Sufidun.
3. Purgunnah Sujwanah.
4. Purgunnah Balewallee.
5. Purgunnah Sungrur, with the villages Mohlan and Ghabdan.
6. Purgunnah Bazeedpoor, with Mouzah Laloda.
7. A share in the village of Bhai Rupa.

Acquired possessions.

Mouzah Dolumwalla (now in Purgunnah Jhind).

Mouzah Borada
Mouzah Busseinee
Mouzah Khatla

{ Now in Purgunnah Sufidun. Granted by sunud, dated 22nd September 1847, signed by Viscount Hardinge, Governor General.

Purgunnah Dadree

14 villages of Purgunnah Koolaram.

{ By letter from Secretary to Government of India, dated 2nd June 1858, No. 1549 A.

Jagheer Feudatories.

Dyalpoora Sikhs.

* *To Farzand dilband pāsikh-ul-itakād Dowlat-i-Englishia Raja Sarup Singh Buhâdur of Jhind, 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 House should be continued, I hereby, in fulfilment of this desire, repeat to you the assurance which I communicated to you in the Sunud under my signature, dated 5th May 1860, that, on failure of natural heirs, the perpetuation of your

lated.* Nineteen villages, adjoining his new estate of Dadri, were assigned to him on payment of a *Nazarana* of Rs. 4,20,000, and for these a separate *Sanad* was granted.†

When the Dadri district was made over to the Raja of Jhind, the villages were overlooked which were not at the time of its confiscation under the direct control of the Nawab. From his not being able to manage them, as well as from many of them having been mixed up with Rohtak villages, their administration, in Police and Revenue matters, had been conducted by the British authorities, while the revenue was

Exchange of Dadri villages for others in Hissar.

family by your adoption of an heir from the Phoolkeean house will be in accordance with the wishes of the paramount power, and will be gladly recognized and confirmed; and that if at any time any Raja of Jhind should die without male issue, and without adopting a successor, it will still be open to the Maharajah of Patiala and the Rajah of Nabha, in concert with the Commissioner or Political Agent of the British Government, to select a successor from among the Phoolkeean family; but in that case a Nuzzuranah or fine, equal to one-third of the gross annual revenue of the Jheend 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 obligation to the British Government.

Ante p. 247—258.

† *Translation of a Sanad or grant of portion of the Purgunnah of Boodwanah, District Jhujjur, bestowed on the Rajah of Jheend by His Excellency Earl Canning, G. O. B., Viceroy and Governor General of India.*

WHEREAS the devotion and loyalty of the Rajah of Jheend 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 these qualities, has been pleased to bestow upon the Raja portions of Purgunnah Boodwanah, of the district of Jhujjur, containing nineteen villages, according to vernacular list annexed, assessed at a yearly revenue of (Eighteen thousand five hundred and twenty Rupees) 18,520 Rupees, and, to accept from the Rajah a "Nuzzuranah" of (Rupees 3,70,004,) three lakhs seventy thousand and four. It is accordingly ordained as follows:—

ARTICLE I.—The territory above mentioned is conferred upon the Rajah of Jheend and his heirs for ever.

paid to the Nawab. The Raja requested that these villages might be made over to him or villages of equal value elsewhere. The Government held that although the Raja had obtained land of the full estimated value, yet that it was intended that the Dadri territory should be made over to him in its integrity, without any exact calculation of the value; and that the villages in question had consequently formed part of the grant. But considerations of convenience with reference to District administrative arrangements, made it advisable to give the Raja villages of equal value in Hissar, and this was accordingly arranged to his complete satisfaction.*

The only question of importance regarding the new territory made over to the Cis-Satlej Chiefs, had reference to their right to resume rent-free grants, or *maafis*, at their pleasure. The question was first raised by the attachment of the jagir of one Hakím Kásim Ali Khan of Jhajjar, situated in the pargannah of Dadri. The Raja of Jhind considered this man a rebel, but several high officials of Government thought this opinion mistaken, and that the Hakím was deserving of protection for services which he had rendered. He owned

The right of the Chiefs to resume rent-free grants in their newly acquired territory.

ARTICLE 2.—The Rajah and his successors will exercise the same rights, privileges, and prerogatives in this newly acquired territory as he at present enjoys in his ancestral possessions, according to the terms of the Sunud, dated 5th May 1860, and signed by his Excellency Earl Canning, Viceroy and Governor General of India.

ARTICLE 3.—The Rajah and his successors will continue to maintain the same loyal relations with the British Government, and to fulfil the same obligations with regard to this newly acquired territory, as were imposed on him by the terms of the Sunud, dated 5th May 1860, relating to the Rajahs ancestral possessions.

Letter of the Viceroy to the Rajah, dated 5th January 1861.

* Commissioner Cis-Satlej States, Nos. 166 and 50, dated 14th December 1858 and 10th February 1859. Government Punjab to Commissioner Cis-Satlej States, Nos. 1016 dated 28th December 1858 and 193, dated 17th February 1859.

eleven villages, which were asserted to have been in possession of his family for five generations, long anterior to the advent of the Muhammadan Chiefs now dispossessed by the Sikhs.

In favor of the rights of jagirdars and *maqfi* holders, it could be urged that, in the original grants to the Muhammadan rulers of the Jhajjar territory, dated 4th May 1806, the rights of all rent-free tenures were especially exempted from the control of the Chiefs.* Unless therefore any special rights had been granted to the Sikh Rajas with the new territory, they could only be presumed to possess the same rights and powers as were enjoyed by their Muhammadan predecessors. There was a precedent for this view in the case of the Raja of Faridkot, to whom certain portions of the old Lahore territory in the Firozpur district were made over; the rights of all holders of rent-free lands being reserved, not only jagirdars holding villages but the holders of mere patches of land. The rights all were investigated, and all were taken under British protections.

On the other side of the question was the independence which the Cis-Satlej Rajas enjoyed in hereditary territory, and the right they certainly possessed to resume rent-free grants. When the new territory was granted to them no hint was given that their powers would be more limited in the new territory than in the old, and the presumption was not that the Chiefs merely succeeded to the rights

The argument in favor of the full right of the Rajas to resume.

* "There is assigned to you the undermentioned lands as a *jaidad* for a *Risaleh*, and as a *jagir* for your support. The undermentioned lands, together with the land revenue and customs, with an exception to such gardens and *ayma jaghiri punarth* and rent-free lands as have always been assigned."

formerly possessed by the Muhammadan Nawabs, who were unable to resume, but that, as the grants were made without reservation or limitation of power, they had full right to resume at their pleasure. Besides arguments drawn from the manner of the grant, there was the extreme impolicy of interference. Were all the rent-free holdings to be taken under British protection, were appeals from every petty jagirdar to lie to British officers, such an amount of irritation would be felt, and justly felt, by the Rajas, as would go far to neutralize the feelings of gratitude and loyalty which the grants made to them had created. In addition to this, there was no reason for interference : native Governments were far more liberal in the matter of rent-free grants than the British Government had ever been, and there was no reason to believe that the grantees would suffer by being left under their control.

Which is admitted as valid by the Government. This view of the case was taken by Government and full powers were allowed to the Chiefs in their newly acquired territory, and the British authorities were directed to exercise no interference, except in extreme cases and then only by influence and advice.*

The Secretary of State maintains the rights of the freeholders to a perpetual tenure. The Home Government took a somewhat different view of the case from the Government of India, holding that as the original grants to the Muhammadan Nawabs had contained an express stipulation

* Commissioner Hissar to Government No. 79 dated 14th May No. 129 and 145, 8th and 31st August 1859.

Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States to Government No. 142 dated, 23rd May, Government Punjab to Government of India No. 562, dated, 18th August. Government of India to Government Punjab No. 5590 dated 14th September 1859.

securing the holders of rent-free lands and villages from arbitrary interference, the forfeiture of the territory and its grants to Sikh Chiefs made no difference in the position of freeholders, who had the same claim to have their tenures secured from arbitrary resumption that was recognized when the jagirs were granted in 1803—1805. The transfer to the Sikh Chiefs made this difference only, that they were not required to proceed for the resumption of invalid tenures in the ordinary Courts, but should, before dispossessing any of the guaranteed freeholders, satisfy the Political Officer of the grounds of their action.*

The Phulkian Chiefs were much disconcerted by this decision, and the Maharaja of Pattiala and the Rajas of Jhind and Nabha jointly protested against the ruling and requested its reconsideration.

The circumstances of the case had much changed since the order of the 14th September 1859 had been passed. The Chiefs had objected to the interference, limited to influence and advice, of the Political Officer, and Lord Canning, in the Sanads granted on the 5th of May 1860, had yielded the point, and had entered a clause to the effect that "the British Government will not receive any complaints from any of the subjects of the Maharaja (or Raja) whether maafidars, jagirdars, relatives, dependants, servants or other classes." Moreover, in the Sanads granted on the 4th of

* Despatch, of the Secretary of State, No. 28 dated 15th November 1861. Government of India to Government Punjab, No. 24 dated 11th January 1862. Government Punjab to Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States No. 112 dated 15th February 1862.

January 1861, conferring the new Jhajjar territory, it was expressly provided that the Chiefs and their successors should exercise the same rights, privileges, and prerogatives in their newly acquired possessions as they enjoyed in their ancestral possessions, according to the Sanad dated 5th May 1860.

The Chiefs were thus naturally disturbed when a new restriction was proposed to be inserted in their Sanads. They knew but of one authority, the Viceroy, who, in the name of Her Majesty, had granted these documents, and they considered that if one condition could be set aside, all might at any time be cancelled. The Sanad of the 5th of May 1860 was looked upon by the Chiefs as inviolable; their record of rights, duties and privileges, and they were naturally anxious when any order of Government seemed to question its sacred character.

There can be no doubt that in a certain way
The good faith of the Government had been generally pledged to the freeholders. the good faith of the British Government had been pledged to the minor jagirdars. The guarantee given them in 1803 had been general, but it had been acted upon till 1858, and there was no reason that their position under the Sikh Rajas should be different than under the Muhammadan Nawabs, except that in the one case it had been guaranteed by express stipulation, and in the other that no stipulation had been recorded. In any case, there was good reason to protect the freeholders, in 1803, from the Muhammadan Chiefs of Jhajjar and Dadri, mere adventurers, who came over to Lord Lake during the Mahratta war and were rewarded for their services with grants of land. There was little or no reason to protect them, in

1860, from the Cis-Satlaj Rajas, Princes of position and respectability, whose system of administration had been brought into close conformity with that of the British Government and to whom the protectorate over the freeholders might reasonably be ceded.*

The Secretary of State, after a reconsideration of the case and acknowledging the great importance of maintaining the validity and integrity of Vice-regal Sanads, virtually cancelled the order of the 15th November 1861, and the terms of the Sanads of 1860 were upheld in their integrity, though it was considered matter for regret that in the grants to the several Rajas provision had not been made for the maintenance of existing rights in the land.†‡

When Lord Canning visited the Punjab, in 1860, the question of the order of precedence of Jhind and Nabha in Viceregal Durbars, which had long been a subject of dispute, required decision. At the Durbar held by Lord Dalhousie at Pinjor, in 1851, the order of

* Letter from Maharaja of Pattiala and Rajas of Jhind and Nabha, dated 5th June 1862. Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States Nos. 178 and 180, dated 9th and 10th June 1862. Government Punjab to Government of India No. 430 dated 31st July. Government of India No. 910, dated 30th September 1863 and 174 dated 13th April 1863.

† Despatch of Secretary of State, No. 9, dated 9th February 1863.

‡ Kásim Ali Khan obtained no redress. He had indeed suffered no injury. He had made extravagant claims on the peasants of his jagir, who had bitterly complained and requested the Raja to fix cash payments, which he had done in a just and satisfactory manner. As to the loyalty of the Hakim, of which he loudly boasted, he was known to have been one of the principal advisers of the rebel Nawab of Jhajjar, and remained with him to the last, till after the fall of Delhi, when the Chief was executed for his treason. Government Punjab to Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States, dated 25th February 1861. Government Punjab No. 539, dated 27th September. Government of India, No. 539 dated 7th October 1864.

the Chiefs was determined by Mr. Edmonstone, the then Commissioner of the Cis-Satlaj States: 1 Pattiala, 2 Nabha, 3 Jhind, and this decision was a source of great annoyance to the Raja of the last named State and was hardly supported by former precedent.*

With reference to the position of the Chiefs, *The relative claims of the two Chiefs,* decision was by no means easy. Both were descended from the same ancestor, were addressed by the same formula, entitled to the same khillat and the same salute, and presented *nazrs* of equal value.

Nabha was the representative of the elder branch, and the office of *Chaudhri* had been hereditary in his branch of the family.

In 1860, Jhind possessed an income of Rs. 3,25,000, and Nabha, Rs. 3,75,000; and, previous to the first Sikh war, the latter had probably a fair claim to take precedence. But in 1845-46, the Raja of Jhind furnished supplies and showed loyalty

* The earliest record of Viceregal Durbars is of 1828. In that year the Cis-Satlaj Chiefs had an interview with the Governor General at Manimajra. Pattiala was received first: then the three next Chiefs were received together, named in the following order—

1. Bhai Udey Singh of Kythal;
2. Raja Sangat Singh of Jhind;
3. Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha.

In 1839, the Chiefs were received at different places by the Governor General: the Raja of Jhind first, at Dehli; the Maharaja of Pattiala at Burnala; and the Raja of Nabha at Dhanowla, in their respective territories. In 1843, at Sunām, in Pattiala territory, the Maharaja was first received, then the Raja of Jhind, and, thirdly, Nabha, who was late for the interview.

In 1846, after the battle of Subraon, only the Pattiala and Jhind Chiefs were received; the Raja of Nabha being at the time under the displeasure of Government. Lastly came the Durbar at Pinjor in 1851, when Jhind was received after Nabha, though no reasons were given for the order laid down. The precedents appear thus to be of doubtful value, and hardly to support the claim of either Chief so indisputably as to render a decision founded upon them easy.

to Government, and was rewarded with a grant of villages worth Rs. 4,000 or Rs. 5,000 a year. The Raja of Nabha behaved badly, was deposed, and one-fourth of his territory was confiscated.

In 1857, both Chiefs did equally well, but the Raja of Jhind had greater opportunities of distinction, and served in person at the siege of Dehli. There had, besides, been no break in his loyalty. He was the first of the Cis-Satlej Chiefs to join Lord Lake in 1804, some time before the Nabha Chief made any advances towards the English, and he had been ever since a faithful ally. The Government

The decision in favor of Jhind.

justly took these good services into consideration and assigned to the Raja of Jhind precedence in the Durbar of 1860. It was, nevertheless, distinctly stated, that the order was only given as it was necessary for one Chief or the other to take precedence. The two Rajas were considered as precisely equal in dignity, and were regarded by Government with equal favor.*

This decision gave considerable dissatisfaction to the Raja of Nabha, and he
The Raja of Nabha remonstrates. remonstrated against it. But the Government saw no reason to alter the conclusions at which they had arrived. The Raja then desired to submit a memorial to the Secretary of State, paying for a reconsideration of the case; but, while arrangements were being made with this object, the Raja died, and though his successor desired

* Commissioner Cis-Satlej States to Government, No. 2, dated 6th January 1860. Government Punjab to Government of India, No. 29 dated 10th January. Supreme Government to Government Punjab, No. 114 dated 16th January.

to continue the agitation, nothing further was done.*

On the 26th January 1864, Raja Sarup Singh died of severe dysentery, from which he had been suffering for several months. He was at the time residing at his country seat of Bazidpur, near Pattiala, and had been attended occasionally by an English Doctor. But the Raja had unfortunately a superstitious belief

*The death of Raja
Sarup Singh, A. D.
1864.*

* Commissioner Cis-Satlej States No. 102 dated 23rd April 1862. Government of India to Government Punjab, Nos. 38 and 440 and 512, dated 30th January, 10th and 27th May 1862. Government of India No. 631, dated 21st September 1863. Commissioner Cis-Satlej States to Government, No. 239 dated 6th October 1863 and 409 dated 30th November 1865. Government to Commissioner Cis-Satlej States, No. 1100 dated 15th December 1865.

The question of precedence is one which is felt by native gentlemen to be of the highest importance. But several questions are still in doubt as to the relative positions of the Chiefs, principally arising from the fact that they have never all met in one Durbar, while contradictory rulings have been occasionally given. It may be interesting to give what is believed to be a correct list of the order of the Chiefs of the Punjab, showing the population of their territory, their revenue, and the salute to which they are entitled:—

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Revenue.</i>	<i>Population.</i>	<i>Salute.</i>
1. Maharaja of Kashmir, ...	64,00,000	15,00,000	19 guns.
2. Ditto Pattiala, ...	40,00,000	17,00,000	17 "
3. Nawab of Bahawalpur, ...	14,43,174	3,64,582	17 "
4. Raja of Jhind, ...	7,00,000	3,11,000	11 "
5. Ditto Nabha, ...	7,00,000	2,76,000	11 "
6. Ditto Kapurthalla, ...	5,77,000	2,12,721	11 "
7. Ditto Mandi, ...	3,00,000	1,39,259	11 "
8. Ditto Sirmur (Nahan,) ...	1,00,000	75,595	11 "
9. Ditto Bilaspur (Kahlur,) ...	70,000	66,848	11 "
10. Ditto Bussahir, ...	70,000	45,025	"
11. Ditto Hindur (Nalagarh,) ...	60,000	49,678	"
12. Ditto Keonthal, ...	30,000	66,848	"
13. Nawab of Malerkotla, ...	2,00,000	46,200	9 "
14. Raja of Faridkot, ...	75,000	51,000	11 "
15. Ditto Chamba, ...	1,64,000	1,20,000	11 "
16. Ditto Suket, ...	80,000	44,552	"
17. Sirdar of Kalsia, ...	1,30,000	62,000	"
18. Nawab of Patodi, ...	92,000	6,600	"
19. Ditto Lohard, ...	60,000	18,000	"
20. Ditto Dujana, ...	10,000	6,390	"
21. Rana of Bhagat, ...	35,000	22,350	"
22. Ditto Jubal, ...	18,000	17,262	"
23. Ditto Kumharsen, ...	7,000	7,829	"
24. Ditto Bhajji, ...	15,000	9,001	"

in the efficacy of the prescriptions of any wandering mendicant, one of whom is said to have administered to him a decoction of copper coin, which nearly caused his death at the time and in all probability shortened his life.

Sarup Singh was in his fifty-first year when he died, and it was both strange

His character. and unfortunate that the three great Chiefships of Pattiala, Nabha, and Jhind should have become vacant almost simultaneously, and the three

25.	Rana of Mailog,	...	...	8,000	7,358
26.	Ditto Balsan,	...	...	6,000	4,892
27.	Ditto Dhámi,	...	...	4,000	2,853
28.	Ditto Kuthár,	...	...	5,000	3,990
29.	Rai of Kunbar,	...	...	3,000	1,904
30.	Rana of Mangal,	...	...	1,000	917
31.	Thakar of Bija,	...	...	2,000	981
32.	Rana of Bhagát,	...	...	2,000	
33.	Ditto Darkuti,	...	...	500	612
34.	Thakar of Taroch,	...	...	2,500	3,082

This list cannot be considered conclusive as regards the relative position of the group 8—20, and group 21—34. The latter are the minor Hill Chiefs of Simla, and have never met the former in Durbar. Should they meet, it is not improbable that Bhagal and Jubal might receive a step in rank.

The position of Pattiala and Bahawalpúr is that observed at the visit of the Duke of Edinburgh in 1870, the only time that those Chiefs have met on any occasion of State ceremony. But the order then fixed was not intended to be necessarily final. The Nawab of Bahawalpur was a child of ten years of age, and the question of his relative precedence will be considered later. On the one hand, his revenue, and the population of his State, is much below that of Pattiala, on the other, his territory is four times as extensive, and his independence has been more complete.

The next State about which any doubt exists, is Mandi. A Durbar for certain Hill Chiefs was held at Simla on the 4th May 1847, at which they were introduced in the following order:—1 Nahan, 2 Hindur, 3 Bussahir, 4 Bilaspur, 5 Maudi, 6 Suket.

The order was subsequently altered at Lord Elgin's Durbar, dated 30th May 1863, when the four principal Hill Chiefs were introduced as follows:—1 Nahan, 2 Bilaspur, 3 Bussahir, 4 Hindur. The Raja of Mandi was not present at this Durbar, but his position would probably have been reconsidered. At the time of the first Durbar, Mandi had only just come under British control, being one of the Lahore feudatories taken over with the Jalandhar Doab in 1846, the Mandi Sanad being dated the 24th October of that year. The revenue and population of the State was then imperfectly known, and the order of the Durbar of 1847 appears not to have been intended as final, from the changes subsequently

men who had done such signal service to the British Government and whose prolonged life would have been of so much benefit to the Punjab, should pass away together. But, of these three Chiefs, the Raja of Jhind was perhaps the most distinguished. In person and presence he was eminently princely, and the stalwart Sikh race could hardly show a taller or stronger man. Clad in armour, as he loved to be, at the head of his troops, there was perhaps no other Prince in India who bore himself so gallantly and looked so true a soldier. In character he was honest and just, and though his pride and restlessness led him to quarrel with his neighbours, yet the British Government has never had an ally more true and loyal in heart than Sarup Singh, who served it from affection and not from fear. He was naturally disappointed at the decision of Government, which allowed him to inherit only a portion of the Jhind territories, yet he never permitted this decision to embitter his feelings or to influence his loyalty.*

Raja Sarup Singh had been nominated a
His nomination to the Star of India. Knight Grand Commander of the
 Star of India, in September 1863,

made. By population, revenue and salute, Mandi would seem entitled to the seventh place, but these considerations alone do not determine precedence, and the position of Mandi in the list must be held as doubtful, should he ever meet the Simla Hill Chiefs in Durbar.

The position of the Simla Hill States given in the foregoing list, is that observed at the Durbar of Lord Canning in May 1860: with the exception of Bhagat, the Rana of which estate does not appear ever to have attended any Durbar. Indeed, in 1851, at the time of Lord Dalhousie's Durbar, and at Lord Canning's in 1860, there was no Chief, the territory having escheated to Government in 1849, and only being restored in 1861. At the date of Lord Elgin's Durbar in 1863, the Rana was only four years old, which accounts for his non-attendance.

* Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States to Government, No. 20 dated 27th January 1864. Government Punjab to Government of India No. 45, dated 30th January, Government of India to Government Punjab, No. 177 dated 20th February. Despatch of Secretary of State No. 38, dated 16th July 1864.

but he was too ill to visit Ambala to be invested, and died before the honor to which he had been designated could be bestowed.*

Ragbhir Singh, the son and heir of Raja Sarup Singh, was in every way worthy of his father. He was, at this time, about thirty years of age, and had been thoroughly trained in judicial and administrative matters in which the late Raja was an excellent teacher; for he had kept his territory in excellent order, and had been eminently just in his dealings with his subjects.

The installation of the new Chief took place on the 31st of March 1864, in presence of Sir Herbert Edwardes the Agent of the Lieutenant Governor; the Maharaja of Pattiala; the Raja of Nabha, the Nawab of Malerkotla, and many other Chiefs.†

The new Raja had scarcely taken his seat on the "gaddi" than a rebellion broke out in the newly acquired territory of Dadri, to test his energy and determination.‡

The Nawab of Dadri had been, as a ruler, incompetent and entirely in the hands of his servants. He was accustomed to farm the revenue collections to the headmen of villages, sometimes for Rs. 80,000, sometimes for a lakh of rupees or a little more, while they doubled

* Letter of Sir Herbert Edwardes, Commissioner Cis-Satlej States, to Raja, dated 26th September 1863.

† Commissioner Cis-Satlej States to Government Nos. 54 and 84 dated 4th and 31st March 1864.

‡ Commissioner Cis-Satlej States to Government No. 111-868, dated 6th May. Commissioner Hissar to Government, No. 31 dated 2nd May. Inspector General of Police to Government, dated 5th May.

the amount by extortion and oppression. When the Raja of Jhind took possession, a complete change was wrought in the system, a regular settlement was made after the English method, and the assessment was raised to rather above two lakhs of rupees. Raja Sarup Singh was notoriously fond of money and the new assessment was not a light one, but it was not oppressive. The British Government has adopted the policy of light assessment—a wise policy if not carried to a point where the revenue is sacrificed to sentimentality—but it cannot be expected that Native States will follow the example thus set. There is not a single State in India where the ruler does not take a far larger share of the produce of the land than the British Government, and it is natural that the border villages of native States should make unfavorable comparisons between their own condition and the prosperity enjoyed under British rule. But Sarup Singh, although avaricious, was a wise ruler and popular, except in the neighbourhood of the town of Jhind where he was much disliked. He esteemed the people of Jhind the worst of his subjects, and lived away from them as much as he could, and often said that, in 1857, they were quite ready to rise against him if they had the opportunity. The assessment of Dadri, though far higher than would have been fixed by British officers, was not oppressive, nor was it as much as the sum really taken from the people under the Nawabs, though it was nominally more heavy.

The real exciters of discontent in Dadri were the headmen of villages, who found all their gains at an end and them-

The instigators of the rebellion.

selves reduced to the position of simple lumberdars. Besides these, Hakím Kásim Ali Khan, who has before been mentioned as a malcontent on account of the Raja having made a cash assessment of his jagir, instigated the revolt; the Loháru State was favorable and help was promised from the Rajput border.

During the life time of Raja Sarup Singh the discontented villages did not dare to stir, but, on his death, above 50 villages broke into open revolt, the Police Station of Bádrah was captured, and the Thanadar placed in confinement, while rude entrenchments were thrown up round some of the villages; arms and ammunition were received from the neighbouring territory of Sheikhawatti, Loháru and Khetri, and the famous Sheikhawatti robbers were summoned to help on promise of plunder and pay.

The Dadri people had made a great mistake when they fancied that the new *The energy of the new Raja.* Raja was less energetic than his father. Immediately on hearing of the rebellion, he left Jhind with two Regiments of Infantry, 1,500 strong, 350 Horse, and 4 guns, and marched to Dadri, which he reached on the 8th of May. He did not ask Pattiala or Nabha for the assistance which they were quite willing to give; and politely declined the presence of a British officer in his camp, as he imagined that it might seem that he was unable to meet and overcome the first difficulty which he had experienced after ascending the throne.

On the 14th of May, the Raja, at day-break, *He attacks the rebels and destroys their villages.* attacked the village of Charki, about 4 miles south west of Dadri, where

some 1,500 or 2,000 of the rebellious Jats had collected and entrenched themselves. They had been repeatedly warned; and several days had been allowed them to come in and make their submission, but they declared their determination to resist the Raja's authority to the last. But when the attack really took place, and the guns opened on the village, the insurgents broke at once, and, in their flight, a good many were overtaken and cut up. The village was then burnt, and the Raja, the same day, marched against another, Mankinás, six miles distant, which was captured and destroyed. The village of Jhanju was the last place at which the rebels made a stand, but it was taken by storm on the 16th of May, with a few casualties on both sides. It shared the fate of the two other villages, and the insurgents, finding their cause hopeless, fled to Rajputana territory and the rebellion was over. The Raja was as merciful

And restores order.

after his success as he had been energetic in action. He only punished the ring-leaders of the revolt, permitting the zamindars to return to Dadri territory and rebuild their ruined villages, and order has ever since been maintained in this part of the Jhind dominions.*

Raja Raghubir Singh married, as his first wife, the daughter of Jowahir Singh, Chaudhri of Dadri. She bore him one son and a daughter. The former, Balbir Singh, is now fourteen years of age, and the girl was married to Sirdar Bishan Singh Kalsia in April 1865,

The family of Raja Raghubir Singh.

* Agent Lieutenant Governor Cis-Satlaj States, Nos. 113, 115, 121, 126, 127, 129, 134, dated 9th, 11th, 13th, 18th, 19th, 20th, and 23rd of May 1864.

Government Punjab to Agent Cis-Satlaj States, No. 360 dated 12th May, and No. 383, dated 23rd May. Commissioner Hissar to Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States, demi-officials of 16th, 17th, and 19th May 1864.

when wedding gifts to the value of Rs. 3,000* were presented on the part of the British Government.*

The Raja married a second time in the family of Dhyān Singh, Gil, of Rajamajra, but there has been no issue of this marriage.

The principal residence of Raja Raghbir Singh is at Sangrur, but he does not neglect the administration of the distant parts of his estate. He is a man of excellent judgment and great honesty, and during the late minorities in Pattiala and Nabha, his advice has always been good, even if his young relatives have not always cared to follow it. The Raja is a keen sportsman and a brave soldier, and his little army of 1,500 men is in a state of great efficiency.

The Jhind territory is 1,236 square miles in extent, with a population of about 350,000. The revenue has rapidly increased of late years, and is now between six and seven lakhs of rupees a year.

The revenue, area, and population, of the Jhind State.

* *Vide ante* p. 261.

The "neota" or marriage present is quite optional; there are very few precedents in favor of its being made, and it is only given as a token of the special favor of Government.

Agent Lieutenant Governor, No. 119, dated 14th April 1865 to Government Punjab. Government Punjab to Agent, No. 425, dated 2nd May 1865.



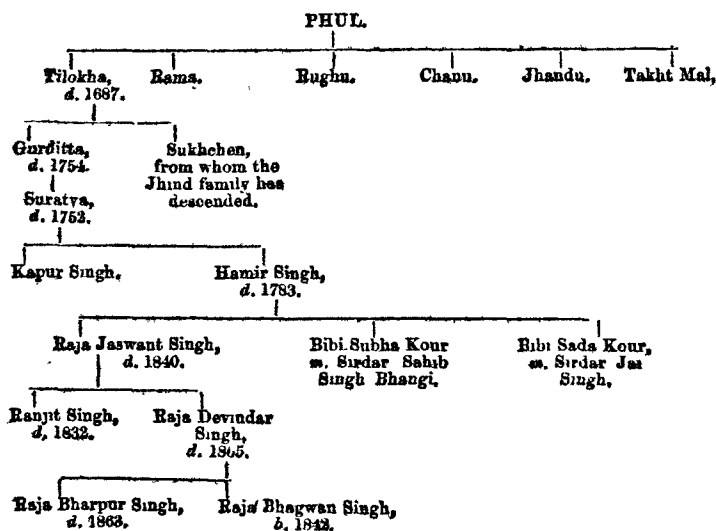
THE HISTORY

OF THE

Nabha State.

The Nabha Chiefs claim precedence over the other Phulkian houses on account of their descent from the eldest branch of the family. The histories of Pattiala and Jhind have contained an account of the common ancestor Phul, and of his two sons Gurditta and Sukhehen, from the elder of whom the Nabha house has sprung, and from the younger the house of Jhind.

The Nabha genealogy is as follows :—



On the death of Tilokha, in 1687, his estate was divided between his sons. Gurditta married the daughter of

The division of the estate of Chaudhri Tilokha.

Sirdar Sardul Singh Mán, of Maurán, who bore him one son, Surátya. He founded the village of Dhanaula or Dhanála, on that portion of the estate of his father that fell to his share, and, subsequently, the town of Sangrur, which remained the head quarters of the Nabha State, till seized by treachery by the Raja of Jhind, and he also took from his neighbours a considerable portion of the surrounding country. He was always on bad terms with his younger brother Sukhchen, and on more than one occasion their disputes ended in bloodshed.

He died in 1754, and was succeeded by his grandson Hamir Singh, his only son Surátya having died two years earlier, leaving two sons, Hamir Singh and Kapur Singh. Kapur Singh married Raj Kour, the daughter of Suján Singh Mansahia, but died without issue, and his brother, in accordance with the Sikh custom of *Karewa* or *chaddardalna*, married the widow and succeeded to his brother's estate of Kapurgarh and Sangrur, which he had increased by the addition of the villages of Pakho and Badyala. This lady was the only one of Hamir Singh's wives who bore him a son, Jaswant Singh, born in the year 1775. The Chief married, besides, a daughter of Nathá Singh, Magharia; Desu, the daughter of Sirdar Makhan Singh of Rori, who gave birth to two daughters, Subha Kour and Sada Kour, the former of whom was married to Sirdar Sahib Singh,* the powerful Bhangi Chief, and the latter to Sirdar Jai Singh of Batala. His fourth wife Raj

* Translation of replies of the Nabha Ahlkars in the Mowran case 18th May 1844, and the Bhangi History. It is curious that both the Nabha and Bhadour family histories make Subhá Kour the wife of Sirdar Gujar Singh Bhangi, which is quite erroneous.

Kour, the daughter of Sirdar Dhan Singh of Nirhana, had no children. Hamir Singh was a brave and energetic Chief and added very largely to his possessions. He founded the town of Nabha in the year 1755; four years later he obtained possession of Bhadson, and, in 1763, having joined Raja Ala Singh of Pattiala and the other Sikh Chiefs in the great battle of Sirhind, when Zin Khan, the Muhammadan Governor, was slain, he obtained Imloh or Amloh as his share of the spoil. He conquered Rori from Rahimdad Khan in 1776. Hamir Singh was the first Chief of Nabha who established a mint,* which may be accepted as a sign of his complete independence. Many of the successes of Nabha at this time were due to the ability of a Muhammadan Diwan of the Raja's, popularly known as "Kubba," or the hump-backed.

Hamir Singh was not invariably fortunate, and in Raja Gajpat Singh of Jhind he found more than his match. In 1774, the latter Chief invaded Nabha on a frivolous pretext, took Hamir Singh prisoner by treachery, and seized the strong town of Sangrur, which has never been restored.†

When Hamir Singh died in 1783, his son Jaswant Singh was only eight years of age, and it was necessary to appoint a Regent to carry on the administration. Rani Desu, one of the late Chief's widows, was selected on account of her capacity for business, in preference to the mother of Jaswant Singh. Desu

The death of Hamir Singh A. D. 1783, and the Regency of Mat Desu.

* Ante p. 317.

† Ante p. 313-315.

had held her own bravely against Jhind during the imprisonment of her husband, recovering most of the territory which had been seized by Gajpat Singh, with the aid of troops lent by her son-in-law Sirdar Sahib Singh Bhangi of Gujrat.

With these foreign troops she maintained herself as Regent, ruling in the name of her son till 1790, when she died suddenly : her enemy and rival Raja Gajpat Singh at Jhind having died in the previous year.

After this, the relations between Nabha and Jhind became more friendly, and a common danger for the time united them in an attempt to destroy the power of George Thomas, the master of Hansi, whose wars and conquests, so far as they concerned the Cis-Satlaj States, have been already related.*

In the arrangements made at Dehli with General Perron, the Commander-in-Chief of the Northern Mahratta army, for the expulsion of Thomas from Hansi, it does not appear that Nabha was concerned.† The Agents of the Raja of Pattiala, Raja Bhag Singh of Jhind, and Bhai Lal Singh of Kythal, were the contracting parties, but Nabha was included in the conditions finally settled, as that State would benefit as much as any other from the defeat of the common enemy. The revenue and tribute promised to be paid to the Mahrattas by the Sikhs, who were strangely willing to surrender their independence, is given in the following list, which shows fairly the relative power and resources of the several Cis-Satlaj States at the close of the last century.

* Ante p. 81.

† Ante p. 88.

	Revenue.	Tribute.
Raja Sahib Singh of Pattiala, ...	Rs. 1,14,750	Rs. 38,250
Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha, ...	" 28,500	" 9,500
Raja Bhag Singh of Jhind, ...	" 21,750	" 7,250
The Chiefs of Maler Kotla, ...	" 15,000	" 5,000
The Chiefs of Rai Kot, ...	" 60,000	" 20,000
The Chiefs of Raipur and Gujarwal, ...	" 15,000	" 5,000
Bhai Lal Singh of Kythal, ...	" 45,000	" 15,000
TOTAL, ...	Rs. 3,00,000	Rs. 1,00,000

Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha was not as ready as the Chiefs of Jhind and Kythal to make friends with the English, but he sent his agents to be present at the interview held at Nának Toda between General Lake and the Cis-Satlej Chiefs, and was thanked by that officer for the friendly sentiments which his agents were directed to express towards the British Government.* The following year, when Holkar, the Mahratta Prince, was advancing northwards to Lahore and halted at Nabha, the Raja refused to assist him in any way, pleading his engagements with the English. Lord Lake assured the Raja that so long as his disposition towards the British Government remained unchanged, his possessions would

* Letter of Lord Lake to Raja Jaswant Singh, dated 26th May 1804.

never be curtailed nor any demand made upon him for tribute.

The history of the first connection of Maharaja Ranjit Singh with the Cis-Satlej States and his conquests and intrigues, have been related with so much detail in the Pattiala narrative that it is unnecessary in this place to do more than briefly allude to them. Rani Aus Kour of Pattiala, wife of the imbecile Sahib Singh, had for some time been engaged in hostilities with the Rajas of Nabha and Jhind, and with the assistance of the Thanesar and Kythal Chiefs was getting the better in the contest, when the Jhind Chief summoned his kinsman the Maharaja of Lahore to his aid.* Ranjit Singh arrived speedily with a large force, and, although he did little to heal the dispute which existed between Pattiala and the neighbouring States, he rewarded his friends and adherents by grants from the country which he conquered, Raja Jaswant Singh receiving as his share, portions of Kot, Basia, Talwandi and Jagraon, 31 villages worth Rs. 26,690; and seven villages from the Ghumgrana estate worth Rs. 3,350.†

During the Cis-Satlej expeditions of Ranjit Singh in 1807, 1808, the Nabha Chief remained his firm ally, hoping to profit by the weakness and dissensions in Pattiala. In 1807, he received a grant of four villages of the Ghumgrana estate, taken by the Maharaja from

* Circular of Resident Delhi to all Residents, Magistrates, &c., dated 1st November 1806.

† Vide Appendix A.—Statement of the conquests of Ranjit Singh, during the years 1806—9.

Gujar Singh, and, the next year, the district of Kannah, consisting of eighteen villages, taken from Rani Raipuri and Ran Singh. But, at length, he, with the other Cis-Satlej Chiefs, began to understand that Ranjit Singh's friendship was only one degree less dangerous than his enmity, and that he would be satisfied with nothing less than absolute supremacy over the whole country to the north of the Jamna. With this conviction, was quite willing to turn to the English, with whom he had always remained on friendly terms, for protection. He received Colonel Ochterlony on his arrival at Nabha with the utmost cordiality,* and in May of the same year was taken under the protection of the British Government, with the other Chiefs of Malwa and Sirhind.†

Nabha is taken under British protection.

At this time Raja Jaswant Singh ranked third among the Cis-Satlej Chiefs. First was the Maharaja of Pattiala with a revenue of upwards of six lakhs of rupees; the Bhais of Kythal were second, with a revenue of two lakhs and a quarter, and third was Nabha, with one lakh and a half; though the Chiefs of Kalsia and Ladwa had almost as large an income and certainly could bring more troops into the field.‡ Sir David Ochterlony had formed a high opinion of the Raja's abilities: writing to Government he observed, "Jaswant Singh is one of the principal Sirdars under our protection, and by far superior in manner, management and

The position of Nabha with respect to other States.

* Colonel Ochterlony to Secretary to Government, 4th of February 1809. A. Seton, Esquire, Resident Delhi, to Secretary to Government, 10th August 1809. Colonel Ochterlony to Raja of Nabha, 6th February 1809.

† Proclamation of 3rd May 1809.

‡ Statement prepared in 1809 by Colonel Ochterlony.

" understanding, to any of them I have yet seen. I
 " have seen much of his country, which is highly
 " cultivated, and proves him to be mild and unop-
 " pressive, a character seldom seen amongst them,
 " and is made more conspicuous by his lands being
 " much mixed with the Raja of Pattiala, where the
 " contrast is very discernable." *

Although by the proclamation of the 3rd of May 1809, the Chiefs taken under British protection were exempted from tribute and confirmed in the exercise of their ancient rights and authority, yet Jaswant Singh sought and obtained from the Governor General more explicit and personal assurances on these points, and, later, a sanad was granted to him confirming to him all his possessions under the seal of the Governor General. †

In 1810, the Raja received from the Emperor of Dehli, to whom he had sent a present of two guns and four bows, a title of honor, "Barár Bans Sarmour Malwindra Buhádar." ‡ From his near connection with the family of Pattiala, the Nabha Chief was naturally one of the advisers of that State, with Raja Bhag Singh of Jhind, and Bhai Lal Singh of Kythal. § The Raja of Pattiala was almost imbecile, and his wife, Rani Aus Kour,

The conduct of the Raja towards Pattiala, and his desire to diminish the power of that State.

* Colonel Ochterlony to J. Moncton, Esquire, Secretary 19th May 1810.

† Letter of Raja of Nabha to Governor General, 7th June 1810. Reply of Governor General, 20th November 1810.

‡ Murasila from Resident Shahjahanabad to Raja of Nabha, 27th September 1810. Letter from Muhammad Akbar Shah, Emperor of Dehli, dated 23rd September 1810, to Raja of Nabha, with firman conferring the title, 26th September 1810.

§ Colonel Ochterlony to Government, 9th March 1811.

virtually exercised supreme authority, subject in certain matters to the advice of the other Chiefs and the British Political Agent. But the influence of the Nabha Raja was not used for good. Both during the last years of the life of Raja Sahib Singh and during the minority of his son, his only object was to increase the disorders of Pattiala and to make the scandal of its mismanagement sufficiently notorious to call for direct interference from without, or possibly to break up the principality altogether, in which case he hoped to share in the spoil, and to increase his own possessions at the expense of his

*The character of
Jaswant Singh.*

kinsman. The character which Sir David Ochterlony had given of the Raja referred alone to his administrative qualities, and not to his conduct towards the neighbouring States, in which he showed himself as unscrupulous and grasping as any other Chief. He was no worse than others, but, at this time, there was no single Chief in the Cis-Satlej territory who appeared to have any idea of right distinct from his own personal interest, and the consideration that his object could only be attained by violence or fraud, gave him no concern. With Pattiala there had always existed on the part of Nabha a jealousy which had led to constant disputes.

The Nabha Chiefs, who considered that they were by birth and right the head of the Phulkian family, saw with great dissatisfaction the younger branch growing more wealthy and powerful than themselves, and the influence of this feeling may be traced in almost all the relations between the States till the time of the first Sikh war.

*The grievances
against Pattiala.*

A boundary dispute regarding the lands of Doladhi, a village close to the walls of Nabha and the ownership of which was claimed by both States, had been a principal cause of ill-feeling. This was one of the cases which Maharaja Ranjit Singh was summoned to decide in 1807, but which, nevertheless, for more than twenty years afterwards continued to be a fruitful cause of strife.*

Many other disputes arose between these States, regarding their respective boundaries. In January 1819, the Maharaja of Pattiala sent troops to take possession of the village of Alik, which he declared was his, and it was only on the representations of the Political Agent that he consented to withdraw them and appoint arbitrators to settle the dispute.† The following year Pattiala complained of the aggressions of the Nabha Raja. The first grievance was with reference to the villages of Kowlasheri, belonging to Pattiala, and Phulasheri belonging to Nabha. In the previous year Raja Jaswant Singh had complained of the encroachments of the Kowlasheri zamindars on the Phulasheri lands. Arbitrators were appointed, and a decision given in his favor. The Maharaja of Pattiala then sent troops into Kowlasheri, to protect the inhabitants, as he alleged, from the stronger

* *Vide ante* pp. 171—174.

Captain Murray to Sir E. Colebrooke, 12th April, 30th July, 30th September, 2nd and 13th October, and 13th December 1828. Sir E. Colebrooke to Captain Murray, 11th and 18th June, 25th, 30th July, 30th September, 2nd and 13th October 1828.

† From Captain Birch to Sir D. Ochterlony, dated 12th September 1819.

and hostile neighbouring villages. This action was quite unnecessary, for the Phulasheri villagers had gained all they wanted and had no wish to continue the quarrel, but the Maharaja was unwilling to relinquish his claim, and the result was much contention and bloodshed.

A second subject of dispute was the boundary between the village of Bhadour, *Other subjects of dispute.* belonging to Sirdars Dip Singh and Bir Singh, relations of the Pattiala Chief, and the village of Kángar, belonging to Nabha, in which case also the Nabha Raja had the right on his side; and, thirdly, the possession of the lands in Harriana to the south of the Gaggar, which had been divided between the States when the boundaries of Harriana and British territory were laid down.*

Raja Jaswant Singh's troubles were not confined to boundary disputes with *Family dissensions. The rebellion of Prince Ranjit Singh.* Pattiala. His eldest son, Kour Ranjit Singh, in 1818, influenced by evil advisers and chiefly by the Sirdar of Lidhrán, rebelled openly against his authority, and it was only through the personal influence of the Political Agent that he consented to dismiss those of his followers who were obnoxious to the Raja, and to return to his allegiance, when his jagir, which had been confiscated, was restored to him.† The reconciliation between father and son was not permanent. In 1822 the Raja again believed that Ranjit Singh was plotting against him, and resumed all the lands which had been assigned for his sup-

* Captain Birch, to Sir D. Ochterlony dated 22nd November 1820.

† Captain Birch to Sir D. Ochterlony, dated 49th January, and 18th February 1819.

port; and, in 1824, declared that his son was implicated in a conspiracy against his life. He proposed altogether to disinherit the Prince and his children in favor of his second son, and to add the lands of Raja Singh of Lidhrán, the most influential of Ranjit Singh's friends, to the State lands. The evidence which the Raja was able to produce in support of his fears was fanciful in the extreme, and the Prince indignantly denied the truth of the charge; but his supposed accomplices were thrown into prison, heavily ironed, while the case was referred for the orders of the Governor General, who did not consider the charge to be established, and ordered that no restraint should be placed on Prince Ranjit Singh and that Sirdar Raja Singh should be at once released from confinement.*

Raja Jaswant Singh was not satisfied with this decision, and submitted to Government a series of documents which he believed would establish the truth of his assertions. But the Governor General again agreed with Sir Charles Metcalfe, the Resident at Dehli, that the charge was in no way substantiated, and upheld the order which had before been passed.

There is ample evidence to show that the conduct of the Prince had been wild and extravagant, and that the Raja had some reason to be dissatisfied with him. This is established by the various

* Captain Murray to C. Elliott, Esquire, 27th and 30th November 1824.

C. Elliott, Esquire, to Captain Murray, 6th May and 21st September 1825. C. Elliott, Esquire, to Secretary to Government of India, 9th May, 1825

Secretary to Government of India to C. Elliott, Esquire, 26th August 1825.

agreements drawn up at various times by the Prince, and attested by Sir David Ochterlony, but they also prove that the serious crime charged was without foundation.

The various orders issued by Captains Ross and Murray, subsequent to those of Sir David Ochterlony, show, indeed, the continued immoral and disorderly conduct of the Prince, but do not contain the smallest direct or circumstantial evidence of any wish or attempt at assassination of the Raja. The only document which at all supported the charge, was the alleged confession of Raja Singh of Lidhran; but on this no reliance whatever could be placed. When it was given, Raja Singh was a prisoner at Nabha, completely in the power of Jaswant Singh, who had means of inducing his captive to make any confession he wished. The character of Raja Singh was so infamous, that had he been free no reliance could have been placed on his word, and he was, moreover, the acknowledged instigator of the extravagances of the Prince. On evidence such as this, no one could justly be condemned, far less of an attempt to commit so unnatural a crime as parricide, and the Prince was accordingly acquitted.*

But this acquittal Prince Ranjit Singh did not long survive. On the 17th of June 1832 he died at Patriri, the residence of Sirdar Gulab Singh Shahid, to whose sister-in-law he had been married a short time before.

* Sir Charles Metcalfe to Secretary to Government of India 23rd November 1826, and to Captain Murray, 3rd May 1827.

Secretary to Government of India, to Sir C. Metcalfe, 27th April 1827.

The sudden death of a person of importance in the Sikh States was rarely considered to be due to natural causes, *which is attributed to foul play.* the more especially when, as in the case of Ranjit Singh, he had been for years pursued by the most bitter and unrelenting enmity of his father. The widows of the deceased at once charged the Raja with their husband's murder, and the body certainly bore marks which seemed to suggest foul play. Only two years before, Prince Santokh Singh, the only son of the Prince, had died as suddenly,* and the belief then was general that his grand-father, the Raja, had caused poison to be administered to him. But there was no shadow of evidence to support the charges, and soon afterwards the mother of the Prince, who had joined the widows in accusing the Raja of the murder, wrote to Sir George Clerk, declaring her disbelief in the alleged instrumentality of the Raja in causing her son's death, and no further action was accordingly taken.† Prince Ranjit Singh, though of extravagant and dissolute habits, was a young man of considerable promise, and was extremely popular with the Chiefs on both sides of the Satlej.

Kour Ranjit Singh married three wives, the daughters of Sirdars Jodh Singh of Bamne Kaleki, Jassa Singh of Shahpur, and Dya Singh Bhamna. His son Santokh Singh, was married to Bhagbari, the daughter of Sirdar Sher Singh of Shahabad, with great pomp: all the Cis-Satlej Chiefs and the British Political Agent being present at the ceremony.

* Captain Murray to Acting Resident, 4th October 1830.

† Sir George Clerk to Mr. Fraser, Governor General's Agent, 20th June and 7th September 1832, and letters from the widow and mother of Ranjit Singh to Sir G. Clerk.

Notice must now be taken of an important case which illustrates the nature of the relations which grew up gradually between a powerful State like Nabha and its weaker neighbours, from original independence to a state of feudal vassalage.

The dispute between Nabha and the Lidhran and Sunti Sikhs, regarding the feudal supremacy of the former.

The Sikhs of Lidhran and Sunti were members of the powerful Nishánwála confederacy, which, under Sirdar Sangat Singh, Dassanda Singh, Jai Singh and Mohr Singh, took possession, after the battle of Sirhind, in 1763, of Ambala, Serai Lashkar Khan, Shahabad, Doráha,

The rise of the Nishanwala confederacy.

Lidhran, Amloh and Sunti. In the year 1827, the Sirdars of Lidhran and Sunti complained bitterly to the Agent of the Governor General at Dehli of the tyranny of the Nabha Raja, who treated them as his vassals, demanded constant service, from the former fifty and from the latter seventy horse, and harassed them with numerous requisitions with which it was most irksome to comply, and which the Raja had no right to make as they were not his vassals at all. The Political Agent, to whom the question was referred, considered that although the Chiefs should continue to furnish contingents for service to the Raja, yet that they should be protected from his oppression, and that their disputes should be heard and decided by the British Agent at Ambala.* The Resident did not consider this practicable, as he held the Lidhran and Sunti Sikhs to be dependants of Nabha, and that any interference on the part of the British Government would weaken the position

The complaints of the Sirdars.

Captain Murray to Sir E. Colebrooke 13th September 1827.
Acting Resident to Captain Murray 27th July 1827.

of the Raja. This vassalage was thenceforth considered as proved, although the Chiefs themselves denied any right over them on the part of Nabha, and the documents which affirmed it, purporting to have been executed by themselves, they declared to be forgeries.

In 1836, the case was taken up by Sir G. Clerk and thoroughly investigated. This officer came to the conclusion that, as regarded the Lidhran Sikhs, the Nabha Raja was only *primus inter pares*, and had continued, with the assistance of the British authorities, to usurp the position of a feudal lord. That, with regard to Sunti, the case was very similar, the Nabha Raja having successfully asserted his supremacy at a time when the co-parcenary rights of the Sikhs were imperfectly understood.

This decision was founded on the undoubted fact that, under Sikhism, as originally understood, no such thing as vassalage or feudal superiority had any existence. The principle of the creed was fraternity; and the Sikhs boasted of being communities of independent soldiers. While the Khalsa was still young and enthusiastic and the power of no individual Chief was inordinately great, this idea of independence represented a state of things not far removed from the truth, but as the more important Chiefships gradually increased in power, their smaller neighbours were compelled, either for protection against others or to avoid absorption altogether, to place themselves under the protection of some Chief able to defend them, and, in return, to give service in the field.

The result of the investigation of Sir George Clerk.

The original constitution of Sikh society was independence and fraternity.

The Lidhran and Sunti Sikhs were, at the time of the conquest of Sirhind, independent members of the Nishánwála confederacy, and when Sirdar Jai Singh seized Lidhran with twenty-seven adjacent villages, he was still an independent Chief. * When the Phulkians, in 1718, attacked Ambala, a Nishánwála possession, the Lidhran and Sunti Sikhs both came to the assistance of the besieged and fought against the Nabha troops, proving that at this time, at any rate, they were not vassals of the Nabha Chief. After this time the Lidhran Sikhs were never engaged in active hostilities against Nabha, for an alliance was made and cemented by the marriage of the daughter of Sirdar Jai Singh to Raja Jaswant Singh. But the Sikhs of Sunti, on several subsequent occasions fought against Nabha, and, so late as 1810 and 1814, when they were at war with the Chiefs of Kannah and Karar, Nabha gave them no assistance, as she undoubtedly would have done had they been her acknowledged feudatories.

Soon after the capture of Sirhind, the Sunti Sikhs seized Amloh and thirty-six adjacent villages; but on the approach of Ahmed Shah Durani, who was invading the Punjab from the north, they, in common with other Manjha Sikhs, crossed the Satlej to oppose him. Nabha took this opportunity to possess herself of Amloh and half of its attached villages, and the rightful owners on their return were only able to establish their head quarters at Sunti, and carry on hostilities against

The Sikhs of Lidhran and Sunti were not only independent of Nabha, but engaged in hostilities against her.

The usurpation of Nabha from the Sunti Sikhs, and the decision of the arbitrators.

* Ante Note p. 48.

Nabha, with varying success, until Sirdar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and Sirdar Himmat Singh of Shahabad, acting as arbitrators, assigned Amloh to Nabha, and the thirty-five villages to be held in co-parcenary or *chahārami* tenure between them. This decision the Sunti Sikhs were compelled to accept, but they remained on very bad terms with Nabha, and systematically opposed that State in every possible way.*

Documents were undoubtedly in existence which, if genuine, proved that the supremacy of Nabha and their liability to furnish contingents for service had been admitted by the Chiefs; but these they pronounced forgeries and Sir George Clerk appears to have believed them. It was not however easy to prove the fraud if any existed; and the Chiefs had certainly for some years, under protest it may be, rendered suit and service, and their obligation to do so had been maintained on many occasions by the British Government, although once, in 1834, it had reversed a decision of the Raja of Nabha in a case of disputed inheritance in Lidhran.

This being the case, the Government of India did not consider it expedient to declare the Sikhs of Sunti and Lidhran altogether independent of Nabha. The complaints which they had made of harassing and perpetual demands for

* Sir D. Ochterlony to Captain Murray, 11th November 1814. Sir George Clerk to Sir T. Metcalfe, Agent Governor General, 12th August and 1st September 1836. Original documents containing the agreements of the Chiefs with Nabha. Sir T. Metcalfe to Sir George Clerk, 31st March, and Sir George Clerk to T. Metcalfe 19th April 1837.

service were nevertheless regarded, and the Raja of Nabha was directed to dispense with their service altogether, except on the occasion of the birth of a son, the marriage of one of his sons or daughters, the death of the reigning Prince, or in time of actual war. The dignity of Nabha was thus duly considered, and the Sunti and Lidhran Sikhs relieved from the oppression of which they had so bitterly complained.*

The Raja of Nabha offered his services to the British Government at the commencement of the Kabul campaign; and although they were necessarily declined, the Governor General thanked him for the friendly spirit which had prompted the offer.†

The Raja offers his services during the Kabul campaign.

On the 22nd of May 1840, Raja Jaswant Singh, who had been for some time in a declining state of health, died, aged 66, and was succeeded by his only surviving son, Devindar Singh, then in his eighteenth year.‡ The character of the Raja has been already described. However grasping and unscrupulous his conduct may have been towards his neighbours and rivals, he had always administered the affairs of his own State justly and well. His police was excellent, and his subjects were contented and had reason to lament his death.

The death of Jaswant Singh, A. D. 1840.

* Secretary to Government to Agent Governor General, 25th August 1838, and to Raja of Nabha of the same date. Agent Governor General to Sir G. Clerk, 8th September 1838, and to Secretary Government, 1st June and 11th August 1838.

Despatch No. 10 of Court of Directors, 12th March 1840.

† Raja of Nabha to Governor General. Governor General to Raja, dated 8th of November 1838, and to Sir G. Clerk of the same date.

‡ Sir G. Clerk to Mr. Thomason, Agent Lieutenant Governor, 28th May 1840.

Raja Jaswant Singh married five wives: Dya Kour, daughter of Sirdar Jai Singh

His marriage.

Lidhran; Chand Kour, daughter of Sirdar Ram Singh Dhillon, who has lately died at a great age; Ram Kour, daughter of Sirdar Bagh Singh Rallon; Harkour, daughter of Sirdar Hari Singh of Jodhpur; and, lastly, Dharam Kour, the daughter of Sirdar Sujan Singh of Ghumon. Of these, Rani Dya Kour gave birth to Ranjit Singh, and Rani Harkour to Devindar Singh.

The late Raja had been a faithful ally of the British Government. In 1804 he refused to assist Holkar against the English; he gave assistance in supplies and carriage during the Gurkha campaign of 1810, and in that of Bikanir, in 1818;* and during the northward march of the British army to Kabul in 1838, he advanced a loan of six lakhs of Rupees to the Government.†

Devindar Singh was formally installed as Raja on the 5th of October 1840, the Agent of the Governor General being present. This was the first installation that had taken place in Nabha since the English connection with the States, and the Khillat conferred on the occasion was similar to that given to Raja Fatah Singh of Jhind in 1822, consisting of an elephant with *jhill* or trappings, a horse with a silver saddle, a Khillat of seven pieces, 3 rugums, and a sword and shield.‡

* Captain Birch to Raja of Nabha, 20th July 1819.

† Captain Murray to Raja of Nabha, 6th November 1838.

‡ Sir G. Clerk to Secretary to Government North Western Provinces 17th September 1840, and to Secretary to Government of India, 28th September 1840.

The new Raja's character, the training he had received, and the circumstances of his succession did not promise a wise or successful administration. It was only after he had quarrelled with Prince Ranjit Singh that Raja Jaswant Singh married the wife who gave birth to Devindar Singh. As this child grew up, the Raja's hatred for his elder son grew more intense, and his determination to disinherit him and leave the State to his younger and favorite son more confirmed.

This resolution was notorious, and in the dispute between father and son, the neighbouring Chiefs were involved, some taking one side and some the other. Devindar Singh was ten years old when his brother died, and from that time was the recognized heir to the throne. He had thus, from his earliest years, been surrounded by flatterers and parasites who desired to please his father, and, in order to accumulate every pretext for disinheriting Ranjit Singh, the greatest pains were taken with the education of his younger brother. When Devindar Singh became, when still a boy, the reigning Prince, his Brahman tutors, as was natural enough, retained their influence; and filled his mind with an exaggerated estimate of his power, dignity and importance, till a character, which would otherwise have been distinguished for weakness alone, became repulsive from its arrogance and vanity, while the old feud which had for long existed between the rival houses of Pattiala and Jhind was revived with far greater bitterness than ever.

The ill-feeling which existed between Nabha and the States of Pattiala and Jhind.

It has been before explained that Nabha was the eldest branch of the Phulkian family and held the hereditary title of Chaudhri, which had possessed a real meaning when the Chiefs were subjects of the Dehli Emperors. The title of Maharaja granted to the Pattiala Chief had always excited the greatest jealousy on the part of the Raja of Nabha, who was most anxious to obtain the same honor for himself. With Pattiala he had always been at feud, and the Raja of Jhind had generally taken the Pattiala side of the dispute and was in consequence equally obnoxious to Nabha. But there was another and

The special cause of quarrel with Jhind.

more recent cause for the bad feeling between these Chiefs. When Raja Sangat Singh of Jhind died without male issue, the principal claimants for the throne were Sirdar Sarup Singh of Bazidpur and his cousin Sirdar Sukhan Singh of Badrukhan, two distant collaterals. The State might justly have been resumed by the British Government as an escheat—collateral succession to Chiefships not being then admitted—but it was determined to make it over to one of the claimants. The discussion as to their respective rights was of long duration; and the Nabha and Pattiala Chiefs naturally supported the one who bid highest for their influence. Pattiala demanded dependence on herself rather than on Nabha; and the latter demanded the cession of the district of Sangrur, which had been treacherously conquered from Nabha by Raja Gajpat Singh in 1774. Sarup Singh is asserted to have signed a bond agreeing to surrender this district, if his claim were admitted, but, after obtaining an acknowledgment of his claims from Government, he refused to

fulfil his promise. Neither party cared to bring such a case before the British authorities, but the existence of the bond was a matter of notoriety, and it was moreover believed that Raja Sarup Singh attempted to destroy it when it was put into his hands at Nabha for perusal. *

The only revenge Raja Devindar Singh was able to take for this breach of faith was to deny the Jhind Raja any title of honor, pretending to consider him as of inferior birth, being only related collaterally to the late Rajas, and styling him simply Sarup Singh. The Maharaja of Pattiala he would only style Raja; and he introduced into his Court a rigid and painful etiquette abolishing many customs supposed to be of Muhammadan origin. Devindar Singh was a bigoted Sikh, and was always surrounded with Brahmans, who, after the fashion of their order, flattered the weak-minded prince for their own interest. Sanscrit *Slokas* were recited every evening before him, and the opportunity was taken to exalt his dignity and depreciate that of his neighbours; while the power of the English was asserted to be on the wane and the day approaching when they would retire from Northern India and Nabha assume the foremost place which was justly her due.

But these open manifestations of disaffection did not show themselves immediately after the Raja's accession. He was then anxious to obtain the title of Maharaja, and endeavoured to win the esteem of the British Government by making large remissions of

* Major Broadfoot to Secretary to Government of India, dated 26th April 1845.

revenue. He also, finding the Agent of the Governor General took an interest in native education, proposed to establish a College in which English, Sanscrit, and Hindi should be taught, but this laudable intention was not carried out.

In 1842 occurred the Kabul disasters, the effect of which, on the Cis-Satlej Chiefs, has been already noticed. It is almost impossible to exaggerate the influence which a catastrophe such as this had upon ignorant and selfish Chiefs, to whom gratitude was an unknown virtue and who had only remained loyal to the British Government, which had loaded them with favors and had taken nothing from them as the price of these favors, because they believed its power to be invincible. There were in the whole of India no native Princes who had such reason to be faithful to the British Government, and who had received such unmixed advantage from their connection with it, as those of the Cis-Satlej; but when, as they believed, the British power was materially shaken by the results of the first Kabul campaign, they almost all, the larger States as well as the smaller, wavered in their allegiance, disregarded the orders of the British Agents, and prepared to take advantage of the new order of things which they imagined was about to arrive. Nabha, to the credit of the Raja's intelligence, was one of the first to understand the significance of the successes of the second Kabul expedition and returned to his former attitude of friendship.

But this change lasted only a short time. The resumption of the larger portion of the Kythal State, held by the Bhaikian family and connections of the Phulkians, created great

The disaffection of almost all the Cis-Satlej States in A. D. 1842.

The resumption of Kythal.

dissatisfaction, and the Chief of Nabha, with those of Pattiala and Jhind, used their utmost endeavours to obstruct the Government and to obtain the succession to the whole estate for the nearest collateral. When they perceived that the Government was prepared to support its rights by force, and had sent a detachment to Kythal to restore order, which their influence had chiefly been instrumental in disturbing, they pretended to be as eager to assist as before they had been to oppose; but, till the last, they remonstrated against the resumption, seeing in the fate of Kythal the probable fate of their own possessions, for the Sikh Chiefs led lives so debauched that it was a common thing for them to have no children; and unless the right of adoption or the claims of collaterals were admitted, their estates would lapse, sooner or later, to the paramount power.*

The Nabha Raja was thus disposed to transfer his friendship from the British Government to that of Lahore, which had been careful not to risk a collision with the English when wise and able men presided at its councils, but which now, guided by courtizans and drunkards, was fast drifting into war. The Nabha Raja was, like many other Chiefs, tired of the monotony of the English rule. As they expressed themselves in letters to the Governor General, "the lion and lamb might, through the "benevolence and justice of the British Government, "drink out of the same vessel," but this state of

*The Nabha Raja
disposed to join
Lahore against the
English.*

* Envoy to Court of Lahore to Secretary to Government of India, 27th, 29th, 30th March, and 8th April 1843. From Agent Governor General to Secretary to Government, dated 15th February 1844. Letter of Raja of Nabha to Agent Governor General, 7th October 1844. Letter of the Envoy to Mai Sahib Kour of Kythal, 9th April 1843, and from Maharaja of Pattiala to Envoy, 13th April 1843.

things was only agreeable to the lamb. The lion desired confusion and war, in which the strong would be the conqueror and the weak the prey, and in an alliance with Lahore the Raja of Nabha fancied he would more easily obtain the objects of his ambition, than by remaining on good terms with the English.

At this time, however, a case occurred which requires notice, as it appeared likely to embroil the Raja with the Lahore Durbar, and certainly was considered by the latter to evince an unfriendly feeling on the part of the British Government, helping to embitter the relations between the two States, which were already becoming uncertain and dangerous. To explain the nature of the case it is necessary to go back some way in Nabha history.

The case of the village of Mowran, and the dispute with Lahore.

Dhanna Singh,* a zamindar of Mowran, in Nabha territory, left his village about the year 1793, and took service with Sirdar Sahib Singh of Gujrat, who had married Subha Kour, the sister of Raja Jaswant Singh. Later he served under Sirdar Fatah Singh Kalianwala, and, in 1807, entered the service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Lahore, and, being a fine soldier, soon rose to favor. In the year 1815, he begged his master to obtain for him the grant of his ancestral village of Mowran, and the Maharaja according preferred his request to Jaswant Singh, who objected to the grant. Ranjit Singh then said that unless the village was given he would resume the lands held, Trans-Satlej, by Subha Kour, the widow of Sirdar Sahib Singh Bhangi, who had died a short time before. This argument was not with-

* Dhanna Singh Malwai. The history of this Sirdar is given in "the Punjab Chiefs," p. 192—196.

out effect, and after some further delay Jaswant Singh consented to the grant, which was made in 1819, the British Agent, General Ochterlony, knowing nothing about it, although the Nabha authorities declared that he not only was aware of the grant, but insisted that it should be made subject to service to Nabha of which State Dhanna Singh and his father Mal Singh before him had been subjects. This was certainly never done, and no service was ever rendered by Dhanna Singh. He, however, occasionally made to the Raja complimentary presents, till 1830, when he broke off all connection with Nabha, commenced building a fort in Mowran and acted as an independent Chief. Jaswant Singh was very much irritated and wished to resume the village; but this, during the life of the Maharaja, he did not dare to do, although his agent affirmed that, at the marriage of Nao Nihal Singh, in 1837, he asked the Maharaja's permission to resume, and, in reply, was directed to wait till the death of Dhanna Singh who was then a man far advanced in years.

The object of the Nabha Raja was to prove that Mowran was not a grant made by him to Maharaja Ranjit Singh and given by the latter to Dhanna Singh Malwai, but that it was a mere temporary exchange for the village of Manokah, allowed to Rani Subha Kour his sister; and that when this was resumed on her death, he had a right to resume Mowran. This lady died in 1839, two months before Maharaja Ranjit Singh, by whose successor, Kharrak Singh, her village was resumed.

Sirdar Dhanna Singh Malwai died in May 1843; and Raja Devindar Singh at once called on Hukm Singh, the son of the deceased Chief, to surrender the property. The circumstances of the grant were quite unknown to Sir G. Clerk, who, in 1839, is said to have sanctioned the resumption under the impression that the village was merely an exchange for that held by Rani Subha Kour; and, moreover, the Raja produced a letter said to have been written by Maharaja Kharrak Singh, and dated the 6th December 1839, which supported this view of the question and which ran as follows:—

“ As regards releasing or giving up Mowran, in exchange for which Zahura was granted to Mai Subha Kour in the first instance, and Manokah later, which was resumed by me, Ganda Singh* has explained the circumstances. He was told that if any one seized Manokah it should be restored, but he insisted much upon the restoration of Mowran. As there is a friendship between us, be satisfied on this subject and take possession of the village. The case appears to be as follows:—The Maharaja gave Mowran to Sirdar Dhanna Singh, and, as an exchange, first the village of Zahura, and afterwards that of Manokah, was given to Mai Subha Kour: on her death my officials took possession of Manokah. Your officials can now also take possession of Mowran: if Sirdar Dhanna Singh complains, some other village will be given him.” †

* This Ganda Singh was a relation of Mai Chand Kour, wife of Maharaja Kharrak Singh, and had entered the service of the Raja of Nabha, by whom he was sent to Lahore regarding the Mowran case.

† Translation by Captain Cunningham, Assistant Political Agent.

Raja Devindar Singh, on the refusal of Sirdar Hukm Singh to surrender the village, sent a force against it in August 1843, opened fire without delay and took it by storm, refusing to allow any reference to be made to Hukm Singh or to Lahore. The fort was plundered and a large quantity of valuables, estimated by Sirdar Hukm Singh at more than two lakhs of rupees was carried off.* The Raja's account of the attack was of course different: he asserted that the villagers opened fire upon his troops, and the capture of the fort was in retaliation for this outrage, while no valuables of any description were found or removed.†

Maharaja Sher Singh, who had now succeeded to the unquiet throne of Lahore, pretended to be, or really was, most indignant at the violence done to one of his dependents and wrote to the British Government for redress. But before any reply could be given, Sher Singh was assassinated, and several months of anarchy succeeded, during which Mowran was forgotten. But, in July 1844, the question was again raised and the nature of the Lahore demands will be seen from

an extract from a letter of Maharaja Dalip Singh.‡ “All the circumstances connected with the village of Mowran are understood by the English, and it is known to them that it belongs to the Khalsa, and you have also ascertained fully the aggression committed

* Letter of Rai Kishen Chand, Agent of the Lahore Durbar, 16th July 1844. Statement of Sirdar Hukm Singh Malwai, dated 25th April 1844.

† Letter from Raja of Nabha to Agent Governor General dated 16th July 1844.

‡ Received 10th July 1844.

"and the deceit practised by the authorities of Nabha. Rai Kishan Chand (the wakf) informed me that the case would soon be satisfactorily settled, and although it was pleasing to hear this, still, as there has been much delay, I have thought it good to remind you that the right of the Lahore State to the village is proved, and that aggression and deceit on the part of the Nabha authorities have been fully ascertained. The belief is that, considering the friendship of the two States, the case of Mowran will be satisfactorily settled, and all the plundered property will be restored, and that those who have been proved to have committed aggression and practised deceit will be adequately punished."

The Mowran case having thus become, in the excited state of the Sikhs, of great political importance, a full investigation was made into the merits of the case. The points on which the whole question turned were the validity of the letter of Maharaja Kharrak Singh, the nature of the original grant, and the person to whom it was made.

The letter of Maharaja Kharrak Singh permitting the resumption of Mowran was at once pronounced a forgery by the Lahore Durbar. The original could not be produced, and the Raja of Nabha stated that it had been lost when the papers of his minister, Sahib Singh, were seized. But this excuse could not be admitted in the face of the denial of the Lahore officials that such a document had ever been issued. The truth probably was that Ganda Singh, who was sent to Lahore as a Nabha Agent in 1839, persuaded

The importance attached to the case by the Sikhs.

The real truth of the letter of Kharrak Singh.

his relative, Rani Chand Kour, to induce her weak-minded husband Maharaja Kharrak Singh to draft a letter similar to that produced; that Raja Dhyani Singh, the Lahore Minister, refused his consent to the alienation, and the letter consequently was never despatched. Raja Jaswant Singh later procured a copy of the draft which was produced as genuine and valid, although the original letter had never been officially issued at all. This was to all intents and purposes a forgery.

The original grant was discovered, dated May 1819, in favor of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and on this the Nabha Raja was compelled somewhat to change his ground. He admitted that the grant had originally been so made, and stated that the British Agent had been informed of it at the time, but of this assertion there was no proof. There was evidence, however, to show that the English authorities had no knowledge of the transfer. Mr. Clerk had given the Raja, in 1839, permission to resume Mowran, having no idea whatever that the Lahore State had any legitimate claim.* Colonel Richmond, equally ignorant of the truth, and accepting, as precedents to follow, the orders of Colonel Ochterlony in 1814, and of Mr. Clerk in 1839, told the Raja, when about to march against Mowran, that the village appeared to belong to Nabha, and that if the Raja chose to resume it he was at liberty to do so.† The grant to Maharaja Ranjit Singh was not signed by the Raja, but this, which was advanced as a plea against its validity,

* Mr. Clerk to Raja of Nabha, 8th April 1839, and to Colonel Richmond, 16th September 1843.

† Colonel Richmond to Raja of Nabha, 19th August 1843.

was of little weight, for Sikh Chiefs did not always affix their signatures to documents of such a nature. In any case, the denial of the grant was as foolish as it was dishonest, since the Raja had virtually admitted the Lahore claim by applying there for leave to resumé; while the reason for omitting to sign the document was doubtless that the Raja, when making the grant, had intended some day to deny it either for his personal advantage or to justify himself to the British Government for an illegal transfer of territory.*

The question remained whether the village should be restored to Lahore, which had held possession for twenty-four years under Raja Jaswant Singh's invalid grant. At any other time the British Government would probably have waived their rights and allowed Lahore to retain what had been so long possessed, notwithstanding the original acquisition was irregular, but the Sikh Durbar had showed so hostile and arrogant a temper that any concession might have been misconstrued. That the grant was invalid there can be no possible doubt. The British Government was the paramount power, and no feudatory was competent to transfer territory to another independent power without its consent. It is true that no definite ruling was given on this subject till 1828, in the case of Raja Sangat Singh of Jhind, but the principle was known and acknowledged, and that it was understood is proved by the secrecy attending the transfer of

Should the village be restored to Lahore, although its original transfer was illegal.

The right of the British Government clear, and the village resumed.

* Colonel Richmond to Secretary to Government of India, dated 18th May 1844, and 28th May.

Mowran to Ranjit Singh.* The village was consequently resumed by the British Government; the Raja of Nabha receiving a severe reprimand, and being directed to pay Sirdar Hukm Singh the value of the property plundered from the fort.†

The decision of the British Government excited great ill-feeling at Lahore. There can be no doubt that the decision was correct according to every principle of international law; but the Sikhs did not understand international law. They only saw the Raja of Nabha commit, under the shield of British protection, a gross outrage against the Lahore Government, plunder the property of one of the most distinguished Lahore Generals, and kill, in his wanton aggression, several Lahore subjects. The rights of the British Government, as far as its feudatories were concerned, they did not care to understand. They only knew that the village of Mowran had been held by the Lahore State for twenty-four years; that it was seized by violence from Maharaja Sher Singh; and that the British Government, which had always professed the warmest friendship for the Sikh people, not only did not compel its restoration but took the opportunity to benefit itself by annexing the subject of dispute. This feeling was strengthened by another case which occurred about the same time, and which has been before referred to, namely, the village of Bains, granted by the Raja of Jhind

* Resident at Delhi, dated 12th June, to Government of India, and Government of India to Resident Delhi, 3rd July 1828.

† Agent Governor General to Secretary to Government, 4th August 1844, and Secretary to Government, No. 1,297 dated 11th June 1844, and No. 2,480 of 5th October 1844, to Agent Governor General.

to Jamadar Khushhal Singh.* That the suspicions of the Sikhs were groundless and childish may be true ; but it is certain that the unsympathetic action of the British Government at this time did irritate the Lahore Government extremely, and was one of the causes of the war which so shortly followed. It may have been well to insist upon the maintenance of a principle the correctness of which there was no reason to doubt, and to refuse to surrender it in favor of any considerations of expediency ; but Governments and individuals who talk of principle are generally about to do something ungenerous or foolish ; and statesmanship consists as much in respect for prejudices and tenderness for ignorance, as in the assertion of principles however unimpeachable. This, the English Government, not for the first or last time, forgot, satisfying itself with the excuse, unworthy of a powerful administration, that any concessions to justice or generosity might be mistaken for weakness.

The autumn of 1845 saw preparations for war between the British and the Lahore Government in progress, and there was soon little doubt with which side the sympathies of the Raja of Nabha were engaged. The vanity and arrogance of this Chief had increased to such a degree, that the plea of imbecility, which was urged in his favor after the conclusion of the war, was not an extravagant one. The etiquette of his Court became more and more rigid ; from his courtiers he required prostrations and the most abject servility in speech and manner ; he

* Agent Governor General to Secretary to Government of India, 30th July 1844.

Ante p. 384.

desired to omit all titles due to British Officers, even to the Agent of the Governor General, and his pride would not allow him to meet the Lieutenant Governor of the North Western Provinces beyond his own territories. His subjects had now begun to suffer from his exactions. His father had, on his death bed, commanded him to remit, in perpetuity, one-fourth of the taxes levied, which were far heavier than those levied in British territory, although Jaswant Singh had not been an oppressive ruler. This order Devindar Singh obeyed in the letter, but disregarded in the spirit, for he increased the fines, presents and collections, to an amount which more than made up the deficiency in direct taxation.

That Raja Devindar Singh was engaged in intrigues with Lahore, for some time before the Satlej war, there is every reason to believe ; although direct and satisfactory proofs of a treasonable correspondence were not found. One reason for this failure of evidence was the death of Major Broadfoot, the Governor General's Agent, at Firushahr, and the loss of a large number of his papers ; and, secondly, that such communications as were carried on were not usually trusted to writing. General Ram Singh of the Lahore army, a man notoriously hostile to the English, visited Nabha when the war was in contemplation, and is believed to have had many private interviews with the Raja. The opinion of Major Broadfoot may be seen from a confidential letter to the Nabha Agent of the 15th of December, in which he wrote as follows:—"In consequence of the receipt of intelligence between the

*Intrigues with
Lahore.*

*The visit of Gen-
eral Ram Singh to
Nabha.*

"Raja and General Ram Singh, sent by Jowahir Singh,* and in consequence of other acts unbecoming his position as a ruler, they had before been desired to remonstrate with, and restrain the Raja."

But when the conduct of the Raja during the most critical part of the campaign is considered, it will appear superfluous to look for treasonable correspondence. All the requisitions for supplies, carriage and information, which were issued to the Nabha Chiefs, are extant, and from them it appears that the first orders and demands of British Agents were treated with silent contempt. On the 3rd, 8th, and 10th of December 1845, stringent orders were issued to the Nabha Agents to provide supplies on the road from Kalka to Khanna, and to make a road from Latalla to Basia. No attention was paid to these directions, and the most serious inconvenience was caused to the troops.

For this neglect, the estates of Dehraru and Amlah were confiscated on the 13th of December 1845, and two days later Major Broadfoot addressed to the Nabha Agents the letter above referred to, and which concluded thus—"at this urgent juncture, much trouble and inconvenience have been caused by the Raja's neglect to provide supplies which have only been procurable by force; he, therefore now, in writing, repeats what he had in the morning verbally expressed to them, that unless the Raja of Nabha come into the British camp on that or the follow-

* Jowahir Singh was at this time *Wazir*, or Prince Minister, at Lahore.

“ing evening he will be considered an enemy to
 “ the British ; further that Kanha Mal (the Raja’s
 “ agent) who had been sent on, in advance, to
 “ collect supplies and had failed, remain in attend-
 “ ance, under surveillance, and in charge of the supply
 “ department ; that the Thannadar who had behaved
 “ with disrespect to the Assistant (Mr. Cust), and
 “ who deserves severe punishment, remain in con-
 “ finement ; and that Mulvi Zahur-ul-Hak (another
 “ agent of the Raja’s) remain in attendance and
 “ be treated with the usual respect ; that in punish-
 “ ment of the present offence, Latalla, with its de-
 “ pendencies, be confiscated, and, to this end, the
 “ Rai of Kotla and Rahmut Ali Khan are ordered
 “ to take possession, who will be paid from the reve-
 “ nues of the district.”

That these stringent orders were not unneces-
 sary is proved by the inattention
 paid to them. The Raja did not
 come into the British camp, but remained at Nabha
 under the pretence of collecting supplies ; and, the
 death of the Maharaja of Pattiala occurring a few
 days afterwards, he took the opportunity to visit
 Pattiala. After the death of Major Broadfoot the
 disinclination of the Raja to join the British camp
 did not abate. Major F. Mackeson, Commissioner
 of the Cis-Satlaj territories, wrote, on the 5th of
 January, by direction of the Secretary to Govern-
 ment, to the Raja, reminding him of Major Broad-
 foot’s letter of the 15th December, and begging him
 to come to Firozpur, where he might explain his
 failure to attend when first summoned.

*The orders of Major
 Broadfoot disre-
 garded.*

To this letter no answer was returned, but, on the 12th January, two letters were received by the Secretary to Government and the Governor General, purporting to have been written on the 29th December. The former was in some sort an answer to Major Broadfoot's letter, declaring the loyalty of the Raja, expatiating on the services rendered by the Nabha State, and attempting to explain his connection with General Ram Singh. During the operations of Sir H. Smith's column south of the Satlej, the Raja once sent his officials to Major Mackeson with unmeaning messages, but, not until the 13th of February, three days after the battle of Subraon, did he leave Nabha, in compliance with a special request of Major Mackeson, and proceed to Ludhiana.

The conduct of the Nabha authorities, with regard to carriage and supplies, was dilatory and suspicious in the extreme. At the time when they were most needed, nothing whatever was provided, though after the battles of Mudki and Firushahr, supplies were sent in abundance; and after the final victory of Subraon the whole resources of the Nabha State were placed at the disposal of the Government. Previous to the battle of Firushahr and Mudki, only 32 camels and 681 maunds of grain were furnished; while 21,807 maunds and 864 camels were supplied after these actions, though the resources of the State were such that, in the opinion of Sir Henry Lawrence,* it could have furnished early in January all that was supplied eventually, and at least half before the two first battles.

* Report on the Raja's conduct to Government of India, 18th September 1846.

At the close of the war the Raja was not permitted, with the other Protected Chiefs, to attend the Durbar of the Governor General at Ludhiana, and an investigation was directed to be made into his conduct, the result of which confirmed, in every particular, the account which has here been given. A long and elaborate defence was submitted by the Raja, some points of which must be briefly noticed.

The Raja of Nabha excluded from Durbar.

He first endeavoured to prove that Major Broadfoot's order, summoning him to the British camp was illegal, as he was not compelled to visit the Governor General's Agent beyond his own territory. But, in time of war, all ceremony must be waived—those who do not act with the zeal of friends, must be considered enemies; and, after the battle of Subraon, the Raja made no difficulty about proceeding to Ludhiana at the direction of Major Mackeson.

The defence of the Raja of Nabha.

The services rendered in former years by the Nabha State were then recounted; and it was alleged that, during the Satalj campaign, Sirdar Ganda Singh, a Nabha Chief, was placed at Major Broadfoot's disposal, and supplied him with much valuable information, while his son, Lal Singh, was sent to Lahore on the same service. Sir H. Lawrence, however, who succeeded to the Agency, after Major Broadfoot's death, at Firushahr, could find no evidence of any such information having been given; nor did Ganda Singh or Lal Singh ever furnish him with a single item of intelligence that was worth anything, although the latter passed through the Sikh camp at Subraon a week before the battle.

The services alleged to have been rendered by him.

The deputation of General Ram Singh to Nabha was explained as being a visit to his native country, where he desired to fix his home, being disgusted with the Lahore service; that he only paid one complimentary visit to the Raja, presenting his *nazr* and returning at once to Lahore.*

Supplies, it was asserted, had been collected as speedily as possible, and the Nabha contingent placed entirely at the service of the English, so that the Raja was compelled to raise fresh troops to provide for the protection of his territory. It is indeed true that a contingent of Nabha troops was present at Mudki and Firushahr, but not a man fought on the side of the English in those or the subsequent actions.

The excuse for disregarding the direction of Major Broadfoot to join the camp, was that the Raja, on his way to the army head quarters, had reached Malerkotla, when he heard of the death of Major Broadfoot. That he then returned to Nabha, and the death of the Maharaja of Pattiala happening at the

The supplies collected.

The excuses for not having visited the British Camp.

* The character of General Ram Singh Jallawalia was well known. He was high in favor at Lahore, and whatever his visit to Nabha may have signified, he certainly crossed the Satlej with the object of sounding the Protected Chiefs, and discovering how far Lahore might count on their assistance. The information which induced Major Broadfoot to issue the order to the Nabha Chief to attend his camp, was given by a native of position, who had considerable opportunities of knowing the truth, and was, true or false, in considerable detail. He stated that Jowahir Singh of Lahore sent General Ram Singh to Raja Devindar Singh, and that they were closeted together for several hours. Afterwards Munshi Sabih Singh was admitted, and the following plan of operations agreed upon:—They estimated that Nabha, Ladwa, and other disaffected Chiefs in the Cis-Satlej States, could raise 60,000 fighting men who were to be employed, while the Sikh army was engaged with the British, in intercepting the communications of the latter, plundering baggage, and cutting off their supplies. All this having been arranged, General Ram Singh returned to Lahore. This story was very possibly true, but the decision against the Raja was not influenced by it, but by his own acts and omissions only.

same time, his duties as the head of the Phulkian family compelled him to visit Pattiala and attend the funeral ceremonies. The roads, the Raja moreover stated, were unsafe for travelling.

The truth, however, appeared to be that only the road which led to the British camp was, to the Raja, unsafe. *The real truth of the matter,* The danger was purely imaginary, the road being covered with hackeries and unarmed camp-followers, and the Raja would have had with him a force amply sufficient to protect him had any danger existed. A mere comparison of dates will be sufficient to show the unwillingness of the Raja to attend the summons to the British camp. Major Broadfoot's order was given on the 15th of December, and might easily have been complied with in forty-eight hours. The Maharaja of Pattiala died on the 23rd of December, and it was only necessary, for compliance with Sikh etiquette, that the Raja should attend any time within seventeen days from the death, to pay a visit of condolence to the family, and this too was a mere matter of ceremony, immaterial in comparison with the necessity of proving his devotion and loyalty to the Government. It was moreover necessary for him to be present at the cremation. As Pattiala is only eighteen miles from Nabha, one day was amply sufficient for this visit. But the Raja went three times to Pattiala, remaining there seventeen days: from the 24th to the 27th of December; from the 4th to the 17th of January; and from the 16th to the 24th of January, plainly proving that his object was merely to manufacture an excuse to absent himself from the British camp, which, even after this, he never visited at all.

The Raja was beyond doubt altogether hostile to the English.

After a consideration of the evidence against the Raja and the explanation urged in his defence, no reasonable doubt can be entertained he had intrigued with the Court of Lahore previous to the war; that he was thoroughly disaffected, though too timid to actually join the enemy as the Raja of Ladwa had done; that he made no effort to supply carriage or food for the troops; that he disregarded the most direct orders to attend the army in person; that he waited till the very last, after the battles of Firoshahr, Mudki and Aliwal, in the hope that the last battle on the Satlej would be a defeat for the English, in which case he would, without hesitation, have declared against them.*

Raja Devindar Singh deposed, and one quarter of the Nabha territory confiscated.

The Government of India came to the same conclusion with regard to the conduct of the Raja of Nabha as the officer who had investigated the case. Raja Devindar Singh was ordered to be deposed, and his eldest son, then a boy of seven, to be placed on the throne, under the guardianship of his step grand-mother, Rani Chand Kour, aided by three of the most respectable officers of the Nabha State. These four persons were to be responsible to the British Government for the educa-

* The correspondence regarding the conduct of the Raja of Nabha during the war is very voluminous. The documents on which this account is founded are chiefly—the defence of the Raja prepared by his Diwan, Kahn Chand, and submitted to the Agent Governor General 21st April 1846. The original letters, parwanas, and kharitas sent to the Raja and his agents by Mr. Currie, Mr. R. Cust, Major Broadfoot, Major Mackeson, and Major Lawrence, with the replies, and abstract of supplies furnished, the report of Mr. R. Cust to the Superintendent Cis-Satlej States, dated March 7th 1846, the reports of Major Mackeson, c. b., to Agent Governor General dated 17th and 27th July, the report of Captain Mills, Assistant Agent to Governor General to Major Mackeson, dated 1st February 1846, and the final report and recommendation of Major H. Lawrence, dated 18th September 1846.

tion and safety of the young Raja ; all transit duties, estimated at Rs. 12,200 per annum, the customs of the town of Nabha, amounting to Rs. 4,500, excluded, were abolished. One-fourth of the Nabha territory, the districts of Pakowal, Dehraru, and Rori, less a portion worth Rs. 12,200, was confiscated, and territory valued at Rs. 28,766 a year, was to be retained by the British Government in lieu of a contingent of 100 horse and 133 foot. The remainder, being lands worth Rs. 71,224, was to be divided equally between the Maharaja of Pattiala and the Raja of Faridkot, in reward for services performed during the war. A pension of Rs. 50,000 was allowed to Raja Devindar Singh for life from the revenues of Nabha, on condition of his residing peacefully at any British station south of Dehli or Mehrut.*

The Ex-Raja selected Mathra for his residence, where he remained till 1854. But his misfortunes had taught him nothing, even supposing him intellectually capable of profiting by any experience whatever. He gave as much trouble as he could, not only to the English authorities, but to his own family at Nabha, to which he bore an unnatural hatred. Notwithstanding his splendid allowance, he fell deeply into debt, and was supposed to sign bonds in the hope that the Nabha Government would be compelled to pay. At Mathra there were many unscrupulous persons who encouraged him in this reckless course, advancing money at exorbitant rates of interest on such security.

* Secretary to Government of India to Agent Governor General, No. 459, dated 17th November 1846, and Agent Governor General to Secretary to Government 18th September 1846.

His behaviour, at length, became so outrageous, that the authorities of the North Western Provinces considered that he should be either placed under restraint or removed to some other locality where a more complete watch could be maintained over him, and the Supreme Government, in January 1855, sanctioned his removal to any place not in the neighbourhood of Nabha, where the Magistrate would be able to control, in some measure, his extravagances.*

Thanesar had been suggested as the new residence of Devindar Singh, but the Government considered this place unsuitable, as it was not more than 60 miles from Nabha, whither the Ex-Raja might, without difficulty, find his way, and where his appearance would be the signal for disturbance. Even should he fail in exciting disorder, he would probably be able to form a party at Nabha and carry on intrigues dangerous to the administration of the State. Jalandhar or Hoshiarpur were then suggested for his residence, but it was finally determined to remove him to Lahore, where he arrived on the 8th December 1855, the palace of Maharaja Kharrak Singh being assigned to him.†

* Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States to Government Punjab, Nos. 231 and 281 dated 9th October and 2nd December 1854. Commissioner Agra to Commissioner Ambala, No. 724, dated 6th November, with enclosures. Government Punjab to Government of India, No. 1061 dated 13th December 1854. Government of India to Government Punjab, No. 440 dated 26th January 1855.

† Government North Western Provinces No. 293 dated 28th March with enclosures, to Government Punjab. Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States to Government Punjab, No. 195 dated 28th August. Government Punjab to Government of India No. 206 dated 10th March. Government of India to Government Punjab 1450, dated 20th April 1855. Commissioner Lahore, No. 66 dated 25th April 1857, to Government Punjab.

Raja Devindar Singh died at Lahore in November 1865. He had married four wives : first, the daughter of Raja Ram Singh of Balabgarh ; then Man Kour, the daughter of Sirdar Wazir Singh of Rangar-Nangal in the Amritsar district ; his third wife was the daughter of Sirdar Gulab Singh Mansaia, and, the fourth, daughter of Sirdar Kharrak Singh Dhallon. Rani Man Kour was the mother of two sons, Bharpur Singh and Bhagwan Singh, who became successively Rajas of Nabha. The elder of these was born in 1840, and the second two years later.

Major Mackeson, Commissioner of the Cis-Satlej States, visited Nabha in January 1847, to instal the new Chief, Bharpur Singh, then an intelligent boy, seven years of age. His step-grandmother, Rani Chand Kour, the surviving widow of Raja Jaswant Singh and a lady of great ability, was appointed his guardian, and three of the oldest servants of the Nabha State, Sirdar Gurbaksh Singh, Fatah Singh, and Behali Mal, were selected to form the Council of Regency.* Gurbaksh Singh, who was appointed to the duty of superintending the education of the young Prince, had been in the service of Raja Devindar Singh, but, previous to the war, had been banished to Thanesar by his eccentric master. He was in exile when Colonel Mackeson called him to Nabha to assume the presidency of the Council.

The arrangements for carrying on the administration at Nabha.

Sirdar Gurbaksh Singh, President of the Council of Regency.

* Agent Governor General to Government of India, No. 184, dated 18th September 1846, and No. 210, dated 17th December 1846, to Major Mackeson.

Munshi Sahib Singh had been the minister of
Munshi Sahib Singh. Devindar Singh at the time of the
 Cis-Satléj war, and is understood to

have advised the Chief to evade compliance with the demands of the British authorities, and wait the progress of events before declaring to which side he would adhere. Major Mackeson excluded him from all interference with the administration of the Nabha State; but he was a favorite with Rani

Rani Chand Kour. Chand Kour, and in a few years recovered much of his influence in Nabha and labored to overthrow his rival Sirdar Gurbaksh Singh. In this attempt, through the haste of the Prime Minister to get rich, he entirely succeeded, and, on complaints being preferred against Gurbaksh Singh in 1857, an investigation was directed by the Chief Commissioner, the result of

The disgrace of Gurbaksh Singh, and the rise of his rival. which was that, the Minister was proved to have abused his position to enrich himself, and to have filled all offices of importance with members of his own family. He was dismissed from office, his jagirs were resumed, and both he and his family were prohibited from re-employment in the Nabha State. Munshi Sahib Singh, then, without any special authorization from Government, succeeded the exiled Minister as President of the Council.*

The most important case which occurred during
The case of the village of Bhai Rupa, shared by all the Phulkian Chiefs. the minority of Raja Bharpur Singh, related to the village of Bhai Rupa. It will be remembered that this

* Government Punjab to Commissioner Cis-Satléj States No. 293, dated 28th March, Nos. 412 and 427 dated 27th April and 1st May 1857. Commissioner Cis-Satléj States No. 88, dated 17th April 1857.

village was held in shares by the Chiefs of Pattiala, Nabha, Jhind, Bhadour and Malod, and afforded a fair presumption that these families were originally independent of each other.* It is by no means easy to determine the early history of the village, but there is no doubt that the site was first selected by Bhai Rup Chand, the *gúrú*, or spiritual adviser, of Tilokha and Rama, the sons of Phul, and that he obtained their permission to found a village. He died, however, before carrying out his project, and some time later, his grandson, Bhai Dhanna Singh, built the village on the selected spot, calling it Bhai Rupa after the name of the Guru.

The land occupied by the village was taken from the adjacent lands of Phul and Kangar, that taken from the former being allowed to the Bhaikians or descendants of Bhai Rupa, rent free, they making their collections from the zamindars without interference from the Phul Chaudhris. In the Kangar division of the village, the Bhaikians had a smaller share, but, after the death of Rai Bakhtyar, who managed the collections of this patti or share, the Bhaikians obtained more land, for which they paid a small acknowledgment to the Miani Jats, owners of Kangar. Subsequently the village of Kangar came into the possession of Nabha, the tribute to the Mianis ceased to be paid, and, in 1805, the Raja of Nabha took the administration of the Kangar patti of Bhai Rupa into his own hands. After the death of Tilokha and Rama, the Phulkian patti was held in equal shares by Gurditta, Sukhchen, Ala Singh, Man Singh, and Chuhr Singh, the ancestors of the houses of Nabha, Jhind, Pattiala, Malod and Bhadour. The Police management

* *Ante* p. 289.

remained with Nabha, as Bhai Rupa was adjacent to that State. This arrangement was for mutual convenience, and although, in 1841, the other sharers denied the right, Nabha had always exercised Police control. This village and the rights therein belonging to the several Chiefs was a fruitful cause of dispute, and gave the greatest trouble to the Political Officers. Each State considered it a point of honor to maintain its position in the village, supporting its claims by any means, however unscrupulous, and it was not till 1851, that the disputes were finally adjusted and the boundaries fixed.*

Raja Bharpur Singh attained his majority a few months after the breaking out of the mutiny of 1857. At this critical time he acted with the utmost loyalty and intelligence, and his services were as distinguished as those of the other Phulkian Chiefs.

At the commencement of the mutiny the Raja was directed to hold himself in readiness for service, and, on the 17th of May, was placed in charge of the important station of Ludhiana, which he occupied with 350 horse, 450 foot, and 2 guns, remaining there for six months, and, during his occasional absences, leaving his brother in command. He furnished an escort of 300 men for the siege train ordered from Philor to accompany the Commander-in-Chief to Dehli. The Nusseri battalion had been appointed for this duty, but they refused to march, and Nabha troops were alone available for

* Voluminous vernacular records of 1834, 1841, 1844. W. Wynyard, Esq., to Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States, No. 420, dated 9th September 1848, enclosing report of R. H. Greathed, Esq., of the 6th September. H. Davidson, Esq., Settlement Officer, to Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States, No. 344, dated 7th November 1851.

the duty. When the Jalandhar mutineers reached Philor, the Deputy Commissioner took a detachment of 150 Nabha troops, and, destroying the bridge, opposed the passage of the enemy. The troops behaved well, a great number of the mutineers were killed, and several of the Nabha men were killed and wounded.

Raja Bharpur Singh was anxious himself to march to Dehli at the head of his troops, as the Raja of Jhind had done. This was not allowed. He was very young, and such service was more onerous than could be fairly asked from him. A detachment, however, of his force, about 300 in number, did good service at Dehli under Sirdar Dídár Singh, throughout the siege.

In addition to this, the Raja enlisted many hundred new troops; he furnished supplies and carriage; arrested mutineers marching through his State; and performed every service required of him with the utmost loyalty and good-will. At a time when money was urgently wanted, he advanced to Government a loan of two and a half lakhs of rupees.*

The Commissioner of the Cis-Satlaj States, after the disturbances were over, recommended that the following rewards should be conferred upon the Raja :—

(1). A grant of territory taken from the Ludhiana or Firozpur districts and not exceeding in value Rs. 30,000 per annum, to be given to him and his male heirs in perpetuity.

(2). That his khillat from the Governor General should be increased from seven pieces to fifteen,

* Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States, No. 69, dated 4th March 1858. With statement of services of the Raja of Nabha.

to place him on the same footing as the Raja of Jhind.

(3). That he should be received with a salute of nine guns on visiting any of the large military stations, or at the Durbar of the Governor General.

(4). That his visit to the Governor General should be returned by the Foreign Secretary.

The Government, however, on further consideration, bestowed upon Raja Bhurpur Singh rewards far more valuable than those originally proposed. The divisions of Báwal and Kanti, in the confiscated Jhajjar territory, were made over to him, worth Rs. 1,06,000 per annum, on condition of good behaviour and service, military and political, in times of general danger and disturbance. His khillat was increased from seven to fifteen pieces ; a salute of eleven guns was granted him ; his visit to the Governor General was directed to be returned by the Foreign Secretary, and his honorary titles were increased.*

In addition to these honors, there were conferred upon him those privileges which he, in common with his kinsmen of Pattiala and Jhind, had asked from Government in their Paper of Requests in 1858 : the power of life and death ; the right of adoption ; and the promise of non-interference of the British Government in the domestic affairs of the family and the internal management of the State.†

* Government Punjab to Government of India, No. 135 of 12th March and 202 of 13th April 1858. Government of India to Government Punjab, No. 1549 A, dated 2nd June, and to Raja of Nabha of the same date.

† Paper of requests submitted by the three Phulkian Chiefs. For details vide, Pattiala History. Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States, to Government Punjab, No. 149, dated 20th May 1858. Government Punjab to Government of India, No. 104, dated 16th June. Government of India to Government Punjab, No. 3047, dated 25 May 1859. Secretary of State Government of India, No. 64, dated 1st December 1859.

A Sanad was granted to Raja Bharpur Singh, in May 1860, confirming to him his estates ancestral and acquired, and conferring independent powers and privileges, similar to those granted to the Chiefs of Pattiala and Jhind. The right of adoption which had been so earnestly desired by all these Chiefs was included in this Sanad.*

The Sanad of 1860.

On the 18th of January 1860, Lord Canning, Viceroy and Governor General, held a Durbar at Ambala, at which

The Durbar of 1860.

*** Translation of the Sanad given to the Rajah of Nabha by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General.*

SIMLA, 5TH MAY 1860.

Since the establishment of British supremacy in India, the present Rajah of Nabha and his ancestor, Rajah Juswant Sing, have given various proofs of their loyalty to the British Government. More recently, the present Chief of Nabha has surpassed the former achievements of his race, by the constancy and courage he evinced during the mutiny of 1857-58. In memory of this unswerving and conspicuous loyalty, His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India has conferred additional honors and territory upon the Rajah for himself and his heirs forever, and has graciously acceded to the Rajah's desire to receive a Sanad or Grant under the hand and seal of the Viceroy, guaranteeing to the Rajah the free and unreserved possession of his ancestral territories, as well as of those tracts bestowed on the Rajah by the British Government.

Clause 1.—The Rajah and his heirs for ever will exercise full sovereignty over his ancestral and acquired dominions, according to the annexed list. All the rights, privileges, and prerogatives which the Rajah 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 2. Except as provided in Clause 3, the British Government will never demand from the Rajah, or any of his successors, or from any of his feudatories, relations or dependants, any tribute on account of revenue, service, or any other plea.

Clause 3. The British Government cordially desire to see the noble house of Nabha perpetuated, and in this spirit confers upon the Rajah and his heirs for ever, whenever male issue may fail, the right of adopting a successor from among the descendants of the Phoolkeean family. If, however, at any time the Rajah of Nabha should die without male issue, and without adopting a successor, it will still be open to the Maharaja of Pattiala and the Rajah of Jheend, in concert with the Commissioner or Political Agent of the British Government, to select a successor from among the Phoolkeean family; but in that case a nuzmanah or fine equal to one-third of the gross annual revenue of the Nabha State shall be paid to the British Government.

all the Cis-Satlaj Chiefs were present, and addressed the Raja of Nabha in the following terms :—

“ Raja of Nabha—

“ You have been equally forward and equally earnest, with other Chiefs of your ancient race, in your support of the authority of the British Government.

The Viceroy's address to the Raja.

Clause 4.—In 1847, the British Government empowered the Rajah to inflict capital punishment after reference to the Commissioner. It now removes the restriction imposed by this reference, and invests the Rajah with absolute power of life and death over his own subjects. With regard to British subjects committing crime, and apprehended in his territory, the Rajah 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 Rajah will exert himself to execute justice and to promote the happiness and welfare of his people. He engages to prohibit Suttee, 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 5. The Rajah will never fail in his loyalty and devotion to the Sovereign of Great Britain.

Clause 6. If any force hostile to the British Government should appear in this neighbourhood, the Rajah 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 7. The British Government will not receive any complaints from any of the subjects of the Rajah, whether maaseedars, jageerdars, relatives, dependents, servants or other classes.

Clause 8. The British Government will respect the household and family arrangements of the Rajah, and abstain from any interference therein.

Clause 9. The Rajah, as heretofore, will furnish, at current rates, through the agency of his own officers, the necessary materials required for the construction of railroads, railway stations and imperial roads and bridges. He will also freely give the land required for the construction of railroads and imperial lines of road.

Clause 10. The Rajah 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 Rajah and his house.

SCHEDULE OF THE TERRITORIES BELONGING TO THE RAJAH OF NABHA.

Ancestral Possessions.

Pergunnah Nabha Khas.

” Umloh.
 ” Bhadsun.
 ” Kapurgurh.
 ” Dhunowla.
 ” Phool with Dyalpoora.
 ” Jeylokee.
 ” Sotbuddee.

" The assistance which you gave to the Queen's army in the transport of its heavy artillery from the Satlej to Dehli was a signal and valuable service.

" Your loyalty and zeal have, as in the case of your fellow Chiefs, been marked by rewards and honor, which will assure you of the high esteem in which your conduct is held by the Government.

" Additions have been made to your possessions, and the grant will be formally confirmed to yourself and your descendants. If these should fail you, your adoption of an heir from amongst the members of the Phulkian house will be gladly recognized.

" It is the desire of the Queen's Government that the power and dignity of your loyal family should endure and flourish."*

Share of Bhace Roopa, with right of jurisdiction, and right over all subordinate rent free holders residing therein.

Acquired Possessions.

Pergunnah Kantee, } By letter from Secretary, Government of
 ,, Bawal, } India, dated 2nd June 1858, No. 1549 A.

Feudatories and Tributaries.

The Sikhs of Sonthee.

The Sikhs of Ram Dass Boongguranwalla.

Sbdh Kureea Goomteewalla.

* Government notification, No. 122, A. dated Ambala, 20th January 1860. A Sanad of adoption was granted, conferring the right supplementary to the general Sanad of 1860.

*To Furzund Arujmund Ekeedut Pyebund Dowlut-i-Englsha Burarbun^s
 Surmour Rajah Bhurpore Sing Mohender Bahadoor of Nabha.*

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, your adoption of an heir from amongst the members of the Phoolkeean house will be gladly recognized and confirmed; and that if at any time the Rajah of Nabha should die without male issue, and without adopting a successor, it will still be open to the Maharaja of Puttialla and the Rajah of Jhind in concert with the Commissioner or Political Agent of the British Government, to select a successor from among the Phoolkeean family,

The rewards and honors bestowed upon the young Raja of Nabha were well deserved. His loyalty was hearty and genuine, and his gratitude for the generous recognition of his services by the British Government was sincere. As this time he forwarded an address to Her Majesty the Queen, a translation of which may be recorded here as a specimen of oriental complimentary composition.

*His expression of
thanks to Her Ma-
jesty the Queen.*

“To the sublime presence—brilliant with grace
“and light—the fountain of munificence and
“honor—Lord of the Universe—famous as
“Alexander—puissant as Jamsher—the
“Queen of England (may her Empire endure
“for ever.)

“Your lowly petitioner, Bharpur Singh, plac-
“ing the sign of humility on the forehead of sub-
“mission, and bending his head in dutiful obeisance,
“ventures to present this humble address.

“At a joyful time when the hearts of men were
“refreshed and gladdened by the mercy of God, and
“like a meadow were made green and succulent by
“the bounteous rain of heaven, the key that unfolds
“the desired treasure of your tributories arrived in
“the charge of your Majesty’s gracious Proclamation,
“accompanied by a letter from his Excellency, lofty
“in rank, pure in spirit, the Right Honorable the
“Governor General, and spread a grateful shade over

but in that case a Nuzzuranah or fine equal to one-third of the gross annual revenue of the Nabha 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.

(Signed) CANNING.

“ your petitioner. Your servant was overwhelmed
“ with the mighty honor this missive conferred, and
“ his heart was overjoyed at the pearls of grace which
“ every sentence disclosed, and especially with your
“ Majesty’s gracious assurances to the Princes and
“ Chiefs of India, that your Majesty would secure the
“ foundations of their power, and confirm all treaties
“ and obligations made by the Honorable East India
“ Company, and also respect, with generous magnani-
“ mity, the rights, privileges, and ancient customs of
“ the natives of this country. Your petitioner, and
“ his ancestors before him, have always been steady
“ in their loyalty to a Government whose fame is as
“ wide as the heavens above.

“ In commemoration of the happy news, your
“ servant to show his boundless joy, convened a Special
“ Durbar, and having collected all the Ministers and
“ servants of the State, as well as the rich and poor;
“ he announced the gracious terms of the proclamation
“ to all present in an audible voice; constellations of
“ fireworks were let off, and the streets of the City
“ were illuminated, and your servant’s people were
“ intoxicated with happiness and joy. How great is
“ the goodness of God, and how great is the favour
“ of your Majesty: such was the thought and exclam-
“ ation of every one at the Durbar, who, on hearing
“ the gracious words of the Proclamation, broke forth
“ in praises of the Almighty and of His servant the
“ Queen. As God in His wrath had afflicted the
“ people of this country and crushed them in the
“ press of calamity by raising up rebels and traitors,
“ so now by means of Your Majesty’s gracious ele-
“ mercy he has restored them to peace and favor.
“ The whole population unites its voice in one hymn
“ of thanksgiving, among the foremost in gratitude

"are the Princes of India. Your petitioner has always
 "clung to the skirts of Your Majesty's protection,
 "and is well assured that his interests will improve as
 "the fortune and wealth of the British Empire ad-
 "vance. With these reflections your servant blows
 "the trumpet of congratulation on your Majesty's
 "accession with a loud and cheerful blast. If every
 "hair of his body was turned into a tongue, he could
 "never finish the peal of praise at Your Majesty's
 "fixed intention to uphold ancient treaties. Your peti-
 "tioner's ancestors placed themselves under British
 "protection in 1808, and from that time they have
 "never swerved from their loyalty, and have found
 "their reward in ever-increasing treasures of honor
 "and favor. Their fidelity to the State has been
 "proved and confirmed by the letters of Lord Lake
 "and other eminent English officers. Your petitioner
 "will follow reverently in their steps, being assured
 "that his prosperity, both present and future, is in-
 "separably bound up with that of the British Empire.
 "Finally, may God Almighty destroy your Majesty's
 "enemies, as the sun rising with the day drives beasts
 "of prey to their noisome dens; and may the Star of
 "your Empire be always in the ascendant, diffusing
 "light over the world, the symbol of victory."*

It will be remembered that the Raja of Nabha
 had, at the commencement of the
 mutinies, given a loan of $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakh of
 rupees to the Government. In ad-
 dition to this there remained due to Nabha seven
 lakhs, from the 5 per cent loan of 1848, making a
 total of nine and a half lakhs. When Raja Bharpur

*The Nabha loan
 paid off by a grant
 of confiscated terri-
 tory.*

* This letter was answered by the Secretary of State by command
 of Her Majesty, 30th September 1859. The Maharaja of Pattiala and
 the Raja of Jhind who had also addressed Her Majesty, received, at the
 same time, most gracious replies.

Singh and the Maharaja of Pattiala understood that the British Government was not anxious to retain the Pargannahs of Kanoudh and Budwanah, forming part of the confiscated territory of Jhajjar, they applied for it to be given to them, at 20 years purchase, proportional to the amount of their respective loans. The proposal was agreed to, and Kanoudh villages, worth about Rs. 48,000 per annum, were given to the Raja of Nabha on the same terms as the ancestral and acquired lands had been confirmed to him a short time before.*

Twenty years purchase of these villages amounted to about Rs. 10,000 in excess of what was due to the Raja, but the surplus was deducted from the interest still due to him. †

** Translation of a Sunud or Grant of portions of the Pergunnahs of Kanoudh and Boodwanah, District Jhujjar, bestowed on the Rajah of Nabha by His Excellency Earl Canning, G. C. B. Viceroy and Governor General of India.*

WHEREAS the devotion and loyalty of the Rajah of Nabha and of his ancestor, Rajah Juswant Sing, 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 these qualities, has been pleased to bestow upon the Rajah portions of Pergunnahs Kanoudh and Boodwanah, of the District of Jhujjur, containing forty two (42) villages, according to a Vernacular list annexed, assessed at a yearly revenue of forty seven thousand five hundred and twenty five (Rs. 47,525), and to accept from the Rajah a Nuzzuranah of nine lakhs fifty thousand and five hundred (Rs. 9,50,500). It is accordingly ordained as follows :—

ARTICLE 1.—The territories above mentioned are conferred upon the Rajah of Nabha and his heirs for ever.

ARTICLE 2.—The Rajah and his successors will exercise the same rights, privileges and prerogatives in these newly acquired territories as he 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 Rajah and his successors will continue to maintain the same loyal relations with the British Government, and to fulfil the same obligations with regard to this newly acquired territory, as were imposed on him by the terms of the Sunnud, dated 5th May 1860, relating to the Rajah's ancestral possessions.

† Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States to Government Punjab, No. 87 dated 23rd May 1860.

Raja Bharpur Singh, on obtaining his majority, evinced great earnestness in improving the character of his administration. *Reforms inaugurated by Raja Bharpur Singh.* Early in 1859, the Agent of the Lieutenant Governor had made an investigation which resulted in the dismissal of some of his ministers. This beginning the Raja followed up by many reforms, undertaken at the suggestion of the Maharaja of Pattiala or the Commissioner of Ambala. It had been the policy of the Raja's advisers to estrange him from the Maharaja of Pattiala, who, being a Prince of ability and related to Nabha by blood, would be likely to give him good advice and discourage their intrigues; but Bharpur Singh was intelligent enough to perceive that his interest was bound up with that of the Maharaja, and he maintained a friendship with him only terminated by death.*

The evils which result from minorities in Native States have been noticed in the history of the Jhind State:† *His character, and intelligence, and acquirements.* Raja Bharpur Singh was a remarkable exception to what is unfortunately a very general rule. The excellence of his disposition and his natural intelligence were such as to enable him to resist the deteriorating influences which surrounded him, and he gave promise of being one of the most liberal Princes in Northern India. A taste for learning is rare among the Sikhs, but the Raja was

Government Punjab to Commissioner No. 806, 947 dated 2nd July, and 2nd of August. Government of India to Government Punjab, No. 1977 dated 14th June 1860. Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States to Government Punjab, No. 187 dated 22nd September 1860.

* Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States to Government Punjab, No. 92, dated 24th March 1859. Government Punjab to Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States, No. 366 dated 2nd April 1859.

† *Anta*, p. 360

of a studious disposition. He had thoroughly mastered the Indian vernaculars, and studied English three or four hours a day, whenever the duties connected with the administration of his State allowed him leisure. The work of all Departments he supervised himself, and a private memorandum, drawn up in English and containing rules for the disposition of his time, was a very remarkable document, showing how earnestly he was resolved to neglect no opportunity for self-improvement and to govern for the good of his people. It concluded with these words :-

The rules drawn up for the disposition of his time.

"In conclusion, I invoke a blessing from the Almighty, and from the Durbar Sri Suth Gurdial, to preserve me steadfast in the discharge of these my duties, and to enable me so to pass my life, that, under the Almighty's shadow and protection, I may live to his glory, and be a blessing to others."

In September 1863, Lord Elgin, the Viceroy, offered Raja Bharpur Singh a seat in the Legislative Council: the honor of the Star of India having been assigned to the Raja of Jhind. This honor was gratefully accepted by Bharpur Singh, who looked forward with great pleasure to his visit to Calcutta in the following January. But the Raja was destined never to take his seat in Council.

Nominated a member of the Legislative Council by Lord Elgin.

From June 1863, he had suffered severely from fever. His illness was, in the first instance, brought on by fatigue and excitement at an entertainment, given by his aunt, Sirdarni Mehtab Kour, widow of Sirdar Arjan Singh, Rangar Nanglia, on the occasion of the

His illness.

marriage of her son Attar Singh. This entertainment took place on the 23rd of June, and the Raja, after his return, was attacked with fever which he was unable to shake off for nearly two months, when his physician, knowing his inveterate dislike to quinine, contrived to conceal this medicine in pills, and administer it to his patient, who became entirely convalescent and took the bath of health, in accordance with Hindu custom. That same day the Raja's illness returned more severely than ever. He had taken unusual exercise on the day in question; had walked to the Gúrdhwára four hundred yards distant, and from his house to the top of the castle, a building of great height, and had changed his sleeping apartment, of the heat of which he complained. At night the fever returned and never again left him. From a remittent character with ague, it became continual and acute. The great natural delicacy of his constitution and his nervous temperament increased the difficulty of treatment, and his illness became a rapid decline from which he died on the 9th of November.*

Recovers temporarily, but the illness returns and ends in rapid decline.

His death.

Raja Bharpur Singh left no son, and it was for the other Phulkian Rajas, in concert with the Political Agent of Ambala, to select a successor from among the members of the Phulkian family, in accordance with the terms of the Sanads of 1860 and 1862.

The heir to the Nabha throne.

* Agent to Lieutenant Governor Cis-Satlaj States, No. A. dated 10th November 1863, to Government Punjab. Government Punjab to Agent, No. 820, dated 23rd November 1863. Depositions taken at Nabha of Ghulam Murtaza, Physician to the Maharaja of Pattiala, and Muhammad Baksh, Physician to the Raja of Nabha.

These documents provided that should the Chief die without male issue and without adopting a successor, a fine, or *nazrana*, of one-third of the gross annual revenue of the State should be levied on the next succession. The Phulkian Chiefs desired to save Nabha from the payment of this fine, and the Maharaja of Pattiala and the Raja of Jhind, on being addressed by the Political Agent, Sir Herbert Edwardes, on the subject of the succession, wrote replies precisely similar in character, to the effect that the proper heir was Prince Bhagwan Singh, the younger brother of the late Raja; that it was well known that Raja Bharpur Singh, having no children, had always recognized his brother as his heir and had always treated him with the greatest confidence and affection; that on the night of the Raja's death, according to the statement of the Nabha officials, he sent for his brother, and, in full possession of his senses, confirmed the Prince as his successor, exhorted him to follow his example of loyalty to the British Government; to carry on the administration of the State for the good of the people, and to heed the counsels of the trusted officials, whom, moreover, he commanded to obey and serve his brother as they had served him.

Anazrana was due from the State, no successor having been adopted.

The other Phulkian Rajas tried to assert that there was an adoption.

This confirmation the Phulkian Rajas stated they considered as proof that Bhagwan Singh had been regularly adopted; that the intention of the Raja, previous to his illness, that his brother should succeed him was acknowledged, and that, under the circumstances, it would be in accordance with the dignity of the British Government to consider the

Of a sufficiently formal character to excuse the payment of the stipulated nazrana.

Prince as the regularly adopted successor and to waive the right to the fine conferred by the third clause of the treaty of 1860.

The request of the Chiefs, though prompted by kindly feeling towards Nabha, and possibly by a hope that their good offices would be, at some future time, returned under similar circumstances, was nevertheless absurd. The British Government had yielded everything to the Phulkian Chiefs except the right, as paramount and sovereign, to a fine in case of death without heirs or without adopting a successor. No Government in the world has ever been so generous before to its feudatories; but the concessions granted only induced the Chiefs to endeavour to evade compliance with the only condition by which they were still bound.

The story of the acknowledgment of the Prince, previous to the Raja's last illness, was a pleasing fiction. Raja Bhaupur Singh* was a very young man, and there was every reason to hope that he would have children of his own to succeed him; at any rate, the adoption or acknowledgment of his brother as heir had never been notified to the Political Agent or to Government, and, consequently, had not received such confirmation and recognition on the part of the British Government, as, under the terms of the sanad of the 5th of March 1862, were necessary to its validity *

* Letters of the Maharaja of Pattiala and Raja of Jhind to Sir Herbert Edwardes, dated 12th December 1863. Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States to Government Punjab, No. 309, dated 16th December 1863. Government Punjab to Government of India, No. 478, dated 19th December 1863.

The story of the death-bed scene; the confirmation of the succession to his brother; and the commitment of the officials and the State to his care, was a pure fiction, invented by the Nabha officials to save their State from payment of the fine. The Prince was present certainly for a short time while his brother was dying, but no conversation whatever passed between them nor was a word spoken to the officials regarding the succession.*

The story of the confirmation on the Raja's death-bed was an invention.

In the opinion of the Phulkian Rajas that Prince Bhagwan Singh should succeed his brother the Government entirely concurred. But they rejected altogether the assumption that the nomination of Bhagwan Singh as heir, was in any sense an adoption, and the claim to exemption from payment of *Nazrana*, as one of right, consequent on that alleged adoption. The construction of the Sanad of the 5th of May 1860 was perfectly clear, and the State was liable to the payment of *Nazrana*—"if at any time the Raja of Nabha should die without male

The Government allow, Bhagwan Singh's claim, but deny his adoption.

* There was no means of proving this statement false at the time; but, the following year, an investigation was conducted at Nabha regarding the death of Raja Bharpur Singh. The depositions of every one connected with the Court, of opposite parties, were taken, but there is no mention whatever of the circumstances detailed in the letters of the Maharaja and Raja of Jhind, although, every word spoken, and the minutest details connected with the Raja's death were all scrupulously recorded. The following are extracts from the depositions bearing on the only interview the Prince had with his brother on the night of his death.

Sirdar Gurbaksh Singh, Prime Minister—"All time the Raja complained of no pain, but complained of being very dry in the throat. I thought it necessary to have him removed to the lower storey. He was carried down, and offered an elephant and other offerings. Raja Bhagwan Singh and Behal Mal, Munshi Narayan Singh and Maham-mad Hussain Khan, then came on being summoned. I saw no one else. No one expected the event. It was at night, and only a few could attend. The Mai Sahiba, his mother, then asked to come. At first he objected, as she would weep and distress him; but she came at last, and every one went out and left them alone. The Mai Sahiba remained with her son about half an hour. The present Raja was not present at the in-

"issue, and without adopting a successor." Prince Bhagwan Singh was, it is true, the legitimate successor of his brother, but this right did not in any way lessen the obligation which the late Raja imposed upon the Nabha State to pay a fine under certain circumstances, and in return for the privilege of adoption which the British Government conferred upon him, but which he failed to exercise.

The payment of the *Nazrana* was consequently demanded,* and the installation of the new Chief took place on the 17th of February 1864, in presence

*The installation of
Raja Bhagwan
Singh, A. D. 1864,*

"interview, he was in another room. Bhagwan Singh had no private interview with his brother before the latter's death; but he was with us. The brothers did not speak to each other. When told the Kour Sahib (Bhagwan Singh) was there, he said "well; let him comfort himself" (*tasalli rakha*) and he Bhagwan Singh was crying or shedding tears." After this nothing more passed, and the Raja soon became insensible.

Jun Singh, Nafar or House Servant.—"They took him (the Raja) down stairs. I went to inform the Kour Sahib (Bhagwan Singh) and he came and met his brother coming down stairs. He got worse every moment. I went to the Mai Sahiba's ante-chamber (*deorhi*) and gave the news, she came to her son. After she left he became worse: he was senseless for two hours before death."

Bukshish Singh, Servant of the Raja.—"They brought him (the Raja) down at about midnight, but I don't recollect. The Kour Sahib met us at the bottom of the stairs. He remained in the *jānpān* in which he was brought down. He did not speak to the Kour Sahib, who was crying; and people put him aside, lest he should disturb the Raja."

Many other depositions might be quoted containing proof, direct or implied, that the Raja held no conversation with his brother at all on the night of his death; that the question of the succession was not even mentioned; and that the story of the Nabha ministers, related to the Maharaja of Pattiala of the Raja of Jhind, and repeated in their letters, was a fiction from beginning to end. Sirdar Gurbaksh Singh, the Prime Minister, and Manowar Ali Khan, another Minister, calling on the Political Agent on the 17th December, repeated to him the story of the Raja formally nominating his brother on the night of his death in the presence of the Ministers; but at the subsequent investigation at Nabha, the account of Gurbaksh Singh was quite different, as has been shown, while it is certain that Manowar Ali Khan was never present at all on the night of the Raja's death.

* Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States to Government Punjab, No. 312 dated 17th December 1863. Government Punjab to Government of India, No. 480 dated 21st December 1863. Government of India to Government Punjab, No. 54 dated 15th January 1864.

of the Maharaja of Pattiala, the Raja of Jhind, the Nawab of Maler Kotla, and a great number of the Cis-Satlej Chiefs. The Raja of Faridkot arrived after the enthronement. In addition to Sir Herbert Edwardes, Agent of the Lieutenant Governor, Lord George Paget, C. B., Commanding the Division, and a number of English Officers were present, and the ceremony was conducted with great splendour. On the part of the British Government, a *Khillat* was presented consisting of 15 trays, 3 jewels, 2 arms, a horse, and an elephant.*

Troubles of the most terrible kind soon surrounded the new Chief. His Court was divided between two parties : one favoring the interests of Sirdar Gurbaksh Singh, and the other those of Munshi Sahib Singh, and their intrigues for power resulted in the gravest consequences for Nabha, involving the Court and even the Raja in the suspicion of a great crime.

The circumstances of the death of Raja Bharpur Singh were not in themselves such as to raise any doubt but that it was due to natural causes. He had always been delicate, and his death was the result of long continued illness which had thoroughly exhausted his feeble constitution and induced the rapid decline which terminated his life. He was, moreover, much loved by his people and servants, and it was difficult to say that any party would obtain a direct advantage from his death. But the violent party feeling which prevailed in Nabha, as in most other Native States, was in itself sufficient

Suspicion as to the manner of Raja Bharpur Singh's death.

* Commissioner Cis-Satlej States to Government Punjab, Nos. 26, and 36, dated 1st and 19th February. Government Punjab to Government of India, No. 106 dated 4th March 1864. Letter of the Viceroy to Raja of Nabha, dated 30th March 1864.

to account for circulation of rumours that the death of Bharpur Singh was suspicious, and these rumours at length took shape in the assertion that the Raja had died of poison.

Another case, which tended to confirm in some sort these suspicions, had occurred shortly after the death of Raja Bharpur Singh.

On the fourth of January 1864, Sirdarni Mehtab Kour, one of the widows of Sirdar Arjan Singh and aunt of the Raja of Nabha, after whose entertainment, it will be remembered, Bharpur Singh first fell ill, from the effects, it was asserted, of a magical potion which had been administered to him, was murdered in the court-yard of her private residence at Rangar-Nangal, in the Amritsar district, by men who made no attempt to rob the lady of her jewels, but who, having killed her with blows of a sword, immediately absconded. No trace could for some time be found of them, though popular rumour declared that the murderers were men from the south of the Satlej, who had been seen lurking about the village of Rangar-Nangal, and that the crime had been prompted by powerful parties at the Nabha Court.

The Police at length succeeded in tracing the murderers to Nabha, and four men were arrested, one of whom, Hira Singh, turned Queen's evidence and confessed; and it appeared clear that the crime had been actually committed by a man named Mehtaba, a resident of Jyton, in Nabha territory, who had been released from jail, where he was undergoing imprisonment for theft, before the term of his sentence had expired. This circumstance was in itself

very suspicious, and Raja Bhagwan Singh was directed to use his best endeavours to clear up the mystery ; to bring the real criminals to justice, and to remove, in this manner, the stigma which attached to his Court.

In the month of April following, the Raja held a judicial enquiry, the result of which was to fix the release of the prisoner Mehtaba and the instigation of the murder of Sirdarni Mehtab Kour upon the Prime Minister, Sirdar Gurbaksh Singh.

The Raja investigates the case, and accuses Sirdar Gurbaksh Singh.

This man was not, however, disposed to fall without dragging down his rivals with him, and protested his absolute innocence, asserting that the trial, which had pronounced him the instigator of the murder, was a mock one, conducted and prompted by his enemies who had determined to ruin him ; that the opposite party at Court, headed by Munshi Sahib Singh, had committed the murder in order to silence a dangerous accomplice, of whose discretion they could not be certain, on the subject of the murder by poison and necromancy, of the late Raja Bharpur Singh.

His counter-charge.

These accusations, so circumstantial and grave, could not be allowed to pass unnoticed, although they were but the despairing efforts of a desperate man to escape the consequences of his own actions, and an investigation was directed to be held into their truth at Nabha by an English officer. The question to be determined was whether the death of Raja Bharpur Singh was due to poison, and, if so, by whose instrumentality and instigation adminis-

An enquiry directed at Nabha into the charges.

tered; and, secondly, who were the persons implicated in the murder of Mehtab Kour.

The enquiry commenced on the 3rd of November 1864, and lasted three weeks. *The Nabha investigation.* The Maharaja of Pattiala and the Raja of Jhind were present throughout the whole investigation, and every person connected with the Nabha Court, or who could be supposed to be possessed of any information was examined on oath and with the utmost care.

The conclusion at which Major Cracroft, the officer appointed by Government to investigate the case, arrived, was that there was no reason to believe that Raja Bharpur Singh had died of other than natural causes; and that Sirdar Gurbaksh Singh was justly accused of having, with other officials at Nabha, instigated the murder of Mehtab Kour. *The conclusion of the Commission.*

With regard to Raja Bharpur Singh, the story of death from poison was shown beyond all doubt to be absolutely without foundation. *The death of Raja Bharpur Singh, by poison, disproved.*

No insinuation is more commonly made in Native States than that the death of a Chief is due to poison; for the simple reason that the charge is most difficult to disprove. With *The frequency of the assertion that Chiefs have died of poison, and the reasons for its frequency.* Hindus, cremation follows shortly after death, and however grave the suspicions of foul play that might exist, a *post mortem* examination would be objected to by the whole Durbar on religious grounds; so that the danger of detection which is, in the present state of chemical science, almost certain for European poisoners, if suspicion of foul play be once

aroused, has little weight among Hindus. This consideration, which might be supposed to make crime more safe, also encourages false and malicious accusations, which a great part of the world would believe to be true simply because it was impossible to prove them false. The charge of the poisoning of a Chief is, moreover, one which can be used with fatal effect against any party which may be supposed to have an interest in the Chief's death. Even if unsupported by a shadow of evidence and opposed to all the probabilities of the case, the charge still has its effect. It clings to those against whom it is made, and benefits those who are unscrupulous enough to make it. These considerations will explain the frequency of the charge in Native States; but there is no reason whatever to believe that the crime is one frequently perpetrated. On the contrary, it would be easy to adduce instances in which the charge has been loudly asserted, while it has been known to be absolutely without foundation, the cause of death being undoubted and certain.

In the case of Raja Bharpur Singh there is no manner of doubt whatever that he died from natural causes alone consumption, induced by great natural delicacy of constitution and a long and wearing illness, and the story of poison may be pronounced an unmitigated falsehood, unsupported by a particle of evidence. The symptoms which were noticed at the death of the Raja forbid absolutely the supposition that he died from the effects of arsenic, which was the poison the accusers declared had been used. But there is also no doubt that Raja Bharpur Singh, who was of a very superstitious dis-

There was no doubt that Raja Bharpur Singh had died from natural causes.

position, was worked upon by some of those about him to believe that he was suffering from the magical

Magic employed against the Raja. arts of Sirdarni Mehtab Kour and others. The part which magic

plays in the investigation at Nabha is a very important one. The belief in the power of magic is universal in India, and the idea that he was the object of unholy arts, may, probably enough, have had a very injurious influence upon a man so nervous and excitable as Bharpur Singh. The imagination has much to do with the health or illness of persons of a highly susceptible temperament, and it would be rash to assert that the belief that he had been bewitched did not have a most unfavorable influence on the recovery of the Raja; but the idea of poison must be altogether rejected.

With regard to the murder of Sirdarni Mehtab Kour, there was little doubt that *The instigator of Mehtab Kour's murder.* Gurbaksh Singh had been the instigator of the murder, and that other members of the Court had either actively assisted or had been cognizant of the crime. He appears to have believed, with the Raja, that the magical arts of Mehtab Kour had caused the illness and death of Bharpur Singh, and determined to avenge both it and some private grievances of his own against the lady, who was of a notoriously bad character. He was responsible for the release, in an informal manner and before the term of his sentence had expired, of the murderer Mehtaba, and his turning upon his rivals and enemies in the State and endeavouring to implicate them in the double crime of the murder of the Raja and Mehtab Kour was not only natural, but what might have been predicted with almost absolute certainty beforehand.

The Government of the Punjab and the Government of India considered the conclusions at which the Nabha Commission had arrived to be correct, and directed the prosecution of Mehtab for murder, and of Sirdar Gurbaksh Singh for instigating the same. The former was tried, convicted, and sentenced to death, though this was later commuted to transportation for life. Sirdar Gurbaksh Singh was placed before the Magistrate of Ludhiana, on the 25th of July 1865, on the charge of having abetted the murder of Sirdarni Mehtab Kour, and, after an investigation which lasted seven days, was committed to take his trial before the Sessions Judge of Ambala. The trial commenced on the 5th of September and closed on the 18th, when Sirdar Gurbaksh Singh was acquitted. This result was only to be expected. The great length of time that had elapsed since the commission of the crime; the doubtful nature, from a judicial point of view, of much of the evidence; the position and influence of Sirdar Gurbaksh Singh and his friends and relatives, combined to render his conviction all but impossible.

The Indian and Home Governments found, however, no reason to doubt the correctness of the conclusions of the Court of Enquiry. Sirdar Gurbaksh Singh, Ausaf Ali, Minister of Justice, and Bulwant Singh, step-son of the murdered Mehtab Kour, were banished from Nabha territory; and Raja Bhagwan Singh, acquitted of all complicity in the crimes which had been attributed to or committed by his intriguing officials, was restored to his posi-

The Government accept the conclusions of the Commission.

Mehtab, the murderer, sentenced to death.

Sirdar Gurbaksh Singh acquitted.

But is banished from Nabha, with others of the Court.

tion among the Princes of India which he had temporarily lost, while charges so grave were under investigation.

These painful cases, which formed the subject of both political and judicial enquiry, have been recorded as briefly as possible, with the desire to wound as little as possible the feelings of persons, however innocent, who were implicated in them ; but it would have been an injustice both to the present Raja of Nabha and to his Court to have failed to notice what may be called the most remarkable enquiry which has taken place in the Cis-Satlaj States since their connection with the British Government, seeing that the investigation entirely exculpated the Raja, while the infamous charges advanced recoiled upon those who first gave them existence.*

Justice to the Raja and the Nabha State required some notice of these painful cases.

* It cannot be said that the investigation at Nabha arrived at the whole truth of the story connected with the murder of Sirdarni Mehtab Kour. The intrigues, the plots, and counterplots which were then discovered, implicating, in a greater or less degree, almost every one at the Nabha Court, would fill a volume; and all the motives for the murder, and the persons concerned in it or cognizant of it, will never be known in this world. But that the conclusions reached may be accepted as generally correct, may safely be inferred. The writer of the present work, then Personal Assistant to the Judicial Commissioner of the Punjab, was deputed to Nabha to assist Major Cracroft in the investigation of the case. He can testify to the painful care and minuteness of the enquiry. Every possible hypothesis was examined, and nothing but the conclusion at which the Commission arrived would agree with the evidence recorded, and with the probabilities of the case. The acquittal of Gurbuksh Singh, in a judicial trial, was expected, and was, indeed, unavoidable. But nothing in that trial in the smallest degree shook the correctness of the conclusion of the Commission of Enquiry. If those conclusions were wrong, then Sirdarni Mehtab Kour was never murdered at all: that the Government of the Punjab, the Government of India and the Secretary of State accepted those conclusions as correct, after most careful consideration, is at least a guarantee that they were reasonable.

With Sirdar Gurbaksh Singh it was impossible not to feel some sympathy. He was a very fine specimen of an old Sikh gentleman, with commanding presence and irreproachable manners; and although his previous history shows him to have been both avaricious and greedy of power; yet he had undoubtedly a strong affection for Raja Bharpur Singh, and his actions, however reprehensible or criminal, were prompted

Since the investigation of 1864, few cases of any political importance have arisen with regard to the Nabha State. The chief refers to the Lidhran and Sunti Sikhs whose relations with Nabha were determined, it will be remembered, by the Government of India in August 1838. That decision was not altogether satisfactory. The Raja did not cease his endeavour to coerce the Sikhs, and they, having obtained greater consideration for their grievance than they perhaps deserved, did not cease to complain of his encroachments.

The dispute with the Sunti Sikhs referred to the division of the revenue of certain villages shared between them and the Nabha State. A long discussion had been carried on with regard to this point, and at length the quarrel assumed such dimensions, that, after every Political Officer in the Cis-Satlej States had attempted vainly to settle it by compromise, Lord Canning, Viceroy and Governor General, directed that an authoritative settlement should be, if possible, made. The points to be determined were the value of the shared villages; the amount to be deducted from the Sunti share on account of the Nabha right to escheats, commutation for loss of service, and deductions on account of confiscated and restored territory.

more by love for his master than by any personal feelings, which still were not without their influence.

The correspondence in this case is so voluminous that it is only necessary to note the principal papers as a clue to the remainder.

Report of Major J. E. Cracroft, to Government Punjab, dated 16th December 1864. Government Punjab to Government of India, No. 11, 16, dated 4th January 1865. No. 291, dated 8th June, No. 497, dated 19th October 1865. Government of India to Government Punjab, Nos. 257 and 926, dated 30th June and 4th November 1865.

Despatch of Lord DeGrey and Ripon, Secretary of State for India, No. 44, dated 30th June 1866.

An arrangement was effected by the Commissioner of the Cis-Satlaj States, in communication with the Maharaja of Pattiala and the Raja of Jhind, and approved by the Government of India,* by which Rs. 5,000 a year was allowed to the Sunti Sikhs from the Nabha treasury, free of all deductions; but this award the Sunti Sikhs refused to accept and appealed their case to the Secretary of State, who accepted the appeal, pointed out that the arrangement was unjust to the Sikhs, who would, under a fair estimation of the value of the villages, be entitled to Rs. 10,641, or more than double what they had received. The case was consequently re-opened, and after a long investigation, extending over some years, General Taylor, Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States, submitted a final report, the conclusions of which were accepted by the Government of India.

The decision arrived at was rejected by the Sikhs, who appeal to England.

The case re-opened, and decided by General Taylor in 1868.

The Commissioner found that the value of the shared villages was Rs. 46,085-2-9, of which, however, the Nabha Government only collected Rs. 36,638-1-9, the balance having been remitted as a charitable grant by Raja Jaswant Singh. The Sunti Sikhs objected to this remission being calculated as against their share, and the point was eventually yielded by the Nabha Government, and a share in other cesses collected was also allowed them, making the total value of the thirty-seven shared villages Rs. 47,000. The value of new villages was in the same manner fixed at Rs. 9,000, and the total value of both was thus Rs. 56,000 per annum.

His award.

* Government of India's letter dated 8th April 1861.

The Sunti share of this was admittedly seven annas or $\frac{7}{16}$ ths, and the Nabha share nine annas or $\frac{9}{16}$ ths. The amount due to the Sunti would thus be Rs. 24,500.

But from this the Nabha State claimed certain deductions.—

Escheats of the shares of $9\frac{5}{8}$ ths horse-	
men, ...	Rs. 3,368 11 0
Compensation for the loss of service	
of $60\frac{3}{8}$ ths horsemen, at 5 annas per	
diem, ...	6,792 3 0
Deduction of $\frac{1}{4}$ th on account of con-	
fiscation of $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the Nabha ter-	
ritory by the British Government, ,,	6,125 0 0

Total, Rs. 16,285 14 0

Leaving balance due to the Sunti
Sikhs, ... ,, 8,214 2 0

With reference to the two first items, it has before been stated that the Sunti Sikhs were bound to render service of seventy horsemen to the Nabha State; though, in the year 1838, the amount of this service had been considerably reduced, while the third item had reference to the confiscation of Nabha territory after the first Sikh war, a portion of which loss the Sunti Sikhs were justly bound to bear as well as their co-sharers.

It would be tedious to relate the methods employed by the Commissioner to reach a satisfactory decision. His final proposals were that from the Sunti share of Rs. 24,500-0-0, the following items might be justly deducted :—

Escheats of $9\frac{1}{2}$ ths horsemen, ...	Rs. 3,368 11 0
Commutation for loss of service of $60\frac{3}{8}$ ths horsemen at Rs. 7 per mensem, ...	„ 5,071 8 0
Deduction of one-eighth on ac- count of confiscated territory, ..	„ 3,062 8 0
TOTAL, ...	Rs. 11,502 11 0
Balance due to the Sunti Sikhs,	Rs. 12,997 5 0

*Which is accepted
by Government, and
the case finally set-
tled.* This decision was accepted by the Government of India. It is true that it was but a compromise at the best ; but every effort had been made to arrive at the truth, and it was hopeless to expect that any further investigation would arrive at results more just or more satisfactory.

*The Lidhran Sikhs
not included in the
decision.* The Lidhran Sikhs were not included in this decision. Their position was very different from the Sikhs of Sunti: their district was not included, at the time of confiscation, in the Nabha territory and Nabha had never exercised Police jurisdiction there.

The Nabha territory has an area of 863 square miles, and a population of about 300,000 souls. The revenue is nearly the same as that of Jhind, between Rs. 6,00,000 and Rs. 7,00,000 per annum. A Military force of 1,500 men is maintained, of which a contingent of 50 horsemen is due for service to the British Government. Nabha is the only town of importance in the State.

* Report of General Taylor, Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States, No. 438, dated 14th December 1868, with very voluminous annexures. Secretary to Government Punjab, No. 2—6, dated 2nd January 1869, to Government of India. Secretary Government of India to Government Punjab, No. 302, dated 2nd March 1869.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

Kapurthalla State.

The town of Kapurthalla, situated between Jal-
The founding of the town of Kapurthalla. andhar and the Bias river, is said to have been founded by Rána Kapur, a Rajput immigrant from Jesalmir, about the time of the invasion of India by Sultan Muhmud Ghazni, at the beginning of the eleventh century. The truth of this is, however, quite uncertain, and Rána Kapur has been probably created to provide a sufficiently illustrious founder for the capital of the Ahluwalias.

The existence of Rána Kapur being mythical the
Rana Kapur a mythical ancestor of the Ahluwalias. claim of the Ahluwalias to descent from him is not likely to be less of a fabulous nature, and, in the same way as every Muhammadan family of respectability claims to be Syad, so that the descendants of Husain would seem to include a large proportion of the professors of Muhammadanism, so every Jat family which has risen to importance is not satisfied until a Rajput ancestor of pure blood has been discovered for them by the bards, who fill, in India, the place which in European countries has been taken by the Herald's office.

It is always difficult to assert that an Indian
The singular accuracy of Indian genealogies. genealogy is false, or that any given name may not truly represent an ancestor of a particular family; for India, singularly barren of authentic historical records, at any rate

until the Muhammadan era, has preserved, by oral tradition and with scrupulous care, the genealogies of even obscure families. In every village the *mirasi* or bard can repeat the names of every proprietor who has held land in the village since its founding, hundreds of years before, and the proof of the correctness of the genealogy is shown in the fact that the village lands are to-day held in the very shares which the descendants of the original founders represent.

In the Himalayan mountains there exist ancient Rajput States, Chamba, Mandi, Suket; and, most venerable of all, Katoch in the Kangra Hills, which fell before the united efforts of Gurkhas and Sikhs, counting, without a break, a line of four hundred and seventy kings. Antecedent to what are called historic times conjecture must take the place of truth; but it is not difficult to imagine that these long genealogies, by the side of which the noblest names of Europe seem but as of yesterday, contain some semblance of the truth. These quiet mountain valleys, guarded by difficult passes, by ice and by snow, lay altogether out of the path of the invading armies which, one after another, in quick succession, poured down upon the plains of Hindustan from the north-west. Here, a peaceful race, with no ambition urging them to try their strength against their neighbours and with little wealth to tempt invasion, may have quietly lived for thousands of years, and their royal dynasties may have been already ancient when Moses was leading the Israelites out of Egypt and the Greeks were steering their swift ships to Troy.

If then, the precision of Indian genealogy will allow the Chiefs of Kapurthalla to claim Rána Kapur for their ancestor, although the assertion is its only proof, they may generally assert Rajput origin without any dispute. The traditions of almost every Jat tribe in the Punjab point to a Rajput descent. The unanimity of these traditions is such that it is impossible to doubt that they are in a great measure founded upon truth. Jats and Rajputs had probably a common origin ; but many hundred years after the first waves of Aryan immigration from the north had swept over India, and the Hindus had organized that society the shadow of which is still visible, three or more Rajput immigrations from the south northwards took place, the effects of which can yet be traced in the Punjab. Many Rajputs married into Jat families, losing rank, indeed, but claimed in after years as the true founders of the house ; some tribes kept pure their Rajput blood, taking wives of their own race alone and refusing to degrade themselves by the cultivation of the soil : while others, in the early days of Muhammadanism, when the Jihád was preached by kings with sword in hand, and not, as to-day, by the scum of the gambling houses and the brothels, abandoned their own faith for one which suited better their warlike instincts, and are now known as Siáls, Tiwánas, Ghebas and Jodrahs, some of the finest men and the best soldiers in the Punjab.

The Kapurthalla family of the Kalál or Distiller caste.

But whatever the real origin of the Kapurthalla family, it appears first in history as of the Jat Kalál or Distiller caste, to which Sadao Singh be-

longed, the founder of the villages of Ahlu (from which the Kapurthalla family takes its name of Ahluwalia), Hallu-Sadho, Tor and Chak, in the neighbourhood of Lahore.

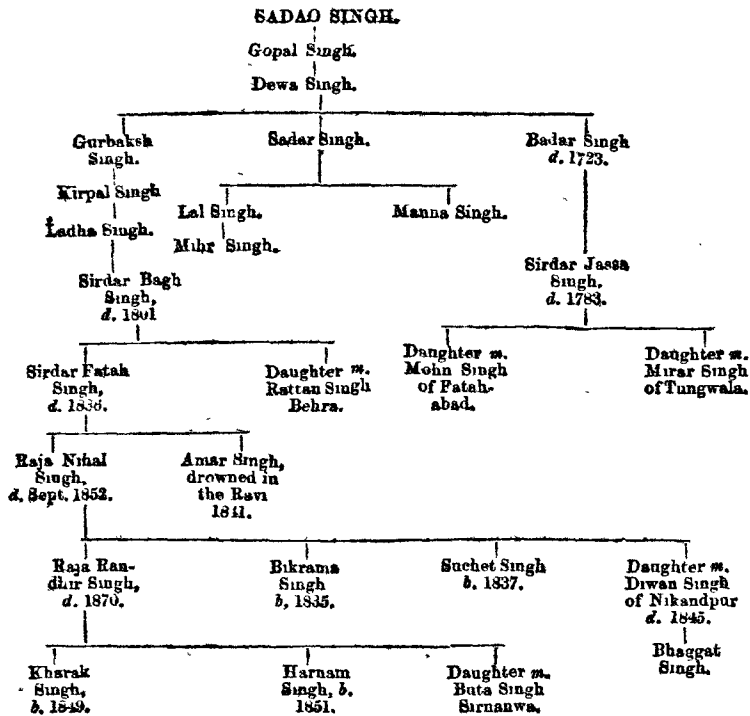
The story¹ is told, indeed, that Sadāwa, the younger brother of Sadao Singh, fell violently in love with a girl of the Kalāl or Distiller caste, and the sanction of his relatives being refused to so unequal a match, became so dangerously ill that the marriage was allowed; the parents of the bride, however, stipulating that the whole family of the bridegroom should adopt the disagreeable cognomen of Kalāl. This was agreed to, the marriage was celebrated, and the Ahluwalias have ever since been known as Kalāls and marry into that tribe only.

The story is, on the face of it, improbable, and may without any danger be classed with those pleasing and harmless fictions which have been common in every age among those who would vainly try to persuade the world that they had a grandfather. But the Rajas of Kapurthalla have no need of fiction to make them illustrious. Bravery, loyalty and devotion, wise and just administration, and an example of liberality and enlightenment set to all Princes of India, would have allowed the late Raja of Kapurthalla to dispense with an ancestor altogether without disgrace, had not the true founder of the family, Sirdar Jassa Singh, been the leader of the Khālsa and the most distinguished of all the Sikh Chiefs north of the Satlej.

Sadawa died without issue; but his brother Sadao Singh had four sons, Gopāl Singh, Hammu, Sikandar and Chaka, the three younger of whom

lived at Lahore, where Chaka built a street which still exists. Little is known of the eldest Gopal Singh, or of his son Dewa Singh, and they were probably men of no importance.

The genealogy, The genealogy of the family is as follows :—



Badar Singh, the youngest son of Dewa Singh, married the sister of Bagh Singh, a petty chieftain of the Lahore district, but for many years he had no children, and at last sought the blessing of Guru Govind Singh, who promised him a son, on condition that the child should become his disciple, and to this Badar Singh readily agreed. The blessing of the Guru did not take effect at once, and it was

Badar Singh Ahluwalia, and the promise of the Guru.

not till 1718, ten years after the death of Govind Singh, that a son was born and named Jassa Singh. Badar Singh had then forgotten his promise, and at his death, five years later, the widow thinking her loss a judgment upon the family for its forgotten vow, set out with her child to Dehli, where Mai Sandri, widow of the Guru, was then living. She was well received, and remained there for several years serving with every attention Mai Sandri, who became much attached to both mother and son,

When Jassa Singh was twelve years old, his *The early days of Jassa Singh.* uncle Bagh Singh urged his return to the Punjab. At his departure Mai Sandri blessed him, predicted his future greatness, and gave him a silver mace, saying that he and his descendants would have mace-bearers to attend them. Sirdar Kapur Singh Faizullahpuria was at Jalandhar when the little party arrived there, and to this Chief's protection Jassa Singh's mother commended her son.* They then returned to Hallu-Sadho, and Jassa Singh, who was a clever boy, was soon able to conduct business for his uncle Bagh Singh, who was killed four years later in a skirmish with the imperial troops at Harian.

Jassa Singh now became a Sirdar himself, and *He becomes himself a Chief.* soon acquired a great reputation. The Sikhs, since the defeat and execution of Banda, the successor and avenger of Guru Govind Singh, had been a persecuted sect, and it was only after the death of Abdul Samad Khan Governor of Lahore, and the invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739, that they began to feel themselves

* The story of the visit to Delhi and the affection of Mai Sandri for the young Jassa Singh is a tradition in the Ahluwalia family, though there is every reason to doubt its truth.

strong. On the approach of Nadir Shah, Jassa Singh had left his village, and, with many other Chiefs, had taken refuge at Muktsar, or as it is generally known Mokatsar, in the Firozpur district, a place sacred to the Sikhs as being the scene of the last great battle and defeat of Guru Govind Singh. When Nadir Shah had left the Punjab, Jassa Singh returned home, and built the fort of Daliwal on the banks of the Ravi where he set up his head quarters. He took care to maintain friendship with the Faizullahpuria Chief, whose possessions were to the south of the Bias, and joined him in many expeditions.

In 1743, when Zakria Khan, son of Abdul Samad Khan, commonly known as Nowab Khan or Khan Bahadur, was Governor of Lahore, Jassa Singh, with a large body of horse, attacked Diwan Lakhpat Rai who was escorting treasure from Imanabad to Lahore and killed him, carrying off the spoil. This was more than the Muhammadans could bear, and Adina Beg, afterwards Governor of the Jalandhar Doab, was sent against the Sikhs whom he defeated with great slaughter. The prisoners taken in this battle were executed in Lahore where the Shahid-ganj or martyrs' memorial is still pointed out.* Jassa

Hostilities with the Muhammadans.
Conquest beyond the Satlej.

Singh escaped to the Satlej, where he seized Lakhumalanwala, Bag-goki, Hicharwal and other Dogar villages. Here another force was sent against him, under Lachmi Narayan, one of the officers of Abdud Samad Khan, and he and his allies, Hari Singh and Jhanda Singh

* This institution is now in the hands of Akalis. The Scriptures (Granth) are read there and the poor relieved. The British Government allow it a small endowment.

Bhangis, were again defeated, Jassa Singh being forced to take refuge in the hilly country to the north of the Satlej. This happened in 1745, in which year Zakria Khan died, and after a lengthened struggle for the viceroyalty between his sons Yahia Khan* and Shah Nawaz Khan, the latter, although the younger, succeeded in obtaining power.

In the cold season of 1747 Jassa Singh with other Chiefs made an excursion into the district of Kassur, and almost succeeded in getting possession of the town by surprise, but it was fortified and sufficiently strong to resist assault; and a little later he joined the Bhangi, Kanheya and Ramgharia Chiefs and his old enemy Adina Beg in opposing the advance of Ahmad Shah Durani, who, on the invitation of Shah Nawaz Khan, had invaded India. The Sikhs at this time were very indifferent as regular troops, and although they harassed Ahmad Shah's march as guerillas and captured some of his baggage at the Chenab, yet the only time they tried their strength with him in a regular engagement, near Sirhind, they were defeated with considerable loss.

After the departure of Ahmad Shah, Jassa Singh continued to carry on hostilities with the Governor of Lahore, *Hostilities with Mir Manu of Lahore.* Mir Manu, better known as Moyan ul Mulk, and his Deputy Raja Gurdit Mal, who had charge of the Hoshiarpur and Sialkot districts. Adina Beg Khan, who was always intriguing with the Sikhs,

* Yahia Khan acted for his father Zakria Khan for some time as Viceroy: but it does not appear, as has been often stated, that he was ever Governor himself.—Vide Cunningham, p. 99. Murray, p. 4.

now their enemy now their friend, was attacked by Jassa Singh near Hoshiarpur; but the action was not decisive, and the Ahluwalia Chief then turned upon Salabat Khan, Governor of Amritsar, killed him and took possession of a large part of his district.

In 1749, Jassa Singh, whose reputation had now become great for bravery and ability, was invited by Kowra Mal to assist him in expelling Shah Nawaz Khan, the late ruler of Lahore, who had been appointed Viceroy of Multan by Ahmad Shah. Mir Manu did not desire any rival in the Punjab and supported the claims of Kowra Mal to the Governorship of Multan. The latter, who was a man of great energy, being thus powerfully supported, defeated his rival who was slain in the battle, and Jassa Singh who had been of great assistance was dismissed with a share of the booty and a title of honor.

Adina Beg defeats Jassa Singh and his allies.

After the third invasion of Ahmad Shah, Adina Beg Khan determined to make some effort to recover the power he was fast losing. He induced Sirdars Jassa Singh, Jai Singh and Khushal Singh, Ramgharia, to join him and attacked the Ahluwalia, Kaneya and Sukarchakia forces at Makhawal, inflicting upon them a severe defeat. Of all the Ramgharia Chiefs Tara Singh was the only one who stood by the Sikh cause, and this defection of the clan was terribly avenged by Jassa Singh on the Ramgharias a few years later. The next year, 1753, he defeated Aziz Khan, commanding the Lahore forces, plundered Rao Jagraon and Raikot, carrying off at Nadown the

Continual conflicts with the Muhammadans of Lahore, A. D. 1754.

tribute of the hill Chiefs which had been collected for despatch to Lahore. During this and the following year he was engaged in perpetual contests with Adina Beg Khan, with varying success, but in November 1755, he gained a decided advantage at Kaddur, and compelled the Khan to cede to him Fatahabad on the Bias. He attacked and killed Umed Khan, a eunuch high in favor with the Lahore Court, and again defeated Aziz Beg Khan whom Adina Beg had sent against him. The latter now made peace, believing that friendship was better than enmity with so powerful a Chief, and together, in 1756, they defeated Sarbuland Khan, one of the Afghan generals whom Ahmad Shah Durani had left behind him in charge of Jalandhar, of which place the allies took possession.

Sarbuland Khan, Afghan, Governor of Jalandhar, defeated, A. D. 1756.

Adina Beg had little confidence in his new friends, and did not believe that they had the power, even if they had the inclination, to give him effectual assistance in opposing the annual invasions of the Durani monarch, and he accordingly invited Mala Rao and Ragho Rao, two famous Mahratta Chiefs, to join him. These men, ever ready for plunder, marched to the Punjab with a large force, and were joined by Adina Beg and the Sikhs. Prince Timúr and Jahán Khan his minister fled to Afghanistan, and the conquests of Ahmad Shah seemed for ever lost. But that monarch quickly collected a new army, and marched for the fifth time into India in the winter of 1759. In the Punjab no stand was made against him; Lahore was abandoned by its new

Adina Beg invites the Mahrattas to his aid.

Prince Timúr Shah flees from the Punjab.

The fifth invasion of Ahmad Shah.

masters ; Adina Beg, the ablest of his enemies, had just died, and there was little or no sympathy between the Sikhs and the Mahrattas. Ahmad Shah remained in India about fifteen months, and

The victory of Panipat, 7th January 1761.

after the victory of Panipat, in which the Mahratta power was completely shattered, he returned to Kabul, leaving Ubed Khan Governor of Lahore, Hingan Khan of the country about Maler Kotla, and Zin Khan of Sirhind. During the whole year of 1760, whilst Ahmad Shah was engaged in his campaign against the Mahrattas in the Dehli country, Jassa Singh and the Sikhs had not been idle.

Jassa Singh's conquests.

He temporarily captured Jandialah from Sarrañ Das, and plundered Sirhind and Dialpur which was in the possession of Gajja Singh, giving a half share to the Sodhis of Kurtarpur. He then marched into the Firozpur district and seized the Dogar* ilaqua of Mullanwala, and the Nypalt ilaqua of Mukku, in both of which he built fortified posts, and they were held by the Ahluwalia Chief till the Satlej campaign, when they were confiscated by the British Government. He then seized the neighbouring estate of Kot Isai Khan, from Kadir Baksh Khan, leaving him, however, a few villages. In June of the same year he seized Hoshiarpur,† Bhirog and Narainghar in Ambala,

* The Dogars are a pastoral tribe, resident in the neighbourhood of Kussur, Firozpur, and along the south bank of the Satlej. They are now Muhammadans, but are supposed to have been originally Chouhan Rajputs emigrants from Delhi.

† The Nypals are a tribe inhabiting the Firozpur district, great thieves and vagabonds. They are a sub-caste of the Bhattis, who were originally Rajputs

‡ Both Bhirog and Narainghar were, in 1760, held by Muhammad Bakr, the Rais of Kotaha. On the approach of the royal army, Mirza Singh, the Lieutenant of Muhammad Bakr, took fright and abandoned Narainghar, of which the Raja of Pattiala took possession and made it

and exacted tribute from Rai Ibrahim the Jagirdar of Kapurthalla. He then made an expedition to the south of Lahore, as far as Jhang, but Inayatullah Khan, the Sial Chief of that place, was quite strong enough to hold his own against all comers.

In February 1761, Ahmad Shah left the Punjab, and the Sikhs immediately recovered more than their lost power, for the Dehli empire was completely disorganized, and Kabul was so distant as to be hardly a cause of fear. Jassa Singh with the Phulkian, Faizullapuria and other Sirdars again ravaged Sirhind, and the Governor of Lahore Ubed Khan was shut up within the walls of the city. The expedition which he led against Charrak Singh Sukarchakia, grandfather of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, was unsuccessful, and he was compelled to retire from Gujranwala, with the loss of his guns and baggage.

In 1761, Jassa Singh was undoubtedly the chief leader among the Sikhs north of the Satlej, and the equal of any chief south of that river. He is said to have struck the first Sikh coin, with the following distich. * "Coin struck in the world by

*The position of
Jassa Singh among
the Sikhs in 1761.*

over to Jassa Singh, who re-appointed Mirza Singh as his deputy. When Ahmad Shah again marched southwards, Mirza Singh a second time abandoned Narainghar, which fell into the hands of the Punjassa Rajputs, and afterwards of the Nahan Raja, the Ahluwalia Chief only recovering half the estate in 1807, and the remainder in 1832.

Bhittog remained a fief of the Ahluwalias till the first Sikh war, though their supremacy was often questioned, and was the subject of many disputes.

* The inscription is given by Cunningham, page 105, "By the grace of the *Khalsa*," but the word is *Akal* immortal, referring to God, and rhyming with *Katal*.

سکہ زد در جہان بفضل اکال
ملک احمد گرفت چسا کلال

The first Sikh coin.

the grace of the Immortal. In the country of Ahmad, which Jassa Kalál seized" though this is more than doubtful; and he certainly did much to organize the Sikh military system.

It was only on the death of Kapur Singh Faiz-
Sirdar Kapur Singh Faizulla-puria. ullapuría in 1753 that Jassa Singh obtained any considerable influence beyond his own confederacy or misl. Kapur Singh was, as long as he lived, the first of the Sikh Sirdars, and he it was who truly organized the Dal Khalsa, though Jassa Singh has obtained more than the lion's share of the fame. When Kapur Singh was dying he made over to Jassa Singh the steel mace of the last great Guru,* thus appointing him, as it were, the successor to his influence, which Jassa Singh by his ability and courage considerably increased.†

After assisting the Bhangis and Sukarchakias
The return of Ahmad Shah. to repulse Ubed Khan from Gujranwala, Jassa Singh crossed the Satlej and made a raid as far south as Shikarpur, Mahammadpur, and Raipur to the south of the Jamna, when he was recalled by the news that Ahmad Shah had returned in force and had recovered Multan and Lahore without a struggle. The

Nor were these coins struck before 1762, not in 1757-58, as stated by Cunningham, and it is very doubtful whether they were ever struck in large numbers at all. The Raja of Kapurthalla has none in his possession, nor do I know any one who has seen one. The *Twarikh-i-Punjab*, of Gaudesh Dass, states that the Sikhs did not strike this coin, but that the Kazis and Mullahs in 1764, after the famous Nanakshahi rupees had been struck, and desiring to anger Ahmad Shah against the Sikhs, coined 21 rupees, with this inscription, themselves, and sent them to the Shah at Kabul, who was as indignant as they anticipated at the insolence of the Distiller, 'Kalal,' who claimed to have seized his country '*Mulk-i-Ahmad*.'

* This is now to be seen in the Akal Bungah at Amritsar.

† *Ante*, page 60, note, the history of Sirdar Kapur Singh.

confederacies were now collected, and it was at first proposed to give battle at Jandiala, but the swift advance of the Afghans alarmed the Sikhs, who crossed the Satlej near Barnala; they were overtaken, and defeated on the 10th February 1762, with the loss of many thousand killed and wounded. The battle

The great defeat of the Sikhs at Barnala, A. D. 1762.

was named the Ghalu Ghara or great defeat, and was the most terrible blow the Sikhs had yet received.

Ahmad Shah, after his victory, remained ten months at Lahore making arrangements for the good government of the province. One expedition he made against Jassa Singh, who, with the Phulkians and Nishanwala Sikhs, was ravaging Sirhind and expelling his garrisons. The Sikhs were again utterly routed, their forces were dispersed, and Jassa Singh with his brother Chiefs took refuge in the Kangra hills. Ahmad Shah then confirmed Zin Khan as Governor of Sirhind, Saadat Khan he nominated to Jalandhar, Sarbuland Khan to Kashmir, and Kabuli Mal to Lahore, and then returned to Kabul.

When their terrible enemy had departed the Sikhs wished to turn upon Ala Singh the Pattiala Chief, who had been taken prisoner early in the year by the Afghans, but who had pleased the conqueror so much that he had been created a Raja and dismissed with rich presents. But Jassa Singh's influence prevented an open quarrel, and he contrived to persuade his fanatical co-religionists that Ala Singh had no option as to his acceptance of the obnoxious title, which had not till then been known among the Sikhs; the greatest of them being known

Jassa Singh protects Ala Singh of Pattiala from the wrath of the Sikhs.

only as 'Sirdar' or Baron. It is true that Jassa Singh among his own followers was known as 'Sultan-ul-Kaum' but this title was not acknowledged by the Sikh nation, and there is no proof that he was ever generally acknowledged as '*Padshah*' or King, which his descendants allege to have been the case.

The Sikhs now prepared to attack the Afghan garrisons which Ahmad Shah had left behind him, but they first determined to try their strength against Kassur* a rich Pathan colony and a very strongly fortified town, which had long been the object of desire to the Sikhs, and which they had two or three times attacked with but little success. They now, however, assembled in force for a regular attack. There were Jassa Singh Ahluwalia; Hari Singh, Jhandha Singh and Ganda Singh, Bhangis; Jai Singh, Kanheya; Jassa Singh, Ramgharia; and many more Sirdars from either side of the Satlej. Kassur was

The sack of Kassur. regularly invested, and it might have held out successfully had not Alif Khan the Pathan leader made an unwise and unsupported attack on the Sikh lines. He was beaten back with great loss, two of the Pathan Chiefs, Kamaluddin Khan and Hassan Khan being slain, and the Sikhs entered the town with the flying Pathans and completely sacked it. The fort held out some days longer, but eventually fell, and the Kassur territory was made over to the Bhangi Chiefs, who held it till 1794.† Preparations were

Kassur was settled, in the reign of the Emperor Akbar, by a colony of between three and four thousand Pathans.

† In 1794, Nizamuddin Khan drove out the Sikhs; and Kassur was again captured by Ranjit Singh in 1807. The present representative of the old Chiefs of Kassur is Malik Khairuddin Khan, who did good

then made for an expedition to Sirhind, which although it had been twice sacked was still a rich town, half way between Ambala and Ludhiana.

Jassa Singh was Chief among the Sikh leaders on this occasion, but each mist fought under its own Sirdars, and there was no one who had sufficient influence to assume the sole command. The Krora Singhias, Bhangis, Shahids, Kanheyas, Nihangs, Phulkians and Ahluwalias joined in the expedition, and the Sikh force numbered 23,000 men. Zin Khan, the Governor of Sirhind, gave them battle under the walls of the city, but was totally defeated and slain with his second in command, Lachmi Narain, commandant of the Buria fort.* Sirhind was razed to the ground, for it was hated by the Sikhs as the place where Fatah Singh and Zorawar Singh, the sons of their last and greatest Guru had been murdered, and the whole surrounding country fell into their hands.†

In the Umballa district Jassa Singh seized 24 villages, forming the Ilaqua of Suhoran; of these he retained eight himself and gave twelve to the Bundalia Sikhs, who were in his train, and four to the Sirdars of Rurki. But no sooner had he recrossed the Satlej than his own eight villages,

service in 1845 and 1857. His mother was a Pathan, niece of Nizam-uddin Khan; his own ancestors were Bhatti Rajputs, and settled at Kassur in 1520.

* At Sirhind the Sikhs built, immediately after the victory, a *Shahidgunj* or martyr's memorial to mark the spot where the sons of the Guru had been buried alive. The Sikhs still hold the place accursed, and as they pass, take a brick from the ruins and throw it into the Satlej.

† The Phulkians and Krora Singhias were the chief gainers by this victory. Sirhind fell to the share of the Pattiala Chief, while the two Divisions of the Krora Singhias, the Sham Singhias and the Kalsias, took a large territory much of which they still hold.

Suhoran, Pir Suhanah, Khanpur, Bhagu Mazrah, Simbal Mazrah, Dadu Mazrah, Orijan and Bhukri were seized by the Raja of Pattiala, and it was only by the assistance of Ranjit Singh that they were recovered many years later.

Jassa Singh then returned to Amritsar, where he paid his share towards re-building the Golden Temple or *Darbār Sūhib*, which Ahmad Shah, before his departure, had defiled with the blood of cows and then blown up with gunpowder; and he also built the Ahluwalia bazar, which is to this day the handsomest quarter of the city.

The actual Minister at this time at Dehli was *Najib Khan the Minister at Dehli and his quarrels with the Sikhs.* Najibuddoulah, commonly known as Najib Khan or Najibullah, a Rohilla Chief who had been stationed

there by Ahmad Shah in 1756, and who had gradually taken the power into his own hands. Jassa Singh had for some time entertained a strict alliance with Suraj Mal, the Jat ruler of Bhurtpur, and when this Chief was killed in a skirmish on the banks of the Hindan, in 1764, his son Jowahir Singh invited Jassa Singh to join him and take vengeance on Sher Khan, the slayer of his father, who had found an asylum with Najib Khan. Jassa Singh and a large body of Mahratta horse marched against the common enemy, who refused to give up Sher Khan, and the allies gained a victory near Shahjehanabad. Najib Khan then

The siege of Dehli. took refuge in Dehli, which was invested by the Sikhs and Mahrattas, and it would probably have fallen had not the besiegers heard that Ahmad Shah was approaching, and this induced them to accept a large sum of money and raise the siege. The Durani monarch, who was now grow-

ing old and whose troops were mutinous, came no further than Sirhind, and then retired to Kabul, not without molestation from the Sikhs, who captured almost the whole of his baggage at the passage of the Chenab.

The approach of Ahmad Shah.

The conquests of the Sikhs, A. D. 1765.

The Sikhs now gained possession of all the country between the Satlej and the Chenab; Lahore was captured by the Bhangi Chiefs; and the next year, 1765, Gujrat and the whole country between the Chenab and the Jhelam fell into their hands.* Amritsar was much

The Nanakshahi Rupee struck.

enlarged and beautified, and the first national coin was struck with the following inscription :—

“Deg, wa Tegh, wa Fatah, wa Nusrat be Dirang
Yâft az Nânak Guru Govind Singh.”

Meaning, hospitality, the sword, and victory and conquest unfailing to Gurû Govind Singh from Nanak. †

In 1766 Jassa Singh marched southwards with the Chiefs of Pattiala and Jhind, and ravaged Jhajjar, Rewari, Bhag-

The expedition of 1766.

* Vide *Punjab Chiefs*, pp. 392—394.

† This coin, known sometimes as ‘Nânaki’ or ‘Nânakshahi,’ is still current in the Punjab. The inscription was in Persian character, as is the case with all Sikh coins, with the exception of an extremely rare rupee, struck by the mint master of Amritsar during the reign of Ranjit Singh, on which the one word ‘Ung’ or God, was inscribed in Sanscrit character. The meaning of ‘Deg’ on the Nanakshahi rupee has been generally misinterpreted. Colonel Sleeman translates it in connection with ‘fatah’ as the *pot* victory (*Rambles of an Indian Official*, ii, 233,) which conveys no meaning; Cunningham p. 111, renders it *grace*, which is inadequate. Deg is literally a cooking vessel, and the inscription signified that one of the injunctions received by Govind from Nanak was hospitality to the poor and strangers. When this coin was struck, every Sikh Sirdar, great or small, maintained a ‘langar’ or public kitchen, at which all comers were daily fed. Poverty has compelled the general abandonment of this custom, but it is by some still kept up, among others by Sirdar Nihal Singh Chhachhi, also by Ram Singh Kuka the newly arisen Guru.

pat, and captured Páyal and Isru from the Kotla Afghans. The next year Ahmad Shah invaded India for the last time, but, uncertain of the loyalty of his troops, he endeavoured to recover the country

The last invasion of Ahmad Shah, A. D. 1767.

rather by intrigue than by force, and was so far successful that he sowed jealousy and suspicion between the Sikh Chiefs which bore fruit later. But he found that it was hopeless to reconquer the country, and retired after having marched as far as the Satlej.

In 1768 Jassa Singh over-ran the neighbourhood of Dehli, Ghaziuddin and Anupshahr, defeating Mirza Sukhan, who was sent against him by the Emperor, and capturing the fort of Mehtab. He was not however able to retain any country so far south as this, for Amar Singh, head of the Phulkian families of Pattiala, Jhind and Nabha, had now become very powerful and viewed the increasing influence of Jassa Singh with the greatest suspicion.

Jassa Singh over-runs the country in the neighbourhood of Dehli.

In 1771, he captured Rai Kot from the Pathans and Rajputs of Berowal, and attacked Kassur without success. The next year he marched against Kapurthalla, held by Rai Ibrahim, who had engaged to pay an annual tribute. But this it was very difficult to realize, and it was only after reducing 13 forts in the neighbourhood of Kapurthalla and investing the town itself that the Rai paid what was due. But Jassa Singh's authority was not really restored, and, in 1777, his son-in-law, Mohr Singh, was shot at from the fort and killed. It was pretended that this was an accident, and Jassa Singh

Kapurthalla seized and made the head quarters of Jassa Singh.

was compelled to accept the explanations offered, but, in 1780, he took advantage of the tribute again falling into arrears to seize the town, where he continued to reside till his death.

In 1776, to avenge an attack made upon him by three of the Ramgharia Sirdars, he formed a coalition with several powerful confederacies, the Bhangis, Kanheyas, Sukarchakias and others, to expel Sirdar Jassa Singh Ramgharia from the Punjab and seize his possessions. The expedition was a complete success; the Ramgharias were utterly defeated, and the head of the confederacy forced to fly into Harriana, where he remained in great poverty and maintained himself by plunder till the death of his enemy in 1783, when he returned to the Punjab and, with the assistance of Mahan Singh Sukarchakia and the Katoch Rajputs, recovered a considerable portion of his possessions.

Sirdar Jassa Singh died in 1783 at Amritsar, where a monument to his memory is still to be seen in the Derah of Baba Attal, near that of Nawab Kapur Singh. Although the influence of the Sirdar has been much exaggerated by his descendants, yet there can be no doubt that he was a man of the greatest ability and much respected by the Sikhs.

In person he was tall, with a fair complexion, over-hanging eyebrows and piercing eyes. His arms are said to have been of unusual length, and he was famous as a marksman, both with the matchlock and the bow.

Although a most successful general in the field, it was rather as the most saintly and orthodox of their leaders that

He joins a coalition to drive the Ramgharia Chiefs from the Punjab.

The death of Sirdar Jassa Singh, A. D. 1783.

His personal appearance.

The reasons of Sirdar Jassa Singh's influence.

the Sikhs respected him, and the most powerful Sirdars, Amar Singh Pattiala included, received the Pahal or Sikh baptism from his hand.* Nor had he, as has been asserted, any acknowledged command of the Sikh forces. The

The Sikh confederacies independent of each other.

confederacies were, in his time, independent and hostile to each other, although they occasionally combined to attack some common enemy; and the Ahluwalia misl, which did not number more than 4000 fighting men, could never have stood alone in the field against the Krorasinghias, the Bhangis, the Kanheyas, or even the Phulkians. Yet the influence of Jassa

Their manner of fighting.

Singh was great, and when any combination of the confederacies took place he was allowed a nominal command, though each body of troops fought under its own leaders and seized whatever territory or plunder it could for itself.

Jassa Singh did more than any other Chief to consolidate the Sikh power, which after his death grew more and more disorganized until the strong hand of Maharaja Ranjit Singh again forced it into cohesion. The Sikh army was known as the *Dal Khalsa*† or Army of God. It consisted for the most part of Cavalry called *Kathiwand*, who found their own horses and received a double share of all prize money. Each

Its composition. The Cavalry.

Chief, in proportion to his means, furnished horses and arms to his retainers, who were called *Bargirs*, and as the first tribute exacted from a conquered district was horses,

Note, page 33.

† The army was also known as Budha Dal, or the army of old men, though the reason of the young men remaining at home while their fathers were fighting is not known.

the Infantry soldier was after a successful campaign generally transformed into a trooper.

The Infantry.

The Infantry were considered an inferior branch of the service, and were only used for garrison and sentry duty, as the battles of the Sikhs were invariably Cavalry actions. The only

The Akalis.

Infantry which enjoyed any respect were the Akalis.* These were a fanatical body of devotees, who dressed in dark blue and wore round their turbans steel quoits, partly for show and partly as weapons, though they were not very effective. Their other distinctive signs were a knife stuck in the turban, a sword slung round their neck, and a wooden club. These men, excited with a decoction of hemp, were generally the first to storm a town, and often did excellent service, but they were lawless and uncertain, and, in peaceful times, enjoyed almost boundless license.

The Sikh weapon was the sword with which the Cavalry were very skilful.

The national weapon.

Bows and arrows were used by the Infantry and a few matchlocks, but powder was scarce and its use little loved by the Sikhs, who were never at ease with a musket in their hands. For the same reasons they possessed scarcely any

The Artillery.

Artillery, and although Ranjit Singh, with the aid of French and Italian officers, formed a very powerful and well appointed Artillery, it was, to the last, a branch of the service hated by every true Sikh, and principally filled by Muhammadans. Nor were the Sikhs

* The Akalis or Followers of the Immortal, derive the name from *Akal*, Immortal, an attribute of God. They were always a turbulent race, and Ranjit Singh finding that he was unable to control them, used to employ them on the most desperate undertakings, in which they were successful or killed, either result being satisfactory to the Maharaja.

fond of fighting behind walls, and Sirdar Jassa Singh only maintained the two forts of Daliwal and Werowal.*

The prize money taken in a campaign was equally shared among the combatants; if a soldier was wounded he invariably received compensation, and if he was killed his son or nearest male relative was entertained in his place.

Plunder and prize money.

* Under Maharaja Ranjit Singh the character as well as the constitution of the Sikh army almost entirely changed. The Cavalry ceased to be the chief part of the force and the Infantry became the favorite service. This was in part owing to the labors of some European officers whom the Maharaja took into his service, and who introduced the teaching which had become general in Europe, the value of Infantry as against Cavalry being everywhere acknowledged. Some of these officers, Allard, Veutura, Avitabile and Court were men of considerable ability, and quite competent to perform all they promised in increasing the efficiency of the Lahore army. The Infantry under their instruction became a most formidable body of troops, well disciplined and steady though slow in manœuvring. Their endurance was moreover very great, and a whole Regiment would march 30 miles a day for many days together. The enlistment in the regular army during the great Maharaja's reign was entirely voluntary, but there was no difficulty in obtaining recruits, for the service was exceedingly popular.

The Cavalry was constructed much in the same manner as it had been in the time of Sirdar Jassa Singh, when clouds of horsemen hung on the skirts of the army of Ahmad Shah Durani, afraid to venture an attack upon regular troops, but cutting off convoys and endangering the communications of the enemy. This is, no doubt, one of the principal duties of Light Cavalry; but the Sikh Cavalry in the time of Ranjit Singh, were, as a rule, miserably mounted and armed, and were more celebrated for taking to flight when attacked, than for any display of valour.

On foot, the Sikh is one of the bravest and most steady of soldiers, and, well led, would probably hold his own against the best European troops. He is unhappy on horseback, and is surpassed by Afghans and Hindustanis, troops far inferior as Infantry soldiers. In the time of Ranjit Singh the Infantry were the pick of the youth of the country: only the handsomest and strongest men were selected; while the Cavalry were irregular troops, the contingents of the different Sirdars, and not appointed for any considerations of bravery or strength. The horses were small, weak and ill-bred, and the accoutrements were of the roughest and coarsest kind.

The 'Akalis' or Immortals, towards the end of the reign of Ranjit Singh, lost their old reputation for sanctity and were only an undisciplined rabble of lawless drunken savages. They served nominally as Irregular Cavalry: having been formed into a corps by Ranjit Singh. Before this they had served on foot and to the last they generally dismounted for a charge. They numbered about three thousand. The

Sirdar Jassa Singh was an enlightened and liberal-minded man. He did not practise entire religious toleration, yet was far in advance of the majority of his countrymen. A very large number of Muhammadans were employed in his service, and they were allowed to follow their own religious observances without molestation. The call to prayer of the "Muwaz-zin" was, however forbidden, as it roused the excitable Akalis to fury, and the slaughter of kine was strictly prohibited. On this point

Jassa Singh a liberal-minded man.
The killing of cows an unpardonable offence.

Jassa Singh was a thorough bigot, and twice he made expeditions to punish contumacious cow killers, once to Kassur and once to Lahore. The Kassur offenders escaped, for the whole town was inhabited by Muhammadans, but the unfortunate butchers of Lahore were almost all massacred.

The liberality of the Sirdar was very great. The city of Amritsar was in a great measure rebuilt and beautified by him. After the great temple, the Darbar Sahib, had been, for the second time, destroyed by Ahmad Shah, the Bhangis and Akalis were compelled to assign the whole income of the shrine to Sahib Rai Chaudhri, who consented to rebuild it. Jassa Singh paid off the whole of the mortgage himself, and completed the restoration of the temple. He also at great expense constructed a large reservoir at Anandpur, and gave largely to the Sodhis resident there. His hospitality was

The generosity of Jassa Singh, who rebuilds the Darbar Sahib.

Akalis generally were armed with two or three swords, a matchlock and steel rings or quoits with sharp edges, which they were supposed to throw with the most deadly effect. The weapon was, however, utterly worthless, and the person in the least danger from it was he at whom it was aimed. An account of the Sikh army under the successive rulers of Lahore is given in "The Punjab Chiefs," pp. 128—129.

extended to all who asked it, and hundreds were fed daily at his *Langar* or public kitchen.*

Sirdar Jassa Singh had neither son nor nephew, and Bagh Singh, a second cousin
Sirdar Bhag Singh succeeds. then in his thirty-sixth year, succeeded to the estate, although there was a daughter married to Sirdar Mohr Singh of Fatahabad, but among the Jats a daughter and a daughter's son are not reckoned among the legal heirs. The first quarrel he found on his hands was one bequeathed to him by the late Chief, who had joined Hakikat Singh Kanheya in attacking Jammu, then ruled by Raja Brij Raj Deo. This Prince was so unfortunate as to possess a country coveted by all the powerful Sikh Chiefs, who at one time made alliance with him, exchanging turbans in token of perpetual friendship, and at another attacked him and joined his professed enemies. When the Kanheya Chief played the Raja false, in the usual manner, and joined the Bhangis in attacking Jammu.

His wars. Jassa Singh broke off alliance with him, and would no doubt have assisted Sirdar Mahan Singh Sukarchakia in his struggle with the Kanheyas in 1783, had not death interrupted his revenge. His successor renewed the alliance with the Kanheya Chief, and his first expedition was in company with Sirdar Jai Singh Kanheya against

* The life of a Sikh Sirdar, in the days of Jassa Singh, was very simple. At day-break he would rise, perform his ablutions, and dress, repeating the morning prayer or 'Sukhmani.' He then took his morning meal, which consisted, in Jassa Singh's case, of two pounds of flour and half a pound of sugar candy, and it is not surprising to hear that he grew very fat. He then set about the business of the day, and at 3 P. M. held a Darbar or assembly for all who chose to attend, where all matters of general interest were discussed. After the evening meal, musicians played and sung hymns called 'Sabadh Rahras,' and an hour after sunset all retired to rest having repeated the 'Ardas' or evening prayer.

Wazir Singh and Bhagwan Singh, Chiefs of the Nakka country, between Lahore and Gogaira, and connections of Mahan Singh Sukarchakia. The next year he went to the assistance of Jai Singh, when Mahan Singh Sukarchakia, Jassa Singh Ramgharia, and Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra had united to destroy him. His aid, however, was of no avail; Jai Singh was defeated with great loss, near Battala, and never recovered the effect of the defeat. Sirdar Bagh Singh, who was not engaged in the action, retired across the Bias, and, after reinstating the Bedis in their possessions at Chamkour, from which they had been expelled by Sirdar Hari Singh Dallehwala, returned to Kapurthalla. Shortly after

The alliance with Raja Sansar Chand. this he allied himself with Raja Sansar Chand; and their infant sons, Fatah Singh, who had been born during the Nakkai expedition, and Anroth Chand, exchanged turbans in token of brotherhood. He then quarrelled with Sirdar Gulab Singh Bhangi, who owned Amritsar and the neighbouring country, and whose people had put to death an Ahluwalia agent at Chabal. He *Overran part of the Amritsar district.* seized Jandiala and Taran Taran, but made no effort to retain these acquisitions, and returned to Kapurthalla satisfied with his success. This was in 1793.

In 1796, he joined the Kanheyas, who were then led by Sadda Kour, the mother-in-law of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and one of the most remarkable women in Punjab history, in their attack upon Sirdar Jassa Singh Ramgharia, the old enemy of his house, who had intrenched himself at Miami. But a sudden rise of the river Ravi compelled the allies to retreat

A second attack upon the Ramgharias, A. D. 1796.

Which was unsuccessful. in all haste with the loss of their baggage.* Nor was he more successful in 1801, when he sent a force under Hamir Singh against the Ramgharias, who had been joined by Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra, and who completely routed the Ahluwalias, Hamir Singh being severely wounded. Hearing of this reverse Sirdar Bagh Singh collected his remaining forces and marched as far as Phagwara against the enemy, but he there fell ill, and growing daily worse was carried back to Kapurthalla, where he died.

Sirdar Fatah Singh succeeds. Fatah Singh, only son of the late Chief, succeeded to the estate, and one of his first acts was to form an alliance offensive and defensive with Ranjit Singh, who had just gained possession of Amritsar. The young Chiefs exchanged turbans, and swore on the Granth to remain for ever friends. *His alliance with Maharaja Ranjit Singh.* He then marched with his new ally against Kassur, but this Pathan colony was, at this time (1802—1803) able to hold its own, and the Sikhs were compelled to retire. Fatah Singh recrossed the Bias, and the next two years employed himself in consolidating his power in the Jalandhar Doab.

The expedition of Holkar to the Punjab. In the autumn of 1805, the Mahratta Chief Jaswant Rao Holkar came to the Punjab. Since his repulse before Dehli by Colonel Burn in October 1804, he had met nothing but reverses. Twice during the following month had he been defeated with great loss by Lord Lake, and was compelled to fly across the Jamna, closely followed by the victor, while

* Vide *Punjab Chiefs*, Volume 1, page 173.

Colonel Murray, advancing from Guzerat, took possession of all his territories about Ujain, including his capital of Indore; and Colonel Wallace, advancing with a column from Poona, occupied Chandore and all the forts which commanded his territory south of the Taptee. He coalesced with Sindhia, whose hatred to the English was as bitter as his own, and endeavoured to win the Cis-Satlej Chiefs to his side. But these perceived that his cause was hopeless and refused to join him, though several gave him assistance in money. He then marched to Amritsar, where he met Ranjit Singh (afterwards

*The interview with
Holkar and the
Maharaja at Amritsar.*

Maharaja) and Sirdar Fatah Singh Ahluwalia. The former was at first disposed to aid the Mahratta, and it was through the influence of Raja Bhag Singh of Jhind and Sirdar Fatah Singh that he did not do so. Lord Lake pursued Holkar as far as the Bias, and had not the only thought of the Governor General been to conclude a speedy peace, one of the most inveterate enemies the English have ever had in India would have been utterly destroyed. But conciliation was considered the better policy: a treaty was made with Holkar, which restored to him the

*The treaty with
Holkar and the
Sikh Chiefs.*

greater portion of the territory which had been wrested from him,* and a supplementary treaty was made with Ranjit Singh and Fatah Singh, by which they agreed to cause Holkar to leave Amritsar, pledging themselves to maintain no connection or friendship with him, while, on the other hand, the British Govern-

* This treaty was signed on the 24th December 1805, and by it Holkar renounced all right to the districts of Tonk, Rampura, Bhundi and territory north of the Chambal. The Company agreed not to interfere south of that river, and to restore at the end of a specified time forts and districts in the Dacca. — *Vide Atchison's Treaties.*

ment promised to them a peaceful possession of their territories so long as their conduct remained friendly.* Fatah Singh, who had acted as the Agent of Ranjit Singh in the arrangement of this treaty, was presented by Lord Lake with a leopard as a mark of friendship, while he presented the English General with a hawk.

After the execution of these treaties Holkar left the Punjab, though his intrigues with Lahore by no means ceased.†

* Treaty of friendship and amity between the Hon'ble East India Company and the Sirdars Ranjit Singh and Fatah Singh.

Sirdar Ranjit Singh and Sirdar Fatah Singh have consented to the following articles of agreement concluded by Lieutenant Colonel John Malcolm, under the special authority of the Right Honorable Lord Lake, himself duly authorized by the Honorable Sir George Hilario Barlow, Baronet, Governor General, and Sirdar Fatah Singh as principal on the part of himself and plenipotentiary on the part of Ranjit Singh.

ARTICLE I.—Sirdar Ranjit Singh and Sirdar Fatah Singh Ahluwalia hereby agree that they will cause Jaswant Rao Holkar to remove with his army to the distance of 30 kos from Amritsar immediately, and will never hereafter hold any further connection with him or aid or assist him with troops, or in any other manner whatever; and they further agree that they will not in any way molest such of Jaswant Rao Holkar's followers or troops as are desirous of returning to their homes in the Deccan, but on the contrary will render them every assistance for carrying such intention with execution.

ARTICLE II.—The British Government hereby agrees that in case a pacification should not be effected between that Government and Jaswant Rao Holkar, the British army shall move from its present encampment on the banks of the river Bias, as soon as Jaswant Rao Holkar aforesaid shall have marched, with his army, to the distance of 30 kos from Amritsar; and that in any treaty which may hereafter be concluded between the British Government and Jaswant Rao Holkar, it shall be stipulated that, immediately after the conclusion of the said treaty, Holkar shall evacuate the territories of the Sikhs or march toward his own, and that he shall in no way injure or destroy such parts of the Sikh country as may lie in his route. The British Government further agrees that as long as the said Chieftains, Ranjit Singh and Fatah Singh, abstain from holding any friendly connection with the enemies of that Government, or from committing any act of hostility on their own parts against the said Government, the British armies shall never enter the territories of the said Chieftains, nor will the British Government form any plans for the seizure or sequestration of their possessions or property.

Dated 1st January 1806, corresponding with 10th Shawal, 1220 H. S.

† Ranjit Singh told Mr. Metcalfe in 1808, a characteristic story of the Mahratta Chief. When Holkar was encamped in the neighbourhood of Amritsar, news was brought that Lord Lake had crossed the Bias

Sirdar Fatah Singh accompanied Maharaja Ranjit Singh in his expedition to the south of the Satlej in October 1806. The Ahluwalia Chief did not wish to join the expedition,* but his position in the Jalandhar Doab was critical and he was afraid to refuse.† The next year, 1807, he accompanied the Maharaja to Jhang, when the fort was captured, and the Sial Chief, Ahmad Khan expelled.‡ This expedition occupied several months, and on his return to Kapurthalla he sent a force to Talwandi, a possession of the Sodhis, but which had been seized by the Sikhs of Kung. With the Ahluwalia force troops of Ranjit Singh under Sirdar Mith Singh Padhania were also sent, and the fact of the Lahore contingent having been employed in the expedition, determined the question of supremacy over the Sodhi villages some twenty four years later.§ Fatah Singh accompanied the Maharaja on his campaign against Kassur, which was captured after an obstinate resistance, and with the adjoining district annexed to the Lahore State.

in pursuit of him. He immediately mounted his horse, and the alarm spreading through the whole army, all the troops fled to a considerable distance, leaving their tents standing.—Letter dated 17th September 1808 from Mr. C. T. Metcalfe to Secretary Government of India.

Holkar's reason for alarm was a sufficient one. On the 17th of November, 1804, Lord Lake, after a march of 58 miles in twenty four hours, made a night attack on Holkar's camp. It was a complete surprise, and the enemy were only awoken by showers of grape from the English artillery. The cavalry then charged though the camp, which broke up in the utmost confusion;—Holkar himself escaping with great difficulty, and losing more than 3,000 men killed and wounded.

* Vide Pattiala Statement, for an account of this expedition.

† Circular of the Resident at Delhi, dated 1st November 1806.

‡ "Punjab Chiefs," p. 505.

§ Letter from Political Assistant at Ludhiana to Resident Dehli, dated 11th September 1831, with Statement of Sirdar Fatah Singh dated 18th January 1826.

When Mr. Metcalfe reached Kassur in September 1808, on a mission to Ranjit Singh, the Ahluwalia Sirdar was deputed to meet him, with Diwan Mokam Chand and two thousand Cavalry at a distance of four miles from camp and escort him to his tents.* With the negotiations that followed Fatah Singh had little to do; for the Maharaja had ceased to trust a man whose interests were necessarily opposed to his own, though he appears always to have maintained some personal affection for him. An extract from a letter of Mr. Metcalfe's will show the opinion entertained by that officer of Fatah Singh's character and position; and that the estimate was a singularly just one later events proved. †

Fatah Singh's character and position in A. D. 1808.

"Sirdar Fatah Singh of Aloo has been supposed to be particularly attached to the Raja, but he is in reality particularly discontented with him. Ranjit Singh and Fatah Singh entered into alliance in early life, and to this alliance the former is principally indebted for his extraordinary rise. The quiet character of Fatah Singh, who was the equal if not the superior in rank and power of Ranjit Singh, has yielded to the bold commanding spirit of the other, and he has been the ladder by which Ranjit Singh has mounted to greatness. He now finds himself, not companion and friend of an equal, as formerly, but the nominal favourite of a master. The outward show of intimacy and friendship is preserved, but there is

* Letter, dated 13th September 1808, from Mr. C. T. Metcalfe to Government of India, from Kassur.

† Letter, dated 8th November 1808, from Mr. C. T. Metcalfe to Government of India, from Gougrana, Cis-Satlaj States.

“no confidence. He is not of the Raja's councils, nor is he entrusted with his secrets, but marches with a considerable force in the train of Ranjit Singh, without knowing whither or for what purpose. Fatah Singh, in rank and consideration, in military force and territorial possessions, is the first of the Chiefs of Ranjit Singh's army. He possesses the country east of the Satlej, from Jagraon to that river, the country generally between the Satlej and the Bias; and the country to the west of the Bias as far as Amritsar. He has a very fair reputation, and is looked up to by the disaffected as the fit person to be put at the head of a confederacy to throw off the yoke; but he is evidently not a revolutionist; he is mild and good natured, seemingly simple, and undoubtedly wanting energy. This is the Chief who was in Lord Lake's camp on the banks of the Bias. He there acquired a respect for the British character, which causes him to look to the British Government with the hope of obtaining from it a release from the over-bearing tyranny of Ranjit Singh.”

Until the departure of Mr. Metcalfe, in April 1809, Sirdar Fatah Singh remained with the Maharaja. He joined the expedition south of the Satlej, made in opposition to the wishes and advice of the Envoy, and which nearly occasioned a rupture between the British and Lahore Governments, and he was present at the signing of the treaty of Amritsar, of the 25th April, by which the long and troublesome negotiations were brought to a satisfactory conclusion, the British Government engaging not to

*Fatah Singh joins
the expedition of
1809 in the Cis-
Satlej States.*

interfere in the Maharaja's territories north of the Satlej, while he agreed to attempt no further encroachments to the south of that river.*

The Maharaja nevertheless chafed inwardly against this treaty, and if the news which the native agents at Lahore sent later in the year to the British Resident was correct, Sirdar Fatah Singh was not so sincere a well wisher of the Government as Mr. Metcalfe had fancied. These reports were to the effect that the alliance between Ranjit Singh and Fatah Singh had been strengthened by vows upon the Granth, the Sikh scriptures ; and that the Maharaja had declared that it would be an eternal disgrace to him and the Khálsa should the British army continue to occupy Ludhiana, and the slaughter of kine be permitted in territory which of right belonged to the followers of Guru Govind Singh. Not only must the British be driven back from the Satlej, but Delhi must be conquered, and Fatah Singh was directed to supply 30,000 horse and 10 guns, and to post his force conveniently at Phagwara, Kapurthalla, Jandialah and Koli, ready to join the contingents of the Rajput Chiefs when they arrived from the hills.† Fatah Singh promised compliance, but he had in his heart no intention of fighting against the English whose power he had learned to respect ; and, two months later, the arrival of the Kabul monarch Shah Shuja in the Punjab and a projected expedition against Multan diverted the attention of Ranjit

* *Aitchison's Treaties*, Vol. ii, p. 237, No. LVII.

† Translation of a news-letter from Lahore, dated 19th December 1809, to Resident at Delhi. Letter from A. Seton, Resident, to Government of India, dated 28th December 1809.

Singh from any operations to the south of the Satlej, which he had probably never seriously meditated.

Fatah Singh was present in the Kangra expedition of 1809, when the Maharaja gained by treachery the celebrated fort of Raja Sansar Chand, which had been long besieged by the Gurkhas under Amar Singh Thappa. In the spring of the next year, when Ranjit Singh marched to Multan, Fatah Singh was left in charge of Lahore and Amritsar, and, in February 1811, he accompanied the Maharaja to Rawul Pindie to meet Shah Mahmud, the brother of Shah Shuja who was on his way to Kashmir, then a province of Kabul.

In October 1811, he marched against Sirdar Budh Singh of Jalandhar, with Diwan Mokham Chand and Jodh Singh Ramgharia. Budh Singh held territory in the Jalandhar Doab worth Rs. 300,000 a year, and the ostensible excuse for the expedition against him was his persistent refusal to attend Ranjit Singh with a contingent in the field. The unfortunate Chief made no resistance, but fled across the Satlej, and all his estates were confiscated to Lahore. The reasons that induced Fatah Singh and Jodh Singh to aid in the reduction of the Jalandhar Chief are not easy to divine. They were supposed themselves to have formed a secret alliance, offensive and defensive, against the Maharaja, and they must have known that by destroying one of the few nobles of importance whom Ranjit Singh's rapacity had yet spared they were building up his power and hastening the time, which was fast approaching, when they themselves would share the fate of the man whom they had so basely assisted.

to ruin. They may indeed have hoped that their submission to Ranjit Singh would secure their own safety, but the fate which attends on vacillation and weakness was not long in overtaking the Ramgharia Chief, while English influence barely sufficed to save Sirdar Fatah Singh.*

In the majority of Ranjit Singh's annual campaigns Fatah Singh served with his contingent. He fought at the battle of Haidera on the 13th July 1813, when Fatah Khan, the Kabul Minister and General, was utterly defeated and driven from the Punjab; he held a command in the Bhimbar, Rajaori and Bahawalpur campaigns, and when the territory of his old friend Jodh Singh Ramgharia was seized he was not too proud to accept a share of the plunder. He was at the last famous siege of Multan in 1818, when the whole province fell into the hands of the Maharaja, and Nawab Muzaffar Khan was slain; and established a military post of his own at Talambah, forty-five miles north east of the city. During the Kashmir campaign of 1819 he remained in charge of the capital, and in 1821 assisted at the reduction of the fort of Mankera in the desert of the Sind Sagar Doab.

The possessions of Sirdar Fatah Singh being situated for the most part in the Jalandhar Doab north of the Satlej, his relations with the British Government were, previous to 1825, not very intimate, though he would gladly have accepted the pro-

* Letter dated 15th October 1811, from Sir D. Ochterlony to Government of India.

The Ramgharia estates were all annexed by Ranjit Singh in 1816. Letter dated 2nd January 1817, from Sir D. Ochterlony to Government of India.

tection which assured their territories to the Cis-Satlej Chiefs. On a few occasions, however, he was brought into direct communication with the British.

The first time was in connection with the *The Chiefship of Bhirog.* Chiefship of Bhirog. This estate, consisting of about one hundred villages, was conferred by Sirdar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia on a dependant named Mirza Singh, whose son Jowahir Singh fought and died under the Ahluwalia standard. When Maha Singh, the son of Jowahir Singh, was directed, in 1810 and 1814, by the British representative, to fulfil his engagements as a Chief under the protection of the Government, he declared himself to be a vassal of Sirdar Fatah Singh Ahluwalia.

In 1817, Sir David Ochterlony, in consequence of the outrageous conduct of the *Taken possession of by Fatah Singh.* Bhirogia Chief, called upon Fatah Singh to confiscate the territory. The latter accordingly sent a force across the Satlej, under command of Mir Nizamuddin, who repulsed the Bhirogia force, with a loss on both sides of a hundred and fifty men and took possession of the whole estate.*

Maha Singh was, at this time a boy of thirteen *But restored to Maha Singh.* years of age, and the mismanagement of his estate was owing to the evil influence of his mother, whose favourites, Bas-sawa Singh and Rai Singh, committed every sort of oppression. In consideration of his youth, Maha Singh was pardoned by Sir David Ochterlony, and the Ahluwalia Sirdar was directed to withdraw his

* Letter dated 12th March 1817 from Captain Birch to Sir D. Ochterlony.

troops from Bhirog and reinstate Maha Singh.* Fatah Singh was disinclined to restore the estate, and the case was somewhat a hard one, as Sir Charles Metcalfe the Resident justly observed—"Sir-
 " dar Fatah Singh has already been a sufferer by
 " the restitution of Maha Singh's lands, after per-
 " mission had been given for their confiscation,
 " The act was generous and considerate towards
 " Maha Singh, but with respect to Sirdar Fatah
 " Singh, it does, I confess, appear to me to have
 " been a hardship, though justified by circum-
 " stances."† It was only when the Sirdar was in-
 formed, in the plainest language, that unless he
 restored the estate, without delay, a British force
 would be sent to dispossess him, that he reinstated
 his vassal and withdrew his troops across the
 Satlej.‡

The consideration shown to Maha Singh was
Who remains con- not appreciated by that Chief, and,
tumacious. in 1825, he positively refused to
 acknowledge the supremacy of the Ahluwalia Chief,
 and paid no attention to the remonstrances of the
 British Agent, who was compelled to recommend
 the attachment of the whole or a portion of the
 jagir until he should obey the orders conveyed to
 him. § The Resident tried to induce Maha Singh to
 listen to reason, but he had abandoned himself to
 the guidance of a common courtesan, and would
 accept no advice, however wise, declaring that he

* Letter, dated 1st November 1817, from Captain Birch, to Sir D. Ochterlony.

† Sir Charles Metcalfe to Captain Birch, dated 29th August 1818.

‡ Captain Birch to Sir D. Ochterlony, dated 11th November 1817.

§ Captain Murray to Agent Governor General, at Dehli, dated 28th July 1825.

would rather beg his bread than acknowledge the supremacy of Fatah Singh.*

The Government of India, to whom the question was referred, held that the supremacy of Fatah Singh was undoubted, and desired to know whether, by the custom of the tenure, he was entitled to require the services of Maha Singh and his contingent beyond the Satlej. † The Resident saw no reason why the authority of the lord paramount should be questioned in this matter, as the treaty with Maharaja Ranjit Singh of 1809 did not absolve any of the old dependants of that Prince or his subordinate Chiefs from their allegiance, and it was undoubted that before that time neither Maha Singh nor his ancestors would have questioned the right of Fatah Singh or his predecessors to claim service beyond the Satlej. The Government of India approved this view, and allowed Fatah Singh to enforce his supremacy by any measures he might see fit to employ. ‡ Fatah Singh was himself in difficulties at this time and it was not till July 1826 that he took action, sending troops for the punishment of his vassal and summoning him to submit. But the jealousy of the Maharaja was aroused. He peremptorily directed the Sirdar to desist from all hostile proceedings against Maha Singh until he

The Government insist upon Maha Singh's submission.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh interferes.

* From Agent Governor General to Captain Murray, dated 1st and 11th of August 1825, and letters dated 13th and 16th August, from Captain Murray to Agent Governor General.

Sir D. Ochterlony's letter to Captain Birch, dated 28th March 1819.

† Government of India dated 9th December 1825, to Sir C. Metcalfe.

‡ Sir C. Metcalfe, dated 31st December 1825, to Government of India, and Government of India, dated 13th January 1826, to Sir C. Metcalfe.

should sanction them, demanding that in any expedition against Bhirog, Lahore troops should co-operate with those of Kapurthalla. The effect of this interference on the part of the Maharaja was to paralyse the movements of Sirdar Fatah Singh and complete the defection of his vassal. But the Government did not consider it necessary to interfere so long as the action of the Maharaja was confined to prohibiting Sirdar Fatah Singh from proceeding against Bhirog, though it was notified that no permission would be given for Lahore troops to cross the Satlej with those of Kapurthalla. *

The English Government had, in 1818, to interfere with regard to the erection of a fort at Isru, in protected territory. This fort was designed on the plan of that of Govindgarh at Amritsar, and was far larger and stronger than was necessary for simple defence. Its construction excited the alarm of the Raja of Pattiala, whose ancestor had originally conquered the district in company with Jassa Singh, and whose territory lay all around it. The Sirdar was unwilling to abandon his design, and it was not till three years later, after several injunctions, that the building was discontinued. †

In 1822, a question of great importance with reference to the different grades of dependence in the protected Sikh States, and the degree of interference between Chiefs and their vassals on the part of the British Government arose, which requires a brief notice.

* Letters of the 2nd August 1828, from Captain Murray to Sir E. Colebrooke, and letter of the 7th August, from Sir E. Colebrooke to Captain Murray.

† Letters from Captain Birch, to the Resident at Dehli of the 10th March 1818, the 22nd June 1818, and the 14th November 1820.

The small fort of Kotila was situated in the centre of Sirdar Fatah Singh's Cis-Satlej territories, and was owned by a Patan family, the eldest representative of which was Nihang Khan. His ancestors had acquired the estate by the sword at a very remote period, and had, previous to the English connection with the Cis-Satlej States, been in a certain degree dependent on Sirdar Fatah Singh. This dependence was not absolute, but was similar to that which they, at other times, had incurred to

The Kapurthalla Chief asserts his authority over Kotila.

the Pattiāla, Rupur and Bilaspur Chiefs, such dependence, indeed, as in times of great disturbance and

re-action, all small Chiefs were necessarily compelled to incur. The Ahluwalia Sirdar was determined to assert his supremacy, and in the summer of 1822 forcibly occupied the fort of Kotila and persisted in retaining it in spite of the repeated orders of the British Officer at Ambala. The ostensible reason

The excuse for his conduct.

for this proceeding was found in the quarrels of the Kotila family. Balwant Khan, one of the younger brothers, had long disagreed with his family, and had on two former occasions sought and obtained the assistance of Sirdar Fatah Singh, given on condition of feudal service and full acknowledgment of Ahluwalia supremacy. On neither of these occasions did he go to the length of occupying Kotila, and was induced to refrain from interference in 1813, by a letter from Sir David Ochterlony threatening to send a force against him if he did not cease molesting Nihang Khan, and in 1819, by a letter from Captain Birch.* From this time Balwant Khan

* These letters accompany Captain Ross's letter of the 26th August 1822, to A. Ross, Agent Governor General, Dehli.

resided at Kapurthalla in the service of the Ahluwalia Chief, till June 1822, when he returned to Kotila and with the aid of Ahluwalia troops expelled his three brothers and took possession of the fort.

The Officer at Ambala requested permission to call on the Pattiala Raja for troops to expel Balwant Khan and reinstate his brother, but further information was required as to Sirdar Fatah Singh's claim to supremacy over Kotila.* It appeared that Fatah Singh had asserted, in 1813, a claim to a fourth share in Kotila; and on this claim he founded his repeated interference with Nihang Khan; yet this right, if it ever did exist, had certainly been dormant for 16 years, that is, for more than two years previous to Mr. Metcalfe's mission to Lahore, the *status quo* of which period had been formally recognized by Government for the adjustment of all questions of right in property in the Protected Sikh States. The Kotila Chiefs had not been formally declared Independent Chiefs under British protection, but then none of the protected chiefs were so declared, the documents announcing the guarantee having only general allusion to the Chiefs to the southward of the Satlej, without any detailed enumeration of them. Besides this, Fatah Singh, in a letter to Captain Birch, in June 1815, had waived his claim altogether, which was a sufficiently good proof that it had never been founded in right.†

One passage in a letter of Sir D. Ochterlony to the address of Sirdar Fatah Singh seemed to

* Letters dated 9th August 1822, from Deputy Superintendent Ambala to Agent Governor General Dehli, and of Agent Governor General, to Deputy Superintendent dated 20th August 1822.

† Letters from Captain Ross, dated 26th of August and 29th September to Agent Governor General, and from Agent Governor General to Captain Ross, dated 26th August and 21st September. Also five Persian letters from Sir D. Ochterlony to Sirdar Fatah Singh.

give some colour to his claim ; but that officer, then Resident in Rajputana, explained that his own opinion was absolutely against any supremacy whatever on the part of Kapurthalla, and that if at any time he had been induced to employ the Ahluwalia authority in the adjustment of Kotila differences, it was only in accordance with his usual practice of employing the more considerable powers on services of such a nature, without the most remote intention of allowing such services to imply any supremacy on the part of the Chiefs employed.*

The Government of India, to whom the case was referred for decision, ruled that although Fatah Singh had once had supremacy over Kotila, yet that his right had become obsolete previous to the introduction of the British authority ; partly by his own voluntary act, in excusing tribute to the Kotila Afghans as a reward for their gallant services, and partly from his failure to afford them protection against the exactions and encroachments of other Sikh Chiefs. Fatah Singh was, accordingly, warned against attempting to exercise any intervention whatever in the affairs of the Kotila Chiefship : Nihang Khan was reinstated in his rights, and the half share of Balwant Khan in the Kotila fort was forfeited to his elder brother.†

On the 27th December, 1825, Sirdar Fatah Singh, alarmed by the advance of two battalions of the Lahore army towards his territory, fled across

Sirdar Fatah Singh crosses the Satlej abandoning his Trans-Satlej territory.

* Letter dated 1st June 1823, from Sir D. Ochterlony to Deputy Superintendent Sikh States.

† Letter dated 10th March 1824 from Agent Governor General to Government of India, and reply dated 30th April 1824, to Agent Governor General.

the Satlej, with the whole of his family, and took refuge at Jagraon in the Protected States, abandoning all his estates Trans-Satlej to the Maharaja.* He had for long been suspicious of his former friend and adopted brother, believing that his own fate would resemble that of the Ramgharia Chief, with whom the Maharaja had also sworn eternal friendship, but whose possessions he had seized on the first convenient opportunity. It is true that no considerations of friendship or good faith appeared to have any weight with the Maharaja when opposed to his own interest, but there is some reason to believe that, on this occasion, the fears of Fatah Singh were exaggerated, and that he was one of the few men for whom the Maharaja had any sincere feeling of regard.

Fatah Singh attempts to obtain British guarantee for the safety of his Trans-Satlej estates.

The Sirdar then attempted to obtain from the British Government some sort of guarantee for the security of his Trans-Satlej possessions. He urged that the intentions of the Maharaja towards him were unequivocal, and that neither his person nor his property were safe. That, since 1805, when the treaty with Lord Lake was concluded, he had been a well-wisher of the British Government, and now claimed the support due to an ally in the preservation of his position and territory north of the Satlej.†

What the Sirdar desired was of course impossible to grant, and the British Government could not give. The Government had neither wish nor excuse, under the treaty of 1809, to interfere with the Maharaja's proceedings north of the Satlej, nor,

* Captain Wade to Lieutenant Murray, Deputy Superintendent, dated 28th March 1825. Lieutenant Murray to Sir C. Metcalfe, dated 29th December 1825; and Captain Wade to Sir C. Metcalfe, dated 8th February 1826.

† Lieutenant Murray to Sir C. Metcalfe, dated 10th January 1826.

indeed, were the whole of his Cis-Satlej estates under British protection. These consisted, at this time, of 454 villages, of which 291 were held by Fatah Singh in sovereignty and 163 were in possession of Jagirdārās. Naraingarh and Jagraon, consisting respectively of 46 and 66 villages, had been received by grant from the Maharaja in 1807, on payment of *Nazrdāna*, or tribute, and over these two estates the supremacy of Lahore was admitted by the Government. The rule adhered to was thus

Some of the Cis-Satlej estates were Lahore grants. expressed by Sir Charles Metcalfe in his letter of the 14th January 1826: "Whatever possessions on the left bank of the Satlej were held by Sirdar Fatah Singh or his ancestors previously to his alliance with Raja Ranjit Singh, and, of consequence, independently with regard to that Chieftain, should be confirmed to him under our protection, and this might be extended to acquisitions on the same bank of the river made in co-operation with Ranjit Singh at a time when their conquests were portioned on a footing of equality. But with respect to any there should be held under a grant of Ranjit Singh, which would imply sovereignty on his part and subordination on that of Fatah Singh, the claim of the Raja must be admitted."*

His estates Trans-Satlej seized by the Maharaja. On the flight of Fatah Singh the Maharaja occupied his Trans-Satlej territory and expelled his garrisons, but, at the same time, he expressed his earnest desire for a reconciliation, promising to

* Letters of the 8th and 21st January 1826, from Lieutenant Murray, Deputy Superintendent, to Sir Charles Metcalfe; Government of India to Sir C. Metcalfe of the 17th February 1826; and Sir E. Colebrooke to Captain Murray, of the 21st March 1828.

give any assurances that might be desired for the security of his person and possessions.* The Sirdar, though he did not believe in the assurances of the Maharaja, yet thought it politic to return to Kapurthalla in 1827, the rather as the British Government had declined any interference on behalf of his Trans-Satlej lands. The claim to British protection

But restored on Fatah Singh's return to Kapurthalla. for his ancestral Cis-Satlej estates was admitted, and this claim Fatah Singh was anxious to assert, as he considered it probable that he might again have to seek an asylum to the south of the Satlej.† Whether the fears of Fatah Singh in his flight were exaggerated or not, it is certain that they were shared by others; and in October 1829, one of the principal Trans-Satlej Chiefs, Sirdar Dewa Singh, holding estates in the Jalandhar Doab worth Rs. 1,25,000, and in the Cis-Satlej States worth Rs. 35,000, abandoned all his territory on the right bank of the Satlej and retired to Sialba.‡

Although the Government declined active interference, yet their expressed sympathy secured Fatah Singh's possessions to him, both Trans and Cis-Satlej, and when, in 1836, the Maharaja confiscated Phagwára which had been one of his earliest grants to the Sirdar, he restored it almost immediately, believing that the Government would interfere in favour of the Chief. During the latter years of his life, Fatah Singh remained at Kapurthalla in comparative retirement.

* From Captain Wade to Sir C. Metcalfe, of 5th January 1826.

† Resident to Government of India dated 17th June 1828; and Sir E. Colebrooke to Captain Murray of 19th December 1828.

‡ Captain Wade to Officiating Resident Dehli, dated 14th October 1829.

*The death of Sirdar
Fatah Singh, A. D.
1837, and succession
of Nihal Singh.*

Sirdar Fatah Singh died in October 1837, and his son Nihal Singh succeeded to his estates and was acknowledged by the British Government as Chief. *

But the Maharaja of Lahore and his unscrupulous Minister Raja Dhyan Singh had no intention of allowing the Ahluwalia territory to change hands without gaining something for themselves. Amar

*The intrigues of
Amar Singh.*

Singh, the younger brother of Nihal Singh, was encouraged to hope that his brother would be set aside in favour of himself; but he was too impatient to wait the progress of events which could only be hastened by most lavish presents to the Lahore Court, and he conspired with some of the Ahluwalia officials against his brother's

*The life of Nihal
Singh attempted.*

life. As Nihal Singh was leaving the female apartments, with only one attendant, he was attacked by assassins, but he defended himself gallantly and escaped with some slight wounds. His servant who, with true devotion, threw himself before his master to receive the blows intended for him, was cut to pieces. When the Maharaja of Lahore heard of this tragedy he summoned both brothers to his presence, and, professing to sympathize with the elder, directed him to allow Amar Singh a separate maintenance of Rs. 30,000 a year, instead of a lakh which he had demanded, and to return home, while he, the Maharaja, would visit the conspirators with exemplary punishment. No sooner, however, had Nihal Singh left Court than Amar Singh was admitted to favour, and on his promise to pay a liberal *nazrana* was encouraged to attempt to wrest territory worth a

* Secretary to Government North Western Provinces to Sirdar Nihal Singh, dated 27th February 1837.

lakh of rupees from his brother.* This he succeeded in doing. He captured Nihal Singh by surprise, and would not release him until he had consented to assign for his maintenance the district of Sul-tanpur.

Throughout the remainder of the reign of Ranjit Singh and that of his successor Kharrak Singh, the brothers were in a constant state of feud, and Nihal Singh was scarcely able to maintain himself in the Chiefship by even extravagant bribes to the Lahore authorities. When Sher Singh advanced his claims to the throne, Nihal Singh supported him, believing that in him he would find powerful support against both his brother and Raja Dhyan Singh the Minister, whom Sher Singh hated although he was unable to stand without him.† But the new Maharaja was of a weak disposition, and Amar Singh soon became a favourite at Lahore, and there can be little doubt that his claims would have been admitted and Sirdar Nihal Singh dispossessed but for his premature death. On the 28th of March, Maharaja Sher Singh went on a boating excursion on the Ravi, attended by Rajas Dhyan Singh and Hira Singh, Jamadar Khushhal Singh, Bhai Gurmukh Singh, Rai Kesra Singh, Sirdars Attar Singh Kalianwala and Amar Singh Ahluwalia. The weather was fine, but the boat suddenly filled with water and went down. Sirdar Amar Singh was drowned, and the rest of the party escaped with difficulty by means of their riding elephants which were waiting on the bank and which were driven into the river to their assistance.‡

* Captain Wade to Government of India, dated 4th October 1837.

† Mr. Clerk to Government of India, 5th December 1840.

‡ Mr. Clerk to Government of India, dated 29th March 1841.

It was generally believed in Lahore that this accident had in it nothing accidental, but that the Maharaja had directed the boat to be sunk, hoping that Jamadar Khushhal Singh, whom he hated for his adherence to the party of Rani Chand Kour, would be drowned. The story was probable enough, but there is no proof to sustain it, and the only person to gain by the catastrophe was Sirdar Nihal Singh, who was rid for ever of a bitter enemy, and who forthwith made friends with Raja Dhyān Singh receiving a grant of his brother's jagir of Sultanpur, on payment of a large *nazrāna*.*

The boating excursion on the Ravi and its results.

The cause of the enmity of Maharaja Sher Singh as alleged by Kapurthalla.

The reasons the Ahluwalia chiefs have always assigned for the enmity of Maharaja Sher Singh are somewhat remarkable. On the death of Maharaja Kharak Singh and his son, on the 5th November 1840, Sher Singh, finding the whole Court opposed to his pretensions to the succession, sent a message from Battala, where he resided, to Mr. Clerk, the Agent of the Governor General, through Mulvi Rajib Ali and Mulvi Ghulam Muhammad Khan, a servant of the Ahluwalia chief, begging for the assistance of the British Government to gain the throne, and promising, as the price of such assistance, to cede Kashmir to them. In the meantime Sher Singh, with the aid of the Jammu party, became Maharaja; but still doubtful of his power to hold the position he had gained, without the knowledge or approval of the British Government, he sent Colonel Mohan Lal on a second mission to Mr. Clerk, begging that he might be recognized and the usual letters of congratulation addressed to

* Mr. Clerk to Government of India, dated 29th June 1841.

him. Mr. Clerk reminded the Colonel of the promise regarding Kashmir, of which he did not pretend to be ignorant, and returned with the desired letters. But Sher Singh had now established himself securely and denied altogether that he had ever made any promise regarding Kashmir, and Fakir Azizuddin was sent to discuss the question with Mr. Clerk. No written document was producible, and the Ahluwalia Agent, Mulvi Ghulam Muhammad Khan, was summoned to give his evidence in the matter. He was afraid to tell the whole truth, but he told so much of it as to demonstrate the bad faith of Maharaja Sher Singh and to rouse against Sirdar Nihal Singh his lasting enmity.

The Sirdar had several opportunities of showing his good-will to the British Government, of which he took advantage. On the visit of Lord Auckland to the Punjab in 1838, he rendered good service in collecting supplies, and assisted in the same way the British troops marching to Kabul. He built a bridge at Hari for the use of the Governor General on his return, and had an interview with him at Makku. Some of his troops under Hyder Ali Khan took part in the Kabul expedition of 1842, marching as far as Jalalabad.

Maharaja Sher Singh was assassinated on the 15th September 1843, and Dalip Singh proclaimed his successor. Had Sirdar Nihal Singh possessed any energy or character he might, at this time, have become the foremost man in the Punjab. Raja Dhyan Singh was dead, the Sindhanwalia Chiefs were scattered, and the new Minister, Hira Singh, was held in contempt by the army. But the Ahluwalia Chief did

The murder of Sher Singh, A. D. 1843.

not care to interfere at Lahore, and would not even attend, as was usual, at the feast of the Dasserah in October.* He

Nihal Singh refuses to visit Lahore.

excused his non-attendance by the plea of ill-health and of the arrival of the ashes of the late Maharaja and Raja Dhyan Singh at Kapurthalla; and although he did not send the customary presents he offered his congratulations to Dalip Singh on his accession and professed his intention of proceeding shortly to

His unenterprising disposition.

Lahore.† But he delayed his visit from month to month on some excuse or another, the true reason being that he was of a timid and unenterprising disposition, and his ambition was not even excited by the prospect of obtaining the leadership in the Punjab, which might have been his had he come forward to head the Khālsa in opposition to the Jammu Raja, Gulab Singh, who was universally and justly hated. The only other Sikh Chief of considerable influence at Lahore and whom the army would have been content to follow was Sirdar Lehn Singh Majithia, but he was as timid as Nihal Singh and deserted his country when most it needed his counsel and assistance.‡

To the Dasserah of 1844, celebrated on the 21st October, Nihal Singh sent a contingent, for it had always been customary at this festival for the Lahore ruler to hold a review of the whole army and receive the congratulations and offerings of the Commanders of all ranks: but he did not attend in

* Lieut.-Colonel Richmond to Government of India, dated 6th October 1843.

† Lieut.-Colonel Richmond to Government of India, dated 16th October 1843.

‡ Lieut.-Colonel Richmond to Government of India, dated 1st November 1843.

person, pretending that he was under the necessity of performing a vow by a pilgrimage to Jowala Mukhi.*

The weakness of the Sirdar and his desire to stand well with all parties brought him well nigh to ruin in 1845, when the Sikh war made it imperative on every Chief in the Protected States to show his loyalty to the British Government by active good will or to be accounted a traitor. His obligations were the following : By the treaty of the 25th

The conduct of Nihal Singh during the Sikh war of 1845.

His obligations.

April 1809, and by article 4 of the subsequent declaration of the 6th May 1809, the Ahluwalia Chief was bound to furnish supplies to the British troops passing through or stationed within the Cis-Satlej territories. By the declaration of Government in 1828, before referred to, the Sirdar was considered to be "under British protection in respect to his ancestral possessions east of the Satlej, but dependent on Lahore for places conferred by the Lahore Government prior to September 1808."† This declaration, made at a time when the Sirdar was, or considered himself to be, in danger of losing every possession through the rapacity of the Maharaja, should have bound him to the British Government through gratitude, but this feeling has never been common among the Protected Chiefs.

With regard to supplies, Colonel Mackeson proves that, in spite of repeated orders, the Ahluwalia agents failed to supply grain, and Captain Mills wrote that "the

The manner in which he fulfilled them.

* Lieut.-Colonel Richmond to Government of India, dated 16th October and 30th October 1844.

† Government of India to Sir E. Colebrooke, 14th November 1828.

" Ahluwalia Chief afforded no assistance of any kind in supplies till after the defeat of the Sikh army." Nor was this from inability, for his territory was rich in corn; and Jagraon was the best grain country between the Jamna and the Satlej. Yet the fact was that practically no supplies * were furnished before the two early battles of the campaign, and very little until the final defeat of the Sikhs, after which there were no bounds to the zeal of the Sirdar, who wrote to Major Lawrence that, in the face of 40,000 enemies, he had collected one hundred thousand maunds of grain for the English in the Jalandhar Doab, and he actually unroofed the houses of his subjects to furnish fuel to the British troops returning from Lahore.

With regard to the personal demeanour of the Chief, he stated in his defence that *He fails to attend the British camp.* he had not such sufficient warning as enabled him to join the British standard. But the following facts will show that he had warning not only sufficient, but more than he had a right to expect under the circumstances. On the 24th November 1845, Major Broadfoot addressed him a letter, which, under Persian imagery, conveyed a

In spite of friendly warning. serious warning, the import of which the confidential agent was instructed to explain. " It is great wisdom," wrote Major Broadfoot, " to know how to increase friendship and its fruits are always good. In any Government or country at such times as the bazaar of foolishness is warm and the eye of reflection is not fixed on the probable result, it behoves the wise and far seeing who are real

* Literally only 54 maunds of grain.—Colonel Mackeson's Report.

" friends take counsel from futurity. This is fore-
 " thought. The meaning of this letter I have ex-
 " plained to your confidential agent Basti Ram,
 " to the messenger who carries it."

On the 30th November Major Broadfoot again
And direct orders, wrote urging the Chief to cross
 the Satlej, which letter was answered
 in the same spirit by him on the 7th December.
 On the 13th the proclamation which guaranteed
 their possessions Cis and Trans-Satlej to all the
 loyal, and distinctly pointed out the penalty of dis-
 obedience, was issued; and the next day news was
 received that the Ahluwalia subjects and agents had
 joined the enemy. Major Broadfoot again wrote
 showing the Raja the folly of his vacillating conduct;
 and telling him that within five days he must prove
 his friendship or enmity. On the 19th, the confi-
 dential agent returned with a verbal message that
 all was ready, and "the Sirdar's foot was in the
 stirrup." On the same day Major Broadfoot again
 addressed the Sirdar urging him to join the British
 without delay, and, on the 2nd January, Mr. Currie

*The opinion of
 Major Lawrence of
 the Chief's conduct.* wrote to the same effect. This must
 have been held to have been ample
 warning. Major H. Lawrence thus
 sums up against the Sirdar: "Up to the 13th
 " December, the Sirdar might have done as he liked,
 " and even up to the middle of January, or indeed,
 " the end of the war, it seems to me that at very
 " little personal hazard the Sirdar could have joined
 " the British army. But to run any risk was not
 " his game. When Kirpa Ram* started, the battle

* Kirpa Ram was grand-son of Lala Basti Ram, the Sirdar's confidential agent, and bearer of the letter of the 14th December.

“ of Mudki had not been fought. On his return, “ the report that he wrote of that battle excited “ the Agent’s suspicions, and he, for a short time, “ was placed under restraint. It appears to me “ that the rumours of the results of the battles of “ Mudki and Firoshahr deterred the Sirdar from “ crossing the river, after he had placed his ‘foot in “ the stirrup’. After the battle of Sobraon his “ protestations were many and warm, but though, “ on the 19th February, on his own suggestion, “ I told him to join me at Lahore, he even then “ thought the danger too great and said he would “ send his son, and himself attend the British camp “ in Jalandhar. All this was quite in character. “ He bore the British Government no ill-will, he “ bore the Lahore Darbar no good-will, his hopes “ were all from us, his fears from them. We had “ heaped favors and kindness upon him, they had “ plundered him ; but to the last he would incur “ no risk ; and trusted, at the worst, to our clemency “ rather than to the justice of his own countrymen. “ He therefore gave us empty words, and furnished “ them with guns and soldiers.”

The Ahluwalia troops, Cavalry, Infantry and
The troops of Kapurthalla fought against the British. Artillery, fought against the English at Aliwál, under the command of Hydar Ali, and also at Buddowal.

Nihal Singh alleged, in his defence, that he was unable to restrain his troops, who, on hearing of his intention to join the British, broke into open mutiny and murdered his Minister. But there is no proof whatever of this, and the mutiny was probably caused by the unpopularity of the Minister and the difficulty experienced by the troops in obtaining their arrears of pay. Even supposing his troops to

have deserted him, it was the duty of the Sirdar to have, alone, joined the English, and the fact that an elephant and nine or ten cavalry horses, plundered from Sir Harry Smith's division by the Abluwalia troops were sent as trophies to Kapurthalla proves that instead of the Sirdar being, at that time, kept a prisoner in his palace by his troops, as he asserted, he was an actual sharer in their spoils.

Nor did the Sirdar even supply information, which his agents, who held the chief places on the line of the Satlej as well as Jagraon, were well able to procure. No attempt was voluntarily made to furnish intelligence, and when the British authorities sent out messengers they either never returned or remained away so long as to render their information useless. Regarding this Major H. Lawrence writes: "I have never heard of a single item of useful intelligence having been given, nor indeed of any until it had been received from other sources. During the week preceding the battle of Aliwal, when, for five days, the Governor General had not a word of intelligence from Sir Harry Smith, though I wrote five or six times a day to Major Mackeson and Lieutenant Cunningham, and daily sent some of the letters by Aloowala messengers with promises of large reward for answers, on no single occasion did I get a reply until the affair was over, although the distance from Ferozepore to Aleewal and Buddoowal is scarcely above 60 miles, and almost entirely through Aloo lands."

The defence made by the Sirdar for his conduct during the war, called for by the Governor General's Agent, was long

*The defence of
Nihal Singh.*

and elaborate, but none of the facts alleged by Major Mackeson were attempted to be disproved ; and Nihal Singh only endeavoured to give a different colour to his conduct, trusting to the clemency of the British Government. He declared that his intentions had always been friendly, and that it was only the mutiny of his troops and the restraint under which they placed him, that prevented his joining the English when directed. That Raja Lal Singh and Sirdar Ranjodh Singh would not give him any command, knowing his fidelity to the British Government, and that it was at Ranjodh Singh's instigation that the Ahluwalia troops revolted. That, in spite of the attitude of his troops, he still did all in his power to aid the English with supplies and information, and the defence concluded with a lengthy recital of all the services ever performed by the Ahluwalia Chiefs for the English, from the treaty of 1804 to the Satlej campaign.

The Political Agent, Major Lawrence, to whom the Sirdar's defence and Major Mackeson's report had been submitted for opinion by the Government, found no excuse for Nihal Singh's conduct. He was not actuated by patriotism, by relationship or friendship in the course he had pursued. He simply calculated the chances and followed the policy which, in his opinion, would bring with it the least risk, whatever the result of the war. With the greatest pusillanimity he leagued with his enemies and betrayed his friends. With his eyes open, and duly warned by the Proclamation of the rewards with would attend loyalty and the punishments that would follow disobedience, he turned against those who for forty years had gratuitously protected him

The truth regarding the conduct of the Chief. His ingratitude to the British Government.

and without whose protection he would undoubtedly have lost all his possessions Cis and Trans-Satlej.

Major Lawrence recommended that as a signal punishment, all the territories of the Sirdar south of the Satlej, estimated at Rs. 5,65,000 a year, should be forfeited and declared an escheat to the British Government. Further, that the estates in the Jalandhar Doab, estimated at Rs. 5,77,763 a year, and for which he was bound to furnish 400 horsemen and 500 infantry, should be confirmed to him and his heirs on condition of good conduct. That no customs should be levied in his estate, and that lands should be taken from the detached portions of his estate in commutation of the contingent, at the rate of Rs. 16 a month for each horseman, and Rs. 6 for each foot soldier, being Rs. 112,800. The Sirdar would thus have an estate in clear sovereignty of Rs. 464,960 a year, on terms of general good conduct and management and of joining the British army during war with all his means, and keeping in repair all highways through his lands.*

The Government of India considered the proofs of Sirdar Nihal Singh's misconduct and disaffection most conclusive, and could find, in his elaborate defence, no excuse for the course pursued by him. The recommendations of Major Lawrence were generally approved: the

* Letter dated 21st September 1846, from Major H. M. Lawrence Agent Governor General, to Secretary to Government of India.

Letter Government of India to Agent Governor General dated 24th March 1846, calling for a report; and ditto dated 1st June 1846 forwarding Major Mackeson's report for further comment.

Report of Major Mackeson, No. 69 dated 6th April 1846, with enclosures. Defence of the Ahluwalia Sirdar, with supplement, and Letter No. 25 dated 27th March 1846, from Captain Cunningham to Secretary Government.

Cis-Satlaj estates were confiscated : the Jalandhar Doab estates were maintained "in the independent possession of the Sirdar, his service engagements, as the conditions of his tenure, to the Lahore State, being commuted to a money payment on the same terms as those of the other Jagirdars." *

This severe lesson had a salutary effect on Sirdar Nihal Singh, and when the second Sikh war broke out, he did his best to render assistance to the British Government. He collected supplies for the troops proceeding to Multan, and volunteered to send a contingent of his own, but this was not considered necessary ; and at the close of the campaign the Governor General paid him a visit at Kapurthalla and created him a Raja.

The conduct of Nihal Singh during the second Sikh war satisfactory.

He is created a Raja.

From this time, till his death, Nihal Singh led a quiet life and did not meddle with politics. He managed his estates well and established law courts on something of the English system. When the cantonments were formed at Jalandhar, he received the district of Uchh, in exchange for Surajpur and other villages taken by Government.

Raja Nihal Singh died on the 13th of September 1852. Popular with his subjects and of benevolent disposition, he had little strength of character and was completely in the hands of favorites whose influence was rarely for good. His apathy and vacillation were such that he was unable to carry out measures which he

The death of Nihal Singh. His character.

* Government of India to Agent Governor General, North Western Frontier, dated 17th November 1846.

Letter from Agent Governor General to Major Mackeson, dated 21st December 1846, and to Sirdar Nihal Singh of the same date.

acknowledged to be advantageous, and he brought on himself and his State troubles which the most ordinary energy and courage might have averted. It is now possible to look back dispassionately on the events of the first Sikh war and the conduct of the different Chiefs who fought on our side, who turned against us, or who remained neutral doubtful whether the Sikhs or the British would win the day and undecided whom to join. It is now more easy than it was immediately after the triumphant campaign on the Satlej to acknowledge the difficulty

The position of Nihal Singh in 1843 a very difficult one.

of the position of a Chief like Raja Nihal Singh, with his duty inclining him to one side and his sympathies and the universal desire of his people and troops drawing him towards the other. A powerful will exposed to so fierce a trial might well have wavered and a weak one would inevitably yield. It is right for the British Government to punish ingratitude and treason with all severity, and to reward devotion and loyalty with the utmost generosity; but for those who have neither to reward or punish it is enough to know that treason wears all complexions from the highest virtue to the darkest crime—and that if Nihal Singh prayed in his heart for the triumph of the Sikhs, they were still his brothers and his countrymen, their army was still the holy army of the Khalsa, which, in the name of God and the Guru, was ever to march on to victory, and that in all its battles, for a hundred years, the Ahluwalia flag had been carried in its foremost ranks.

Randhir Singh, the eldest son of Raja Nihal

Raja Randhir Singh.

Singh, was born in March 1831, and was in his twenty-second year when

he succeeded his father. By his first wife, who died in 1853, he had two sons, Kour *His family.* 'Khararak Singh, born in August 1850, and Harnam Singh born in November 1852. His only daughter, born in 1851, married Buta Singh, son of Ram Singh jagirdar of Sirnanwi, in 1863.

Raja Randhir Singh's second wife died in 1857. She bore one son, who died two months after his birth. Soon after his accession the Raja was requested to state whether he had any objection to make over a portion of his territory in lieu of the tribute that had been till that time paid, the Supreme Government having, as has been before stated, ruled that such an arrangement was desirable, but that it could not be carried out without the consent of the Raja. He, however, was strongly opposed to any relinquishment of lands which had been owned by his ancestors, and preferred paying the tribute as before.*

Two months previous to his death Raja Nihal Singh had executed a will, which *The will of Raja Nihal Singh.* he had sent for approval to the Board of Administration, and which the Board, believing the Raja's illness to be of no serious nature, had recommended to the Government of India for confirmation.† But the Raja's sudden death altered the position of affairs, and it became necessary to

* Letter of 16th April 1853, from Commissioner Trans-Satlaj States to Raja Randhir Singh. Two letters of 17th April 1853 and 27th October 1854, from Raja Randhir Singh to Commissioner Trans-Satlaj States, and letter No. 387, dated 26th December 1854, from Commissioner Trans-Satlaj States to Chief Commissioner, No. 310, dated 7th April 1863, from Government Punjab to Commissioner Jalandhar.

† Commissioner to Board of Administration, No. 350, dated 18th September 1852.

Board of Administration to Government of India, No. 903, dated 7th September 1852.

consider the whole question afresh, and the Board requested the Supreme Government to issue no orders regarding the will until a further report should have been submitted by them.* For sixteen years the question of Raja Nihal Singh's will was in dispute, and, as the case is of great importance, it will be most convenient to give in this place a resumé of the proceedings.

The will was dated 11th July 1852, or 30th

Har 1909, and being translated, is as follows :—

Its translation.

“ As in this uncertain world the life of a man
“ is like a bubble and every living creature must
“ leave this world behind him, agreeably to the old
“ saying—‘ Every life will taste death ’—it is neces-
“ sary for a man of sense to look on life as a thing
“ borrowed and to make such arrangement as will
“ ensure good management among his survivors. He
“ therefore, while in the enjoyment of his senses,
“ with his own consent and will and without any
“ sort of instigation or force, writes the following :—

“ It may be known that through the blessing of
“ God he has three sons, Kour Randhir Singh ‘ the
“ eldest, born from the first wife ; Kour Bikrama
“ Singh and Kour Suchet Singh from the second wife.
“ As he wishes that these three brothers should live
“ together after his death on good terms and in peace
“ with friendship and love for each other, and that
“ no sign of disagreement or hostility should
“ appear amongst them, as is generally the case in
“ this changeable world, especially in matters relating
“ to Governments and estates, wherein even brothers
“ become desperate enemies, and fight with each

* Board of Administration to Government of India, No. 939, dated 20th September 1852.

“ other with intent to kill (as was the case with
“ him and his own brother Amar Singh, whom he
“ had nourished and supported as a son but whose
“ subsequent conduct to himself is notorious) ; such
“ being generally the case, he cannot expect that
“ these three brothers will remain on good terms
“ and in mutual love, and if (God forbid) hostility
“ should appear among them it will produce blood-
“ shed, the ruin of the estate, and give them a bad
“ name among the people, he therefore has been
“ deeply meditating a contrivance by which such
“ calamities may be averted, and has come at last
“ to the following conclusion, which appears to
“ effect the desired result,

“ That an estate of one lakh of rupees may be
“ allotted to Kour Bikrama Singh and an estate of
“ the same value to Kour Suchet Singh, without
“ paying any sort of Government nazrana ; that
“ these two brothers having their estates separate
“ may have nothing to dispute upon, and may live
“ uninterfered with by each other, and that the
“ rest of the country remain in possession of the
“ eldest son Kour Randhir Singh the heir apparent,
“ who will have to manage the country, to maintain
“ the allowances now enjoyed by the people, to
“ honor relatives and servants as they deserve, and
“ pay nazrana to Government for his and his
“ brothers' shares of the estate. If, however, Govern-
“ ment wish to realize the nazrana separately from
“ each of them, then the two brothers shall get a
“ proportionate increase to their shares, i. e., more
“ land equal to the amount of the Government
“ nazrana shall be added to the share of each bro-
“ ther from the estate of the elder. In short they
“ shall have each a net share of one lakh of rupees

“ for their own private use, independent of the
“ Government nazrana. And as the heir apparent
“ shall have the management of the Criminal cases
“ in the whole three shares, he should conduct the
“ administration impartially and with justice, with-
“ out any feeling of hostility or opposition towards
“ his brothers, and in case that the two brothers
“ be dissatisfied with the management of Foujdari
“ affairs in their jagirs, the British Government
“ will take it into their own hands, leaving the
“ heir apparent to manage his own share of the
“ estate without having anything to do with the
“ Foujdari of the other two shares. Every one
“ of them should serve the British Government
“ to the utmost of his power, and should consider it
“ a cause of great honor and benefit to him, and
“ should continue to be thankful to Government.
“ When everything has been settled in the above
“ mentioned manner, they should strive to honor
“ their respective attendants and relations, and give
“ justice to the people and their dues to the poor.
“ They should live in friendship and unity with
“ each other.

“ This paper does not contain a detail of the
“ shares of each, being a general proposal for the
“ sanction of the Board. In case of its being
“ approved, he will submit another paper, which
“ will contain a detail of all the districts, property,
“ cash and houses, and a list of the people who deserve
“ protection. Begs that an authenticated copy of
“ this document be kept in the Board's office, and
“ another forwarded to him bearing the approval
“ and signature of the Board. The British Govern-
“ ment is well aware of the services himself and his
“ father have performed, and for which they have

“been allowed the perpetual possession of their country. He hopes that, in the same manner, his sons will be honored and allowed to remain under its protection, and that they will try their utmost to serve and please the Government, as their continuance in rule depends upon the blessing of God and the protection of the British Government.”

Raja Nihal Singh, although he declares in this will that he writes without any instigation, was at the time completely under the influence of his second wife, the mother of his two younger sons. She had instilled into his mind a dislike to his eldest son, and it was only the attitude of the British Government which compelled him, much against his will, to leave the State and power to Randhir Singh, who asserted that his brothers were illegitimate and their mother, who was undoubtedly of low caste, a concubine of the Raja and not his wife. But it is to be observed that the Raja's caste was itself low; that the ceremony of marriage among such castes is but lightly regarded, and that the ordinary *chadar dalna*, throwing a sheet over the woman, is amply sufficient. The Raja, too, in his will distinctly calls her his wife, and this admission is sufficient to dispose of the question of the younger sons' disability to inherit.

The agent of Randhir Singh addressed the Board of Administration on the death of the Raja, stating that the three brothers did not approve of the will and had no desire to divide the estate. They wished to live in harmony among themselves and to carry out the provisions of the will would only ensure the ruin of the State, which had never

been divided. * Letters were also received from the Raja and his brothers to the same effect, the latter stating that they had determined to obey their brother in everything and be guided by his councils. †

The Board of Administration were doubtful how to proceed with regard to Kapurthalla. One Member proposed to resume lands in lieu of the *nazrāna*, or at any rate to take the outlying lands such as Phagwāra, giving a reduction of the commutation; also to resume the police and criminal powers exercised by the late Raja. The two other Members of the Board opposed all these proposals, on grounds of policy and good faith, and being unable to come to a decision, the numerous minutes written on the subject by the Members of the Board were forwarded to the Government of India for a final decision upon the points on which the Board could not agree. ‡

The Government of India, § with regard to the first point submitted for its decision, *viz.*, whether the will should be carried into effect or the estate continued in the hands of the then Raja as desired by him and his brothers, ruled that the raj should remain undivided in the hands of the Raja “so

The will is approved by the Government of India.

* Letters, dated 14th and 22nd September 1852, from Hyder Ali Khan to Sir H. Lawrence.

† Kharitas, dated 19th and 20th September, from Raja Randhir Singh and Kours Bikrama and Suchet Singh.

‡ Letter No. 83, dated 24th January 1853, from Board of Administration to Government of India, enclosing Minute of Mr. J. Lawrence of 11th October 1852, ditto of Sir H. Lawrence of 16th October, ditto of Mr. J. Lawrence of 1st December, ditto of Mr. Montgomery of 2nd December, ditto of Sir H. Lawrence, dated 8th December, ditto of Mr. J. Lawrence of 13th January 1853, ditto of Sir H. Lawrence dated 15th January 1853.

§ No. 907 of Government of India to Chief Commissioner, dated 21st February 1853.

"long as the brothers remain in concord regarding this agreement." "If discord should arise among them hereafter, as is very probable, the will of the late Raja should have effect given to it. In that case the shares of the two younger brothers, thus broken off from the Raja's share, would become ordinary jagirs into which our administration would enter."

The second point, as to whether the Raja should be compelled to commute the *nazrāna* for land, the Government of India held to be a question only of good faith. The transfer of outlying lands to Government would, doubtless, be convenient, but it was not competent for the Government, in good faith, to compel such transfer. "From the official documents of 1846 it is clear that it was the intention of Government to make the settlement then pronounced essentially a final one. Lieutenant Colonel Sir H. Lawrence had recommended that the Raja should pay an annual "*nazrāna*." The Governor General on full consideration rejected this recommendation, and ruled that his service engagements should be commuted to a money payment.* This plan had been deliberately adopted and it was not possible to change it with justice. The Raja had not only behaved well since 1846, but the Governor General had, at the recommendation of the local authorities, made him a Raja in 1849, and paid him a personal visit at Kapurthalla. The decision of the Supreme Government had been, not for life of the Raja but for perpetuity, and it would not be just to reopen

The tribute was not to be commuted for land without the consent of the Chief.

* No. 460, dated 17th November 1846, of Government of India.

the question of the Raja's position, which had been finally disposed of.

With regard to the resumption of the powers of Police, the Government of India held that it was virtually included in the last question. The position of the Ahluwalia chief, although not strictly sovereign, had yet independent power, which had been confirmed to him by the Government letter before referred to—the districts in the Jalandhar Doab “will be maintained in the independent possession of the Sirdar.” This was in perpetuity, and the Government had no right to take away the Police jurisdiction from the Raja.

The nature of Kapurthalla independence. Orders were given to invest the young Raja with the customary khillat, which was done by the Commissioner in April 1853.†

It was not long, however, before the youngest brother Suchet Singh began to desire a division of his share, and the Chief Commissioner directed this division to be made in accordance with the terms of the will.‡ The Raja however wished Suchet Singh to abandon his claim altogether, and petitioned against the order of the Supreme Government.§ The Chief Commissioner addressed the Government of India and referred to the letter of the 21st February, which affirmed the will and directed its provisions to be enforced should the brothers not agree. Suchet

* No. 460, of 17th November 1846, of Government of India.

† No. 296, of 15th April 1853, from Commissioner Trans Satlej States to Chief Commissioner.

‡ No. 577, of 23rd July 1853, from Chief Commissioner to Commissioner Trans Satlej States.

§ No. 57, of 30th July 1853, from Commissioner Trans Satlej States to Chief Commissioner.

Singh now desired division and it should be effected, giving him as far as possible outlying hands so as not to break up the estate more than necessary. The Raja only wished to allow Suchet Singh 25,000 Rs. a year, with which allowance the second brother Bikrama Singh was, at this time, content.* The Government of India agreed to this proposal. The will had been affirmed by the Governor General, and nothing was left but to carry it into effect.†

The Commissioner of the Trans Satlej States *Which is sanctioned.* was accordingly called upon to carry out the orders of Government, and report on the arrangements made, but the Raja was unwilling to allow any dismemberment of his State.‡

No arrangement could be come to between the *And, carried into effect.* brothers as to the value of the lands to be divided off, so that the Commissioner himself had the assessments ascertained, and finding that the two Talukas of Wayan and Bunga were certainly within the amount due, made them over to Suchet Singh in April 1854. In this month a reconciliation was effected between the brothers, and Suchet Singh presented to the Commissioner an agreement by which he consented to accept a smaller jagir with subordinate judicial powers. The clause relating to police jurisdiction in small matters could with difficulty be allowed so *Suchet Singh is willing to accept a compromise,* as to relieve the Raja of responsibility. The chief reason

* No. 575, of 12th August 1853, from Chief Commissioner to Government of India.

† No. 3,979, of 9th September 1853, from Government of India, to Chief Commissioner.

‡ No. 787, of 26th September to Commissioner Trans Satlej States, and No. 114 of 13th December from Commissioner Trans Satlej States to Chief Commissioner.

which induced Suchet Singh to seek a compromise was his objection to reside at Bunga. There were only three large towns in the State: Kapurthalla, where the Raja himself resided; Sultampur and Phagwára. Of the two outlying districts which might most conveniently be divided off, Phagwára should, in justice, be reserved for Bikrama Singh, the second brother, should he at a future time require partition. Bunga was the only outlying district available for Suchet Singh, with which Sultampur could not be joined as it was at the other extremity of the Kapurthalla estate, and was the favourite shooting ground of the Raja, who would rather have given up Kapurthalla itself. Wayan was added to the share of Suchet Singh as being adjacent to Bunga. When this report was made some months after the agreement, Suchet Singh was living at Kapurthalla, but was on bad terms with both his brothers and especially with Bikrama Singh who had then no wish to take the share to which he was entitled under his father's will. The Raja wished that, at any rate, the jagir assigned to Suchet Singh should be subject to some of the charges, religious and personal grants, which weighed so heavily on the whole estate, and the Commissioner considered that the full rates at which the lands had hitherto been assessed and which were higher than would be possible under English re-assessment, should be the estimate in allowing Suchet Singh's share, and in this case Bunga and Wayan would be quite sufficient for him.*

* Two memos by Mr. D. McLeod, Commissioner Trans-Satlaj States, of 29th December 1854.

In forwarding this report of his predecessor, Mr. Edgeworth, the then Commissioner Trans-Satlej States, strongly recommended that Suchet Singh's request to withdraw his application for partition should be favorably considered. The Raja would allow his brother an estate of Rs. 50,000 a year, with subordinate judicial powers, and this Suchet Singh was willing to accept in lieu of an estate of Rs. 100,000 without such powers. Even supposing the proposal of Suchet Singh to be rejected, the Government had full power to modify the provisions of the late Raja's will, should it think fit, and it was to be considered that if the two shares of the brothers were deducted, the Raja would have barely sufficient to carry on the administration and the *nazrana* might fall into arrears.

The actual revenue with its charges was asserted by the Raja to be as follows : *

Total value of estate,	...	Rs. 5,77,763

Jagirs and Dharamarth,	...	53,332

Shares under will,	...	200,000

Nazrana,	...	138,000

Dharamarths,	...	96,976

Dependants,	...	69,924

TOTAL,	...	Rs. 5,57,432

Balance for State and personal expenses,	...	20,331

* Letter No. 12 of 16th January 1855, from Commissioner Trans-Satlej States to Chief Commissioner.

The Government do not agree to reconsider the case.

The Chief Commissioner agreed to neither proposal. With regard to Suchet Singh's withdrawal of his application and willingness to accept a smaller allowance from his brother it was observed that the brothers had been allowed ample time to settle their disputes amicably. This they did not do, and the districts of Bunga and Wayan had been divided off and made over to Suchet Singh in April 1854, the first being annexed to the Hoshiarpur, the second to the Jalandhar district. With reference to this partition the Government had directed the will to be carried out, and there was no possible reason for objecting to the arrangement. The British Government had no cause to be more anxious that the estate should remain intact than the late Raja had been, and if these arrangements were set aside, there could be no doubt but that new difficulties would again speedily arise.

With reference to the second point it was inexpedient to modify the terms of the will, which was not an unjust one, and but for the interference of the British Government the elder brother would never have been Raja at all. The estates left would be ample if only the large expenses for jagirs, dharamarths and dependants were reduced within moderate limits. The districts of Bunga and Wayan were directed to be taken over at their assessment of Rs. 85,000 and the balance, Rs. 15,000, was to be made up from adjacent villages.*

The Commissioner submitted a list of villages which might most appropriately be given to Suchet Singh, but urged as an additional reason against

* No 79 dated 31st January 1855 from Chief Commissioner to Commissioner Trans-Satlaj States.

the arrangement that Suchet Singh was a minor when he asked for partition, and since his majority* had desired a compromise, and that the will might now be modified as well as formerly when the Government only upheld a part and did not sanction the supremacy of the elder brother.†

The Punjab Government sanctioned the villages detailed being made over to Suchet Singh, but refused to reopen the general question, which had been definitely settled. Suchēt Singh's majority was absolutely immaterial in a political case, since he was of full discretion when he made his application, and the British Government, as Paramount, had full right to uphold just so much of the will as it thought proper.‡

In 1860, the question of Suchet Singh's separate jagir was again revived.

The question is re-opened in 1860.

Colonel Lake, Commissioner Trans-Satlej States, wrote that the brothers were reconciled and both wished the separated jagir to be restored. "They have interchanged formal agreements, by which, in the event of Government sanctioning the agreement, the Kour[§] Suchet Singh promises on the one hand fealty and obedience, while on the other hand Raja Randhir Singh binds himself to leave Kour Suchet Singh in possession of the lands made over to him by the British Government and to continue the grant to him and his heirs on certain conditions specified in the agreement." The popular feeling was against the will of the late Raja, and the precedent

* Suchet Singh attained his majority 25th December 1854.

† No. 89, from Commissioner Trans-Satlej States to Chief Commissioner, dated 5th May 1855.

‡ No. 533 from Chief Commissioner to Commissioner Trans-Satlej States, dated 8th June 1855.

might lead to the dismemberment of all independent principalities. The will would be in no way set aside; the only change being that Suchet Singh would become a dependant of his brother instead of an ordinary jagirdar.*

And the divided share of Suchet Singh is again included in his brother's estate. The Government of the Punjab strongly supported this recommendation, urging the great services of the Raja during the mutiny, and the fact that no loss would accrue to Government nor would the will be set aside. The Supreme Government sanctioned the arrangement and the transfer was accordingly made.†

Sirdar Bikrama Singh desires his share under the will. In 1866, the brothers again quarreled, and the Commissioner of Jalandhar wrote to Government—"On the 20th April, Sirdar Bikrama Singh "formally announced to me that he had come to a "complete rupture with his brother the Raja of "Kapurthalla, and requested that the provisions "of his father's will might be put in force as directed "by the Government of India."‡

His right is disputed. The Punjab Government replied that the existing arrangements could not be disturbed. The Sirdar again urged his case, pleading the provisions of the will and the sanction of the Government which only allowed it to remain in abeyance while the brothers lived together amicably.§

* No 209 of 27th December 1859, from Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States to Government Punjab.

† No. 17 of 7th January 1860 from Government Punjab to Government of India, and Government of India, No. 243 of 28th January 1860.

‡ No. 130 of 15th May 1866 from Commissioner Jalandhar to Government Punjab.

§ Sirdar Bikrama Singh's letter of the 20th April 1866, to Commissioner Jalandhar.

Sirdar Bikrama Singh then applied directly to the Government of the Punjab, but was informed that he must now abide by his first decision of waiving the right to enforce the provisions of the will.*

The Government were not bound under altered circumstances to maintain the will. Bikrama Singh then desired to be informed of his exact position, and of the decision of the Punjab Government, not as to the expediency of the separation, but on his absolute and indefeasible right to claim it. In reply the Government declined to reopen the question. The rule of primogeniture was that which, by Hindu law, as well as usage, had always applied to such holdings, and when, under native rule it had been set aside, it was only the result of an arbitrary exercise of power. In 1852 the Kapurthalla territory had been exceptionally treated. The Raja had been entitled to consideration and the rule of primogeniture had been for some years disregarded. The will was consequently sanctioned, but, in Sirdar Bikrama Singh's case, it was not carried out, and the subsequent course of events had absolved the Government from any obligation to carry it out, after a lapse of 16 years and after the rule of primogeniture had been authoritatively laid down as the ordinary rule of procedure.†

Suchet Singh joins his brother in desiring his share to be restored to him. Sirdar Suchet Singh now again came forward. He desired that his jagir which had been reunited with Kapurthalla might be again separated as

* Sirdar Bikrama Singh's letters of 29th May and 9th June 1860, and reply of Government Punjab, Nos. 487 and 502 of the 9th and 12th June.

† Agent of Bikrama Singh to Punjab Government, of 26th October 1866; and reply of Punjab Government, No. 837 of 10th November 1866.

the terms of the agreement had not been carried out. The points in the agreement to which he especially referred were—(i.) "Suchet Singh is vested with authority to raise the assessment; (ii.) he is to exercise all the powers of the Collectorate." As regards assessment he had found after the agreement was signed, that no enhancement of the Government assessment was permissible until the term had expired; and with regard to Collectorate powers the Raja had only allowed him to try summary suits.

The Government of the Punjab declined to discuss a question which could only tend to bring both parties to ruin, its opinion of the Raja's conduct differed materially from that of Suchet Singh, and the younger sons had already obtained more than they could legally have claimed.*

A few months later the Commissioner reported that there was little chance of a reconciliation between the Raja and Bikrama Singh. The Raja was willing to allow his second brother the same provision that he had made to the youngest; namely, Rs. 54,000 a year, including a life jagir of Rs. 25,000 or Rs. 30,000, and a cash pension of Rs. 25,000 in

The question is referred to the Government of India for decision.

perpetuity.† The Punjab Government requested a final decision from the Government of India, which alone could induce Bikrama Singh to agree to anything but a permanent transfer of territory yielding a lakh of rupees per annum. Suchet Singh was not so anxious to press his claim as Bikrama Singh, who was much better off than his younger brother,

* Suchet Singh to Government Punjab, of 12th November 1866; and reply of Government Punjab, No. 919 of 15th December.

† No 130 of 12th April 1867, from Commissioner Jalaudhar to Government Punjab.

for besides his allowance of Rs. 50,000 he had an estate of at least equal value in Oude, which although gained, in his opinion, by his own personal services alone, must justly be considered as in part owing to his position with his brother the Raja, which allowed him opportunity of rendering these services.

The final orders of the Government of India were given in February 1868 to the following effect :—

The final orders of Government.

The will was sanctioned and approved by the British Government in 1852. Though partition was not actually demanded yet the liability to partition was affirmed. Against this decision the Raja appealed, but it was distinctly ruled that partition must take place. Since then nothing had occurred to cause the Government of India to form a different decision, nor had there been any surrender on the part of either brother of this right in case of disagreement. The reply given by Lord Canning at the Durbar, in 1860, clearly appears to have related only to a fact, namely, that the execution of the will was held in abeyance, and conveyed no promise that the will never would be carried out. †

The case was one of equity only, which was clear. The rule of primogeniture was not absolute in the lesser States of the Punjab. But, in any case, the arrangement had been solemnly sanctioned by the Government and could not now be set aside.

* No. 204 of 20th May 1867, from Government Punjab to Government of India.

† Lord Canning spoke at the Durbar at Phagwara on the 31st January 1860, to the following effect, as reported by Kirpa Ram the Raja's Vakil, whose memorandum was attested by the Commissioner—
 " In consideration of your loyalty I bestow upon you, your old estate in the Bari Doab, in perpetuity, and the will of your late father being set aside, your authority is restored in your principality as before, including the ilaques of Wayan and Bunga."

The application of the will must accordingly take effect as regarded both brothers.

Suchet Singh obtained partition of an estimated lakh's worth of territory, under the terms of the will, and became a British Jagirdar. The new assessment reduced his revenue below the lakh, but this, it was observed, must be adhered to, nor could he claim more from the Raja, nor raise the assessment till the term of settlement had expired.

Bikrama Singh, it was ordered, should have a lakh's worth of territory divided off, the amount calculated according to existing revenues, it not being, under the circumstances, desirable to enforce British assessments.

By the will, in case of partition, the jurisdiction, fiscal, criminal and civil, might be transferred to the British Government or be exercised by the brothers under the suzerainty of the British Government. The brothers were therefore permitted to exercise all original jurisdiction, fiscal, criminal and civil, within their respective shares.

Each brother had, under the will, the right to come under the suzerainty of the British Government. But if either should consent to remain under the suzerainty of the Raja while still retaining his or their original jurisdiction, so much the better, as thus the unity of the Kapurthalla State would be adequately preserved. "Lastly, the appanage of "the two brothers Bikrama Singh and Suchet Singh, "both in respect of separate revenue and of jurisdiction, must descend to their lineal male issue "according to the rule of primogeniture, the elder "son inheriting the appanage and providing a "moderate maintenance for the younger sons, if any ;

“ on failure of male issue lawfully begotten, the ap-
 “ panage would revert to the Raja, or the represen-
 “ tative of the Kapurthalla Ahluwalia family for the
 “ time being.*

The Raja was not satisfied with this decision
The order modified of the Viceroy, and appealed to the
by the Home Go- Secretary of State for India, who
vernment. modified, to a considerable extent, the terms of the
 decision, although the validity of the will was main-
 tained. The following is his despatch to the
 Viceroy dated 12th February 1869 :—

“ I have received and considered in Council
 “ with all the attention which the
 “ importance of the subject demands,
 “ the letters of your Excellency’s
 “ Government, noted in the mar-
 “ gin, with accompanying correspondence, relating
 “ to the affairs of the Rajah of Kapurthalla and his
 “ brothers.

“ 2. It is unnecessary to refer in detail to the
 “ circumstances of the late Rajah’s will and the sub-
 “ sequent action of the brothers, so fully set forth
 “ in the correspondence before me. It is officially
 “ announced that on the 31st of January 1860,
 “ Lord Canning, Viceroy of India, after thanking
 “ the Rajah of Kapurthalla for his good services
 “ in the field, assured him in open Durbar, that his
 “ territory was given to him in perpetuity, as it
 “ existed before his father’s death. The words em-
 “ ployed by the Governor General were these—‘ In
 “ ‘ consideration of these loyal and faithful services,
 “ ‘ we have given you in perpetuity your ancient
 “ ‘ territory, the Ilaka Bari Doab. The will of

* No. 123, of 1st February 1868, from Government of India to Go-
 vernment Punjab.

“ ‘ your late father has been annulled, and your
“ ‘ dominion has in all respects been restored to you
“ ‘ in your principality, including Wayan and Bun-
“ ‘ gah, on the same footing as it existed in former
“ ‘ times.’ In reference to this speech your Excel-
“ lency’s Government has observed that the reply
“ given by Lord Canning at the Durbar in 1860,
“ clearly appears to have related only to a fact,
“ namely, that the execution of the will was held in
“ abeyance, and conveyed no promise that the will
“ never would be carried out.

“ 3. I am unable to concur in this view of
“ the meaning of Lord Canning’s words, and am
“ compelled to put upon them a different interpre-
“ tation. That interpretation does not depend upon
“ the precise accuracy of the English equivalent for
“ the expression used by the Viceroy with reference
“ to the late Raja’s will, whether it be ‘cancelled’
“ or ‘annulled’ or simply ‘set aside.’ It depends
“ on the whole context of the passage. Lord Can-
“ ning associated his announcement with an emphatic
“ reference to the political services of the Rajah.
“ It was clearly intended to convey a reward for
“ those services. If it had been the mere intima-
“ tion of an existing arrangement, which depended,
“ and was to continue to depend, upon the pleasure
“ of his younger brothers, it would have been no
“ reward, and the reference to political services
“ would have been altogether unmeaning. But,
“ evidently intended as a reward, it assumed
“ necessarily the character of a promise. This
“ reference, deducible from the whole context of the
“ speech, is confirmed also by the general tenor of
“ previous transactions in the case. The will of
“ the late Rajah had involved the danger of an

“ eventual division and dismemberment of the raj.
“ This had previously been prevented by voluntary
“ agreement among the brothers. The nature of
“ that agreement and the circumstances under
“ which it was brought about, indicated how great
“ was the anxiety of the Rajah to prevent the dis-
“ memberment of his State, and what a calamity
“ he regarded its possible occurrence. No fitter
“ reward, therefore, could be given by the Viceroy
“ for very great and for very timely service than to
“ assure the Rajah that the Government of India
“ would remove this fear for ever from his mind.
“ I cannot doubt that this was Lord Canning’s
“ meaning, and that this was the reward to which
“ he pledged the faith and authority of the British
“ Government.

“ 4. In these circumstances Her Majesty’s Go-
“ vernment are of opinion that it is their duty to up-
“ hold the decision of Lord Canning, and to decree
“ that nothing shall be done to lower the dignity and
“ authority of a Chief who has been among the
“ most faithful of our allies, and who, when his
“ services were fresh in the memory of the Viceroy,
“ received such assurances from him in open Durbar.

“ 5. It is my wish, therefore, that the Raja
“ Runbeer Singh should remain as now in full pos-
“ session of the sovereignty of the entire State.
“ I well understand, however, the feeling which
“ appears to have influenced the judgment of your
“ Government in the case, namely, a feeling that
“ every consideration should be shown, and that
“ full justice should be done to the younger brothers,
“ in whose favor certain testamentary dispositions
“ had been made by the late Raja, which disposi-
“ tions had been treated as valid by the Govern-

“ment of India. But no injustice will be done to
 “the brothers if that arrangement be made perman-
 “ent to which they had themselves voluntarily
 “assented, and which has been held binding during
 “a course of years. They should receive in money,
 “or in a life tenure of lands, as you may determine,
 “the full value of the shares assigned to them in
 “their father’s will. But it is to be thoroughly
 “understood that in the case of the younger bro-
 “thers holding lands in the Kapurthalla State,
 “they are, so far as criminal jurisdiction is concerned,
 “to be held in entire subordination to the Raja,
 “and that at the death of each, the revenue of the
 “lands held by him shall revert to the Rajah, a
 “sufficient provision, to be approved by your
 “Government, for the family of the deceased, being
 “made a first charge on the revenues of the estate.

“6. It is to be hoped that, after this distinct
 “announcement of Her Majesty’s Government, the
 “Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab will be able
 “to make, under your instructions, such an arrange-
 “ment as will give satisfaction to all parties con-
 “cerned. Kour Suchait Singh having demanded a
 “separation of his jagheer from the principality
 “has no claim to bind the Raja to the agreement
 “entered into with him in 1859.”

All that remained was to arrange the measures
 for carrying into effect the instructions of the Home
 Government in such a manner as to leave the Raja
 and his brothers no just cause of complaint.

The conclusions and orders of the Secretary of
Summary of the Secretary of State’s orders. State were simply that Lord Can-
 ning’s declaration of the annulment
 of the will was upheld : that Raja Randhir Singh

was to hold the State in full sovereignty : that the younger brothers were, for life, to enjoy the whole share in money or lands allotted them, under the will ; but if the share was given in lands they were to be subordinate to the Raja in criminal jurisdiction.

The younger brothers were not disposed to accept the decision of the Government without further appeal, and refused all reconciliation with the Raja, who was quite willing to consider the dispute finally settled. It thus became impossible to assign them their share in Kapurthalla lands, and the Government of the Punjab was only able to recommend that a cash allowance to the amount of their shares should be granted.

This amount had then to be determined, for under the will of Raja Nihal Singh the younger brothers were entitled to land worth a lakh a year. But it was clearly just that the land thus made over to the Sirdars should be valued at the assessment levied by the Kapurthalla Chiefs although when severed from that State it would become liable to re-assessment on the principles which guided the British Government in Revenue matters. It has been seen in the case of Kour Suchet Singh, that separated lands which yielded under Raja Nihal Singh a lakh of rupees per annum, under the light and liberal assessments of the Government only yielded Rs. 52,014 a year. This then was all the brothers were entitled to, under the will, for if they elected to become British jagirdars they must also accept the loss of re-assessment of their lands : and should

cash be allowed instead of land they could only fairly claim a pension equivalent to the revenue of the lands as re-assessed, viz. Rs. 52,000. But the Punjab Government, unwilling to give Kours Bikrama Singh and Suchet Singh any cause for complaint, recommended that a cash allowance of Rs. 60,000 should be paid to each of them in half yearly instalments. The districts of Bunga and Wayam were taken over from the youngest of the brothers, and he was permitted to claim compensation for any permanent improvements he might have effected.*

This voluminous and lengthy case, which has given rise to a vast amount of ill-
The termination of the case. feeling, and the annoyance and trouble connected with which may be reasonably assumed to have broken the health and shortened the life of Raja Randhir Singh, is now finally settled. That the younger brothers will acquiesce in the decision is hardly to be expected; but they must at least know that the British Government, as paramount, possessed the fullest power to uphold or annul the will of their father: that if this annulment was made after the mutiny of 1857, it was to preserve the integrity of the Kapurthalla State and to reward the brilliant and devoted services of the Raja; and, lastly, that if they have not received everything which their father intended for them, they have, at any rate, obtained more than they had any legal or moral right to claim.

* Commissioner Jalandhar to Government Punjab, No. 171—1094, dated 4th May 1869; Government Punjab to Government India, No. 223 dated 16th July; Government of India to Government Punjab, No. 921, and 1272 dated 6th July and 9th September 1869.

The mutiny of 1857, and the active loyalty of Raja Randhir Singh.

It is now necessary to go back a few years in the history of the family, to the time when the mutiny of the Bengal army broke out in May 1857. Raja Randhir Singh took the earliest opportunity of evincing his loyalty towards the British Government. He was, as a vassal of the Crown, bound to render all possible aid to the Government in times of difficulty, and military service could not have been demanded from him as he paid annually a tribute of Rs. 1,32,000 in commutation of such service. But, at the first intimation of the out-break at Dehli and Meerat, the Raja marched into Jalandhar with every available soldier, accompanied by his brother Bikrama Singh and his chief advisers, and remained there throughout the hot season at the head of his troops, a portion of which he volunteered to send to Dehli, and this offer was only not

His services at Jalandhar.

accepted as their presence was absolutely required at Jalandhar. On the night of the mutiny at this town, his troops guarded the civil station, the jail and the treasury, and he detached the whole of his Cavalry, under General Johnstone, for the pursuit of the mutineers.

In July, when the mutiny at Sialkot rendered it advisable to strengthen the station of Hoshiarpur, the Raja, at the request of the authorities, despatched there 200 Infantry, 100 Cavalry, and two light guns, and this force remained there till the following November. Prince Bikrama Singh was as loyal and energetic as his brother, and their example was so well followed by the Raja's officers and troops, that although encamped for six months in the neighbourhood of a large town, and with the example

before them of the mutiny of the Government troops, no breach of discipline occurred and their conduct was most exemplary.

The effect of the Raja's decided action was no doubt important. *His decided action had a good effect.* The Jalandhar Doab was, it is true, the best affected of any portion of the Punjab, and its inhabitants, prosperous and chiefly agriculturists, had never any desire to rise; yet the Government was nevertheless much strengthened both in the Jalandhar Doab and in the Cis-Satlej by the Raja's conduct. Nor did he withhold the tribute which he might fairly have deducted for the pay of troops which he was not legally compelled to supply, but paid it punctually, preferring to involve himself deeply in debt than increase the difficulties of the Government.

The force of the Raja employed during this time consisted of 1,200 Infantry, *The number of Kapurthalla troops employed in 1857.* 200 Cavalry, and 5 guns. To this force the Supreme Government sanctioned, in November 1857, a gratuity of Rs. 12,000, equivalent to a month's pay to each officer and soldier.*

It should be remembered that the Raja took the side of Government without hesitation, and without having had time or opportunity to ascertain what were the intentions of the great Cis-Satlej Chiefs. After the moveable column had marched to Dehli, the only reliable force in the Jalandhar Doab was that of the Raja, with the exception of one hundred Europeans forming the garrison of the Philor fort;

* Letters—Commissioner's No. 189, dated 17th October 1857, to Secretary Chief Commissioner; Government, No. 4750, dated 24th November 1857, with Chief Commissioner's No. 8, dated 8th January 1858.

the same number of invalids at Jalandhar ; nine hundred Tiwana horse, and a newly raised regiment of Punjab Infantry. The Raja did not waver in his loyalty when Dehli continued to hold out against the British and when so many lukewarm friends despaired of their cause ; but he was eager himself to lead his men on active service, and that this was no idle offer, intended to be declined, is proved by his subsequent conduct in Oude.

After the fall of Delhi it was determined to disarm the population of the Jalandhar Doab, and this measure the Raja carried out in his own territories with the utmost readiness.*

The services of the Raja Randhir Singh were most cordially acknowledged by the Government of India. The tribute due from him was reduced by Rs. 25,000 a year : one year's tribute was altogether remitted, and khillats of Rs. 15,000 and Rs. 5,000 respectively were conferred upon him and his brother. A salute of eleven guns was assigned to him, and the honorary title of Farzand-dilband rásikh ul itikád, while Bikrama Singh received the title of Buhadar.†

Early in May 1858, the Raja of Kapurthalla, with the approval of the Supreme Government, led a contingent to Oude, Sirdar Bikrama Singh accompanying his brother. For ten months the Raja's

* Letters—No. 188, Commissioner Trans-Satlaj States to Secretary Chief Commissioner, dated 30th January 1858, and No. 962, of 30th November 1858. No. 188 of Secretary to Chief Commissioner to Government of India, dated 8th April. No. 962, Chief Commissioner to Commissioner Trans-Satlaj States, dated 11th December 1858.

† Letter No. 1549 of Government of India to Chief Commissioner, dated 2nd June 1858.

force did admirable service in the field. Six times they were engaged with the enemy and captured nine guns: the Raja and his brother avoided neither fatigue nor danger, but were always to be seen at the head of their men in action, where they fought with conspicuous bravery.* The presence of the Raja had the very best effect upon the troops, who not only fought gallantly but gained the highest character for discipline and good conduct.† About the end of March 1859, the Raja's force was released from service and returned to the Punjab.

For the services of his troops the Raja received two lakhs of rupees as had been previously arranged by the Chief Commissioner of Oude.‡ The native officers of the contingent received khillats of Rs. 500 each, and the English officers attached to it received the thanks of Government. To the Raja was assigned a khillat of Rs. 5,000.

The two estates of Boundi and Bithouli, confiscated by the rebellion of their owners, were granted to the Raja on *istimrari* tenure, at half rates, he assuming all those right and privileges, and none other, enjoyed by the former owners. The Government demand on these estates was, in 1858, one lakh of rupees. They are situated on the river Gogra; Boundi on the northern bank and Bithouli between the rivers Gogra and Chouka.

* Letter No. 23 of 12th July 1858, and No. 40 of 1st October 1858, from Governor General to Court of Directors.

† From Lieutenant Chamier to Military Secretary Chief Commissioner of Oude, of 29th January 1859.

‡ Chief Commissioner's No. 89 of 1st July 1858 to Government of India; and Government of India Nos. 5,2120 and 5357, of 13th July and 21st December 1858.

To Sirdar Bikrama Singh a portion of the Akaona estate in the Baraitch district, worth Rs. 45,000 a year was granted at full Government rates; and others of the Raja's followers received portions of the same estate.* This property has lately formed the subject of a civil suit which is still in the Courts and cannot be here discussed, the subject being the terms on which the estate is held and the future right of the Raja therein. One Court has lately decided in favor of the Raja and against Sirdar Bikrama Singh, but the latter is understood to have appealed against the decision.

A garden, valued at Rs. 1,300, at Narainghar in the Ambala district, which had been resumed by the British Government on the confiscation of the Cis-Satlaj estates of the Ahluwalia Chief after the first Sikh war, was also granted to the Raja, rent free, in perpetuity, as a further acknowledgment of his services in the Punjab in 1857.†

* Letter No. 88 of 10th February 1859, from Chief Commissioner Oude to Government of India; No. 2008 of 15th April 1859, from Government India to Chief Commissioner Oude; No. 54, of November 9th 1859 from Secretary of State for India to Governor General; No. 115, of 16th July, 1859, from Governor General, to Secretary of State; Letter of 22nd January 1859, from Commissioner of Lucknow to Deputy Commissioner of Baraitch.

† No. 207 of 16th August 1858, from Chief Commissioner Punjab to Government India; No. 382 of 11th August 1858, from Judicial Commissioner Punjab to Chief Commissioner; No. 215 of 5th August 1858, from Commissioner Trans-Satlaj States to Judicial Commissioner; No. 3631, of 9th October 1858, from Government of India to Chief Commissioner Punjab.

The Sanad granting the estates of Boundi and Bithouli to the Raja was dated 15th April 1859, and is in the following terms:—

“Whereas it appears from the report of the Chief Commissioner of Oude that during the disturbances Rajah Rundheer Singh Buhadoor Ahluwalea, from loyalty to the British Government, came in person to Lucknow at the head of his troops and rendered valuable service: as a mark of satisfaction, I hereby confer upon Raja Rundheer Singh Buhadoor the zemindaries of Boundee and Bithowlee at half revenue in istumraree tenure, on the condition that in time of difficulty and

The last and the most highly valued of the privileges conferred upon Raja Randhir Singh was the right of adoption, granted by the following Sanad of Lord Canning, Viceroy and Governor General :—

The Sanad of Adoption.

“ To Farzand Dilband Rasikool Itiqad Rajegan Rajah Randheer Singh Buhadoor of Kuppoorthalla.

“ 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, convey to you the assurance that, on failure of natural heirs, the adoption by yourself and future rulers of your State, of a successor, according to Hindu Law and to the customs of your race, will be recognized and confirmed.

“ 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.”

Raja Randhir Singh had always been desirous of regaining those estates in the Bari Doab which had been resumed on the death of Raja Nihal Singh in September 1852, for they had been the first conquests of Sirdar Jassa Singh and included the village of Ahlu which had been the original home

The estates in the Bari Doab. The Raja's desire to recover them.

danger the Rajah shall render military and political service. It is understood that this grant confers on the Rajah only the rights enjoyed by the former proprietors of the above zemindaree and nothing more.

A khillat of the value of Rs. 10,000 ten thousand rupees is bestowed upon the Rajah.”

of the family and from which their name had been derived. For three generations they had been held by the Kapurthalla Chiefs, and their resumption was not occasioned by any bad conduct on the part of Raja Nihal Singh, who had performed loyal service in 1849; but simply in accordance with the rules applied to the cases of all conquest tenure jagirdars. The whole estate was estimated by Colonel Lawrence at Rs. 26,300 per annum,* and included eighteen villages in the Lahore district, twenty-one in the Amritsar, and a garden at Multan. The Regular Settlement had much diminished the value of the estate, which, in 1859, was only estimated

The argument for restoration.

at Rs. 15,910 a year, exclusive of the Multan garden.† The argument for the restoration of these lands was that the Home Government had directed a reconsideration of all the cases of the conquest tenure jagirdars,‡ and that, under the operation of these orders, numerous petty chiefs in the Jalandhar and Hoshiarpur districts had regained their estates with some fraction of each granted in perpetuity.§

It was urged that if these Chiefs, who had done little or nothing for the British Government were treated with such consideration, the Raja of

* Letter of Colonel Lawrence to Raja Nihal Singh, dated 3rd January 1850.

† This was below the real value as assessed in 1861, and the number of villages was incorrect. There were 25 in the Amritsar district, 12 in Lahore. The total value was Rs. 17,532-1-10 per annum, of which the Raja drew Rs. 16,742-0-0, while 104-4-8 was rent free in perpetuity and Rs. 685-6-2 rent free for life.—Commissioner Jalandhar, No. 178, dated 13th December 1861 to Government Punjab.

‡ Despatch of Court of Directors, No. 20 dated 17th July 1850.

§ Supreme Government No. 1993, dated 1st May 1857, to Chief Commissioner; ditto No. 2674 dated 6th August 1858, to Chief Commissioner; with Chief Commissioner's No. 445 dated 14th May 1857, and 796 dated 6th September 1858.

Kapurthalla, whose service had been most distinguished, was entitled to more consideration. That the Government would incur no loss, but a possible gain of Rs. 9,000 a year, as the Raja was willing to take these estates, which, by the Government Settlement, were only worth Rs. 15,910 a year, in exchange for the remission of tribute of Rs. 25,000 which had been granted to him in 1858.

The Government of the Punjab strongly recommended that the wishes of the Raja should be complied with, and these estates were accordingly granted in perpetuity, in exchange for the remission of tribute; the jagir villages remaining subject to the civil and police jurisdiction of the British Government.*

The Raja was not, however, quite satisfied. He desired full and sovereign power in his Bari Doab estates as he enjoyed in his Jalandhar territory, and he also wished to consolidate his estates on both sides of the Bias by giving up certain isolated villages in the Lahore and Amritsar districts and receiving others of equal rental adjoining his territory. But this proposition the Government was not prepared then to entertain, and the Raja was informed that if the estate could be conveniently consolidated he might hereafter receive the Magisterial powers which it was proposed to confer on jagirdars in the

* Letters No. 204, dated 23rd December 1859, from Commissioner Trans-Satlaj States to Secretary Government Punjab; letter of Raja Randhir Singh to Major Lake, dated 16th December 1859; and No. 18, dated 7th January 1860, from Secretary Government Punjab to Government of India; No. 245, dated 28th January 1860, from Government of India to Secretary Government Punjab.

Punjab.* The Raja had no wish for the consolidation of the jagir unless he could also obtain sovereign powers; but the Government after further

Which the Government are inclined to grant.

consideration maintained its opinion that it was unadvisable to change the jurisdiction of villages which had been for fifteen years under British administration.†

In 1861, the Chief Commissioner of Oude addressed the Supreme Government to the effect that the Raja of Kapurthalla, though of far higher

New title given to the Raja of Kapurthalla as an Oude Talukdar.

* Letter of Raja Randhir Singh to Commissioner Trans-Satlej States, dated 10th March 1860; No. 56, dated 17th April 1860, from Commissioner Trans-Satlej States to Government Punjab; No. 491, of Government Punjab, to Commissioner Trans-Satlej States, dated 25th April 1860.

† Letters No. 178, of Commissioner Trans-Satlej States to Government Punjab, dated 13th December 1861; No. 683, of Government of Punjab to Government of India dated 12th December 1862; No. 92, of Government of India to Government Punjab dated 26th January 1863; No. 21, of Commissioner Amritsar to Government Punjab, dated 27th February 1863; No. 442, of Government of India to Government Punjab, dated 31st August 1864.

A case may here be alluded to as affording a precedent for the determination of claims to lands belonging to States situated on different banks of a river and affected by changes in the river's channel. In 1860, two villages Jhugian Raian and Jhugian Dogaran were cut from the Kapurthalla side of the Bias river by a sudden change in the stream and added to the British bank. The question of the right of the Kapurthalla State to claim separated lands was long discussed, and in 1869 it was ruled by the Supreme Government that the villages should continue to be owned by the Raja, the principle, in such cases, being that if the change in the bed of the river was so gradual as to escape observation, the villages and their revenue would belong to the British Government, but that if the change was sudden, then rights of all kinds, whether of jurisdiction, administration or revenue, remain as before. This was the principle laid down in the letter of the Government of India No. 3,631, dated 24th August 1860, and approved by the Secretary of State in his despatch No. 3, dated 16th January 1861.

Letter of Government of Punjab to Government of India, 275—1,055 dated 1st September 1869; Government of India to Government Punjab dated 21st October 1869; and Government Punjab to Financial Commissioner No. 1,315, dated 12th November 1869.

A similar case had occurred in 1857, when under orders conveyed in Supreme Government letter No. 2,551 dated 12th June, eight villages which by the action of the river Satlej had been cut off from the Firozpur district and transferred to the Kapurthalla side of the river, were allowed to remain under the administration of the Raja.

position than Maharajas Man Singh and Dirg Bijai Singh of Bulrampur, being an independent ruler in his hereditary estates, was yet, in Oude, in an inferior position, and requested that some honorary title might be accorded to him as would place him above the ordinary Oude Talukdars. The Government accordingly sanctioned the Raja of Kapurthalla being addressed as Raja Rajagan, or Raja of Rajas.* This title is only in force in Oude and not in the Punjab, to which it was never intended to apply.

The Raja desired to be invested with the same powers in his Oude estates as he exercised in his estate in the Punjab; or that estates and full powers within them should be given to him in the Punjab in exchange for those in Oude. The Government held out no hopes whatever that this request would ever be granted.†

At Lahore, on the 17th October 1864, His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General invested the Raja with the insignia of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India. The Raja was attended by eight of his principal relatives and Sirdars. The following Chiefs were present at the ceremony: the Maharajas of Kashmir and Pattiala, the Rajas of Jhind, Mandi, Faridkot, Chamba, Suket and Goleria; the Nawabs of Maler Kotla, Patowdi, Loharu and Dojana, and the Sirdar of Kalsia. The Raja, who received a salute of eleven guns on his arrival

* Secretary Chief Commissioner of Oude to Government of India, No. 312, dated 20th February 1861; and Government of India to Secretary Chief Commissioner of Oude, No. 1,096, of 12th March 1861.

† Extract from Proceedings of Government of India in the Foreign Department of 6th March 1862.

and departure, was conducted to the Viceroy by the Maharaja of Kashmir, the only Knight of the order present, and by the Secretary of the order.

The Viceroy's speech. The Viceroy addressed the Raja in Hindostani to the following effect :

“ Raja Randhir Singh, Raja of Kapurthalla.
 “ It is with much satisfaction that I find myself
 “ empowered by Her Most Gracious Majesty the
 “ Queen of England to confer on you so great a
 “ mark of her favour as that of the Star of India.
 “ This honor has only been granted to those Princes
 “ and Chiefs who unite high rank with great personal merit. It rejoices me to instal you among
 “ the chosen number.

“ Your grandfather, Sirdar Fatah Singh, was
 “ a chief of considerable renown. He was the well
 “ known leader of the Ahluwalia confederacy, and
 “ the companion in arms of the great Maharaja
 “ Ranjit Singh. Your father, Raja Nihal Singh,
 “ was an old friend of mine when you were yet a
 “ youth. When he passed away your Highness
 “ succeeded to his duties and responsibilities and
 “ have worthily discharged them. When the mutiny
 “ of 1857 broke out, you were one of the foremost
 “ Chiefs of this country to do your duty and range
 “ yourself on the side of the British Government.
 “ After the fall of Delhi your Highness headed
 “ your troops, conducted them to Oude and there
 “ assisted in recovering that province. For these
 “ services you received at the time much praise and
 “ liberal rewards ; and now, to crown all, you are
 “ about to obtain a most signal mark of honor from
 “ Her Majesty the Queen of England and India.

" In the name then of the Queen, and by Her
 " Majesty's commands, I now invest you with the
 " Honorable Insignia of the Star of India, of which
 " Most Exalted Order Her Majesty has been graci-
 " ously pleased to appoint you to be a Knight.
 " I have addressed you in Hindostani, in order
 " that the Princes and Chiefs now present may
 " the more readily participate in this ceremony,
 " and that your relatives and friends may be more
 " highly gratified, otherwise I should have spoken in
 " English, for I know that you thoroughly under-
 " stand my language. This circumstance, no doubt,
 " has operated as a bond of union between your
 " Highness and my countrymen."

At the conclusion of the address, the Viceroy placed the Ribbon and Collar of the Order round the Raja's neck and delivered to him the Star.*

Family troubles and the dispute regarding the partition of the Kapurthalla estates between himself and his younger brothers much embittered the last years of Raja Randhir Singh's life, and for some time he almost abandoned the Punjab and resided upon his Oude property, till the news that his territory was not to be divided allowed him to return with honor.

The Raja had for long been desirous of paying
 a visit to England, and his satisfac-
 tion at the successful result of his
 appeal to the Secretary of State in the matter of
 the division of territory was so great that he decided
 to leave for England early in 1870, and remain there

*The visit of the
Raja to England de-
termined on.*

* Notification of Supreme Government, No. 600 of 18th October 1864.

for a year if the climate should agree with him.* He made arrangements for the proper administration of his State during his absence, leaving his son, Kharak Singh, in charge with responsible ministers, every matter of importance being directed to be reported to him in England. The Raja left Kapur-

His illness and death. thalla for Bombay on the 15th of

March. He had long been in a very delicate state of health, from an affection of the liver, and was urged by many of his friends to abandon his intention for the present. But all his arrangements had been made and he was most unwilling to delay the visit to England upon which he had set his heart, and from which he anticipated so much pleasure. But this was not to be. Scarcely had he left Bombay when he became seriously ill, and when the ship reached Aden there was no hope of his life. A committee of medical officers was called, but they declared the Raja could only live a few hours, and advised his being taken on board the mail steamer just leaving Aden for Bombay. This was done, and soon after his removal he died, on the 2nd of April.† His body was conveyed to Bombay, where it was received by his son Prince Kharak Singh, who had hurried from Kapurthalla on hearing of his father's illness. He took the body to the sacred city of Nasik, where the ceremony of cremation was performed, and a fortnight later the ashes of Raja Randhir Singh were conveyed to Hardwár.

* Government of India, dated 18th February, and 7th 14th and 19th March, 1870. Government Punjab, No. 292 dated 13th September 1869. Government of India No. 1389, dated 29th September 1869.

† Letter of Colonel Lees, dated Aden, April 2nd, to Secretary Government of India. Report of Medical Board, dated April 2nd 1870. Aden. Letter from Prince Kharak Singh to the Viceroy, dated 18th April 1870, and 29th.

The sanction of the Viceroy was at once solicited to the recognition of Prince Kharak Singh to the estates and titles of his father, * and this sanction was at once granted, with an expression of deep and sincere regret at the news of the Raja's death. "The British Government," said the Viceroy, "has lost in him an attached and valued friend, and a Chief who, by a vigorous and progressive administration, set an excellent example to other native rulers. The valuable services which he rendered to the British Government in time of trouble and danger will not be forgotten".†

“ The installation of Prince Kharak Singh took place on the 12th of May. Colonel *The installation of Raja Kharak Singh.* Coxe, Commissioner of Jalandhar, attended on the part of Government, and a large number of visitors were present, English and native. The customary ceremonies were performed and khillats were presented on the part of the British Government and the independent Chiefs.‡ During the ceremony of the installation an address was presented from the subjects of the Kapurthalla State, congratulating Prince Kharak Singh on his accession, and offering large contributions towards a memorial in honor of the late Raja. This address and the reply of the Raja, showing so much liberality on the part of the people, and so much enlightenment on the part of the young Prince cannot be omitted here. They may well be accepted as a good omen

* Government Punjab, to Government of India, No. 128½, 21st April 1870.

† Government of India to Government Punjab, No. 14, A. P. dated 5th May 1870. Government Punjab to Commissioner Jalandhar, No. 517 dated 7th May 1870. Commissioner Jalandhar to Government Punjab, No. 191, 1196 dated 26th April.

‡ Commissioner Jalandhar to Government Punjab, 13th May 1870.

for the new reign, and a promise that the liberal opinions of Raja Randhir Singh are shared by his son.

*Address to H. H. the Rajah of Kapurthalla
by his subjects.*

(Translation.)

“ YOUR HIGHNESS,

“ We the servants and subjects of Kapurthalla
“ State and of Your Highness's Oudh Estates bow
“ down our heads with reverent thanks to the
“ Almighty God for His Grace in giving us this auspicious opportunity, through the royal protection and
“ favor of the British Government, of witnessing these
“ entertainments of your installation to the throne
“ vacated by the lamented death of your renowned
“ and much esteemed father. Our past experience of
“ Your Highness's benevolent and just rule during
“ the late Maharaja's life-time confirms our hopes
“ that you will inherit all the noble qualities of your
“ father, and will soon remove from our hearts the
“ heavy grief sustained by the loss of our late beloved
“ master, now that you are given scope of displaying
“ your hitherto latent virtues.

“ Almost all your illustrious ancestors since they
“ grew into power have been remarkable for their
“ meritorious exploits, but when we consider the noble
“ deeds of your father, our grief for his decease takes
“ a permanent shape. The little space at our command forbids our entering into the details of his
“ works ; we would however cursorily run over them.
“ Previous to the accession of the late Maharaja to
“ the musnud, the Government revenue was in an
“ anomalous state, as in other native principalities.
“ The product of the fields was attached to make it

“good, which naturally resulted in the ruin of the ryot
“and the usurpation of his property by a stronger
“party. But His Highness seeing the evils of this
“system fixed the State jumma according to the
“capabilities of the soil, and regulated the rights of
“the tenants and the proprietors, by which all enjoyed
“the fruits of their labor and in a short time grew so
“rich as not to stand in need of the village
“‘Shahokars’ under whose heavy debts they ever
“before groaned.

“In judicial affairs the administration has been
“so consolidated that all classes of the subjects have
“been prosperous and secure, and might no longer
“triumph over right.

“The police establishment and the police sta-
“tions have been appointed after the fashion of the
“British territory. The following short account of
“the reigning members of the Ahluwalia family
“would place His late Highness’s career in contrast
“with his predecessors.

“Nawab Jassa Singh, the first Chief of the
“family, obtained so much power and influence in the
“Khalsa Army as to be unanimously recognized by
“them as their King. His next successor, Bhag
“Singh, was also just and wise, but as he was too
“merciful and mild a ruler, the managers of his
“estates rose into insurrection against him which
“diminished the size of his dominions. He was suc-
“ceeded by his renowned son Maharaja Fatah Singh,
“who reduced his insubordinate deputies into subjec-
“tion and greatly enlarged his estates. He
“exchanged turbans with Maharaja Ranjit Singh, at
“Fatahbad, in token of fraternity, and it was in his
“reign that the first treaty of alliance of the British

“ Government with the Punjab was entered into in
“ 1806 between himself personally on his own part
“ and plenipotentiary on the part of Ranjit Singh;
“ and Lord Lake on the part of the British Govern-
“ ment. The Sirdars Ranjit Singh and Fatah
“ Singh are mentioned there in terms of equality.
“ But subsequently Maharaja Ranjit Singh not
“ remaining true to his promise, taking advantage of
“ his residence in his Cis-Satlej estates, took posses-
“ sion of a greater portion of his territory in the
“ Jalandhar and Bari Doabs, with a part of the
“ Amritsar city called Kattrah Ahluwalia after the
“ name of the family. His son Raja Nihal Singh
“ followed him to the raj. During his reign the
“ administration was peaceful and prosperous. But
“ by the rebellious conduct of his mutinous army
“ against the British troops, he lost his hereditary
“ Cis-Satlej estates, which deprived the State of half
“ of its size. His Highness Raja Randhir Singh
“ came next on the stage. Like his great grand-
“ father Raja Jassa Singh, his reign was marked with
“ daily aggrandizement of his power and influence
“ and of his very attractive qualities. The estates
“ of Fatahabad, which were the ancestral patrimony
“ of the Ahluwalia dynasty, were resumed by Govern-
“ ment after the demise of Raja Nihal Singh, like
“ similar life-tenure jagirs of other Sirdars. But
“ Maharaja Randhir Singh received them back from
“ the British Government after his meritorious con-
“ duct in the Sepoy war of 1857 and 1857. He also
“ received valuable estates in Oudh, in recognition of
“ his eminent services in the mutiny. He protected
“ his patrimonial state from two different blows, 1st
“ in 1853 from the contemplated partition of the
“ ilaqa of Wayam and Bhunga, and subsequently, in

“ 1868, from the proposed division of the territory,
“ the latter by appealing to Her Majesty’s Secretary
“ of State for India. He received the honorary titles
“ Farzand dilband Raz i khul itikhad Doulat Eng-
“ lishia and Raja-i-Rajgan, the President of the
“ Taluquadars of Oudh, and was honored with the
“ highest mark of Her Majesty’s favor, viz., Knight
“ of the Grand Commander of the Most Exalted Order
“ of the Star of India. He received the mutiny
“ medal, which though of a lower order as a decoration
“ than the Star of India, His Highness gloried in
“ wearing, in remembrance of having led his forces per-
“ sonally in combat against the enemies of the Queen.
“ His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh in the
“ Calcutta Durbar remarked that such a medal did
“ not adorn the breast of any other Chief present on
“ the occasion, which shows that his late Highness
“ was justified in attaching a peculiar value to the
“ medal. The town of Kapurthalla previous to the
“ time of the late Maharaja was a mere collection of
“ hamlets. But in his administration buildings grew
“ up in it. The bazars and streets have been properly
“ built; on the principal public streets trees have been
“ planted on both sides of the way, and shops of
“ different manufactures have been opened by firms
“ from Kashmir, Amritsar, and other large towns.
“ The towns of Phagwara and Sultanpur have simi-
“ larly been improved, and gardens and houses and
“ beautiful houses have been erected in various places
“ in the Kapurthalla State and elsewhere. Schools
“ have been established here on the model of those in
“ the British dominions. A canal His Highness had
“ proposed to excavate in Kapurthalla, and establish
“ a great hospital here. But alas, his benevolent aims
“ remained incomplete. His Highness’s dealings

“ with the British Government were equally credit-
“ able to him, and won for him the esteem and
“ respect of the authorities. His heroic deeds in the
“ eventful year of 1857-58, performed in his own
“ person; first in the Jalandhar Doab and afterwards
“ in Oude, are too well known to require any mention
“ of them.”

“ More recently, in the late disturbances on the
“ North Western Frontier and at the beginning of
“ the Abyssinian expedition, His Highness volun-
“ teered his aid, and on both occasions received the
“ thanks of the Punjab Government. His Highness
“ had a very earnest desire of personally paying his
“ homage to his sovereign the Queen, for which he
“ undertook his last disastrous journey to England.
“ Seeing symptoms of ailment in his features, his
“ officials long prevented him from commencing this
“ journey, but nothing could shake his ardent desire
“ of presenting himself to Her Majesty, with besides
“ the hopes of returning, restored in health, from his
“ voyage. We greatly lament that he was not allow-
“ ed to carry out his energetic aims, and when we con-
“ sider the benign effects of his rule we reverentially
“ raise our eyes to Heaven and trust that the Al-
“ mighty Monarch has given his soul the same
“ peace which we enjoyed under him. In order to
“ evince our gratitude to the late Maharaja for his
“ paternal kindness to us and for the happiness we
“ enjoyed under him, we, the servants and subjects
“ of his Kapurthalla and Oude estates have raised
“ the sum of 1,25,000 Rs. by voluntary contribution,
“ which we present to His Highness Maharaja Khar-
“ ak Singh and ask him to spend it on the erection
“ of a memorial at Kapurthalla in commemoration of
“ the much lamented Maharaja Randhir Singh’s

“merciful and just rule, by which our posterity may
“feel themselves proud of being under the sway of
“the representative of such an illustrious prince.

“We conclude this address with our heartfelt
“prayer to God that he may ever protect this State
“from all dangers, and ever keep it prosperous
“under the protection of the British Government.

“May our young Mahawuzer be long spared to
“rule over us as his honored father did, and carry us
“still further in the foremost ranks of progress
“and civilization in India.”

Reply to the above.

Translation.

“GENTLEMEN.

“Indeed, as you have described, my late lamented father's death must have caused you deep grief.
“His loss has been felt by me with a greater sorrow.
“But as we are all destined to this common lot and
“our existence in this world is only transient, we cannot but patiently bear such misfortness. I feel myself very thankful to you for the large sum of Rs.
“1,25,000 which you have collected for the erection
“of a memorial in honor of my deceased father, which
“show your hearts' attachment for him. It delights
“me the more to find that out of this Rs. 25,000 have
“been contributed by the people of our Oudh estates,
“which are but recent acquisitions of the late Maharaja. I remember His Highness said on several
“occasions that the subjects of his Oudh estates were
“dearer to him than those of Kapurthalla, inasmuch
“as they were acquired by him in person : their present doings, then, verify the above remark of His
“Highness.

“ To dispose of the amount you have advanced for this noble object, I have to remind you that nothing received my father’s greater consideration than your enlightenment in sciences and civilization. It was for this reason that he devoted so much attention towards the establishment of Schools, Hospitals &c., &c. Nothing then do I think would be a better memorial in my father’s honor than to carry out the inmost design of his heart. I should therefore propose that a College should be started at Kapurthalla to be called Randhir College, which may be of perpetual benefit to yourselves and your posterity for your mental culture and civilization. Of the amount subscribed Rs. 20,000 can be laid out on the improvement of the old School building and Rs. 5,000 on the erection of a building for a Hospital. The rest, one lakh of Rs., should be deposited in a Government security of Promissory notes, the interest on which will be Rs. 5,000 per annum. I willingly add Rupees one lakh more to be similarly deposited, to increase the interest to Rs. 10,000 per annum. Rs. 10,000 more a year I offer you to make the aggregate amount of the yearly income of twenty thousand Rs. which can be very adequately expended on the establishment of a College and a Hospital.

“ But I think if Colonel Coxe, our Commissioner, who is present here, will give his kind assistance by reference to Government for the supply of a Principal and a staff of good teachers, then there will be great hope of our succeeding in carrying out these objects.”

Raja Kharak Singh has already given another

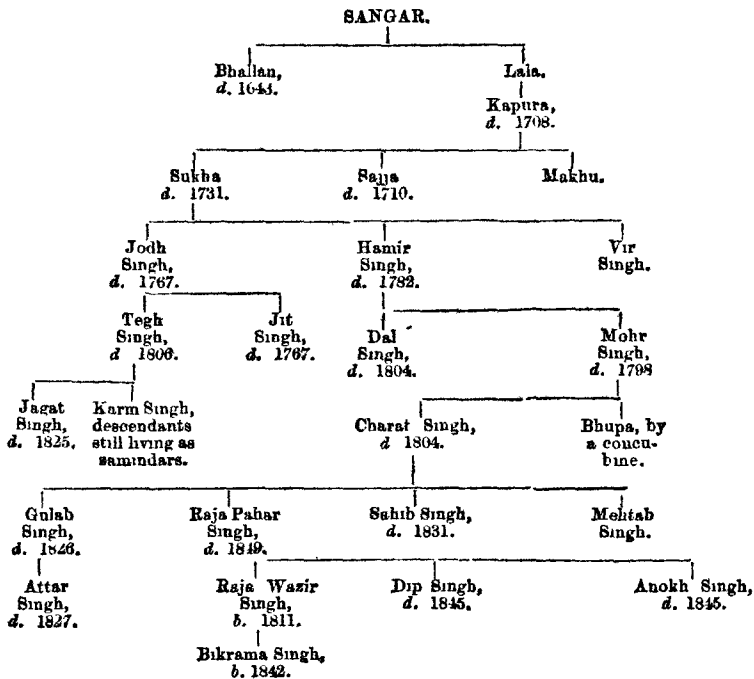
*The founding of a
Natural Science
Prize.*

proof of his liberality in the gift of Rs. 25,000 to be so invested as to

connect the name of Sir Donald McLeod, the late Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, with the province. It has been determined by Sir Donald McLeod to devote this money to the foundation of an annual prize for the best vernacular work, original, compiled or translated, on Natural Science, the competition to be open to all India.



THE HISTORY OF THE Faridkot State.



The Burár Jat family of Faridkot has sprung from the same stock as the Phulkian and Kythal Chiefs, claiming to descend from Burár the seventeenth in descent from Jesal the founder of the Jesalmir State and the reputed ancestor of the Sidhu, Burár and many other Jat clans.

The origin of the Faridkot family. The Burár Jats were thus originally Bhatti Rajputs and although, in their own traditions, there is a record of an emigration from Sialkot in the Rechna Doab to the

Malwa many centuries ago, yet it is altogether certain that they never travelled to the north of the Satlej at all, but settled in the country in which they are at present found, on their first emigration from Rajputana which was synchronous with that of the Phulkian branch of the tribe.

The Burárs are the most important Jat tribe in the Ferozpúr district, where they inhabit the whole of the country of Marí, Mehráj, Muktsar or Mokatsar, Múdkí, Buchon, Bhadour, Sultan Khan and Faridkot, holding besides many villages in Pattiala, Nabha and Malod. They are not good agriculturists and, in former days, were a wild and unruly race, addicted to cattle stealing and dacoity, while female infanticide was universally practised and, among the Maharájkian Burárs, was only given up in the year 1836, through the exertions of Mr. Clerk, the Political Agent of the British Government.*

The Raja of Faridkot is the head of the Burár tribe, and rules a territory 643 square miles in extent, with a revenue of about Rs. 80,000. Of the ancestor who gave this name to the tribe mention has already been made and Sangar was the next of the family of whom tradition takes any notice, the founder of Chakran, now a deserted village in the district of Kot Kapura. The story is told that in the reign of the Emperor Akbar, the Muhammadan Bhattis of Sirsa and the Burárs quarrelled about their boundaries, and both parties went to Dehli to ask the Emperor to adjudicate between them. Bhallan,

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

† Ante, p. 4.

the son of Sangar, represented the Burár clan, and Mansúr, who was supposed to have influence at Court, one of his daughters being in the royal harem, was the champion of the Bhattis. The Emperor gave them an audience in open-Darbar, and, as was customary, presented them with turbans and a dress of honour. Mansúr at once began to wind the muslin round his head, when Sangar snatched it from him. A scuffle ensued in which the turban was torn in two. The Emperor was amused at the quarrel and said that his decision would correspond with the length of the pieces of muslin which each had managed to retain. On being measured the fragments were found exactly equal in length, and the Bhattiana and Burár boundary was accordingly laid down on a principle of equality, half the disputed country being given to either claimant. This tradition is preserved by the Burárs in a well known line—

Bhallan chíra pharí Akbar ka Darbar.*

In the days of Bhallan the Burárs held Kot *The acquisitions of the tribe.* Kapura, Faridkot, Marí, Mudki and Muktsar, and he was appointed by the Dehli Government Chaudhri or headman of the tribe. On his death, without male issue, Kapura, the son of his brother Lala, succeeded him as Chaudhri. Kapura was born in 1628 and succeeded his uncle in 1643. He was a brave and able man and consolidated the Burár possessions, winning many victories over his neighbours the Bhattis and others.

* Balan tore the turban in Akbar's Darbar.

He founded Sirianwala, now in ruins, but abandoned it for a new residence
The founding of Kot Kapura. Kot Kapura named after himself and which he is reported to have founded at the suggestion of Bhai Bhagtu a famous Hindu ascetic. This town was peopled by traders and others from Kot Isa Khan, and the reputation which Kapura enjoyed for justice and benevolence induced many emigrants to settle in the new town which soon became a place of considerable importance.

Kapúra was a *mālguzār* or tributary of the
His relations with the Imperial Government. Dehli Empire, and appears to have served it with some fidelity, for when Gúrú Govind Singh visited him in 1704, and begged for his assistance against the Muhammadans, Kapura refused to help him, possibly believing, with many others at that time, that the cause of the new faith was altogether hopeless.*

Isá Khan, the owner of the fort and village
His enemy Isa Khan. of that name, was Kapura's great rival and enemy, and watched his growing importance with the utmost jealousy. The two Chiefs had constant quarrels resulting in much bloodshed, but Isá Khan, finding that he was unable to conquer Kapúra by force, determined to subdue him by gentler means, and concluded

* There is however in the Granth of Govind, Hikayat I: Bet 59: the following Persian couplet.

Na zarra daren ráh khatrá tarást

Hamáh Kaum-i-Buár hukm-i-marást,

the meaning of which is

There is not the slightest danger for thee on this road for the whole Burar race is under my command.

It is very doubtful whether this couplet is not of later origin, and an interpolation into the text of the Granth Sahib. It is quite certain that, in 1704, when the Granth of Govind Singh was written the Buars had not generally embraced Sikhism.

with him an agreement of perpetual friendship.

The assassination of Kapura, A. D. 1708.

Then, inviting him to his house, he feasted him in chivalrous fashion, and assassinated him at the close of the banquet.

Kapura, who was eighty years old at his death in 1708, left three sons, Sukha, Sajja and Makhu, who determined to avenge their father's murder, and, assembling the clan and obtaining the aid of a

The murder avenged.

strong Imperial force, they attacked Isa Khan, defeated and killed him and plundered his fort.

Sajja, though the second son,* succeeded his father as head of the family, but only survived him twelve years, when his brother Sukha Singh became Chief. He added to his possessions the estates of Ránadattá, Behkbodla, Dharamkot, Karmán and Mamdot, and founded the new village of Kot Sukha. To his younger brother, Makhu, the villages Rori and Mattá were assigned from the patrimony, and these are still in the possession of Makhu's descendants.

Sukha died in 1731, aged fifty, leaving three sons, Jodh, Hamir and Vir, who for some time lived together in peace; but at length they quarrelled

The death of Sukha and the quarrels among his sons.

and the two younger wished to divide the estate. To this Jodh, the eldest, would not agree, and Hamir and Vir then asked assistance from some of the Sikh Chiefs then rising to power, Sirdars, Jassa

The Sikh Chiefs called in and the estate divided.

Singh Ahluwalia, Kapur Singh Faizullapuria, Jhanda Singh Bhangi

* Sirdar Attar Singh Bhadour, one of the best authorities on early Cis-Satlaj history, considers Sukha Singh to have been the second son, and Sajja or Lena Singh the elder. Also that the latter was Chaudhri for only two years, dying in 1710.

and Krora Singh, founder of the misl of that name. These were ready enough to interfere and, crossing the Satlej in force, compelled Jodh to assign the district of Mari Mustafa to Vir, and Faridkot to Hamir, retaining for himself Kot Kapura, with five villages known as the "*Kharch Sirdar*," the excess usually allowed the eldest son, to support the honor of the Chiefship, in families in which the rule of equal partition ordinarily prevails. The confederate Chiefs then induced the brothers to embrace Sikhism, and having caused them to receive the "pâhal" or Sikh baptism, re-crossed the river.

Sirdar Hamir Singh was thus the first independent Chief of Faridkot. His brother Jodh Singh, in 1766, erected a new fort at Kot Kapura and almost rebuilt the town; but his oppression was so great that the inhabitants left it, and the artizans, who had been renowned for their skill and industry, emigrated to Lahore, Amritsar and Pattiala. With Raja Amar Singh, of this last named State, he was constantly engaged in hostilities; and, in 1767, the Raja having found at the suggestion of the Chief's brother, a satisfactory pretext for a quarrel, marched to Kot Kapura with a strong force and prepared to invest the fort, when Jodh Singh and his son, advancing too far beyond the walls, fell into an ambuscade laid by the Pattiala troops and was killed, fighting gallantly to the last, his son Jit Singh being mortally wounded.*

Jodh Singh is attacked by the Raja of Pattiala and killed. A.D. 1767.

Jodh Singh was succeeded by his son Tegh Singh who appears to have been a man of very small intelligence. He

Tegh Singh.

* *Ante*, p. 35—36.

continued the family feud with Pattiala, and avenged his father's death by massacring all the inhabitants, men, women and children of the four Jalál villages who were in the pay of Pattiala and by whom Jodh Singh had been slain. Hamir Singh of Faridkot joined in this expedition, but shortly afterwards quarrelled with his nephew who refused submission to him, and taking him prisoner confined him in the Faridkot fort. The Phulkian Chiefs, however, used all their interest to get him set at liberty, which Hamir Singh only consented to do on condition that he would never leave his town of Kotkapura. The result was the utter disorganization of the estate. The zamindars, unable to obtain justice, refused to pay revenue, and robbery and violence were everywhere prevalent, while Maha Singh Sarai, brother-in-law of the Pattiala Chief, seized Mudki and eighteen neighbouring villages.

The end of Tegh Singh was very tragical. He had been for long on the worst of terms with his son Jaggat Singh, who, in 1806, set fire to the house in which his father was residing, and a large quantity of powder having been stored in the vaults beneath; the house was utterly destroyed and the Chief killed by the explosion.

The guilty son did not long enjoy the lands of which he thus became possessed. The next year, 1807, his elder brother, Karam Singh, calling Diwan Mohkam Chand to his assistance, defeated him and took possession of the district, but the Diwan and his master Maharaja Ranjit Singh had

Captured by Hamir Singh of Faridkot.

Murdered by his sons.

Whose estates are seized by Diwan Mohkam Chand.

no intention of restoring it to the rightful owner, and Kotkapura the Maharaja kept for himself, giving five Jalal villages to the Raja of Nabha. The villages of Mudki, which Maha Singh had seized, Kanjit Singh also retained, leaving to Maha Singh shares in two only, Patli and Hukumatwala.

In 1824, Jaggat Singh made an attempt to recover the estate and drove the Lahore garrison out of Kotkapura, but he was unable to hold it, and was compelled to surrender it after twenty days. He then endeavoured to make his peace with Lahore, and gave his elder daughter in marriage to Sher Singh, the Maharaja's reputed son; but the following year, 1825, he died without male issue. The descendants of Karam Singh, the elder brother are still living, but are of no political importance.

It is now necessary to return to the younger branch of Faridkot, represented by Hamir Singh, who, in 1763, received that estate as his share of the patrimony. The town had been founded some time before and named after a celebrated saint, Baba Farid, but Hamir Singh enlarged it, inducing traders and artizans to people it, and built a brick fort for its protection. He had two sons, Dal Singh and Mohr Singh, the former of whom was of an untractable disposition, and rebelled against his father who suspected that Mohr Singh, the younger brother, was also concerned in the plot. He, accordingly, called them both before him, and to test their temper directed each to fire at the leg of the bed on which he was reclining, with their muskets, or, according to other

The Faridkot branch.

The disinheriting of Dal Singh and the feud between the brothers.

accounts, to shoot an arrow at it. Dal Singh fired without hesitation and split the leg of the bed; but Mohr Singh refused, saying that guns were fired at enemies and not at friends. This conduct so pleased the Chief that he declared Mohr Singh his heir, and banished Dal Singh altogether from Faridkot, assigning for his support the villages of Dhodeki, Malloh and Bhalur.* This selection of Mohr Singh as his successor, created a deadly feud between the brothers, and Mohr Singh besieged his rival in Dhodeki. But the latter managed to hold his own, and, calling to his assistance the Nishanwala Chief, defeated his brother and compelled him to return to Faridkot.

Sirdar Hamir Singh died in 1782, and Mohr Singh succeeded him. The new Chief was an incapable, debauched man, and paid no attention to the administration of his estates, several of which, Abúhar, Karmi and Behkbodla were seized by his neighbours. He married a daughter of Sirdar Sobba Singh of Mán in Jhind, by whom he had a son Char Singh, or as he is generally known, Charat Singh, and who, accordingly to the almost invariable practice of the family, rebelled against his father. The origin of the quarrel was as follows.

Mohr Singh had another son, Bhupa, born of a Muhammadan concubine, Teji, of whom he was passionately fond; and this boy had a far larger share of his father's love and attention than the legitimate son, who re-

* According to the Faridkot Chief, Dal Singh was the second son. Mohr Singh the elder; but this is contradicted by the Bhadour Chief, the *Barah Mist* and other records, who make Mohr Singh the younger. In 1827, Sirdar Pahar Singh declared primogeniture always had prevailed in the family. This was however a case of disinheritance.

garded his rival with the greatest jealousy and dislike. On one occasion the Chief was setting out on an expedition towards Philor, and told Bhupa to accompany him. The spoiled child refused unless his father allowed him to ride the horse on which his brother always rode and on which he was then mounted. Mohr Singh ordered Charat Singh to dismount and give Bhupa the horse. This insult, though an unintentional one, sank deep into the heart of Charat Singh. He could not endure that he, the legitimate son, should be slighted for the son of a slave girl, and determined on revenge. With Kalha and Diwan Singh, his advisers, he formed a conspiracy to dethrone his father; and during Mohr Singh's absence, he surprised the Faridkot fort and put Teji, his father's mistress, to

Charat Singh rebels against his father.

death. Sirdar Mohr Singh, hearing of what had happened, hastily collected a large body of peasants and attempted to recover the fort, but he was repulsed with loss and retired to the village of Pakka, some four miles distant. Here he was surrounded by the troops of his rebel son, and, after a fruitless resistance, was

And imprisons him.

taken prisoner and sent to Sher Singhwala, a village belonging to the father-in-law of Charat Singh, in which he was confined for a considerable time. At length, Sirdar Tara Singh Gheba, a powerful Chief, interfered in his behalf and induced Charat Singh to set him at liberty, although he refused to aid Mohr Singh against his son. After this, Mohr Singh made more than one attempt to recover his authority in Faridkot, but without success, and he died, an exile, in 1798.

Sirdar Charat Singh now considered himself safe from attack and reduced the number of his troops. The Pattiala State, his old enemy, was not likely to attack him, for he had repulsed an attack of the famous Diwan Nanun Mal, Minister of Pattiala, during the minority of Raja Sahib Singh, with some loss, and had acquired a great name for courage. But he had forgotten to number among his enemies his disinherited uncle, Dal Singh, who was only waiting an opportunity to regain his lost possessions, and, in 1804, having collected a small body of followers, he attacked the Faridkot fort by night and obtained possession. Charat Singh was surprised and killed, and his wife and three children, Gulab Singh, Pahar Singh and Sahib Singh, barely escaped with their lives. Sirdar Dal Singh only enjoyed his success for a single month.

The fortunes of Sirdar Charat Singh.
Sirdar Dal Singh assassinated.

The children of the murdered Chief were very young, the eldest being no more than seven years of age: but they had many friends, the most able of whom was their maternal uncle Fouju Singh, one of the Sirdars of Sher Singhwala, and, moreover, Dal Singh was generally hated for his tyranny. A plot to assassinate him was formed, and Fouju Singh, with a few armed men, penetrated at night to the apartment of Dal Singh, where he was sleeping with two or three attendants, and killed him. Then they beat a drum, which was the signal for the friends of the young Gulab Singh to bring him into the fort. There he was declared Chief without opposition, and his uncle Fouju Singh was appointed Diwan or Minister. The affairs of the little State were conducted with tolerable efficiency for some time, until Diwan Mohkam Chand

Mohkam Chand besieges Faridkot.

the Lahore General invaded the Cis-Satlej territory in the cold season of 1806-7. He seized Zira, Buria, Mokatsar, Kotkapura and Mari, which had been assigned to Vir, the youngest son of Sukha, but which had fallen into the hands of the brother-in-law of Tara Singh Gheba. The Diwan then marched against Faridkot summoning the garrison to surrender, and, on their refusal, besieged the fort. The garrison trusted more to their position than to their numerical strength. Faridkot was situated in the true desert, and the only water for a besieging army was to be found in a few pools filled with rain water and scattered round the place, and these the besieged

But is compelled to retire.

filled with the branches of a poisonous shrub, which so affected the water as to give the Lahore troops the most violent purging, and the General had no other resource than to raise the siege. He contrived, however, to exact a tribute of Rs. 7,000 from Fouju Singh, and in his heart resolved to conquer Faridkot on the first favourable opportunity. This opportunity was not long in arriving.* While Mr. Melcalfe, the Agent of the British Government, who had been sent to the Maharaja to conclude a treaty, offensive and defensive, against France, was in his camp, Ranjit Singh crossed the Satlej with his whole

Ranjit Singh of Lahore captures the town.

army, on the 26th September 1808, and marched against Faridkot. He himself halted at Khai, and sent forward an advanced guard to which the fort surrendered without resistance, for the garrison knew that the Maharaja was present in person with the army, and his reputa-

* *Ante*, p. 109.

tion for uninterrupted success was, at this time so great, that he rarely met with direct opposition. A few days afterwards, he himself marched to Faridkot, much elated at finding himself in possession of so fine a fort with so little difficulty. Mr. Metcalfe accompanied him, for the Maharaja, under pretence of signing the treaty, drew the British Agent from one place to another, forcing him to be an unwilling spectator of all his Cis-Satlej acquisitions, and although Mr. Metcalfe's diplomacy was much commended by the Government of the day, there can be little doubt that he was outwitted by the Maharaja, who would have been permitted to retain all his conquests to the south of the Satlej had not the policy of the British Government suddenly undergone a change by the removal of all apprehension of a French invasion.*

Before abandoning the fort, Fouju Singh made as good terms for his nephews as were possible, obtaining a grant of five villages to which they retired.

*The estate is given
in jagir to Diwan
Mohkam Chand.*

- * The Phulkian Chiefs each tried to obtain the district of Faridkot from the Maharaja. Pattiala had the best claim, for it had once been subject to her authority; but Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha and Raja Bhag Singh of Jhind, both bid high. But Diwan Mohkam Chand, who had set his heart on possessing Faridkot ever since his repulse in 1807, was the fortunate grantee, although he had to pay for it a large *nazrana*, or fine.

* Mr. C. Metcalfe to Government, 30th September, 1st October, 5th October, 10th October 1808. Raja Sahib Singh of Pattiala to Resident Delhi, 3rd December 1808. Resident Delhi to Captain Close, Acting Resident with Sindiah, 16th January 1809.

When the British Government demanded from the Maharaja the restitution of all his conquests on the left bank of the Satlej, made during 1808 and 1809, Faridkot, was the place he surrendered most unwillingly. To it he pretended to have a special right, firstly, from its being a dependency of Kotkapura, which he had previously conquered; and, secondly, from an alleged promise made by the owners when it was besieged in 1807, that they would, within one month, put themselves under his authority, and that, should they fail to do so, they would consent to undergo any punishment which he might think fit to impose upon them. With regard to the first claim advanced, it is manifest that no right could be maintained on account of any connection between Kotkapura and Faridkot. Ever since the division of the territory among the sons of Sukha, Faridkot had been independent; more powerful than Kotkapura and in no way subject to it. Even had there been any connection such as that alleged, the Maharaja's case would have been no stronger, for his seizure of Kotkapura, before he had requested the assent of the British Government to the extension of his conquests beyond the Satlej, could not warrant his seizure of Faridkot after he had made such a request.

The second ground on which the Raja based his right was in some degree more valid, except that its truth could not be ascertained, and the conduct of the garrison and the sudden and forced retreat of Diwan Mohkam Chand seemed to contradict it; nevertheless, the British Envoy consented to refer the claim of Faridkot being an old conquest for the

decision of Government. This proposal did not at all please the Maharaja, who told Mr. Metcalfe that he must consult with the Chiefs of his army on the Satlej respecting the propriety of restoring Faridkot. The Envoy replied that he should consider the Maharaja's moving to join his army on the Satlej as a declaration of war and quit his Court accordingly.*

Diwan Mohkam Chand, at this very time, returned from Kangra, where he had been negotiating with Raja Sansar Chand for the expulsion of the Gurkhas; and took up his position at Philor, commanding the passage of the Satlej at its most important part, opposite the town of Ludhiana. His inclination was for war with the English whom he hated and suspected, and he did not wish his master to surrender Faridkot, which had been made over to him in jagir. His influence, from his experience and ability, were very great with the Maharaja, and it was Mr. Metcalfe's firmness alone which at this time prevented a rupture with the English.

Ranjit Singh at length, and with great unwillingness, gave orders for the evacuation of Faridkot. But Diwan Mohkam Chand evaded compliance as long as possible. He wrote to the Maharaja that a British officer had been appointed to proceed to Faridkot, and that it was intended to occupy the place with a British garrison, and urged his master to suspend his order until such time as he could verify the

The surrender of Faridkot almost made a casus belli between Lahore and the English.

Every means of evading compliance tried.

* Mr. C. Metcalfe to Secretary to Government, 22nd December 1808 and 12th January 1809.

information sent him.* The British Government had no intention of garrisoning the town, but they had determined that it should be surrendered to its original owners, and it was resolved by the Resident of Dehli to compel the restitution by force of arms. The hot weather was approaching when the British army could not act in the field without great inconvenience, and the immediate march of troops on Faridkot would hasten its surrender if Ranjit Singh really intended it; or, in case the evil counsels of Diwan Mohkam Chand should prevail, would only precipitate a contest which would, sooner or later, be inevitable.†

At the last moment, however, the Maharaja *But it is finally restored.* shrank from a collision with the English, and, on the 3rd of April, 1809, restored Faridkot to Sirdar Gulab Singh and his brothers. ‡ All obstacles to the completion of the treaty between Lahore and the British Government were now removed, and it was signed shortly afterwards.

Fouju Singh ably administered the affairs of the State until Gulab Singh became adult. *The minority of Gulab Singh.* No further attempts were made by Lahore to obtain possession, and Faridkot was so far distant from the stations of the British Political Agents, and was so insignificant in size and importance, that for many years its very existence seemed almost forgotten.

Mr C Metcalfe to Government, 4th and 22nd March 1809.

† Resident at Dehli to Military Secretary to Commander-in-Chief, 1st April 1809. Resident Dehli to Government, 5th February 1809. General Ochterlony to Adjutant General, 5th February 1809.

† Resident at Dehli to Government, 9th April; General Ochterlony to Government, 28th March and 5th April 1809.

The revenue of Faridkot was at this time very small and always fluctuating. The country was entirely dependent on rain for cultivation, and this fell in small quantities and some years not at all. Wells were difficult to sink and hardly repaid the labour of making them, as the water was from 90 to 120 feet below the surface. In a favorable season the estate yielded Rs. 14,000 or Rs. 12,000, in a bad season Rs. 6,000, and sometimes nothing whatever. The number of villages in the estate, principally new ones, was about sixty.

Gulab Singh married two wives, one the daughter of Sirdar Jodh Singh Káleka of Jamma in Pattiala, and the second, the daughter of Sirdar Sher Singh Gil, of Gholia in the Moga district.

On the 5th of November, 1826, Sirdar Gulab Singh was assassinated when walking alone outside the town of Faridkot. The persons who were last seen with him before his death were Jaideo, a Jat, and Buhadar a silversmith, and their flight seemed to connect them with the crime. But, if these men were the actual assassins, it was generally believed that the instigators of the crime were Fouju Singh the Manager and Sahib Singh the youngest brother of the Chief. No shadow of evidence could be procured against the former who had served the family faithfully for twenty five years, but the discovery of Sahib Singh's sword as one of those with which his brother met his death, the concealment of the scabbard and his contradictory replies when Captain Murray the Political Agent questioned him, were sus-

The revenue of Faridkot.

The assassination of Gulab Singh.

His younger brother suspected of the crime.

picious in the extreme; but, in the absence of all direct proof, he was acquitted.*

Gulab Singh had left one son, a boy named Attar Singh, nearly four years old, and, as the custom of primogeniture seemed to prevail in the Faridkot family, this child was acknowledged as Chief by the British Government, the administration of affairs remaining, until he should reach his majority, in the hands of Fouju Singh and Sirdarni Dharam Kour, the widow. Pahar Singh and Sahib Singh had, during the lifetime of their brother, lived with him and enjoyed the estate in common, and it was decided that they were at liberty to remain thus, an undivided family, or, should they desire it, to receive separate jagirs. † Another brother of the late Chief, Mehtab Singh, was living, but his mother had been divorced by Sirdar Mohr Singh and he was not entitled to inherit.

The young Chief Attar Singh died suddenly in August 1827. It was generally believed that he had been murdered, for, in this unhappy family, it was the exception and not the rule for death to result from natural causes, but the crime, if such it were, could not be brought home to any individual. The child was of so tender an age that he lived in the women's apartments, and no satisfactory investigation was possible. ‡ Sirdar Pahar Singh was now the legitimate heir, supposing the right of collateral succession to be

* Captain Murray, to Sir C. Metcalfe, 13th November and 21st December 1826. Mr. E. Brandreth, in his Settlement Report of Ferozpur notes that Pahar Singh was suspected of his brother's murder. No such suspicion ever attached to him.

† Investigation at Faridkot 22nd November 1826. Resident at Dehli to Captain Murray, 4th January 1827.

‡ Captain Murray to Resident at Dehli, 2nd September 1827.

admitted, and was acknowledged as such by the British Government, being required to make such provision for his younger brother and sister-in-law as the custom of the family might justify.*

The new Chief was a liberal-minded and able man, and immensely improved his territory, more than doubling the revenue in twenty years. He founded many new villages, and the lightness of the assessment and his reputation for justice and liberality induced large numbers of cultivators to emigrate from Lahore and Pattiala to his territory. The larger portion of the State was desert when he acquired it, and the journal of Captain Murray, written in 1823, describes the country at sun-rise, as presenting the appearance of a vast sea of sand, with no vegetation except Pilu or other desert shrubs which added little to the life of the landscape. But the soil, although sandy, only required water to produce magnificent crops of wheat. In old days a canal from the Satlej had been dug by one Firu Shah from near Dharamkot, half way between Firozpur and Ludhiana, and, passing by Kot Isa Khan at Mudki, had irrigated the country to some distance south of Faridkot, where it was lost in the sand. † Sirdar Pahar Singh was not rich enough to make canals, but he dug many wells and induced the peasants to dig others, and set an example.

* Resident Dehli to Captain Murray, 6th and 20th September 1827. Captain Murray to Resident Dehli, 16th September 1827.

† Traces of this canal are still to be seen. The tradition in the country is that an ancient Chief of Faridkot had a daughter of great beauty whom he declared he would only give to a man who should come to Faridkot riding on a wooden horse. This Firu Shah accomplished by digging a canal and coming to win the beauty in a boat. On his return journey with the lady, he asked her for a needle, which she was unable to give him, and suspecting that she would not prove a good housewife he left her at Mudki on the banks of the canal, where a large mound of earth is supposed to convince the sceptical of the truth of the story.

of moderation and benevolence which might have been followed with great advantage by other and more powerful Chiefs.

Sahib Singh, his second brother, died soon after he assumed the Chiefship ;
His family, and to Mehtab Singh, the son of Mohr Singh's divorced wife, he gave a village for his maintenance. He married four wives, the first of whom, Chand Kour, was the daughter of Samand Singh Dhalwál of Dína, and became the mother of Wazir Singh the present Rája. His second wife Desu, was the daughter of a Gil zamindar of Mudki, and bore him two sons Dip Singh and Anokh Singh, who both died young. He married the third time, by *chaddar dálna*, the widow of his brother Sahib Singh ; and lastly Jas Kour, daughter of Rai Singh of Káleká, in the Pattiala territory.

The first years of Pahar Singh's Chiefship were
His quarrels with Sahib Singh, his brother. not by any means peaceful, and, according to the custom of the family, his brother Sahib Singh took up arms against him and gave him so much trouble that the Chief begged for the assistance of English troops to restore order, and, failing to obtain these, was compelled to accept assistance from the Raja of Jhind, although such procedure was highly irregular, one of the conditions of British protection being that no State should interfere in the internal affairs of another.* However, on the death of Sahib Singh, everything went on well and the Sirdar was able to carry out his reforms without any further interruption, excepting occasional quarrels with the

Mr. F. Hawkins, Agent Resident Dehli to Captain Murray, 22nd September 1829. Captain Murray to Mr. Hawkins, 27th September 1829.

officer of the Lahore Government commanding at Kotkapura, which was only six or seven miles to the south of Faridkot, and which, as the ancestral possession of his family, Pahar Singh would have been very glad to obtain.*

An opportunity for attaining this, the great desire of his heart, at last arrived, and Pahar Singh, like a wise man, seized it without hesitation. When the war with Lahore broke out in 1845, and so many of the Cis-Satlej Chiefs were indifferent or hostile, he attached himself to the English and used his utmost exertions to collect supplies and carriage and furnish guides for the army. On the eve of the battle of Firushahr he may have shown some little vacillation, but that was a critical time, when even the best friends of the English might be excused for a little overcaution, and after it was fought, though neither side could claim it as a victory and the position of the English was more critical than ever, he remained loyal and did excellent service.† He was rewarded by a grant of half the territory confiscated from the Raja of Nabha, his share, as estimated in 1846, being worth Rs. 35,612 per annum.

The ancestral estate of Kotkapura was restored to him; and he received the title of Raja. In lieu of customs duties, which were abolished, he was allowed Rs. 2,000 a year, and an arrangement was made by which the rent-free holdings in the Kotkapura ilaqua should

Captain Murray to Resident Dehli, 26th December 1829.

† Report of Colonel Mackeson to Government 27th July 1846, and of Mr. R. Cust 7th March 1846.

lapse to the Raja instead of the British Government, a corresponding reduction being made in the commutation allowance.*

Raja Pahar Singh died in April 1849, in his fiftieth year, and was succeeded by his only surviving son Wazir Singh, then twenty-one years of age.

His death, A. D. 1849.

This young man, during the second Sikh war of 1849, served on the side of the English. During the mutiny of 1857, he seized several mutineers and made them over to the English authorities. He placed himself and his troops under the orders of the Deputy Commissioner of Firozpur, and guarded the ferries of the Satlej against the passage of the mutineers.

Raja Wazir Singh.

His troops also served under General Van Cortlandt with credit in Sirsa and elsewhere, and he, in person, with a body of horse and two guns, attacked a notorious rebel, Sham Das, and destroyed his village.† For his services during 1857-58, Raja Wazir Singh received the honorary title of "Burâr Bans Raja Sahib Buhadar," a khillat of eleven pieces, instead of seven as before,

His services.

and a salute of eleven guns. He was also exempted from the service of ten sowars which he had been previously obliged to furnish.‡

And rewards.

* Report of Sir Henry Lawrence to Government, 18th September 1846; and Government to Sir Henry Lawrence, 17th November 1846. Sanad dated 4th April 1846 from Governor General creating Pahar Singh Raja, and conferring on him a valuable khillat.

† Letters from Deputy Commissioner Firozpur, 14th, 16th, 20th, and 27th May, 12th July, 7th and 20th August, to Raja Wazir Singh.

‡ Commissioner Lahore, to Raja Wazir Singh, 2nd August 1858, enclosing letter from Governor General.

On the 11th March 1862, the right of adoption was granted him, with the annexed *His family.* Sanad.* His son and heir is Bikrama Singh, born in January 1842, and married to the daughter of Raja Nahr Singh of Balabgarh.

The Raja himself has married four wives, Ind Kour, the daughter of Sham Singh Mân of Munsab and mother of Bikrama Singh, the daughters of Basawa Singh of Raipur and Sirdar Gajja Singh of Lahore, and the widow of his brother Anokh Singh who died of cholera in 1845.

* * " 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, in fulfilment of this desire this Sunnud is
 " given to you to convey to you the assurance, that on failure of natural
 " heirs the British Government will recognize and confirm any adoption
 " of a successor made by yourself or by any future Chief of your State
 " that may be in accordance with Hindoo law and the customs of your
 " race.

" 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."

THE HISTORY
OF THE
Mandi State.

Mandi is a compact State, 1200 square miles in extent, bounded on the north and east by Kulu, on the south by Suket and on the west by Kangra. Its extreme length, from Baijnath to the foot of Teon and Seon in Kehlor, is about 60 miles, and its breadth from Kamlagarh to the Dorechi Pass near Bajoura on the Kulu border is 48 miles. Mandi is a very mountainous country, and, looking southward from the Kulu range which forms its northern boundary, it appears a sea of mountains without any arrangement whatever. Yet there are two distinct and almost parallel ranges which intersect the country and

Description of the country.

The mountain ranges. The Goghar ka Dhar.

from which numerous smaller hills and ranges diverge. The higher of these is known as the Goghar ka Dhâr, rising from Haribagh to a height of about 7,000 feet, near Putakal, then, rapidly diminishing in altitude to a point a few miles south of Dirang where the Bias has forced its way through, it again rises into the high lands of Suket. This range is well wooded and fertile and abounds in game. Here are situated the salt mines, which furnish so large a portion of the Mandi revenue. This range has a reputation similar to that of the Brocken in the Hartz Mountains on Walpurgis night. On the 3rd September, the demons, witches and magicians from the most distant parts of India assemble here, and hold their revels, during which time it is dangerous for men

to cross the mountain. The spirits of the Kulu range are also said to wage war with those inhabiting the Goghar, and after a violent storm the peasants will show travellers the stones which have been hurled from range to range.

The second Mandi range, known as the Sikan-
The Sikandar ka Dhar. dar ka Dhâr or range of Alexander, runs south-west from Baijnath. Its name may possibly refer to some lost tradition of Alexander the Great, and Mr. Vigne, who crossed it in 1839, believed that in the ruins of an old Rajput fort he had discovered the famous altars of Alexander, the site of which has been so often in dispute. The Sikandar range rises at one point to 6,350 feet in height, but its average altitude is about 5,000 feet. The valleys between the ranges are very fertile, and produce all the ordinary grains, with the more valuable crops of rice, sugar-cane, maize, poppy and tobacco.

On the northern boundary rises the Kulu range,
The Kulu Range. portions of which are in the Mandi State, from 9,000 to 12,000 feet in height. This line of mountains is beautifully wooded, with every species of pine, cedar, walnut, chesnut and sycamore, and contains iron mines which would be most valuable were they more accessible.

The salt mines are situated at Gumah and
The Salt Mines. Dirang, though there is at neither place such excavations as in Europe would be called mines, the salt being dug out of the face of the cliff or from shallow open cuttings. The ascent to Gumah, which is about 5,400 feet in elevation, is difficult and steep, but a new road has been lately constructed which renders it far

more approachable. At Gumah the salt is dug from a gorge some 500 feet below the village, to which it is carried to be weighed and sold. Dirang is at the foot of the same range, about 20 miles nearer Mandi, and only four miles from the Bias, which is, however, at this part of its course so violent a current as to be useless for navigation. The mines are not farmed to contractors, but worked by the Raja who sells the salt to purchasers at the mines. About 150 labourers are employed at Gumah and the same number at Dirang, and the cost of establishment and working is about 20 per cent on the amount of salt sold. The Gumah salt is considered purer than that of Dirang, but both contain a large per-centage, from 25 to 38 per cent, of foreign matter. This salt is, however, almost exclusively used in the higher hills as far as Lahoul, that of Gumah finds its way westward into British territory as far as Nurpur and Pathankot, and that of Dirang to Nadowan, Bilaspur and even Ludhiana.

In 1820, the price of salt at the mines was *The price of Mandi salt.* seven annas, in 1846, eight annas, and, in 1868, twelve annas per maund. In 1845, the revenue from salt was about Rs. 60,000. In 1850, it had risen to Rs. 83,000, and, in 1862, to Rs. 1,00,545. There was a decrease in 1867-68, on account of the great quantity of rain that had fallen during the year, which hindered the working.

Iron is found at Súnor, Budar, Natchni, Suraj and Chuári, generally in such small *Iron Mines.* particles as hardly to be called ore. It is smelted at the places where it is found, and brought to Mandi to be stamped and taxed. Its selling price at Mandi is about two rupees four

annas a maund. In 1830, according to Mr. Trebeck's journal it was three rupees eight annas a maund. The income from iron, in 1845, was Rs. 14,000, in 1850 Rs. 27,300, and in 1862 Rs. 26,261. In many parts of Mandi, especially in the Sona Khad, lignite is found in considerable quantities but too impure to be of any commercial value, and the geological formation of the country forbids the hope of the discovery of coal. The Sona Khad takes its name from gold which is obtained there, by washing, in small quantities.

The climate of Mandi is cool, with the exception of the capital, which is shut in by hills, and the western portion of the country which does not rise more than 2,000 feet above the plains.

The town of Mandi, which contains 7,300 inhabitants, is said to take its name from a remote ancestor of the present Raja, but as it is in a favorable situation for trade, Mandi, which signifies a market, is probably the more simple derivation. It stands most picturesquely on the banks of the Bias, here a swift torrent, 2,557 feet above the sea. The banks are high and rocky, and the width of the stream is about one hundred and sixty yards. The effect of the melting of the snow in the neighbouring mountains is seen each day in the river, which during the hot season rises every evening, continues to increase in volume during the night, and declines again towards morning, when the amount of water in its bed is perhaps one third less than at midnight. The palace of the Raja is a large white building, roofed with slate, and stands in the southern part of the town, in which there are no other buildings of importance.

A famous temple, containing an idol brought from Jagarnath, some two hundred and fifty years ago, by an ancestor of the present Raja, stands on the banks of the Sukheti river, which joins the Bias just below the town, and, twelve miles distant, on the crest of the Sikandar range is the lake of Rewalsar, celebrated for its floating islands and a sacred place of pilgrimage. To the Buddhists of Thibet, Rewalsar is especially sacred. They resort to it in great numbers during the cold season, generally under the guidance of a Llama. They approach the lake from a considerable distance on their hands and knees, and it is considered a meritorious action to carve their names on the surrounding rocks, which are thus covered with inscriptions, some of them exceedingly curious. The lake is about 6,000 feet above the sea. Mandi was supposed in ancient times to have contained 360 forts, but of these only ten are now in any preservation—Kamlagarh, Shahpur, Madhopur, Beira,

The Forts of Mandi.

Kalipuri, Tungal, Bajarkot, Dangri, Bagra and Karnpur, while the first five only are garrisoned. Kamlagarh is one of the most celebrated forts in all the hill country, and a short description of it may be given as the independence of Mandi has often depended upon

The Fortress of Kamlagarh.

the impregnability of its chief fortress, and as no description of the fort is known to have been published with the exception of that by Mr. Vigne which is very incorrect.*

The hill upon which the fortress is situated extends nearly north and south for six or eight

* Vigne's Travels in Kashmir &c., Vol. 1., p. 111.

miles, running parallel to and about ten miles from the Janettri Devi on the east and about four miles from the Bakar Khad on the west. The hill is formed of conglomerate sandstone, from 150 to 200 feet in height, while the ridge is narrow and serrated and in several places intersected with deep ravines, the eastern and western side presenting an uninterrupted scarp of from 40 to 150 feet along the whole length of the hill, except at the two approaches to the positions of Nantpur and Kamla, which are guarded by forts difficult of access, the ground for several miles round the hill side being intersected with tremendous ravines, which carry off the water either into the Sona or Bakar Khads, thus forming a most difficult country for the transport of artillery and a most favorable one for defence by a determined body of men.

The position of Nantpur contains five distinct forts, built in the irregular style usual to these hills, to suit the ground intended to be occupied and protected, viz: Nantpur, Samirpur, Bakhtpur, Partabpur, and Nyakila, the last built by the Sikhs though never completed, besides many smaller outworks. Within this position there is abundance of good water in two or three different springs, besides grass and wood. Although on two sides entirely impregnable and on the third extremely strong, Nantpur is commanded from a hill about 800 yards distant, and could certainly be scaled with ease under cover of guns from the neighbouring hill.

Kamla contains six distinct forts, viz. Kamla, Choki, Chiburrah, Padampur, Shamshepur and Narsinghpur, and although, like Nantpur impregnable on two sides and nearly so on the third, where

the gateway is reached by a ladder of about 40 steps, yet the eastern side might be easily occupied by an enemy if once in possession of Padampur. There is no spring of water in Kamla itself, the spring for the supply of the place being some distance below, but, like all hill forts, it contains excellent tanks, in which sufficient water for the supply of a small garrison for several months might easily be stored. *

A large number of troops would be necessary to garrison Kamlaghar effectively, but at present the garrison only consists of 100 men, with a battery of six guns, which are unserviceable.

The reigning family in Mandi is Rajput of the Chanda Bansi tribe, and is known as Mandial. The origin of this tribe and its ancient history will more appropriately be given elsewhere, and it is only necessary to trace the family from the date of its separation from that of Suket, which happened about the year 1200 A. D. Up to that time the two States had been united, but the reigning Chief Sahu Sen having quarrelled with his younger brother Bahu Sen, the latter left Suket to seek his fortune elsewhere. The following list gives the first twenty-five Chiefs of Mandi :—

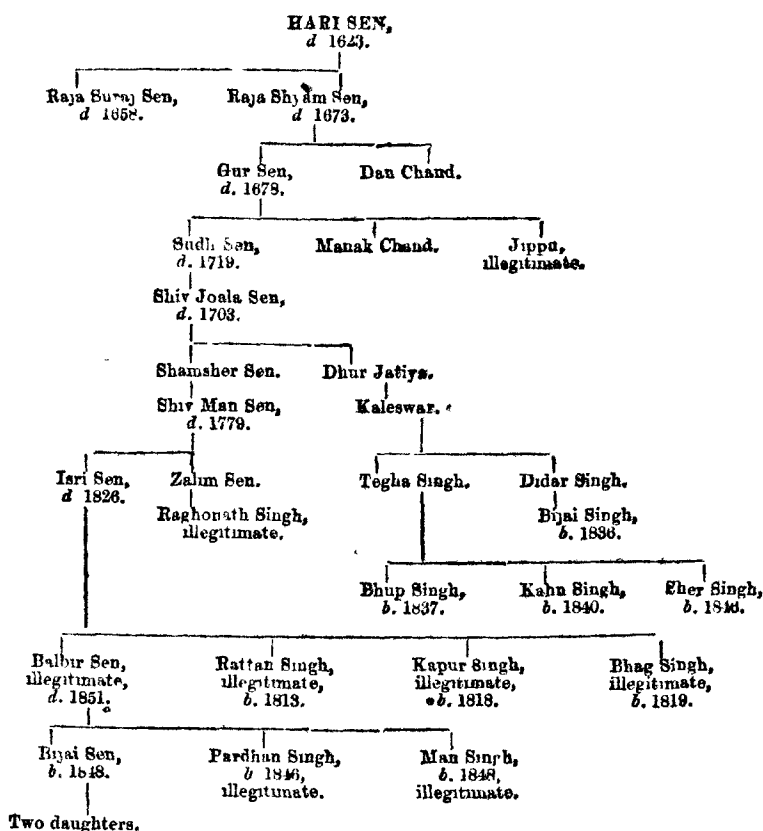
1. Bahu Sen. †	4. Kahabat Sen.
2. Nim Sen.	5. Sammat Sen.
3. Nirhabat Sen.	6. Bir Sen.

Honorable J. C. Erskine to Secretary Government of India, No. 44, dated 28th March 1846.

† Sen is the name borne by the reigning Chief of Mandi, the younger members of the family being known as Singh. In consequence of the original blood connection between Mandi and Suket no marriage is held to be valid between the families. This rule has, however, been broken through twice if not oftener. Three generations back Suma Singh of Mandi married a daughter of Mian Buhadar Singh of Suket. and Jowala Singh illegitimate son of the present Raja of Suket married the natural daughter of Raja Balbir Sen of Mandi.

7. Samodar Sen.	17. Prajar Sen.
8. Kesab Sen.	18. Dilawar Sen.
9. Malab Sen.	19. Ajbar Sen.
10. Jai Sen.	20. Chattar Sen.
11. Kranchan Sen.	21. Sahib Sen.
12. Bān Sen.	22. Narayan Sen.
13. Kalian Sen.	23. Keshab Sen.
14. Hira Sen.	24. Hari Sen.
15. Dharitri Sen.	25. Suraj Sen.
16. Narindar Sen.	

From Raja Hari Sen to the present day the
The Genealogy. genealogy of the Mandi family is as
 follows :—



Bahu Sen, on leaving Suket, went to Kulu and settled at Manglan, where his descendants lived for eleven generations. *Raja Bahu Sen and his successors.* Kranchan Sen was killed fighting with the Kulu Raja, and his Rani, who was then pregnant, fled alone to her father who was the Chief of Seokot in Mandi. She had nearly reached her home when she lost her way, and, night coming on, fell exhausted under a Bân tree where her child was born. In the morning some followers of the Rana of Seokot found her insensible and carried her to the Chief's house. He had no son and brought up his daughter's child as his own, giving him the name of Bân or Bano from the tree under which he was born. The boy was only about 15 years old when he distinguished himself by attacking a rapacious Chief, the Rana of Kilti, who used to descend from his fort and plunder travellers. At a fair held near Seokot, Bano with a small force attacked and defeated him, killing a number of the band. At this time and for many years afterwards Mandi was not under one rule, but was covered with forts, one on almost every hill, the stronghold of a Rana or Thákur, who was practically independent and who obeyed no authority whatever. On the death of his grandfather, Bano succeeded to the little chiefship of Seokot, under the title of Ban Sen. He somewhat enlarged his possessions and, killing the Rana of Sakor in battle, took possession of his lands, living at Sakor for some years. He then changed his residence to Bhiu, some four miles above Mandi on the Bias. His son Kalian Sen bought Batahu on the opposite side of the river to the present town of Mandi, and the ruins of his old house are still to be seen. His son Hira Sen was killed fighting

with the Rana of Tilli, and, being without male issue, was succeeded by his brother Daritri Sen. He, too, left no heirs, and Narindar Sen brother of Kalian Sen succeeded. Nothing is known of this

*Raja Ajbar Sen
founded the town of
Mandi in 1527 A. D.*

Chief or of his immediate successors, and Ajbar Sen, nineteenth in descent from Bahu Sen may be called the first Raja of Mandi. He founded the town and built the old palace with four towers, now almost in ruins, known as Chowki. On succeeding his father in 1527, he at once determined to reduce to submission the four Ranas of Maratu, Sadiana, Kunhal, and Gandharba, who refused to acknowledge his supremacy. They united their forces, amounting to about 1,300 men, of whom more than half were archers, and came down into the Bal plain to meet Ajbar Sen, who defeated them with some loss. He then pursued them into the hills, and another skirmish took place in which Goluk the Chief of Gandharba was killed. Chattar Sen, the eldest son of Ajbar Sen, then marched against Achab, Rana of Maratu, but was defeated, wounded in the thigh, and three of the chief men of Mandi were slain. These men were brothers, members of a Khatri family and acted as councillors to the Raja, who granted to Madsudhan the fourth and surviving brother, the lands conquered from the Ranas. The family still reside in Mandi, though now of no importance, and they possess the original grant of Ajbar Sen, engraved on copper, dated Samat 1584 (A. D. 1527). It was not, however, till some time later that the power of Maratu and Kanhal was finally broken.

Raja Ajbar Sen died in 1534, and of his son and successor Chattar Sen little is recorded worthy

of record. His grandson Sahib Sen formed an alliance with Raja Jaggat Singh the famous Chief of Kulu, and they together attacked Jai Chand the Raja of Vaziri Laksari and took possession of a great part of his territory, the portion now known as Saráj Mandi falling to the share of Mandi, while the Kulu Raja obtained the portion now known as Saráj Kulu, including Bokla, Paláham, Talokpur and Fatahpur. A second joint expedition against the same Chief won for Mandi, Sanor and Badaí, while Raja Jaggat Singh of Kulu obtained Birkot, Madanpur with twelve neighbouring villages.

Raja Narayan Singh the next Chief of Mandi conquered the Ranas of Ner, Bando and Chuhar. He became paralytic, but is said to have been cured by a pí or gosaon, whose descendants still receive an allowance from the Mandi Treasury. Of Keshab Sen and Hari Sen tradition says nothing save that the latter was a famous hawker.

Raja Suraj Sen was a good soldier, but his ambition brought great disasters upon Mandi. He attacked the Raja of Nabgál, brother-in-law of Raja Mán Singh of Kulu, bringing down upon him the wrath of the latter Chief, who marched to the assistance of his relative and defeated the Mandi force, seizing, after the battle, the forts of Karnpur, Shahpur and Shamshepur, and taking from the Raja of Nabgál, as the price of his assistance, Dewal, Sansál and Ber. The boundary line between Mandi and Kulu was fixed at the villages of Ber and Apju.

Raja Suraj Sen soon afterwards made an effort to recover his position and invaded Kulu territory, seizing the villages of Madanpur, Sapári and Tara-

purand, but he was driven out of them with loss; the Kulu army over-ran the whole of the Mandi State, and the salt mines of Gumah and Dirang fell into the hands of the enemy. So large a portion of the Mandi revenue was derived from salt that Suraj Sen was now compelled to ask for peace, which was granted on his paying the whole expenses of the war, the boundary between the States being fixed as before.

Nor was Suraj Sen more successful in his quarrels with Man Singh Goheria, who twice sacked Mandi and held possession for some time of the district of Kala in which the Raja had built the fort of Kamlagarh in 1625, having two years previously seized Nantpur. In 1653, Suraj Sen took Patri and Sulani from Suket, the last held by Mian Ram Chand, who lost 700 men in its defence. He built the second palace at Mandi, known as Damdama. His eighteen sons all died in his life-time, and in despair of an heir he caused to be made a silver image which he named Madho Rai* and to which he assigned the kingdom. This silver image is still carried in sacred procession, in Mandi, on festival days, and bears a Sanscrit inscription of which the following is a translation :—

चक्रे श्री चक्र पाणसकलसरगुरा मुर्तिमतामनोघा
 राय श्री माधवस्य प्रतीभटदलनः सृष्टेः सन क्षीतोद्रः
 चञ्जतीत्यससंकां सरखनुनो वोधौ वतारं जीववारं
 भीमाक्ष्ण कारः तमसईखुवोधासतीयांसर्वसीधः

* Madho is a name of Vishnu, and Rai signifies heir apparent, or Tika Sahib.

'The image of Vishnu was made by order of Raja Suraj Sen who named it Madho Rai. "Bhima, goldsmith, made the image in the month "of Magh, Jik Nachattar.

"Virwar, Samat, 1705 (A. D. 1648).

The only daughter of Suraj Sen married Raja Hari Dev of Jammu.

Shyam Sen, his brother, succeeded in 1658, and reigned fifteen years. He had
Raja Shyam Sen, A. D. 1658. been, for those days, a great traveller, having visited Nepal; Benares and Jaganath, sometimes for adventure sometimes for devotion. He took the territory of Dhunjugarh from Kulu in 1659, and later in the same year conquered Lohara from Suket. He built the Shama Kali temple on the Dhar Taran above the town, and a tank in the suburb beyond the Bias, to which all the children of the royal family are carried for the ceremonies which are performed eight days after birth, and he also added largely to the palace.

Gur Sen only reigned five years. He was
Raja Gur Sen. something of a soldier but more of a devotee, and brought himself from Jaganath the famous image which is preserved in the temple on the plain above the town. He made an alliance with Kehlor against the Katoch Rajputs of Kangra, and a battle took place at Hatali, between the rival forces, with doubtful result. In 1675 he captured Dhanyara from Suket, and the next year Baira and Patri, which had been several times won and lost.

Mandi and Suket have always been rivals and
The wars and rivalries between Suket and Mandi. generally enemies, but there was no great result of their warfare. When

a powerful Raja ruled at Suket he won back all the territory which his predecessors had lost and gained new ; and at one time the Suket possessions extended to the very walls of Mandi. In the same manner, when a powerful chief, like Ajbar Sen or Sidh Sen, ruled in Mandi, the borders of Suket were much reduced and its outlying forts and districts fell into the hands of its rival. The plain of Bal was common ground of desire and dispute.

This little valley, which somewhat approaches level ground and is rich and fertile,
The Bal plain. stretches from within five miles of Mandi to the town of Suket, a distance of some ten miles, with an average width of perhaps two miles. Here was the scene of many a fight, and the story of one, which sounds like a repetition of Chevy Chase, is still sung in Mandi ballads. The Suket prince had gone to hunt on the Bal plain, with a large following, and Gohur Sen of Mandi, then heir apparent, set out to oppose him, resolved to spoil his sport. The result was a fight in which many on both sides fell, the Suket prince himself having a narrow escape. He was pursued by a Katoch Mian who was in the service of Mandi, and being overtaken would have been slain had he not adjured his enemy to spare a god-descended prince. The Katoch, who himself traced back his family some four hundred and fifty generations, dropped his sword, but he snatched from the head of the Suket Chief his insignia of royalty, which he carried back to his master, who assigned him and his descendants for ever a certain quantity of salt from the Dirang mines, which is still duly paid.

Jippu, the illegitimate brother of Gur Sen, was a man of considerable ability. The whole administration of Mandi was in his hands, and he inaugurated the revenue system which is still in force. He remained Minister during the first part of the reign of Sidh Sen, who came to the throne in 1678. This chief was a great warrior, and Mandi, under his rule, was more powerful than ever before or since. In 1688, he conquered the districts of Nachan, Hatal, Dalel, and in this same year a terrible famine occurred, from which very many people died. In 1690, he captured Dhanesargarh and five years later, built the fort of Sarakhpur. In 1698 he took Raipur from Suket, and, the next year, Madhopur. In 1705 he built Shirapuri, and, in 1706, recaptured Hatáli, and ravaged the Ladh district belonging to Hamir Chand Katoch.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century Govind Singh the tenth Sikh Guru is said to have visited Mandi. He had been imprisoned at Sultanpur by Raj Singh the Chief of Kulu, from whom he had sought assistance against the Muhammadan troops; and his followers believed that by an exercise of miraculous power, the iron cage in which the Guru was confined rose with him in the air, and conveyed him without accident to Mandi. There he was hospitably entertained by Sidh Sen, and on his departure he told the Raja to ask anything he might desire and it should be granted. Sidh Sen begged that his capital might never fall into the hands of an enemy; and this was promised in a couplet still current in Mandi:—

Raja Sidh Sen, his administration and his conquests.

The visit of Guru Govind Singh to Mandi.

The prophecy of the Saint.

“Mandi ko jab lûtenge,
“Asmânî gûli chutenge.”

But the prophecy was not very successful as the later history of Mandi will show. *

Tradition asserts that Sidh Sen possessed powers no less miraculous than *Miraculous powers of Sidh Sen.* Guru Govind Singh, and that he had a little book, which, like that of Michael Scott, contained charms and spells which demons were compelled to obey: when he placed it in his mouth he was instantly transported whither he wished, through the air. When he felt himself about to die, unwilling to transmit a power which might be used more probably for evil than for good, he threw his book into the Bias, where it runs deepest and swift-est, and it was lost for ever.

The truth seems to have been that Sidh Sen was far more intelligent than his countrymen, and his uniform success was attributed to supernatural agency. He was also of enormous stature, and some clothes, said to have been his, are still preserved in the Mandi palace, and which could only have been worn by a giant. †

Sidh Sen built the great tank before the palace, and a lamp is kept burning to his *The temple built by Sidh Sen.* memory on a pedestal in the midst of what should be the water, but the tank has fallen out of repair and has been dry for many years. He also built the temple to the God Ganesha, two miles

* This promise is said by some to have been made by Banda, the follower of Govind, but there is no evidence to prove that he ever visited Mandi.

† They are, at any rate, said to be preserved. The Raja offered to show them to the author on one occasion, but they could not be found at the moment.

from Mandi, and known as Sidh Ganesh, also Tiloknath near the river. His reign lasted forty-one years, and he was a hundred years old when he died. His only son Joala Sen had died during his life-time, and he was succeeded by his grandson Shamsheer Sen who married the daughter of Agar Sen, Raja of Chamba. This Chief reconquered Madhopur from Kulu, and was constantly at war with his neighbours on all sides, with very indifferent success, though he conquered Chuboroi, Ramgarh, Deogarh, Hashtpur and Sarni from Kulu, taking advantage of the absence of Raja Jai Singh at Lahore.

Isri Sen was only five years old when his father died in 1779, and Raja Sansar Chand, Katoh, who was becoming supreme in the hills, lost no time in taking advantage of this circumstance. He invaded Mandi and plundered the town; the district of Hatáli, which had been often won and lost, he made over to Suket; Chuhári he gave to Kulu and kept himself the district of Nantpur. He carried off Isri Sen to Kangra and kept him there a prisoner for twelve years, leaving the administration of Mandi in the hands of its ministers, but demanding an annual tribute of a lakh of rupees. When the Gurkhas, on the invitation of the Kehlur Raja Mahan Singh invaded Kangra, Isri Sen, like most of the Rajput Chiefs, gave in his submission to Amar Singh Thappa, the Gurkha General, on condition of being left in unmolested possession of his territories, and promising on his part to make no opposition to their occupation of Kangra.

Mandi is conquered by the Katoh Raja, and the Chief made prisoner.

On the retreat of the Gúrkhas in 1810, and the occupation of the fort of Kangra by Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Lahore, Sirdar Desa Singh Majithia was appointed *Nazim* or Superintendent of all the Hill States including Mandi. Raja Isri Singh was compelled to pay a *nazrana* or tribute of Rs. 30,000, and this was levied annually till 1815, when Zálím Sen, brother of the Raja and who hated him with a true brotherly hatred, went to Lahore to see whether he might not be able to obtain the throne for himself. Maharaja Ranjit Singh, always delighted to sow dissensions between Chiefs who might be dangerous united and mean enough to make every intrigue an opportunity of exaction, warmly espoused the cause of Zálím Sen, who had no right whatever on his side, and Isri Sen was compelled to pay a tribute of one lakh of rupees to retain his throne. The next year, 1816, Jamadar Khushhal Singh, who had lately risen to favour at the Court of Lahore, was sent to Mandi to collect the tribute.* The Raja retired into Kulu, accompanied by a large force, and thought, by combining with the Kulu Wazir who had no less than 18,000 troops, to oppose the Sikhs successfully, but his resolution gave way, and returning to Mandi he contrived, by heavily bribing Khushhal Singh, to obtain a reduction of the annual tribute to Rs. 50,000, and thus it remained till the death of the Raja in 1826.

In the time of Isri Sen, Mandi was an asylum for several wandering princes. The Ex-Raja of Bus-sahir lived there for long and was liberally sup-

* Captain Ross to Sir D. Ochterlony, 1st December 1816.

ported with his followers,* and the Ex-Raja of Nagpur† resided there for four years after his expulsion from his country, receiving support from Isri Sen and intriguing with Lahore, in which territory he desired to be allowed to raise troops, till Zalim Sen came to the throne in 1826, when he found it expedient to seek an asylum elsewhere.‡

Zalim Sen had always quarrelled with his brother and intrigued against him, and during the latter years of Isri Sen's life had been compelled to leave Mandi and take refuge with Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra. He succeeded to the throne as his brother had left only illegitimate sons—Mians Rattan Singh, Kapur Singh, Balbir Singh and Bhag Singh. Zalim Sen paid a lakh of rupees as succession duty to Lahore, and in following years, until his death in 1839, a tribute of Rs. 75,000 was levied. Some years before his death the Raja made over the administration of the State to his nephew Balbir Sen, who was not only illegitimate but one of the younger sons of the late Chief, but by payment of a large sum of money the succession was confirmed to this young man by the Lahore Court, which conferred upon him all the usual insignia of royalty. Zalim Sen disgraced himself by beheading his prime minister Dhari, who had served the State well and faithfully, and whose interest with Maharaja Ranjit Singh had saved it from annexation.

Balbir Sen was twenty-two years old when he became Raja, much to the disgust of his elder brothers

* Officer Commanding at Kotghar to Captain Kennedy, 18th and 31st August 1825.

† Officer Commanding at Kotghar to Captain Kennedy, 5th August and 6th November 1824; and Captain Murray to Resident Dehli, dated 16th June and 13th of July 1824.

‡ Captain Kennedy to Lieutenant Murray, Deputy Superintendent, 2nd January 1827.

and of the younger branch of the family descended from Mian Dhurjatiya brother of Raja Shamsheer Sen, who considered the throne disgraced by the son of a concubine.

After the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, in June 1839, the Sikh army, which had for long been difficult to manage, grew more powerful every day, and Prince Nao Nihal Singh, who really ruled the Punjab, of which his father Maharaja Kharrak Singh was the nominal king, felt that some employment must be found for troops who would otherwise quickly get beyond his control.

The hill country Trans-Satlej, Suket, Mandi and Kulu, had been virtually conquered though not occupied by Sikh troops, and the last acquisition, Ladâk, was only considered as a step to the conquest of a portion of Chinese Tartary, which was now much talked of at Lahore, although Sikh ambition in this instance was no more than the personal ambition of Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu and his brother Dhyan Singh the Minister at Lahore. But before such an expedition it was thought necessary to reduce Mandi completely, and at all events not to leave so strong a fort as Kamlagarh in the rear of the Sikh army. Accordingly, in June 1840, a large force under General Ventura* was sent to Mandi. He crossed the Sikandar range, encamped seven miles from the capital, sending to demand the immediate payment of certain arrears of the tribute, which formed the excuse for the expedition. Raja Balbir

The Sikh invasion of Mandi under General Ventura, in 1840.

* The reason for the selection of General Ventura was that Prince Nao Nihal Singh, at this time was trying to rid himself of his father's powerful minister Dhyan Singh, who hated and feared the French party at court headed by General Ventura, and the prince hoped to strengthen himself by giving the General a command.

Sen paid instantly the money claimed, and wrote off to Colonel Tapp, Political Agent at Subathu, begging for an asylum for himself and his family in British territory. He saw pretty clearly that the total subjugation of his country was intended, and he hinted that he would be delighted to exchange Sikh tyranny for British protection.* But the Government, while offering an asylum to the Raja's family, did not at this time think it advisable to receive the fugitives as political characters or to give the Raja any assurance of aid against the invaders.†

Raja Balbir Sen looks to the English for assistance.

Balbir Sen, having paid his tribute was ordered to attend the Sikh General in his camp. On his arrival there he was surrounded and made prisoner, his own people, according to the Rana of Bhajji,‡ playing him false, and he was told that he could not be released until he had made over to the Sikhs all the forts of Mandi. Whether his officials betrayed him or not is doubtful, but Suket, delighted to pay off many an old grudge, assisted General Ventura, and this conduct has strengthened the ill-feeling between the two States. The Raja was helpless, and consented to everything demanded, and the Sikh troops took possession, for the first time since the prophecy of Guru Govind Singh, of the capital of Mandi.§

* Letter from Raja of Mandi to Political Agent, Subathu, 12th June 1840. Letter of Political Agent Subathu to T. Metcalfe, Esquire, Agent Lieutenant Governor of the North Western Provinces, 3rd July 1840.

† No 132, Mr. Thomason, Secretary to Government North Western Provinces to T. Metcalfe, Agent at Delhi, 16th July 1840.

‡ Letter of the Rana of Bhajji to Political Agent, Subathu, 8th July, 1840.

§ Though the Sikhs had for many years taken tribute from Mandi, they had never entered the capital, and the tribute was paid outside the town. Vigne mentions in his travels that the officer of the Maharaja in attendance upon him, did not enter the town.—Vigne, Vol I, p. 100.

The Raja was sent a prisoner to Amritsar and was confined in the fort of Govindgarh, whilst General Ventura took possession of the numerous forts without much resistance from the Mandi troops. Kamlagarh, however, which had for some time been almost independent of the Raja's authority, refused submission, and the Sikh army invested it in the month of September.

The Siege of Kamlagarh.

The task of its reduction was a difficult one, and additional troops were sent under the command of Sirdar Ajit Singh Sindhanwalia but great sickness broke out amongst them and the mortality was increased by the great cold which came on later.* But the siege was pressed with great vigour : early in November the garrison were driven from some of the outworks, and although the news of the death of Prince Nao Nihal Singh on the 5th November raised the hopes of the garrison, it also strengthened the determination of General Ventura to capture the place. At length, on the 29th November, it capitulated, and the General, leaving Sikhs troops in possession, marched with the remainder of his force to Kulu.†

In January 1841, Sher Singh became Maharaja of Lahore, and, some months later, the Raja of Mandi was released from confinement and permitted to return to his country, taking with him the silver image of the Goddess Devi, which was the object of general veneration in the hills and which the Sikhs had carried

* Agent Governor General to Officiating Secretary Government of India, 20th October, 1840.

† Agent Governor General to Secretary Government of India, of the 14th November, 17th November, and 11th December 1840.

away from her temple at Kamlagarh.* The release of the Raja was a spontaneous act of Maharaja Sher Singh who was of a kindly disposition, and was exceedingly displeasing to the Minister Dhyani Singh, who found himself disappointed of a very large present to himself and a nazrana to the State treasury that had for months past formed the subject of a secret negotiation between him and certain Gosson bankers of Mandi.†

When the Raja was sent to Amritsar, Shaikh Ghulam Mohiuddin, the most grasping of all the Sikh revenue officers, was directed to make a settlement of the territory for Rs. 2,35,000. This he contrived to raise before April 1841, when he was sent as Governor to Kashmir. The Raja on his release was ordered to increase the revenue to four lakhs of rupees, an amount which the territory could not yield without oppressing the people, and of this, one lakh was to be retained by the Raja for his own use, Rs. 90,000 for the expenses of the Sikh garrison, Rs. 12,000 as jagirs to Sikh Sirdars, Rs. 45,000 for religious and miscellaneous expenses, and the balance was to be sent to the Sikh treasury. The Raja never succeeded in raising four lakhs of revenue, but, as no precise amount of tribute was fixed, he was able, with the connivance of the Majithia Sirdars, Lehna Singh and Ranjodh Singh, to retain considerably more than the one lakh assigned for his own use.

Shortly before the Sikh war in 1845, the Raja sent several messages to Mr. Erskine, Superintendent of the Hill States, expressing his anxiety

*Balbir Sen again
addresses the Eng-
lish Government.*

* Mr. Clerk, to Secretary Government of India, 10th August 1841.

† Mr. Clerk, to Secretary Government of India, 18th August 1841.

to obtain British protection and to act in concert with the Government against the enemy.

His advances are well received.

Mr. Erskine entered into secret communication with the Raja for the purpose of securing his neutrality whenever a rising in Kulu should take place, for the management of Saraj, a Kulu province, had been entrusted to him by the Darbar, and he was also directed to expel, if possible, the Sikh garrison from his forts.*

But although Balbir Sen was well disposed

His action during the Satal campaign.

towards the British he was compelled to send a contingent of 300 men, under Wazir Gosaon, to join the brigade of Sirdar Ranjodh Singh Majithia, under whom the Mandi troops fought at the battle of Aliwal. In this manner and by the payment of considerable sums towards the expenses of the campaign the Raja was able to avoid taking part personally against the English, although he was repeatedly ordered to join the Sikh camp, and immediately after the battle of Sobraon he, with his neighbour of Suket, sent a confidential agent, Sibū Pandit, to

He tenders his allegiance to the British Government.

to the Superintendent of the Hill States, tendering his allegiance to the British Government and requesting an interview. This was readily granted, and on the 21st February 1846, the Rajas of Suket and Mandi visited Mr. Erskine at Bilaspur and formally tendered their allegiance to the British Government.†

* Mr. Erskine to Secretary Government of India, 24th February 1846.

† Mr. Erskine to Secretary Government of India, No. 16, dated 15th of February, 1846, and No. 24, dated 23rd February 1846.

The Raja had not however waited for the decisive victory of Sobraon to declare himself on the side of the English or rather opposed to his natural enemies the Sikhs. On the 4th February he surrounded Sirdar Mangal Singh Ramgharia who was stationed at the town of Mandi, and the Lahore detachment would most certainly have been utterly destroyed, had not the Sirdar begged hard for the lives of himself and his men. This request was granted and they were escorted to the Kangra frontier, about seventy-five miles distant. Thence, contrary to the solemn assurances of Mangal Singh and his followers, they returned by a double march, burnt a number of villages round Kamlagarh, and threw themselves into one of the forts, while the Mandi troops were employed elsewhere. *The rising in Mandi against the Sikhs.* At the same time that the rising in the capital took place, the twelve forts, garrisoned by Sikhs, were attacked and captured in a few days, except Kamlagarh, which was regularly invested by 6,000 men, and only surrendered after the conclusion of the war. *Who are everywhere expelled.*

By the treaty of Lahore of the 9th March 1846, all the rights, forts and territories of the Maharaja in the Jalandhar Doab were ceded to the British Government.

A claim to the throne of Mandi was immediately instituted by Rana Bhup Singh, who was the representative of the legitimate branch of the family; but the Supreme Government, on the ground that for four generations this branch had been excluded and that it was unadvisable to revive obsolete claims, refused to entertain it, and the Raja was confirmed in his *Raja Balbir Sen confirmed in his possessions.*

A Sanad granted him. possessions* and, on the 24th October, a Sanad was granted to him defining his rights and obligations.†

Rana Bhup Singh was at this time only ten years of age and was entirely in the hands of designing persons who were determined to make an effort to enforce the recognition of his claims. He was the representative of the legitimate branch of the Mandi family, and, among Rajputs, purity of blood is considered all important in the reigning Chief.

* Letter, No 2047, from Secretary to Government of India, to Major Lawrence, Agent Governor General, dated 6th October 1846, enclosing petition from Rana Bhup Singh; and No. 237, from Agent Governor General, to Secretary Government of India, dated 14th October 1846.

† *Translation of a Sanad from the Governor General, dated 24th October 1846.*

WHEREAS by the treaty concluded between the British and Sikh Governments, on the 9th March 1846, the hill country has come into the possession of the Honorable Company, and whereas Raja Balbir Sen, Chief of Mandi, the highly dignified, evinced his sincere attachment and devotion to the British Government: the State of Mandi, comprised within the same boundaries as at the commencement of the British occupation together with full administrative powers within the same, is now granted by the British Government to him and the heirs male of his body by his Rani from generation to generation. On failure of such heirs, any other male heir who may be proved to the British Government to be next of kin to the Raja, shall obtain the above State with administrative powers.

Be it known to the Raja that the British Government shall be at liberty to remove any one from the Gaddi of Mandi who may prove to be of worthless character and incapable of properly conducting the administration of his State, and to appoint such other nearest heir of the Raja to succeed him as may be capable of the administration of the State and entitled to succeed. The Raja or any one as above described, who may succeed him, shall abide by the following terms entered in this Sanad, viz:

1. The Raja shall pay annually into the treasury of Simla and Subathu, one lakh of Company's rupees as naziana, by two instalments; the first instalment on the 1st of June, and the second instalment on the 1st of November.

2. He shall not levy tolls and duties on goods imported and exported, but shall consider it incumbent on him to protect bankers and traders within his State.

3. He shall construct roads within his territory not less than 12 feet in width and keep them in repair.

But for five generations, since the time of Shiv Joala Sen, this branch had possessed no power, and had been merely dependants of the Raja, receiving small allowances from him. Tegha Singh, the father of Bhup Singh, left Mandi in 1840 and settled in Suket with his family, remaining in the service of the Prince of that country till his death. * Nothing therefore could excuse the conduct of Bhup Singh's advisers, who, on the refusal of the British Government to

Which are unfounded.

entertain his claim, raised some 3,000 men from Kangra and Kehlur, and made a night attack on Mandi, where they destroyed much property and then plundered the

He attempts to assert them by force.

entertain his claim, raised some 3,000 men from Kangra and Kehlur, and made a night attack on Mandi, where they destroyed much property and then plundered the

4. He shall pull down and level the forts of Kamlagarh and Nantpur and never attempt to re-build them.

5. On the breaking out of disturbances, he shall, together with his troops and hill porters, whenever required, join the British army and be ready to execute whatever orders may be issued to him by the British authorities and supply provisions according to his means

6. He shall refer to the British Courts any dispute which may arise between him and any other Chief.

7. In regard to the duties on the iron and salt mines &c., in the territory of Mandi, rules shall be laid down after consultation with the Superintendent of the Hill States, and these rules shall not be departed from.

8. The Raja shall not alienate any portion of the lands of the said territory without the knowledge and consent of the British Government, nor transfer it by way of mortgage.

9. He shall so put an end to the practice of slave-dealing, satti, female infanticide and the burning or drowning of lepers, which are opposed to British laws, that no one in future shall venture to revive them.

It behoves the Raja not to encroach beyond the boundaries of his State or the territory of any other Chief, but to abide by the terms of this Sanad, and adopt such measures as may tend to the welfare of his people, the prosperity of his country and the improvement of the soil, and ensure the administration of even-handed justice to the aggrieved, the restoration to the people of their just rights and the security of the roads. He shall not subject his people to extortion but keep them always contented. The subjects of the State of Mandi shall regard the Raja and his successors as above described to be the sole proprietor of that territory, and never refuse to pay him the revenue due by them but remain obedient to him and act up to his just orders.

* Statement of Wazir Gosaon of Mandi, received 17th January 1852.

salt factories at Gumah. The Raja complained to the Superintendent of the Hill States, and a small force was sent against the insurgents who were easily dispersed. Bhup Singh and his brothers were imprisoned for short periods in the Simla jail, but he was soon released on promise of good conduct, though he refused to relinquish his claim to the throne.*

The authority of Raja Balbir Sen was now firmly established. But there was a man in Mandi who possessed more real power than the Raja, and this was his Minister Wazir Gosaon. His talents and devotion had been the mainstay of the Raja's party; it was chiefly through his agency that the Raja had obtained his throne from the Sikhs, and by

Wazir Gosaon of Mandi.

his ability alone its possession had been maintained. The Wazir thus assumed a position in the State which was viewed with jealousy by the Raja, and with envy by a party headed by Parohit Harjas and Wazir Singh, who strove to undermine the Minister's power to which they hoped themselves to succeed.

The conduct of the Wazir, at the commencement of the war, had roused the Raja's suspicions. There hardly appears sufficient reason to believe, with the Superintendent of the Hill States, that Wazir Gosaon behaved with treachery towards his master, but he, no doubt, intrigued deeply with the

His conduct during the Sattlej war.

Sikhs; he accepted from Sirdar Ranjodh Singh Majithia a very profitable farm of the customs from Jalandhar to Ladak as well as a considerable revenue charge in the plains; and when the rising at Mandi took place,

† From Deputy Commissioner Kangra to Commissioner Trans-Sattlej, dated 25th August 1851.

he remained at Philor with his troops and delayed his return under various pretexts, in spite of the repeated orders of his master. *

The Raja's power was also much increased by the recognition of the British Government; he felt that he was now able to stand without the assistance of his Minister and would have been glad had he been able altogether to discard him. But this he could not do, for the Minister was supported by the English authorities, without whose aid and protection his position, his property and even his life would have been in danger. †

Raja Balbir Sen died on the 26th January 1851, leaving a son, Bijai Singh, four years of age. Shortly before his death, feeling that Wazir Gosaon was, after all, the only one of his servants whom he could trust, he sent for him and communicated to him his last wishes. But the party hostile to the Wazir had possession of almost all the chief offices of the State,

The intrigues which followed. and for a considerable time there appeared small hope of establishing a stable administration. The mother of the late Raja, who was only a concubine of Raja Isri Sen, was an intriguing woman, and had several times during the life of her son endeavoured to obtain some share of power, but had been as often summarily put aside, and had been for a long time forbidden even to enter the palace. On the death of Balbir Sen, she at once assumed the management of the palace in which was situated the treasury. The accounts were in the hands of Harjas Kayat,

* Hon'ble C. Erskine to Secretary Government of India, No. 44, dated 28th March 1846.

† From Deputy Commissioner Kangra to Commissioner Trans-Satlaj, dated 20th January 1853.

who with the Parohit also assumed charge of the Judicial Department. The Sahibni hated Wazir Gosaon, who had always opposed her intrigues, and threw her influence entirely into the hands of his enemies, but they found that they were unable to do without him: he was a man of great financial ability, of great experience and had a most intimate knowledge of the country. He had retained control of receipts and expenditure, supervised the land revenue, the salt and iron mines and the general income of Mandi. Accordingly the Wazir's name was submitted as one of the Council of Regency.

The Board of Administration agreed to the Council, but thought the Wazir *A Council of Regency appointed.* too unpopular to be at its head. The arguments of Mr. Barnes the Commissioner of the Trans-Satlaj convinced them, however, that the Wazir's unpopularity was only with an interested party, while he was much liked by the people of Mandi; that Mian Bhag Singh would be unpopular as head of the Council from the fact of his being the next heir of the throne, and that there was no other man who was competent to preside except Wazir Gosaon, who was reputed to be the wisest man in all the hill country. He was accordingly nominated President, and Mian Bhag Singh and the Parohit, the spiritual adviser of the late Raja, the other members.*

* Commissioner to Board of Administration 27th January 1851.

Deputy Commissioner to Commissioner 5th February 1851. Secretary to Supreme Government to Board of Administration, 24th February.

Deputy Commissioner to Commissioner, 2nd March. Commissioner to Deputy Commissioner, 25th March. Deputy Commissioner to Commissioner, 28th March. Board of Administration to Commissioner, 30th April 1851. Deputy Commissioner to Commissioner, 20th January 1853.

The party opposed to the Wazir was still powerful, and he did not wish to come to an open breach with them as he felt his position was somewhat precarious, and should he be displaced his great wealth, which he had acquired by trading, would have been in danger of confiscation. He trusted that his rivals would soon bring themselves into contempt by their incapacity and dishonesty and that his own services would become more and more necessary to the State, and this proved to be the case. Mian Bhup Singh was one cause of dissension. An allowance of Rs. 3,000 per annum had been proposed for him and his two brothers, but this the Government thought too high and suggested Rs. 840, which the Mian refused to accept and declared his intention of proceeding to Lahore to urge his claim.* His case was certainly a hard one. The Wazir hated him bitterly and was averse to allowing him any maintenance whatever, while the opposite party had no reason to support a pretender whose intrigues might ruin them, but who could bring them no advantage. An arrangement was at length made, by which Bhup Singh was to receive Rs. 1,220 a year, he engaging not to disturb or enter the Mandi State. He would not, however, swear fealty to the reigning prince or renounce his own claim to the throne, as he imagined that this would bring him into contempt with his clan.†

* Letters Board of Administration to Commissioner of 15th January 1852; ditto of 23rd February; Commissioner to Board of Administration of 26th April.

† Letters, Deputy Commissioner of Kangra to Commissioner of 27th June 1853; Board of Administration to Commissioner, of 27th September and 19th November 1853.

In 1852, the administration of Mandi had fallen into the confusion and disorganization which Wazir Gosaon had foreseen. *The maladministration of Mandi.* The oppression committed by the Courts of Law was perhaps the worst of the grievances of which the people complained. So called justice was only an engine for gratifying private revenge or avarice; the most severe punishments were inflicted for the most trifling offences, and women were publicly sold, by order of Court, even for offences committed by their relatives, while it was notorious that these orders were often passed simply to forward the licentious ends of adherents of the Sahibni and her party*. The wishes of the British Government, its warnings and injunctions, were alike disregarded, and it became a question whether, in the interest of the country, the direct administration should not be assumed by the British Government until the majority of the youthful Raja. But it was felt that however advantageous such a step might be, it would still be viewed by the neighbouring States with a certain suspicion, and it was resolved to reorganize the Council of Regency, giving almost the entire control of the administration, judicial and financial, to Wazir Gosaon whose loyalty and integrity were undoubted.†

* The sale of women by their parents, guardians or the Government had always been a custom in Kulu and Mandi, and the people of the plains looked to obtaining their wives and concubines from the hills. Widows and those women who had no one to claim them were sold by the Government, and when the Sikhs held Mandi, they rigorously enforced this right, nor did any widow dream of taking a second husband without the permission of the authorities. This custom of the country makes the abuses of the Law Courts, as described above, far less grave than they would otherwise have been.

† Letters, Deputy Commissioner Kangra, to Commissioner dated 20th January 1853.

The beneficial results of this step were soon evident. *The improvement which resulted.* The revenue increased steadily, the people ceased to complain of the administration of justice, and the intrigues among the officers of State were very little heard of. The Parohit, who was a bigoted old priest, much respected by the people, had charge of the palace and the domestic arrangements; while Mian Bhag Singh, who had little or no ability, was master of the horse. All real power, the treasury, finance and justice, were in the hands of Wazir Gosaon, who, although exacting and severe, yet ruled the little State with the utmost wisdom, which was readily acknowledged by the Government.* In 1856, the salaries of the Members of the Council of Regency were doubled, while the State expenditure on administration was considerably reduced, and reforms such as *Reforms introduced.* the reduction of the system of forced labour, were carried out.† New regulations were imposed upon the re-marriage of widows, if that could be so called at which no ceremony whatever took place, for the Hindu Law is opposed to all such re-marriages. The widow who took a new protector was considered as a mistress not as a wife; the connection was only temporary, and she was often

* Letters, No. 154, dated 23rd November 1854, from Commissioner to Secretary to Chief Commissioner.

No. 953, dated 23rd December 1854, from Secretary to Chief Commissioner to Commissioner.

No. 6, dated 9th January 1855, from Financial Commissioner to Secretary to Chief Commissioner.

No. 92, dated 29th January 1855, from Secretary to Chief Commissioner to Secretary to Supreme Government.

Despatch from Court of Directors to Government of India, dated 24th October 1855.

† Report of Major E. Lake, dated 25th September 1856; and No. 84, dated 18th October, from Secretary Chief Commissioner to Commissioner Trans-Satlaj States.

passed from one master to another as if she had been a bullock or an article of household furniture. By the new rule a registration fee was levied on the re-marriage of widows, a sum so small as not to be felt as a grievance, while it invested the new engagement with a certain solemnity and legal recognition. A man marrying a widow and deserting her or making her over to another was to be punished by law.*

On the 21st of July 1859, Raja Bijai Sen was married to the grand-daughter of the Raja of Datarpur; and on the 25th of the same month to a niece of the Raja of Haripur. Both these families were very poor, but among Hill Rajputs the high birth of the wife is chiefly looked to and these marriages gave great satisfaction to the people of Mandi.

The Raja was at this time an intelligent boy of thirteen, the superintendence of his education was entrusted to the Parohit, one of the Members of the Council of Regency, but the old man had a bigoted dislike to instruction in English or Persian, and it was necessary to remind him that his position merely depended upon a proper discharge of his duty.† This admonition had however no effect. Not only was the education of the Raja neglected, but both the Parohit and Wazir Gosaon winked at, even if

* No. 182, from Commissioner Trans-Satlej States to Secretary, Chief Commissioner, dated 13th December 1856, enclosing petition of Wazir Gosaon; and No. 92, from Secretary Chief Commissioner to Commissioner Trans-Satlej States, dated 14th February 1857.

This enactment was the more necessary, for the immorality of Mandi was a proverb in all the hill country, in which female chastity was everywhere a rare virtue.

† Report of Commissioner, Trans-Satlej States, dated 20th July 1859; and letter 889, dated 5th August 1859, from Secretary to Government Punjab to Commissioner Trans-Satlej States.

they did not encourage, excesses which seriously injured the constitution of the young Prince.

In May 1861, the Commissioner visited Mandi, and finding that the accounts of the Parohit's negligence had been in no way exaggerated, but that his influence over the Raja was only for evil, deported him to Kangra, and fined the Wazir, who had not been less culpable, two thousand rupees. The Government approved of these measures and further directed that the sons of the Parohit should also be banished from Mandi.*

No one was appointed to succeed Parohit Shibshankar in the Council of Regency. There was not indeed a man in Mandi competent to perform all the duties which were supposed to be performed by the Parohit, nor was it advisable to place in Council a third member whose influence would, in all probability, have been united with that of the Wazir to diminish the influence of Mian Bhag Singh, the Raja's uncle. After this change in the administration, affairs progressed more smoothly, and, in 1863, Mr. Clarke, an officer of the Educational Department, was appointed to superintend the Raja's education. †

The Government of India, in 1864, granted the Raja a salute of eleven guns, and the right of being received by an Assistant Commissioner on his arrival at the head

* Letter, No. 53, from Commissioner Trans-Satlej States to Secretary to Government Punjab, dated 3rd May 1861; and No. 378, dated 15th May 1861, of Secretary to Government Punjab to Commissioner Trans-Satlej States.

† Letters, Government of India Foreign Department, No. 2656 of the 23rd May 1861; No. 19, of the 10th January 1862; and, No. 149, from the Commissioner Trans-Satlej States, to Secretary to Government Punjab.

quarters of a district,* and, on the 12th of October 1866, the Raja, having attained his majority, was invested in full Darbar with the usual khilats of investiture by the Commissioner of Jalandhar. The influence of Wazir Gosaon was at this time very small, and the Raja wished to place most of the power in the hands of his uncle; but he was induced to abandon this intention, and make friends with the Wazir whom he confirmed in all his appointments.

Desirous of marking his sense of the benefits derived from the prudent management of his Ministers, the Raja determined, as an auspicious commencement of his reign, to devote a lakh of rupees from the savings which had accumulated during his minority, to public works most beneficial to his State. These included a post office, connected with the Government Postal Department; a large school at Mandi; a dispensary; a good mule road from Baijnath to Sultanpur Kulu, over the Babbu Pass, and serais and travellers' bungalows along the line of road from the Kangra valley, through Mandi, towards Kulu and Simla. These works were at once undertaken; some have been already completed and others are still in progress.†

The promise of the opening of the Raja's reign has not, unfortunately, been realized. It might reasonably have been supposed that in Mandi, a

The promise of the commencement of the Raja's reign not fulfilled.

* No. 394, Government of India Foreign Department, dated 13th April 1864.

† Letter of the 13th October 1866, from Commissioner Jalandhar to Secretary Government Punjab; and No. 881 dated 3rd December 1866, of Government Punjab.

No. 129, of the 8th April 1867, from Commissioner Jalandhar to Secretary to Government Punjab.

State completely under the control of the British Government, which had not bound itself, as elsewhere, to abstain from all interference with its internal management, the young Chief might have received a training such as would fit him to fulfil the duties of a ruler with honesty and ability, to know the servants whom he might with safety trust and to study the welfare of the people entrusted to his care. From the time that the Raja had been four years old his education and training had been conducted under the direction and care of Government officials, and for several years previous to his installation an English tutor had been specially appointed to superintend his studies and complete his education. But the influence of the *zanana* and the evil counsels of men who found their interest in the incapacity of the Chief have made Mandi furnish another example of the almost universal rule which shows a long minority in a Native State to be fatal to the character of the Chief.

The administration of Mandi soon fell into the
The disorder and extravagance at Mandi. greatest confusion, the Raja would not himself attend to business, and was jealous of the interference and advice of his Minister. All expenditure on useful works was stopped, the revenue was wasted on unworthy objects, and the Viceroy, in 1863, found it necessary to convey to the Raja a most serious warning to the effect that the arrangement concluded with the Mandi State in 1846 gave to the British Government the power of removing from the throne any ruler who might prove himself of worthless character and incapable of properly conducting the administration, and this power, in the interests of the people and the country

would be exercised if friendly counsel was found unavailing.*

The result of this warning was a temporary improvement in the administration, but matters soon relapsed into their former state, and, in June 1870, Mr. Clarke was removed from the position of Councillor to the Raja, which he had occupied since October 1866, when the Chief was installed, and Mr. E. Harrison, B. C. S., was appointed in his place to advise the Raja in all matters of administration in association with Wazir Gosaon and to endeavour to introduce into Mandi the reforms long promised and long delayed.†

The population of the Mandi State is about 1,40,000. The revenue according to the latest returns is about Rs. 3,50,000 per annum. The principal sources of revenue are the land tax, salt and iron, the former yielding nearly half the revenue and salt one-third. The ordinary expenditure can be easily kept down to two lakhs and a half, including the tribute paid to the British Government of one lakh of rupees.

The revenue from salt has somewhat increased of late years, while that from the iron mines has remained nearly stationary. In the financial year 1851-52, the receipts from these sources were Rs. 74,887 and 25,474 respectively; in 1854-55, Rs.

* Report of Commissioner Jalandhar to Punjab Government, Government Punjab to Government of India, No. 481, dated 27th November 1868; Government of India, to Government Punjab, No. 1503, dated 18th December 1868; Lieutenant Governor to Raja of Mandi, dated 29th January 1869; Secretary of State's despatch No. 50, dated 4th March 1869.

† Commissioner Jalandhar to Government Punjab, dated 18th June 1870.

Government Punjab to Commissioner Jalandhar, No. 798, dated 9th July 1870.

85,353 and Rs. 29,835; in 1857-58, Rs. 85,378 and Rs. 19,116; and in 1861-62, Rs. 100,545 and Rs. 24,772. The land revenue never rises much above Rs. 1,55,000. The Mandi State can scarcely be said to maintain a military force. There are no cavalry and the artillery consists of four small guns. In the present year, 1870, there are nominally 1,750 infantry entertained, armed with swords and matchlocks, but they are quite undisciplined and their duties are those of rural police.

They are paid in grain or by an assignment of land.



Appendices.

The following Statements, drawn up in the early years of British administration of the Cis-Satlaj territory, are in many cases incorrect and some of the names are difficult to trace; but they contain much interesting information and are accordingly published without any attempt at correction.

Appendix 3.—STATEMENT OF THE CONQUESTS AND YEARS 1214, 1215

Vill- ages.	Taluqas.	Parganahs.	From whom taken,
18		Ludhiana,	Rani Roy Ilias Rai Alyas,
6		Ditto,	Rani Roy Ilias and Rani Luchmy,
1	Jhundala,	Ditto,	Rani Roy Ilias,
9	Ditto,	Ditto,	Ditto, and ditto,
14		Ditto,	Ditto,
2	Kote,	Pyub,	Ditto,
2	Jugraon,	Tahara,	Ditto,
2	Busia,	Ditto,	Wife of Miah Ghonse,
3	Ghurgrana,	Pyub,	Gujar Sing & Jut Mal Sing of Roypoor,
27	Mounda,	Sirhind,	Sons of Durram Sing, of Umborsir,
17	Buddowala,	Ludhiana,	Rani Roy Ilias,
8	Ditto,	Ditto,	Ditto, and Sikhs of Khamna,
5	Jugraon,	Tahara,	Ditto,
2		Pyub,	Ditto, and Luchmy,
4	Ghungrana,	Ditto,	Goojur Sing and Jate Sing,
1	Ditto,	Ditto,	Ditto and Jut Mal Sing,
2		Ryhimabad,	Ranee Luchmee,
13	Kote,	Pyub,	Ranee Roy Ilias,
8	Ditto,	Tahara,	Ditto,
1	Ditto,	Pyub,	Ditto, and Goojur Sing,
2	Busia,	Tahara,	Wife of Miah Ghonse,
6	Tulwundee,	Ditto,	Ranee Roy Ilias,
1	Jugraon,	Ditto,	Ditto,
2	Ghurgrana,	Ditto,	Goojur Sing,
5	Ditto,	Ditto,	Ditto, and Kabool Khan,
4	Ditto,	Ditto,	Goojur Sing,
2	Kunnah,	Pyub,	Ranee Roypooree,
8	Ditto,	Sirhind,	Ditto,
7	Ditto,	Pyub,	Ran Sing, and Nadowan Sing,
1	Ditto,	Machunwara,	Ditto,
8	Dhaka,	Ludhiana,	Ranee Roy Ilias,
3	Ditto,	Ditto,	Ditto, and Sikhs of Kankra,
3	Kote,	Pyub,	Ranee Roy Ilias,
71	Jugraon,	Tahara,	Ditto,
1	Busia,	Ditto,	Wife of Miah Ghonse,
19	Tulwundee,	Ditto,	Ranee Roy Ilias,
41	Narain Gurh,	Nahun,	Kour Kishin Sing,
3	Roypoore,	Pyub,	Jut Mal Sing, and Hulla Sing,
12	Ghilla,	Ludhiana,	Ranee Roy Ilias, and Luchmy,
14	Ditto,	Pyub,	Ditto, and ditto,
3	Ditto,	Ditto,	Ditto, and Nund Sing,
8	Kote,	Ditto,	Ranee Roy Ilias,
25	Jugraon,	Tahara,	Ditto,
7	Tulwundee,	Ditto,	Synd Mahomed, Syud Mirza, & Ranee Ilias,
2	Ditto,	Ditto,	Ranee Roy Ilias,
12	Durumkote,	Ditto,	Ranee of Sirdar Tara Sing,
77	Kotekupoor,	Ditto,	Jaggut Sing of Booreea,
12	Zeerah,	Ditto,	Wife of Mohur Sing,
21	Tarrudkote,	Ditto,	Goolab Sing,
6	Sanewall,	Pyub,	Ranee Luchmy,
8		Rahoo,	Ditto,
13			Ditto,
19	Jundhur,	Ryhimabad,	Raho Mahomed Khan,
12	Chungpore,		
14	Dhrace,		
12	Bardoor,		

GRANTS OF RAJA RANJIT SINGH IN THE FASLI AND
1216,=1806, 1807, 1808.

To whom given.		Estimated revenue.		Year.
Raja Bhag Singh,	..	14,040		1214
Ditto,	..	1,310		1214
Ditto,	...	710		1214
Ditto,	...	1,940		1214
Ditto,	...	1,720		1214
Ditto,	...	600		1214
Ditto,	...	1,400		1214
Ditto,	...	1,510		1214
Ditto,	...	2,255		1215
Ditto,	...	17,000	42,515	1215
Goordut Sing,	...	15,500		1214
Ditto,	...	750		1214
Ditto,	...	4,480		1214
Ditto,	...	360		1214
Ditto,	...	1,805		1214
Ditto,	...	550		1214
Ditto,	...	250	23,790	1216
Raja Juswunt Sing,	...	14,240		1214
Ditto,	...	4,000		1214
Ditto,	...	810		1214
Ditto,	...	1,630		1214
Ditto,	...	5,310		1214
Ditto,	...	700		1214
Ditto,	...	1,950		1214
Ditto,	...	1,400		1214
Ditto,	...	315		1215
Ditto,	...	525		1216
Ditto,	...	1,000		1216
Ditto,	...	1,502		1216
Ditto,	...	800	34,240	1216
Futta Sing, Aloowalia,	..	4,280		1214
Ditto,	...	410		1214
Ditto,	...	3,620		1214
Ditto,	...	26,195		1214
Ditto,	...	210		1214
Ditto,	...	5,800		1214
Ditto,	...	12,580		1215
Ditto,	...	1,200	54,295	1215
Dewan Mohkum Chand,	...	6,680		1214
Ditto,	...	2,075		1214
Ditto,	...	640		1214
Ditto,	...	5,770		1214
Ditto,	...	13,770		1214
Ditto,	...	3,000		1214
Ditto,	...	2,110		1214
Ditto,	...	401		1215
Ditto,	...	61,400		1215
Ditto,	...	7,500		1215
Ditto,	...	19,125		1216
Ditto,	...	2,461		1216
Ditto,	...	1,778		1216
Ditto,	...	2,525		1216
Ditto,	...	25,000	1,54,235	1216

STATEMENT OF THE CONQUESTS AND GRANTS OF

Vill- ages.	Taluqas.	Parganah.	From whom taken.
1	Kote,	Pyub,	Ranee Roy Ilias and Goojur Sing, ..
9	Jugraon,	Tahafa,	Ranee Roy Jlias, ..
3	Basia,	Ditto,	Wife of Miah Ghouse, ...
1	Tulwundes,	Ditto, ..	Ranee Roy Ilias, ...
12	Bhurrat Gurh,	Pyub,	Wife of Tara Sing, ...
17	Ditto,	Ryhimabad,	Ditto, ...
1	Ditto,	Rahoo,	Ditto, ...
2	Labann Gurh,	Ditto, ..	Ditto, ..
25	Ditto, ..	Ryhimabad,	Ditto, ...
5	Dhunnour,	Ditto, .	Ditto, ...
34	Durramkote,	Tahara, .	Ditto, ...
13	Share Gurh,	Ditto,	Ditto, ..
1	Ghungrana, .	Ditto, .	Goojur Sing, and Teekosha, ...
27	Khumur,	Sirhind,	Durram Sing, ...
9	Challoudee,	Judree,	Wife of Sardar Bangali Sing, ..
9	Kylawur,	Boorna, .	Ditto, ..
20	Ghungrana,	Pyub, .	Goojur Sing, ...
7	Ditto, ..	Ditto, ..	Goojur Sing, and Jote Sing,
5	Ditto, ..	Ditto, .	Goojur Sing, and Patans of Kote Meler,
4	Ditto, ...	Ditto, ...	Goojur Sing,

This list was drawn up in 1809, A. D.

(7)

RAJAH RANJIT SINGH.—(Continued.)

To whom given.	Estimated revenue.	Year.
Busawa Sing, ...	814	1214
Ditto, ...	4,900	1214
Ditto, ...	1,200	1214
Sirdar Banga Sing, ...	400	1214
Ghurba Sing, ...	4,370	1215
Ditto, ...	6,011	1215
Ditto, ...	300	1215
Ditto, ...	120	1215
Ditto, ...	6,168	1215
Ditto, ...	3,665	1215
Atar Sing, ...	3,030	1215
Ditto, ...	980	1216
Dola Sing, ...	70	1215
Jodh Singh, Ransia, ...	42,000	1216
Jodh Sing, Kulseea, ...	6,000	1216
Ditto, ...	4,000	1216
Kuram Sing, of Nuga, ...	13,335	1215
Ditto, ...	3,350	1215
Ditto, ...	3,410	1215
Ditto, ...	3,320	1215
TOTAL, ...	4,00,518	

(Signed) D. OCHTERTONY,
Lieutenant Colonel.

**Appendix B.—STATEMENT OF CHIEFS POSSESSING
TERRITORY BETWEEN THE SUTLEJ AND BIAS OR
DOAB JULLUNDHUR EXCLUSIVE OF DISTRICTS IN
THE HILLS, AS TAKEN FROM OLD DOCUMENTS
(PRIVATELY OBTAINED) IN THE TIME OF
ADINA BEG KHAN, HIJRA 1167-70, OR ABOUT
1750 A. D.**

Names of the Chiefs.		Purgunah.	Revenue.	Grand Total.	FORCES.	
					Cavalry.	Infantry.
Succoo Singh,	12	Tallawun, ...	10,000	10,000	40	
Birdar Futta Sing Aloo,		Ditto, ...	1,45,000			
Ditto,		Shakoo poor, ...	2,65,141			
Ditto,		Sultapoor, ...	61,105			
Ditto,		Badshah poor, ...	70,031		7,000	
Ditto,		Itwar poor, ...	90,195			
Ditto,		Hyderabad, ...	7,011	6,38,483		
Bodh Singh, Fyzulaporia,		Jalundhur, ...	4,75,504			
Ditto,		Puttedanath, ...	65,314		400	
Ditto,		Sohadurree, ...	24,045	5,64,863		
Godh Singh, Ranigurria,		Meanee, ...	11,901			
Ditto,		Ryhimabad, ...	4,604			
Ditto,		Aeberabad, ...	91,450			
Ditto,		Dysooah, ...	2,21,000			
Ditto,		Hajipoor, ...	15,000		3,000	2,000
Ditto,		Basseyedudeal, ...	11,901			
Ditto,		Sharepoor, ...	7,000			
Ditto,		Myanee, ...	11,501			
Ditto,		Zuhoora, ...	41,101			
Ditto,		Naw Nungal, ...	51,021	4,66,779		
Dewan Mokum Singh,		Darduch Rahoo, ...	6,11,510			
Ditto,		Nakodur, ...	31,101	6,42,611		
Son of Durm Singh, of Amritsur,		Maulpoor, ...	1,61,901	1,61,901	400	
Godh Singh, Kulsea,		Sum Chowlan, ...	1,85,911	1,85,911	1,000	
Raja Sunsar Chund,		Budgewara, ...	4,391	4,391		
Wife of Bugale Singh,		Sheir Gurh, ...	3,307			
Ditto,		Hurana, ...	75,122	78,429	1,000	
Ganda Kohie,		Mullout, ...	2,711	2,711		500
Mohur Singh, son of Munsa Smgh,		Ghurdoombala, ...	61,525	61,525		
Churrat Singh,†		Noormahal, ...	50,111	50,011	150	
Dava Singh,		Sakur, ...	25,000	25,000	1,500	
TOTAL, ...				28,92,415	14,490	2,500

* Dependent on the wife of Bhungel Singh.

† Dependent on Futta Singh Allowalia.

This list was drawn up in the year 1808 A. D., and is incorrect in some particulars, but is given for what it is worth.

**Appendix C.—STATEMENT OF THE POWER AND RESOURCES
OF THE SIKH CHIEFS BETWEEN THE SUTLEJ
AND JUMNA.**

Names.	Distinction or place of residence.	FORCE.		Revenue.
		Cavalry.	Infantry.	
Maharaja Sahib Singh,	Putealah,	2,000	1,000	6,10,000
Bhaees Lal Singh, Busawa Singh, and Kurn Singh.	Kvthal Baut,	600		2,25,000
Raja Jaswant Singh,	Naba,	400		1,50,000
" Bhag Singh, and dependants.	Judh,	600		1,25,000
Nawab Rehmut Khan,	Koonjpoora,	250		50,000
Sirdar Goordut Singh,	Ladwah,	1,000		1,50,000
" Dulcha Singh,	Rudour,	125		60,000
" Bhugwan Singh, Jymal Singh and Golab Singh,	Boorea,	600		1,00,000
" Buri Singh and Goolab Singh.	Thunahir and Delhi,	323		75,000
Ranee Dya Kour, and dependants,	Umbalah,	500		95,000
Attanulla Khan and Pathans,	Mulair Kotla,	400		40,000
Bodh Singh,	Fyzoolapoor,	200		15,000
Jodh Singh and dependants,	Kulseah,	1,000		1,50,000
Sirdar Futta Singh Allooah,	Isroo,			50,000
Mia Maul Leach,	Rangurh,	150		40,000
Jowar Singh,	Baroope,	300		1,00,000
Golab Singh, Mehtab Singh and Dya Singh,	Syheedgurh,	250		50,000
Dava Singh,	Bugvaean,	500		50,000
Gopaul Singh,	Mansemajra,	200	400	1,00,000
Sodhe Surjan Singh and Dedar Singh,	Mukhowal,	300		1,10,000
Sodhe Churut Singh,	Machewara,	70		20,000
Nurd Singh,	Chumkoor,	40		10,000
Goojur Singh,	Nara,	50		10,000
Churut Singh,	Luddeah,	100		10,000
Shair Singh and Sooja Singh,	Sooter,	200		15,000
Dubail Singh and Bagh Singh,	Mulowdah,	220		35,000
Joy Singh,	Gharank,	25		5,000
Beer Singh and Deep Singh,	Baddowree,	150		20,000
Mohur Singh,	Tulwande Majooka,	25		5,000
Miah Noudah,	Budnee,	150		10,000
Bang Singh, Itulgah,	Dakharee,	40		4,000
Punjab Singh,	Sadoora,	100		10,000
Nutha Singh,	Khoornaneah,	200		10,000
Hunmeer Singh,	Pulkee,	40		5,000
Kootabooldeen Khan Kapoor,	Mumdout,	300		5,000
Doonah Singh,	Ferozepoor,	60		10,000
Sikhs of Byrar,	Maharajke,	100		15,000
Futta Singh and Runjeet Singh,	Shahabad,	200		40,000
TOTAL,		11,450	1,400	25,84,000

* Near the Hills.

This list was drawn up about 1808, A. D. It is very, far from correct, and much under-estimates both the revenue enjoyed by the Chiefs, and the number of men they could put into the field.—L. G.

**Appendix B.—STATEMENT OF THE POSSESSIONS,
MILITARY FORCE, AND REVENUE, OF THE
SIKH CHIEFTAINS SOUTH OF THE SUTLEJ,
DRAWN UP A. D. 1809.**

Names.	Towns, &c.	Revenue	Military force.
Raja Sahib Singh, and his dependants,	Duties collected in the town of Patiala,	27,000	
	Duties collected at the village Rookee near Patiala,	19,000	
	Duties collected on moligo throughout the Raja's territory,	25,000	
	Parganah Ginor and 58 villages,	22,000	
	Burwalah Batter with 36 " "	19,000	
	Rannee Magra and 32 " "	15,000	
	Korain with 30 " "	14,200	
	Kunheer 45 " "	45,000	
	Mardanpur & Harpalpur, 40 " "	40,000	
	Kurwaran Krotan with 30 " "	19,000	
	Abinwal, 27 " "	10,000	
	Jagir jib, 25 " "	10,000	
	Sefabad, 24 " "	20,700	
	Sirhind, 40 " "	25,000	
	Mundpur Koolomal with, 28 " "	14,000	
	Himmat Gurb, 260 " "	10,000	
	Pyj Gurb, 17.6 " "	11,000	
	Pihal, 70.6 " "	35,000	
	Dhodi, 29.6 " "	14,000	
	Mansopur, 27.6 " "	12,000	
	Umar Garh, 30.6 " "	40,000	
	Sherpur Basawrah with 25.6 " "	16,000	
	Gunam, 35.6 " "	17,000	
	Dhurbuh 25.6 " "	15,000	
	Munak, 29.6 " "	22,000	
	Utkhuria, 40.6 " "	12,000	
	Bathinda, 50.6 " "	35,000	
	Hudeauh and Barnalah, 40.6 " "	17,000	
	Palvih, 24.6 " "	10,000	
	Ooluwai, 7.6 " "	10,000	
	Balu, 20.6 " "	2,000	
	Panoochat, 45 " "	40,000	
	Labu, 40.6 " "	24,000	
	Panjaur Dun with 40 " "	10,000	
	Jhary, 18.6 " "	10,000	
	Tarneh, 35.6 " "	9,000	
	Rannah, 55.6 " "	12,000	
	Gamanah, 30.6 " "	10,000	
	Badsikhri, 25.6 " "	11,200	
	Mohri Tega, 40.6 " "	15,000	
	Gamurdgarh, 20.6 " "	11,000	
	Mihilari, 30.6 " "	10,000	
	Hareg, 30.6 " "	11,000	
	Chumaru Shandi with 12.6 " "	3,000	
	Mandpur Sahori, with 15.6 " "	7,000	
	Khurali with 56 " "	2,000	Horse, 2,500
	Laungowal, 11.6 " "	5,000	Foot, 2,200
	Mussin gurb, 35.6 " "	10,000	with a considerable number of guns of various
	Manshuh, 10.6 " "	6,000	
	Talwandi, 14.6 " "	5,000	
	Moripur, 16.6 " "	13,000	
	Chiwatal, 17.6 " "	9,000	
TOTAL, ...		8,36,500	

APPENDIX D.—Continued.

Names.	Towns &c.	Revenue.	Military force.
Bhai Lal Singh and his dependants, ...	Duties collected at Kythal,	28,500	
	25 villages,	25,000	
	Nibki Taaluqa, with 41 " "	47,350	
	Murtazapur, 7-6 " "	7,000	
	Dhamtah Barat, 27-6 " "	21,350	
	Gulloh, 60-6 " "	50,000	
	Miholan, 12-6 " "	10,500	
	Kular, " "	3,000	
	Dabar Chaboh, 3 " "	1,600	
	Chall Buchon, 5 " "	1,200	
	Fateh Kot, 3 " "	500	
	Pundri, 7 " "	11,400	
	Pai, 3 " "	7,000	
	Honburg, 7 " "	1,250	
	Amir, 4-6 " "	2,000	
	Mahatndi, 12-6 " "	18,000	
	Churasi, 5-6 " "	17,000	
	Half of the town of Guhanahaud, 22-6 " "	19,000	
	Faridpur, &c., 18-6 " "	16,000	
	Possessions in the Buranah country,	15,000	
	Total Revenue,	3,02,650	
Karm Singh,	Kakralah, Mardirhrah, Sonsoh, Barnoh, Budledah, &c., &c.,		
Bisawa Singh,	Number of villages unknown, ..	27,000	
	Anauli, 14-10 villages,	25,000	
	Given to him by Royit Singh, 13-6 " "	6,914	Horse, 900 Foot, 2,000
Total Revenue of Bhai Lal Singh, &c.,		3,91,564	2,900
Bhag Singh and his dependants, ...	Kar Bhodoh, 20 villages,	50,500	
	Duties collected in Jhind,	18,000	
	And, 72-0 " "	52,000	
	Safidon, 12 " "	10,000	
	Panjgraun &c., 10 " "	5,000	
	Lachanah, " "	45,000	
	Sangrar, " "	25,000	
	Bhuwanoh, " "	14,000	
	Half of Guhana and 26 " "	21,000	
	Barsat &c., 20 " "	16,500	
	European and other places in the Beranah country, ...	20,000	Horse 800 Foot, 200
	Dharm Garh, 5-6 " "		
	Total Revenue, ...	2,77,000	2,000

APPENDIX D.—(Continued).

Names.	Towns &c.	Revenue.	Military force.
Juswant Singh, ...	Duties collected at Nahba and other places	19,700	
	30 villages.	26,000	
	Pakhawal, c	25 " ...	32,000
	Bahadro,	25 " ...	15,000
	Amlah,	20 " ...	16,000
	Phul,	22 " ...	10,000
	Dhanolah,	20 " ...	15,000
	Andlu,	17 " ...	19,000
	Dholah,	11 " ...	8,000
	Baddo,	7 " ...	4,000
	Rori,	30 " ...	25,000
	Kanyya,	14 " ...	15,000
	Total Revenue, ...	2,04,700	1,200
Gurdit Singh, and his dependants, ...	Duties collected at Ladhuana, ...	12,200	
	And 94 villages	81,350	
	Baddowal,	26 " ...	30,000
	Paddhi,	18 " ...	17,000
	Shekpoora,	9 " ...	9,000
	Singhor and 20 villages taken from the family of Diwan Singh, ...	50,000	
	Total Revenue, ...	1,99,550	
Dal Singh, ... Dunna Singh, Mah-na Singh and Sahib Singh, ... Ugah Singh, ...	Half of the town of Indri and 2 villages.	4,000	Horse, 1,530 Foot, 400
	9 " "	10,000	6 small guns
	Sikandrah,	9 " "	4,000
			two 10 prs.
	Total Revenue of Gurdit Singh and his dependants,	2,17,550	1,930
Bhanga Singh, and his dependants, ..	Duties collected in Manasah ...	10,000	
	And 35 villages	30,000	
	Kalsowah and 9 villages near the bank of the river with 1/4 of Biana,	35,000	
	Dhoatambal and 40 villages taken from the family of Diwan Sing, ...	35,000	Horse, 400 Foot, 150
Gulab Singh, ...	Damkouli and 150 villages, " "	10,000	2 8 prs. 4 small guns.
	Total Revenue, ...	1,20,000	550
Sher Singh, Khark Singh and Ranjit Singh, the sons of Karm Singh deceased, and their dependants, Sher Singh and Khark Singh, ...			
	Duties Collected in the Town of Soomalabad and Shahabad, ...	5,000	
	14 Villages,	20,000	Horse, 250
	13 Villages,	10,000	Foot, 150
	49 Villages,	30,000	
	Total Revenue, ...	65,000	400

APPENDIX D—(Continued.)

Names.	Towns, &c.	Revenue.	Military force.
Dya Kaur and her dependants,	Duties collected in Ambala, ... 31 villages,		
Rakh Bha Singh,	Tirooh, 29 "		
Dya Singh, ...	Baial, 15 "		
Sukhdas Singh, ...	Panjakwah, 18 "		
Desa Singh and Tehl Singh, ..	Bah, 9 "		
Rajrat Singh, ...	Jhandali, 8 "		Horse, 400
Bagh Singh Giljah,	Dukhiri, ...		Foot, 150
	Total Revenue, ...		
Petty chieftains of	Cheloh, Munsauli, Karoh, Mandoh &c.,	1,00,000	3,00,000
Dulchi Singh and dependants, ...	Duties collected in Bidhor, ... And, 39 villages,	1,000 46,000	
Parem Singh, ...	Hahabar and villages,	8,000	
Jond Singh Patli,	Patli and "	6,000	
Sudha Singh and Tolyni Singh, .	Dhinhonah, ..	3,000	
Jay Singh, ...	Jynper, ...	5,400	Horse, 184
Khushhal Singh and Orewuh Singh,	..	7,500	Foot, 120
	Total Revenue, ...	76,900	304
Bhagwan Singh and his dependants,	Duties collected at Buria, ... Do. Jigadri, ... Do. at the ghats of Mikoord, Jitta buh and Tigru, ... Do Bughat, ... 81 villages, ... Duties collected, ...	500 11,000 7,500 1,000 85,000 5,000	
Golab Singh and Zalam Singh, the sons of Shar Singh deceased.	Chauki Damloh, ... Duties collected at Raj Ghat, ... At Buria, ... 72 villages,	3,700 2,000 300 60,000	
Suba Singh, ...	Duties, ... 25 "	6,200 30,000	Horse, 330
	Duties, ...	5,000	Foot, 495
	Total Revenue, ...	2,17,200	825
Gopal Singh, ...	Duties collected at Manimajra, ... 45 villages,	5,000 55,000	
	Mulapur, 126 "	6,000	Horse, 200
	Duties, ...	2,000	Foot, 300
	Chandikli, and 6 "	5,000	12 pr., 1 8
	Parbat, 7 "	6,000	pr., 1 6 pr., and 4 guns.
	Total Revenue, ...	79,000	500

APPENDIX D.—(Continued.)

Names.	Towns, &c.	Revenue	Military force.
Dalel Singh, ..	Sinoh, 40 villages,	35,000	Ten guns.
	Mallaud, 25 „	15,000	Horse, 150
	Duties,	2,000	Foot, 150
	Revenue,	52,000	300
Dharm Singh,	Khar, 256 villages	20,000	200
Dunna Singh, .	Fazil Kot, ..	35,000	200
Ataula Khan and Puthans, ...	Maler Kotla,	40,000	400
Rehmat Khan, ..	Koonjproah ..	3,000	
	38 villages in Pargana Karnal, ...	50,000	
	20 villages in Pargana Indri and Badli, ...	19,058	
Ghulam Muhay- eddin Khan, .	Barogung, and 30 villages,	14,050	Horse, 20
Karm Khan, ...	Gir and 30 „	2,000	Foot, 600
	Total Revenue, ...	89,008	800
Jodh Singh Kal-sia,	Chuchrauli, 45 villages.	40,000	
	Bilaspur, 13 „		
	Ranupur, Badli, and 20 „ ...	20,000	
	Khizarabad, 40 „ ..	10,000	
	Kullawah, Chulandu and 22 „ ..	6,000	
	Gudholi, Binjipur and 28 „ ...	10,000	
	Bhrtal, 24 „ ...	10,000	
	Sidhomah, 16 „ ...	15,000	
	Burai Koorhan, 24 „ ..	35,000	
	Deroh, Bassi and 22 „ ...	20,000	
	Chuni, Machli, Kurun Ghin and, 21 „ ...	15,000	
	Ramgarh, 27 „ ...	10,000	
	Mustaufabad, Sarund, Jaghdri, and Tuskeh, 59 „ ...	39,000	Horse, 1,535
	Duties, ..	27,000	Foot, 850
	Total Revenue, ..	257,000	2,385
Fateh Singh, ...	Half of Naraingarh,	15,000	
	Kahnpur, 21 villages,	7,000	
	Fatehpur, 7 „ ..	8,000	
	Jagrawn and 20 „ ..	19,000	
	Tehawah and 10 „ ...	13,000	
	Sidham, 25 „ ...	20,000	
	Bhosi and 35 „ ...	22,000	
	Jaur and 37 „ ...	30,000	
	Hattouh, 10 „ ...	5,000	
	Khupur Baretah, 15 „ ...	5,000	
	Gola Jhulawah, 20 „ ...	4,000	
	Isan Ker Kot and 25 „ ...	22,000	Horse, 1,000
	Maknoo, ..	6,000	Foot 400
	Revenue, ..	1,76,000	1,400

APPENDIX D (Continued).

Names.	Towns, &c.	Revenue	Military force.
Sons of Jawahir Singh, ...	Half of Naranigarh, ... Fatehgarh, ... Jutyar, ... Bhudi, ... Biragh, ... Duties, ...	15,000 55,000 7,200	Guns, 3 Horse, 250 Foot, 400
	Revenue, ...	77,200	650
Mehtab Singh and Gulab Singh, sons of Karm Singh Shahid.	Shahzadpur and 18 villages, with Kiri and Fingor, 18 " .. 7 " ..	39,000 7,000	
Dya Singh, ... Subu Singh, and Golab Singh Mandpuri, ...	18 " ..	26,000	Horse, 130 Foot, 100
	Revenue, ...	72,000	230
Bhup Singh, and Dewa Singh, ...	Rupar 60 villages, Khizarabad and 32 " .. Lalbi Mazara, 10 " ... Mianpur, 13 " ...	36,000 10,000 2,000 5,000	
	Revenue, ...	53,000	
Mohkam Chand and other Sardars, dependant on Ranjit Singh, ..	Kot Kapurah, 35 villages, Jhura, 15 " ... Rahimbad, ... Talwandi, ... Sunwa and other places, ... Gungranah, ... Gajjarwal, Raepur, ... Soholi, 12 " ... Badni, Himmalpura, ... Jhuto ke Qille, ... Bhart Garh, Salan Garh with 78 " ...	29,000 5,000 76,000 24,500 500 10,000 5,000 6,000 30,000	
Garhba Singh. ...			
Dunna Singh, ... Ottuh Sing, ...	Chanolgarh, 8 villages, Dhana Sanu Khon and 10 " ... Balolpur, 9 " ... Duties, ... Firozpur, 40 " ... Dharm Kot, ...	8,000 2,000 10,000 3,200 40,000 40,000	
	Total, ...	2,89,200	

APPENDIX D —(Continued.)

Names.	Towns, &c.	Revenue.	Military force.
Soojhun Singh and Jeymul Singh, ...	Chankowah with, 100 villages, Raomajra, 8 " " Mansowah, 5 " " Salahpur, 5 " " Dhawli, 18 " ...	45,000	
Khem Singh, ...	Makhawal, ... Nandpur, 40 " ...	20,000	
Nunel Singh, . .	Phulsondah and Khowali, 2 " ... Atalah, 20 " ...	12,000	
Charht Singh, ...	Bakhmajra and 2 " ...	600	
	Total, ...	77,600	
Gujjar Singh, Kha- zan Singh, and Mut- tah Singh, called the Kahar Seeks, ...	Kurana, ...	25,000	
Ramsarn, son of Gujjar Singh,	Palasian, 30 villages, Gulawaiah, 10 " .. Badhian, 20 " .. Macholi, ... Sukrai, ...	10,000 5,000 7,000 5,000 5,000	
	Revenue, ...	57,000	
Budh Singh Fy- zullapuria, . .	Mator Barial, ... Kotallah, 27 " ... Amankot, 60 " ...	16,000 14,000 24,000	
	Revenue, ...	54,000	
Charht Singh, . .	Machewal, ...	20,000	
Other petty chief- tains, ...	Ramgarh, &c., &c., ...	1,00,000	
	Total, ...	1,60,000	

ABSTRACT.

Raja Sahib Singh, ...	Patialah, ...	8,36,500	4,700
Bhai Lal Singh, ...	Kythah, ...	3,91,564	2,900
Bhag Singh, ...	Jhind, ...	2,89,000	2,000
Jaswant Singh, ...	Nabha, ...	2,04,700	1,200
Gurdit Singh, ...	Ladhwa, ...	2,17,550	1,930
Bhanga Singh, ..	Thanasah, ...	1,20,000	550
The sons of Karm Singh of, ...	Shahabad, ...	65,000	400
Rani Dya Kour, ...	Ambalah, ...	1,37,000	550
Dulcha Singh, ...	Ridhor, ...	76,900	304
Bhagwan Singh, ...	Buria, ...	2,17,200	825
Gopal Singh, ...	Manimajra, ...	79,000	500
Dalel Singh, ..	Mallaudh, ...	53,000	300
Ata-ullah Khan, ...	Maler Kotla, ...	40,000	400
Rehmat Khan, ..	Kunjpuria, ...	89,008	800
Petty Chieftains, ...	Chelah, Manouli, &c.	4,00,000	600
		29,15,422	17,959
The above Chieftains may be considered as under the protection of the British Government.			
The following are subject to Ranjit Singh :—			
Johd Singh, ...	Chichrauli, ...	2,57,000	Kalsia
The sons of Karm Singh, Shahid, ...	Shahzadpur, ...	72,000	
Fateh Singh Aluah, ...	Jagrawn, ..	1,76,000	
Jawahar Singh, ...	Jatwar, ...	77,200	
Mohkam Chand, ...	Bahimabad, ...	1,60,500	
Garhbu Singh, ...	Bhartgarh, ...	53,200	
Budh Singh, ..	Amankot, ...	54,000	
Bhup Singh and Dewa Singh, ...	Ropar, ...	53,000	
Gajjar Singh and others, ...	Makhowal, ...	77,600	
Gujjar Singh and others, ...	Kamano, ...	25,000	
Dharm Singh, ..	Khar, ...	20,000	
Ram Sarn Singh, ...	Palasian, ...	32,000	
Atar Singh, ..	Dharm Kot, ...	40,000	
Charht Singh and Garhbu Singh, ...	Machiwari, ...	20,000	
Dunna Singh, ...	Firozpur, ..	40,000	
Golab Singh, ..	Farid Kot, ...	35,000	
Petty Chieftains, ...	Ramgarh, &c., ...	1,40,000	7,000
		13,32,500	7,000
Total amount of revenue of the country between Delhi and Sutlej, exclusive of the British possessions, ...			
		42,47,922	24,959

(Signed) F. S. WHITE,

(This statement is only given for what it is worth, and is not believed to be very accurate. The total of the country under British protection should be Rs. 32,03,422, and not as given Rs. 29,15,422. L. G.)

Appendix C.—STATEMENT OF THE CHIEFS EAST OF SATLEJ WHO ARE DEPENDENT ON THE RAJA OF LAHORE, AND OTHERS, WHO HAVE BEEN LEFT UNDISTURBED IN THEIR POSSESSIONS BY HIM, AND HAVE NOT SENT VAKILS OR MAINTAINED ANY INTERCOURSE WITH THE ENGLISH.

Names of Chiefs.	Distinction or place of residence.	Distance from Ludiana	REMARKS.
Diwan Mohkam Chaud ...			
Ghurla Singh, ...	Bhart Garh, ...	22 East.	These are dependants of Raja Ranjit Singh, and generally owe their possessions to his bounty, paying a trifling tribute or holding in Jaidad.
Atar Singh, ...	Dharm Kot, ...	40 West.	
Dalel Singh, ...	Tibba, ...	15 East.	
Fateh Singh Ahluwalia, ...	Kot Jagrawan, ...	20 West.	
Karm Singh, ...	Gungrana, ...	11 East.	
Deva Singh and Bhup Singh,	Ropar, ..	30 "	
Sabar Sargan Singh and Deva Singh, ...	Makhwal, ...	4 "	
Sadu Charht Singh, ..	Machhuwara, ...	15 "	These distances and bearings are not correct, but the Chiefs may be deemed neutral, or for the most part from selfish motives would probably join the English in case of a rupture with the Raja of Lahore.
Nand Singh, ...	Khankoiia, ...	10 South-East	
Gujjar Singh, ...	Narah, ...	40 East.	
Charht Singh, ...	Luddeha, ...	15 "	
Dalel Singh and Bhag Singh,	Malland, .	15 "	
Jay Singh, ...	Gharank, ...	25 "	
Mohan Singh, ...	Talwandi Majoka, ...	25 South.	
Bhag Singh Giljah, ...	Dakhari, ...	24 East.	
Nath-tha Singh, ...	Khumaneh, ...	15 "	
Karm Singh, ...	Pikee, ...	70 South.	
Mian Mul Dai, ...	Ramgarh, ...	40 East.	
Jawahar Singh, ...	Barup, ...	40 "	
Mian Nandah, ...	Badni, ...	30 West.	
Dunnah Singh, ...	Ferozpur, ...	70 "	

(Signed) D. OCHTERLONY,
Lieutenant Colonel.