HARYANA

Studies in History and Politics
PREFACE

Haryana is a State with glorious past and brilliant present. Our Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi is perfectly correct in her observation about this State: “The very name Haryana commemorates the People who gave our Country its dominant culture. Here were sung the first hymns of Aryan fore-fathers. This was the land of the Mahabharta. Beginning with Kurukshetra some of the great battles of our land have been fought in this region. But the people of Haryana have been as much men of peace as warriors. They have proved achievements to their credit as agriculturists and craftsmen.”

The studies contained in this volume are meant to throw some light on different aspects of life of these people whom the Prime Minister has paid a rich tribute. The authors of the studies are well known for their competence to handle the subjects that they have written about; yet in a work of this nature complete cohesiveness and fullness cannot be expected. Such a work can at best provide us with useful glimpses of the whole picture.

Unfortunately, not enough material in black and white is available on the history, culture and politics of Haryana. In such circumstance; it is hoped that the studies presented here in this volume will be found useful for those who want to know something about Haryana, its people and their life—in all its aspects.

Naturally, in the preparation of a work like this, I have incurred more than the usual number of obligations. I have received immense help from various quarters and persons in completing this volume. The authors of the studies have put me under great obligation by sparing their valuable time in doing their studies for this volume. I am most grateful to my friend Dr. K.C. Yadav, M. A., Ph. D., F. R. A. S. (London), for inspiring me to undertake this task and then to complete it. I am greatly obliged to Col. Maha Singh, Development Minister, Haryana for his unstinted encouragement in my academic pursuits. I am also thankful to Shri Hargian Singh Dhayal, Sh. Gaj Raj Singh Rao, Dr. Joginder Singh, M. Sc., Ph. D., Sh. P. S. Rao,
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GLIMPSES OF ANCIENT HARIYANA

Dr. BUDDHA PRAKASH, M.A., Ph.D., D.LITT.

The word Hariyana occurs in the Delhi Museum Inscription dated 1328 A.D. which refers to this region as a very heaven on earth and includes Delhi (Dhillika), founded by the Tomaras, in it.¹ The Palam Baoli Inscription calls this territory Hariyananka and states that it was first ruled by the Tomaras.² It appears that the word hariyana or hariyanaka was of deshi origin and signified a country of greenery and vegetation. Its Sanskrit counterpart is bahudhanyaka, meaning a country yielding bountiful harvests of corn, which occurs in the Mahabharata as well as the legends an ancient coins, especially those of the Yaudheyas. It is also likely that this word is derived from Hari, the name of God Vishnu, for the Yashastilaka-Champu of Somadeva states that the ruling family of this region was known as Harivansha.² But a more probable etymology is Abhirayana = Ahirayana = Hirayana = Hariyana. Since in the post-Mahabharata period the Abhirs, modern Ahirs, became prominent in this region. It came to be known by their name. The hub of this area is the valley of the Sarasvati and Drishadvati, Ghaggar and Chitang. These rivers and their numerous feeders do not follow a normal course, as other streams, but at some places lose themselves in sand and a few miles later reappear and sometimes form ponds and lakes. There is almost an incessant struggle between the dusty winds of the deserts and the vitalising currents of these rivers. Hence, rightly, their streams, ponds and lakes, going under various names, have been deified as veritable divine beings, worthy of worship and pilgrimage, and thousands of people go there for ablutions in the expectation of religious merit and heavenly bliss.

The geopolitical situation of Sarasvati-Drishadvati region is mainly responsible for its sanctimonious conception. It

¹ Epigraphia Indica, Vol. I, pp. 93-95
² Ibid., Vol. V, Appendix, p. 34
²a Yashastilakachampu of Somadeva (ed. Sundar Lal Shastri, Varanasi, 1960) p. 15

तत् मुक्तिनो हृदिविश्वासम् : चण्डेन्द्रस्वर्यं नूपते : नून : मार्क्तिको नाम राजा ।
constitutes the gateway to the citadel of the Gangetic Valley, formed by the Himalayas in the north and the Aravallis in the south, with the great desert of Rajasthan, prolonged seaward by the salty and tidal marsh of the Rann of Cutch, in the west. The land between the north-eastern extremity of the desert and the foot of the Himalayas below Simla provides a passage from the north-west which leads to the entrance of the Gangetic plain at Delhi on the Yamuna. Naturally, therefore, this gateway is the key to the security of the north Indian plain and on its defence has depended the independence of the country from ages immemorial. It is significant that this region is littered with ancient battlefields like Kurukshetra, Taraori, Panipat, Kunjpura and Karnal where the fate of India continued to be decided for centuries without number. That is why it is Karmakshetra and Dhramakshetra, the land adored with libations of blood and the region requiring an immense sacrifice on the part of the people. Every inch of this territory is a holy place and a pilgrimage, where people have been coming from all parts of the country with a religious motive and a burning faith in the sacredness of its soil. This religious sanctity enshrines the military importance of this region, and its spiritual association encases the material advantage that ensues from its proper protection. A region, on the security of which the destiny of millions of men depends, cannot but be the land of highest religious purity and cultural significance.

This land is known by a variety of names like Uttaravedi, Brahmavedi, Kurukshetra, Samantapanchaka, Sarvapanchaka, etc. The last-mentioned name signifies the territory whose perimeter on each of the four sides measured five yojanas. This region abounded in forests and ponds, the retreats of sages and ascetics, and teemed with towns and villages inhabited by industrious and prosperous people. The Puranas and the Epic mention a belt of seven forests in it consisting of Kamyakavana, Aditivana, Vyasavana, Phalakivana, Suryavana, Madhuvana and Sitavana, whose names correspond to the sites of modern Kamoda, Amin, Vyasasthali (Bastali), Pharal, Sajuman, Mohana, and Sivana. Besides these places, Prithuvana stands for the territory of present Pehova and Shalavana is represented by modern Salon.

3. *Yamana Purana*, XXII, 16

भा समन्तादू योजनानि पंच पंच च सर्वतः:
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The sacred ponds of this region are the Prithudaka tank at Pehova, Phalgu tank at Pharal, Parasir tank at Bahloolpur and the Sthanu, Sannihiti and Kurukshetra tanks near Thanesar, besides many other small tanks spread over the whole area and associated with epic events. The four points of pilgrimage of this region are marked by Yaksha shrines: Arantuka in Prithudaka or Pehova, Rantuka or Tarantuka in Thanesar or Taraori, Kapila near Kaithal with his wife Ulukhala at Pundri and Machakruka near Jakhal. The texts mention an inner and on outer circle of pilgrimages which include Pundarika (Pundri), Sarpadevi or Sarpidadhi (Safidon), Kapisthala (Kaithal) Prithudaka (Pehova), Sthanu vata (Thanesar), Phalakivana (Pharal), Vimala (Vimalasara at Saga), Pariplava (Balu), Dakshashrama (Dachor), Shalukina (Salon), Varahatirtha (Baras or Barara), Yuvandhara (Jagadhari), Bhuthalaya (Buria), Ramahrida (Ramra), Lokodhara (Ladwa), Gavambhavana (Gohana), Sangini (Sinkh), Manushatirtha (Manasa), Rudrakota (Radaur), Nagahrida (Nagadu), Panikhata (Panipat ?), Pavanahrida (Upalana), Sapta-Sarasvata (Magna) etc. This outer ring of pilgrimage encompasses an area of forty-eight kroshas or about hundred miles.

Indian traditions regard this region as the matrix of creation and civilization. It is the site of the northern altar where Brahma performed the pristine sacrifice from which the creation arose. It is the region where the Aryas lived from the very dawn of humanity, as the following prayer to Sarasvati, contained in the Rgveda shows:

"Guide us, Sarasvati, to glorious treasure: refuse us not thy milk, nor spurn us from thee.

Gladly accept our friendship and obedience: let us not go from thee to distant countries."

In the Rigvedic period the territory of the Drishadvati, Sarasvati and Apaya, later known as Kurukshetra, on account of the association of the kurus, is associated with the Bharatas, whose kings are said to have kindled the sacred fires there. In the Apri hymns Sarasvati is

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4. *Rgveda*, VI, 61,14

5. *Rgveda*, III, 23
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mentioned with Bharati, the glory of the Bharatas. In the Vajasneyi Samhita the Bharatas appear in place of the Kuru-Panchalas. The Vedic poets wax eloquent over the Bharata kings Divodasa and Sudas. The latter was a mighty conqueror and a paramount ruler, about whom the Rigveda says:

"Come forward, Kushikas, and be attentive; let loose Sudas's horse to win him riches.

"East, west and north, let the king slay his foemen, then at earth's choicest place perform his worship."*

Sudas is said to have defeated a confederacy of the Ajas, Yakshus and Shigrus on the Yamuna and an assemblage of the Yadu-Turavshas, Bhrigus, Druhyus, Pakthas, Bhalausas, Alinas, Shivas, Vishanias, Purus and Anus, led by Simyu, Purodas, Purukutsa, Kavasha etc., on the Ravi, and ranked as the undisputed emperor of the Sapta-sindhu region. But his successors were not equal to the task of maintaining his empire and the Puru king Trasadasyu worsted them and wrested the Sarasvati-Drishadvati region from their kingdom. Eventually the Purus and the Bharatas mixed and merged into one people, but the Kurus and Panchalas exercised relentless pressure on them and the former occupied their territory.*

Though the word Kuru occurs in the Rigveda as component of the names of some persons like Kaurayana and Kurushravana, the Kuru tribe is not expressly mentioned in it. But in the Atharvaveda and the Brahmanas the Kurus figure as a very prominent people, who gave their name to Kurukshetra and made it the home of Vedic culture. According to the Brahmana texts, its speech was best and purest and its mode of sacrifice was ideal and perfect.*

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6. Vajasneyi Samhita, XI, 3, 3
7. Rigveda, III, 53, 11
8. *PAN* प्रेत कुरिकारङ्कित्तकपाणि राज्ये ... गुणत्ता वृत्तासः।
राजा कृष्ण जश्वात, नामशास्त्रमेत्वा विजाने वर श्री पुष्कित्या॥
9. Ibid., VII, 18, 19
11. Panchavimsha Brahmana XXV, 10; Skatapatha Brahmana, IV, 1, 5, 13; Aitareya Brahmana, VII, 30; Juiminiya Brahmana. III, 126.
Glimpses of Ancient Haryana

Pauranika tradition ascribes the virtual reclamation of the Sarasvati-Drisadvati region to the Kurus. The *Vamana Purana* states that king Kuru ploughed the field of Kurukshestra with a ploughshare of gold drawn by the Nandi of Shiva and reclaimed an area of seven kroshas. Side by side, he laid down the code of conduct for its people based on the practice of the eight virtues of truthfulness (*satya*), penance (*tapas*), forgiveness (*kshama*), compassion (*daya*), purity (*shauchya*), charity (*dana*), composure (*yoga*) and continence (*brahma-charya*). Combining manual labour with moral advance, he remarked that by cultivating the land he was developing the eight virtues. His body, hands and head, was the source of material prosperity as well as spiritual uplift. This Kuru king is the symbol of thousands of people who dedicated themselves to the task of raising the economic and cultural standard of their country. Giving it the form of a myth, the *Vamana Purana* says that Vishnu divided the right and left hands of king Kuru into one thousand parts so that the one became the many and his industry became the endeavour of millions. This Kuru code of conduct stressing intense physical exertion and associating it with deep moral fervour and profound spiritual transformation is the corner-stone of Indian culture as adumbrated in the *Bhagavadgītā* and other texts.

The *Mahābhārata* knows Haryana as the land of plentiful grains (*bahudhanyaka*) and immense riches (*bahudhana*). The account of the expedition of Nakula relates that he advanced on Rohtak (*Rohitaka*) full of horses, cattle, wealth and crops and blessed by the god Karttikcyya, the generalissimo of the army of the gods, and had a severe contest with the Mattamayuras. From there he marched to the other end of the region comprising the deserts and reduced the city of Sirsa (*Sairishaka*)¹³. Then he plunged into the Panjab and fought with the Shibis, Trigartas, Ambashthas, Malavas

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¹³. *Mahābhārata* (Cr. ed.) I, 29, 3-5.
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etc. Many features of this account agree with those of Yaudheya coinage. On these coins we find the figure of Kumara Karttikeya, showing that he was the tutelary god of these people. As the peacock is the vehicle of this god, it is prominently depicted on these coins. It may, therefore, be presumed that the Yaudheyas had a special regard for the peacock which seems to underlie the epithet Mattamayura used for the people of Rohtak in the Mahabharata. Besides this, the name Bahudhanyaka, given to this region, also occurs on the Yaudheya coins. Thus it appears that the aforesaid account of Hariyana in the Great Epic refers to the period of the ascendancy of the Yaudheyas.

It has been stated above that on account of its strategic position Hariyana occupied a key position in the political history of India from very early times. The stability of the empires of northern India depended on a firm control over it. In the Maurya period it naturally formed part of the Magadhan empire as the discovery of northern black polished ware at Sugh and the pillars of Ashoka at Topra and Hissar and his stupas at Chaneti and Thanesar indicates. After the break-up of the Maurya empire, the inroads of the foreign peoples, like the Bactrians, Greeks, Parthians, Scythians and Kushananas, spread confusion in North India and threw Hariyana in the melting pot. The inscriptions in Kushana characters on the pillars from Amin lying in the temple of Thakurji on the west bank of Surajkund as well as the coins of that period, found at several places, are instances in point. But soon the Yaudheyas, representing an old Indo-Iranian clan, rose up and repelled the rule of the Kushananas from the region between the Sutlej and the Yamuna. Their coins and seals, found abundantly over this region, reveal that Sunet and Rohtak were their seats of power and they had an oligarchical—cum—republican type of organisation. In weight and fabric Yaudheya coins agree with the Kushana pieces showing that they replaced them after the overthrow of their rule. The worship of the warlike Skanda indicates their martial vigour and bellicose spirit, which stood them in good stead in the struggle with formidable rivals.

In the first half of the fourth century Chandragupta I and Samudragupta reconstituted and consolidated the Magadhan empire and in that process annexed Hariyana also. The Allahabad Pillar Inscription expressly states that the Yaudheyas submitted to Samudragupta and eventually their kingdom formed part of the
Gupta empire. But the folk-culture of Hariyana continued to flourish and exercise a fascination in the fashionable circles of the metropolitan centres. We learn from a contemporary text that the drummers of Rohtak used to attract crowds of hundreds by their folk-music, played in Yaudheya tunes to the accompaniment of lutes, set with sheets of bronze, in the bazaars of distant Ujjain. It is significant that the folk culture of the Yaudheyas not only maintained its identity but also made its mark on the life of the whole country in the Gupta period.

In the sixth century the Gupta empire broke down. About 510 the Hunas, led by Toramana, swooped from the North-West and sacked cities and religious establishments from Sanghol in Ludhiana district to Kaushambi near Allahabad. Obviously they passed through Hariyana leaving some settlements, like Jaula, which bears the name of their ruling clan, called Jau(b)la or Jaula, there. From Kaushambi the Hunas moved towards Eran in Madhya Pradesh, on one hand, and marched on Kashi and Pataliputra, on the other. For well over a couple of decades they were paramount in India. But in the thirties the Vardhanas of Mandasor rose under Yashodharman Vishnudvardhana and ousted the Hunas from the Indian plains, pushing them into north-western retreats. The successor of Yashodharman Vishnudvardhana, named Dravyavardhana, ruled as the paramount sovereign from Ujjain, assuming the title of maharajadhiraja. After a reign of about a quarter of a century his empire crumbled and his feudatories became assertive. The later Gupta ruler Mahasenagupta occupied eastern Malwa and the Kalachuri king Shankaragana pounced upon Ujjain, from where he issued his Abhona plates dated 596-7 A.D. Sometime, towards the later part of that century, the Vardhana house of Thanesar, called Pushpabhuti, also rose in prominence. The first two rulers of this house Naravaridhana and Rajyavaridhana were ordinary feudatories, but the third ruler Adityavardhana enhanced his power by marrying Mahasenagupta, probably the sister of Mahasenagupta of the later Gupta dynasty, who, as said above, conquered eastern Malwa. Adityavardhana’s son Prabhakaravardhana further expanded his realm and followed a bold policy, which made him the paramount ruler of the Panjab and the North-West. Instead

15. Buddha Prakash, Aspects of Indian History and Civilization, pp. 94-95.
of antagonising the Maukharis of Kanauj at the instance of the later Guptas, he made friends with them and married his daughter Rajyasrtri to their prince Grahavarman. The Maukharis also assisted him in his struggle against the Hunas by despatching their powerful elephant corps, which "threw aloft in battle the troops of the Hunas", as the Apsahad inscription of Adityasena states. With their support, Prabhakaravardhana not only vanquished the Hunas but also tightened his grip over the Indus region and asserted his influence over Gandhara and put down the turbulent Gurjaras. Besides this, he inflicted a defeat on the ruler of Lata and dealt a shattering blow to the power of the later Guptas. We may presume that just as the Maukharis helped Prabhakaravardhana in crushing the Hunas, similarly the latter assisted them in liquidating the later Guptas, who were a constant thorn by their side. The fact that Prabhakaravardhana broke off with the later Guptas who were his relatives and with whom his family had old friendship, shows how greatly he prized the alliance and cooperation of the Maukharis of Kanauj who were on the road to imperial greatness in northern India. Yet, after defeating the later Gupta ruler of Malwa, he took his young sons Kumaragupta and Madhavagupta under his patronage and treated them affectionately in his court.

Under the Vardhana rulers Haryana, then called Shrikantha janapada on account of its association with a Naga chief Shrikantha, reached the peak of progress. In the early seventh century the court poet of Harshavardhana, Bana, and the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang, gave adequate details of its people and their pursuits, which enable us to form a clear idea of its economic, social and cultural set-up.

The secret of the prosperity of this region was the fertility of its soil which its people skillfully exploited. In it one could see the

17. Harshacharita of Banabhatta, ed. Jivananda, p. 342
18. Ibid., stāpānabhartrach: mālakavasālārājatapāt:
19. Ibid., p. 412
20. Ibid., p. 319
people working on the ploughs everywhere. The ploughshares clearing the mushroom growth of land lotuses excited the tumult of bees which seemed to be singing the excellence of the soil. Wells and wheels supplied water to the crops and barns were full of high heaps of harvests. Rippling fields of wheat, paddy, mung, masha and sugarcane filled the horizon; orchards and gardens of plantains and pomegranates greeted the eyes; shady fruit-bearing trees lined the highways. The cattle wealth of the country was immense. Herds of cattle, tinkling with bells, tied round their necks, filled the countryside; herdsmen were seen sprawling on the backs of buffaloes and singing in leisurely and jubilant moods; camels were trudging here and there and droves of mares wandered freely like deer; herds of sheep grazed around and cows clashed with arjuna trees to reach the ponds to drink water. Monkeys and parrots and birds and bees had their heyday in groves and gardens.

In that country of gaiety and plenty, the people were good-natured, hospitable and magnanimous, devoted to their duties and shunning confusion of castes or cadres. They adhered to meritorious conduct, abhorred false doctrines and avoided sin and sacrifice. Healthy in body and spirit, they knew no disease, epidemic or premature death and led a life of fruitful activity and high ideals.

The capital of that region was the splendid city of Sthanishvar (Thanesar) about which Bana says:

21. Ibid., p. 257 स्वाभाविकवृक्षलत्त्वो भोजोमूलमानसमणसृयाः: उद्वृत्तिमैदिनीसारामश्रीरिव स्मृतामुलकर्षणः हि: हितोत्तममान्येन:।
22. Ibid., p. 258 उद्वृत्तिमैदिनीसारामश्रीरिव।
23. Ibid., p. 257 स्वाभाविकवृक्षलत्त्वो भोजोमूलमानसमणसृयाः: नि:मित्तमानेः शरवन्सृयाः संक्षेपमान्तः।
24. Ibid., p. 258 उद्वृत्तिमैदिनीसारामश्रीरिव।
25. Ibid., p. 260 स्वाभाविकवृक्षलत्त्वो भोजोमूलमानसमणसृयाः: पदे पदे। p. 261 शाक्तिमानव्रै: निविवेकवृक्षलत्त्वो।
26. Ibid., p. 261 प्रभुकल्याणमानसमणपिनामसृयाः।
27. Ibid., p. 259 उद्वृत्तिमैदिनीसारामश्रीरिव।
28. Ibid., p. 258 स्वाभाविकवृक्षलत्त्वो भोजोमूलमानसमणसृयाः।
29. Ibid., p. 262 स्वाभाविकवृक्षलत्त्वो भोजोमूलमानसमणसृयाः।
30. Ibid., p. 261 शाक्तिमानव्रै: निविवेकवृक्षलत्त्वो।
31. Ibid., p. 260 स्वाभाविकवृक्षलत्त्वो भोजोमूलमानसमणसृयाः।
“Sages entitled it a hermitage, courtiers a lovers’ retreat, actors a concert hall, foes the city of death, seekers of wealth the land of the philosopher’s stone, sons of the sword the soil of heroes, aspirants to knowledge the preceptor’s home, singers the Gandharvas’ city, scientists the great Artificer’s temple, merchants the land of profit, bards the gaming house, good men the gathering of the virtuous, refugees the cage of adamant, libertines the Rogue’s Meet, wayfarers the reward of their good deeds, treasure seekers the mine, quietists the Buddhist monastery, lovers the Apsaras’ city, troubadours the festival congress, Brahmanas the stream of wealth.”

In this city of richness and variety people followed divers vocations with profit and success, as the above description shows. Busy bazaars, well equipped emporia, elegant temples, splendid palaces, artists’ studios, sculptors’ workshops, colleges and schools and religious meets and social get-togethers characterized the composition of this city. People followed the Shaiva cults combined with Vedic sacrifices and tinged with popular fetishes. If in houses and hermitages Brahmanas practised the Vedic rituals, in temples people worshipped Shiva and other gods and in wayward retreats occultists performed their horrid rites.

About the women of this city Bana observes: “Their eyes are a natural wreath, the garland of lotus leaves are a mere burden. The images of their curls in the convex of their cheeks are ear-pendants that give no trouble. Their cheeks alone give a perpetual sunshine. Their voices alone are their sweet lutes. The gleam of

32. Ibid., p. 257 आसंकीर्षेक्षणक्षारसिद्धि:।
33. Ibid., p. 264 त्वा वेतासितुम्बिकामाौितालिता: इस्तवित्व:।
34. Ibid., p. 265 विष्णुमानसुपदाहरुपाप्राप्तिः वन्यर्थारणम्:।
35. Ibid., p. 266 दूषनविहारसहसुपदाहरुपदुपरवालिता: इस्तवित्व:।
36. Ibid., p. 257 पुरानकलामविवासो माससखाव: इस्तवित्व:।
37. Ibid., pp. 268–9 य: शौकशालीवरुणिभिः, भामायनमाक्षाक्षाभिः, संस्मृत:।
    ज्ञातिस्मारभिः, निनिःविद्यभिः, विद्यभिः, विद्यभिः, विद्यभिः, शास्त्रभिः, विद्यभिः, शास्त्रभिः, विद्यभिः, शास्त्रभिः, विद्यभिः, शास्त्रभिः, विद्यभिः, शास्त्रभिः।
their lips is a more brilliant cosmetic. Their arms are the softest of playfully smiting wands."

Like Bana, Yuan Chwang has also given a glowing description of the Sthanavishvara region. He said that it was above 7000 li in circuit and its capital, with the same name, was above 20 li in circuit. The soil was rich and fertile, the crops were abundant and the climate was warm. The rich families vied with each other in extravagance. The people were greatly devoted to magical arts and highly prized outlandish accomplishments: the majority pursued trade and few were given to farming (the pilgrim’s observation and experience were confined to cities only). Rarities from other lands were collected in the country. There were three Buddhist monasteries with above 700 professed Buddhists, all Hinayans. There were also above 100 Dalva (Brahmamical) temples and the non-Buddhists were many numerous. The capital was surrounded for 200 li by a region called Fu-ti (Dharmakshetra) meaning the ‘Place of Religious Merit.’

The death of Harsha in 647—8 A. D. unleashed a storm of fissiparous forces which engulfed the whole of North India. What became of Shrikantha or Haryana is not precisely known but it appears that people from the north, Hunas and Turks, hovered over it in course of their sallies into the Panjab. Hence towards the end of that century we find Yashovarman of Kanauj campaigning in Shrikantha, Marudesha and Kurukshetra in course of his conquests calculated to resuscitate the empire of Kanauj. This king consolidated his hold over the North-West and appointed a special officer, called Udichipati, there to control the Turks, as his title pratita-tikina in the Nalanda Inscription indicates. But Yashovarman’s empire proved

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38. Ibid., p. 270—2


40. Gaudatavo of Vakpatiraja, verses 434.
short-lived, for King Lalitaditya Muktapida of Kashmir, who did not relish his paramountcy over the Panjab, openly broke off with him at the instance of the Turki Shahi princes, that had taken refuge in Kashmir, and marched on Kanauj at the head of a vast army and inflicted a smashing defeat on him. The kingdom of Kanauj from the Yamuna to the Kalika came under the control of the Kashmiri monarch "as if it were the courtyard of his palace." But the end of Lalitaditya quickly followed and his weak successors could not maintain his empire. Hariyana again fell a victim to political anarchy.

In the later part of the eighth century or the beginning of the ninth we find the Pala emperor of Bengal, Dharmapala (c. 770—810), holding a durbar at Kanauj on the occasion of the installation of his nominee Chakrayudha in place of Indrayudha, and inviting, among others, the king of Kuru, to attend it. Whether this meant the assertion of Pala paramountcy over Hariyana or the Kuru country we do not know, but Dharmapala certainly gave it a colouring of his imperial dignity. However, the dream of empire, entertained by the Palas, was soon shattered when the Gurjara-Pratihara king Nagabhatta II. (c. 795—833) advanced on Kanauj, dethroned Chakrayudha, and made it the seat of his empire. Soon afterwards, he defeated Dharmapala and siezed the forts of the kings of Anarta, Malaya, Kirata, Turushka, Matsya etc. Obviously, he occupied Hariyana also, which formed a part of the Gurjara-Pratihara empire till its end. The Pehova inscription, dated 276 Harsha era or 882 A.D., recording an agreement, voluntarily entered into by some horse-dealers, whereby they and their customers undertook to pay certain titles and taxes for the maintenance of temples and sanctuaries, shows that this region was included in the empire of Bhoja of the Gurjara-Pratihara dynasty. Likewise, another inscription from that place, recording the construction of a temple of Vishnu by some members of the Tomara family, descending from Raja Jaula, shows that this reign was under the effective sway of Mahendrapala of that dynasty. During this period the princes of the Tomara family, Purnaraja, Devaraja

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41. Rajatarangini of Kalhana, IV, 145.
42. Bhagalpur Plate of Narayanapala, Indian Antiquary, Vol XV. p. 304
and Gogga they took service under the Pratiharas and initiated a line of powerful feudatories who became independent during the dismemberment of the Pratihara empire. One of the Tomara rulers, Anangapala, founded the city of Delhi and made it the capital of Haryana, a fact which lends colour to the claim of the people of Haryana Pranta that Delhi in fact belongs to them and should be included in their state. The successors of Anangapala, Tejapala, Madanapala, Kritapala, Lakhanapala and Prithvipala, were rulers of note. In the twelfth century the Chahamana ruler Arnoraja (1133—51) defeated the Tomaras by invading Haryana or the Haritanaka country mentioned in his Ajmere Museum Prashasti. However, Bisaladeva Chahamana finally conquered Delhi and Haryana about 1156.44

During the period of Pratihara rule Haryana reached the peak of progress in trade, art and culture. We get a graphic picture of its life in the Yashastilakachampu of Somadeva, written in the tenth century.

Somadeva says that the Yaudheya country, meaning the Haryana region, was like an ornament of the earth and was replete with all requisites of good and happy life45. Its people, having all objects, necessary for the pursuit of religion (dharma), material gain (artha), bodily pleasure (kama) and spiritual liberation (moksha), lived as it were in a heaven.46 Its villages were full of cattle-wealth, cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep, camels, horses.47 Abundance of irrigation works rendered them free from the vagaries of rains (adevamatrika). Their well-watered fields of black soil (krishnabhumayah), settled by subjects of all the eighteen categories, were green with harvests and gardens.48 They yielded such bouncing harvests that the farmers were unable to thresh and stack them properly.49


45. Yashastilakachampu of Somadeva (ed. Sundar Lal Shastri, Varanasi 1960) p. 8. श्रसित ख्वलब भरतविशेष चतुर्वर्गाद्विगीपक्षक्रममुद्धः समलालात्माहिन्दराकड़वर्णशृङ्खुः सुर्लोकनकोनाघामिन्यो गौमयो नम्म श्रम समयो जनश्वः।

46. Ibid., गोमदंकलबन्त्व, महिपीठमाकुला: संगमवी: अविकलपप्रथाना: करमोक्षः: कांजसंसजनितिमिट्टाः।

47. Ibid., p. 9 प्रतिप्रथात्वकृष्णस्य: समाजिताकृष्णस्यः सूक्षमनल: हलसकृष्ण: प्रसन्नित्वान्नमः घेत्रविषिष्ठा।
The bulk of the people consisted of working classes, artisans and peasants (nakshatradviya) who were hospitable and magnanimous (atithiprathmanamanorathah). However, the burden of taxation on them was high which they had to bear without demur (bhartrikara-sambadhasahah). Yet they were devoted to their rulers and were devotees of Karttikeya, the generalissimo of the gods.⁴³ Their villages and settlements were devoid of rocks or stones and cleared of thorns or bushes and were so near to each other as to be within the reach of cocks (kukutasampatayah).⁴⁹ Their ladies, robust and handsome, laden with ornaments and dressed in tight garments, worked in farms and fields and attracted the notice of the travellers.⁵⁰ The peaceful and contented life of the people was proof against social frictions so that the order of castes and callings was quietly maintained and people respected the varnashrama dharma.⁵¹

The metropolis of the region was Rajapura, perhaps, modern Rajpura, near Ambala. Its high mansions defied the mountains of snow. Its temples spoke to the skies and their golden turrets talked to the divine beings.⁵² In them the figures of lions, set with jewels, gave impression of real ones,⁵³ and the paintings on pillars and walls were superb. Big mirrors adorned the walls of these sanctuaries, inlay work executed there presented a multicoloured atmosphere, playing fountains and ponds, full of ducks and swans, added to the romance of their surroundings, and chirping birds, responding to the bells of the flag-standards, filled the air with soft notes. The city was protected by a rampart and a moat cordoned with iron chains.⁵⁴
Its people enjoyed the gay festivals, like Cupid's Carnival, and were exuberant with festivity and rejoicing.

This description gives a picture of the gaiety, affluence and splendour of the people of the Haryana region in the Pratihara period. The remains of the numerous temples and sculptures of that age, specially the Brahma-Sarasvati and the Shiva-Parvati images, reproduced in the plates given here, show Indian art at its best. That Thanesar was a centre of lithic art is manifest from the remark of Bana that sculptors were busy chiselling and carving stones there for building purposes. The aforesaid Pehova inscriptions refer to the construction of the shrine of Vishnu during the reign of Mahendra-pala. Recently some pieces of sculpture belonging to some Vishnu temple have come to light in Pehova, which throw a flood of light on the art and iconography of the Pratihara period. Whether these sculptures belong to the temple, referred to in the said Pehova inscription, cannot be precisely said, but it goes without doubt that they pertain to some prominent Vishnu temple of the Pratihara period raised in that city. Plate I and II reveal a massive disc and mace respectively, which a big figure of Vishnu was shown holding in hands. The size of these objects suggest that the said figure must have been of appreciable dimensions. On both sides of the figure there were panels depicting Shiva-Parvati and Brahma-Sarasvati. Plate I shows Shiva and Parvati reclining on the Nandi. One hand of Shiva touches the left breast of Parvati and the right arm of Parvati rests on the right shoulder of Shiva. The bull, raising his head joyously, looks on. The features of the divine couple are well modelled and chiselled and their expression is marked by a unique composure and serenity. The makara below emits a scroll which consists of attendants in various poses. Plate II shows Brahma and Sarasvati in a similar pose. Brahma has three heads and a protuberant belly and seems to be in vitarka mudra. The central face is bearded. The full beard and moustache give a grandeur to the burly face. The whole composition is characterized by grave profundity and equilibrium. The erotic pose does not lead to a sensual expression. The figure is stamped with deep integration (yoga) coupled to creative dynamism. The row of attendants invests the scene with a cosmic fulness. In both these sculptures the limbs are well shaped, the lineaments clear and the faces mature and expressive. What impresses the onlooker in them is that natural exuberance is synthesized with spiritual expressiveness. Plate III is another figure of Shiva and Parvati found
on the bank of the river Sarsuti three miles from the Kurukshetra railway station. Here the tranquil composure of Plate I is replaced by a trenchant agitation expressed through the curving and upraised neck of the elastic figure of the bull and the wavy bends of the limbs of the god and the goddess as well as the mobile turns of the drapery. However, the faces are wrapt in rapturous concentration. Plate IV is a graceful figure of a contemporary man of culture and taste. His limbs are well shaped and proportioned. He wears a necklace, an ekavali and bracelets and holds a lotus flower in his right hand and bends the left one towards the knee to support the bend of the loin cloth which gently curves along the knees above the pleats of the tight fastenings on the two thighs with the embroidery looking like a linear button-design marking the front. The end of the girdle hangs in a lappet between the thighs. An elaborately embroidered uttariya of creeper design waves across the left arm and touching the shins, is thrown over the right part which is unfortunately broken. The whole pose of the figure is instinct with a dramatic quality and an aesthetic dynamism. Its grace, balance and elegance reveal the finesse, taste and culture of the people of that age. The stone seems to have melted into softness in the hands of the artist and enabled him to mould it into a mellifluous human figure.

The aforesaid specimens of the art of Hariyana show that in the ninth and tenth century it saw the moon tide splendour of art and culture during Pratibara-Tomara rule. The classic traditions of Indian art were cultivated and developed at its principal centres, Pehowa and Thanesar, into a potent medium of aesthetic creativity. Here we are not handicapped by that exuberance, commercialism and imitation that characterize the large-scale manufacture of iconic figures and decorative motifs in later Indian art. Everything is natural, simple, graceful, yet fulsome, vigorous and expressive. This art is an index to the cultural advance of the people of Hariyana in ancient times.

55. I am indebted to my research scholar Shri Kishore Kumar Saksena M.A., Dip. Arch., an enthusiastic and painstaking investigator, for photographing the figures and preparing the plates reproduced here.
HARIYANA—THE CRADLE OF VEDIC CIVILIZATION AND CULTURE

BY

Dr. HARI RAM GUPTA, M.A., PH. D., D. LITT.

Hariyana is bounded on the north by the Shiwalik Hills, and in the east by the river Yamuna. The Aravallis running south of Delhi and through Gurgaon district up to Alwar, and farther on the desert of Bikaner form its south-western boundary. To the west it is bounded half-way by Ghaggar and for the rest by the line drawn across Sirhind in northerly direction to the Shiwalik ranges.

This fact is testified by the Punjab Administration Report, 1892-93, which on page 14 states: “A line drawn through Sirhind from north to south marks the Panjab from India proper. That is why the city of Sirhind is called the head of India (Sar and Hind). To the east of it is the Hindi speaking area and to the west the Punjabi speaking region.”

Hariyana seems to be a corrupted form of the word Aryana, the home of Aryas, like Rajputana, the land of Rajputs, Bhattiana, the abode of Bhattis and Ludhiana, the habitat of Lodis, all these being situated in the same region contiguous to one another. The other three places are called after the people inhabiting them, such as Rajputs, Bhattis and Lodis. It therefore does not appeal to reason that Hariyana should be named after greenery or an individual like Harish Chandra or even after God (Hari) as there are not many temples in this area. Also it could not be known after Ahirs who are mainly confined to a part of Gurgaon district, just a fraction of the vast region covered by it.

EARLY MAN LIVED HER

Heaven and earth seldom combined and God rarely agreed to create a better habitation for man than ancient Hariyana. In the remotest past, its geographical situation was somewhat different. This region and the Punjab were separated from the rest of India by sea. It lay where now exists the deserts of Rajasthan and lower Sind. This sea covered a large part of the Ganga basin and
extended as far as Assam. In the north, the geologists say, the lower ranges of the Himalayas were covered with snow. Due to these two factors, the climate of the region was cold and enjoyable. And this should account for the earliest habitation of man in this region. Dr. Guy E. Pilgrim discovered certain teeth and part of a jaw in the lower Shiwalik hills. After scientific examination of these, he concluded that one and a half crore years ago the early man lived in the Pinjore region round about Chandigarh. This confirms the Indian traditions which regard this region as the matrix of creation and civilization. It is the site of the northern altar where Brahma performed the pristine sacrifice from which the creation arose.

But Haryana not only claims the honour to be the cradle of man, it also served as the cradle of civilization. India saw the dawn of civilization in the regions of Indus valley and that of the Sarasvati. Discovery of pieces of pottery-jars, vessels, dishes, the terracotta noduls, bangles, beads of gold, copper and bronze implements belonging to the Indus valley civilization, in this region bears a testimony to it.

Our recorded history begins with Aryans. Several Indian historians particularly Professor Abinash Chandra Das and Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji are of the view that the original home of the Aryans was the Haryana region. The banks of Sarasvati were their earliest settlement and it was from here that they migrated to different parts of India, Asia and Europe. The following prayer to the Sarasvati, contained in the Rigveda confirms their going to other countries:

Guide us Sarasvati, to glorious treasure,
Refuse us not thy milk, nor spurn us from thee.

1. Abinash Chandra Das, *Rigvedic India*, pp. 5, 6, 150.
3. Dr. S. A.Q. Husaini in *The Economic History of India*, I, p. ix, puts the age of this early man here at three crores of years.
5. It is reported that many remains of the Indus valley civilization are preserved at the Haryana Archaeological Museum at Jhajjar (Rohtak).
Gladly accept our friendship and obedience; let us not go from thee to distant countries.7

The reasons as to why the earliest Aryans inhabited this region are many. The early Aryans needed water, fuel, rice, barley, milk and ghi, grass for their animals, and temperate climate. No better place than this region could be found for all these things. Here water was available in plenty as the land was watered by many rivers and a number of streams. There were dense forests on all sides. Nine vanas (forests) existed along the course of the Sarasvati—Aditvana, Kamayakavana, Madhuvana, Phalkuvana, Prithuvana, Salonvana, Sitavana, Surajvana, and Vyasanava.8 They supplied fire wood in abundance to keep the sacrificial fire burning without any break throughout life. The soft and alluvial soil yielded rich crops. Plentiful pastures existed for the herds. Besides ghi, the Aryans required kusha grass and skins of black antelope for divine service. All those things were found here in abundance.9

The river Sarasvati was the life and soul of the early Aryans. It was a large, magnificent and mighty river. It rose in the Himalayas and flowed into the sea with great velocity. Its waters flooded the country around. Pure drinking water and rich crops were supplied by her to the Aryans. In the ancient literature, it has been called the mother of the Indus, a beautiful and powerful goddess, the giver of riches and food. It was the biggest river not only in Hariyana but in the whole of north-western India. A hymn from the Rigveda speaks of her thus:

This Sarasvati, firm as a city made of iron, flows rapidly with life-giving water.
She sweeps away in her might all other waters, as a charioteer clears the road.
Sarasvati, chief and parent of rivers flows from the mountains to the ocean.
May the auspicious and gracious Sarasvati listen to our praises at this sacrifice.
We approach her in reverence with bended knees.
We present to thee, Sarasvati, these oblations with reverence.

7. Rigveda, VI, 61, 14.
Be gratified by our praise, and may we ever recline upon thee as upon a sheltering tree."  

The Sarasvati is described as "the best of mothers, the best of rivers, and the best of all goddesses". The ancient Aryans clung to her in love and security as a child clings to its mother's breast. They prayed again and again that they should not be obliged to leave her banks. 

All the Vedic sacrifices were performed on her banks. It was here that the Aryans composed hymns and gained spiritual knowledge. She became the home of learning. A mantra in the Rigveda says: "Sarasvati, the inspirer of truthful word, the instructress of the right-minded, has accepted our sacrifice". In another mantra it is stated: "May Sarasvati deserve the praise of the learned hymn-makers; Sarasvati who is the most famous among her seven sisters by her greatness and valiant deeds, who has got the greatest velocity of all rivers, and is adorned with many excellent qualities on account of her superiority." 

In another hymn Sarasvati is raised to the position of the highest god: "May the fortunate Sarasvati be pleased to listen to our hymns at this sacrifice! May the adorable Gods approach her with bent knees, who is rich in everlasting wealth and kind to her friends." 

"O fortunate Sarasvati! Vasishth is opening for thee the door to the hall of sacrifice. Prosper, thou white Goddess."  

THE RIGVEDA 

Ancient Aryans believed in simple living and high thinking and did not set much store by material monuments like the pyramids of Egypt. They built up monuments of thought instead. The best of all their such monuments is the Rigveda. 

The bulk of Rigveda was composed by the Aryans in Haryana. The special place, where "most noble deeds" were materia- 

10. Rigveda, II, 95 (Wilson, IV, p. 190). 
11. Ibid., VI, 61, 14. 
12. Abinash Chandra Das, p. 76. 
13. Ibid., p. 77. 
lized was *Brahmavarta*. It was the land lying between the upper courses of the Drishadvati and the Sarasvati, stretching from the foot of the Shiwalik Hills. It was considered to be the God-created land. Manu says: "This country was created by the *Devatas* and therefore the sages gave it the name of *Brahmavarta*."¹⁶ This region was about 100 kilometres long and from 40 to 70 kilometres wide.¹⁷

**LIFE IN RIGVEDIC TIMES**

Religious Life. The Aryans found that the *rain* could grow the crops or destroy them. The *sun* could ripen the harvest or consume it. The *wind* could blow in their gentle freeze or in a violent hurricane. The *fire* could cook their food or burn it up. Hence they wished to please such beings. They personified them into deities. Indra was the god of rain and thunder. Agni was the goddess of fire and lightning. Vayu was the wind god, and Surya the sun god. They worshipped in all thirty-three gods. They lighted sacrificial fire early in the morning. They offered milk, ghi, choicest food and strong drink to these deities. They sang sweet songs in their praises. After feasting and lauding the gods the worshippers expected favours from them. They prayed for health, prosperity, long life, abundance of sons and cattle, and rich harvests.

The beautiful Usha (dawn) removed darkness and brought light and life to the whole creation. A large number of hymns are addressed to goddess Usha:

"Here comes Usha, like a lovely young maiden who is full of enjoyment."¹⁸

"The whole creation bows to her as the fair damsel brings light. The rich daughter of Heaven draws away the hatred and expels the godless enemies."

"Come here Usha, daughter of Heaven, and shine with delightful brightness, bringing to us plentiful prosperity."¹⁹

Indra, the god of rain and thunder, is worshipped for his goodness and anger. His thunder brings rain and destroys the wicked

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¹⁷. *Ibid*.
and the sinner. A hymn in the Rigveda says: "Indra is our friend
and ally with his powerful mace against our enemies." 20

"O, bestower of all our good, you give rain by piercing the
clouds. You never refused our prayer." 21

"O, Indra! we are well-armed because we are protected by
you. We shall conquer the enemy with your help." 22

Social life. Life led by ancient Aryans was partly pastoral and
partly agricultural. They lived in villages. A village was inhabited
by several families. The head of a family was called Kulapa. Each
family consisted of a number of house-holders or Grahapatis. They
were independent of one another. They held separate houses, fields,
and other property and earned their livelihood by independent
means. Grahapatni was the mistress of the household. The head
of the village was known as Gramani. They worshipped the same
gods, followed similar customs and manners, and led life alike.

Some persons kept their milch cows and buffaloes inside the
compound of their houses. It is clearly stated that when the house-
wife or the grown-up daughter with a bucket in hand advanced to-
wards the cow to milk it, the cow lowered inviting its calf who in re-
sponse lowered also, anxious to be let loose from its tether. The
peculiar gurgling sound of milking produce a music of its own.
Besides, it is mentioned that the children played with the calf in merry-
making. Most of the families preferred to keep their cows in a
common fence in the heart of the village. To this place repaired the
maiden-daughters accompanied by their brothers at milk times. There
the boys and girls went into peals of laughter at a joke or some witty
remarks. Milking was ordinarily attended by the eldest unmarried
daughter. The cows which were out of milk were tied in Gosthas
situated outside the village. A hymn in the Rigveda describes the
disturbed night spent by the owner of cows: "The cows had settled
in their gosta; the beasts of prey had sought their lairs. Extinguished
were the lights of men, when things unseen infected me." 23

The villages were surrounded by grain fields. Rice, barley, beans

20. Ibid., I, 7, 6.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid., I, 8, 3-4.
23. Rigveda, I, 191, 4; Abinash Chandra Das, p. 121,
and sesameum were cultivated. Sheep supplied wool which was spun into yarn and then converted into cloth. Weaving was done by women in their spare time. Carpenters made ploughs, chariots, carts and boats. Smiths made implements of agriculture and weapons of war. Goldsmiths prepared ornaments. Potters manufactured earthen pots on the wheel. Besides there were men of other professions. The caste system did not exist.

The villages lay scattered all over the country, some close by and others at a distance according to the nature of the land. They were connected by cart roads and footpaths. On all sides there were ponds and lakes with full-blown white and pink lotuses floating on their bosom. The Aryans were highly pleased with the land of their birth. A hymn in the Rigveda says: "The Sindhu is rich in horses, rich in chariots, rich in clothes, rich in gold ornaments well-made, rich in food, rich in wool, ever fresh, abounding in silama plants, and the auspicious river (Sarasvati) wears honeygrowing flowers." 24

In Rigveda we find domestic animals like cow, buffalo, goat, sheep, horse, ass, dog, camel and tamed elephant. Cat is not mentioned at all. 25

Metals like silver, gold, copper, iron and bronze were known. 26 Supply of sugar-cane and honey was abundant. There is no mention of salt in the Rigveda in spite of the fact that a Salt Range exists in Western Panjab. Barley and rice are given as main articles of food. The white lotus was the favourite flower which grew in abundance. Lotus stems were used as food. 27 Among birds given in the Rigveda

26. Ibid.
27. Nearly one hundred and fifty years ago the famous English traveller William Moorcroft who passed through this region wrote on 2 March 1820:

"Our next day's march soon took us beyond the cultivated belt that encloses Dera, and passed through much low jangal intersected by water courses, now mostly dry. Several villages occurred on either hand. At one of these, named Laha, we saw the people pulling up the white stalks of the lotus (Nymphaea nhambo), which they use as a vegetable. They are cut in pieces and boiled until tender, when they are taken out and squeezed, and put into boiling butter, with some salt, with which they are eaten. In this neighbourhhood is much landj cultivated for sugar-cane, enclosed by fences of a kind of strong grass, to protect the cane from the deer."
are peacocks of green and white colour, swan (wamsa) and parrots. The famous banyan tree was yet unknow.28

"THE WIFE IS THE HOME"

This expression was used by Rishi Vishvamitra. The Rigveda states that the father gave to his son at the time of his marriage a strong and comfortable house to live in. The sage Bharadvaja prays to Indra for the gift of a sweet home thus: "O Indra! grant a happy home, triple refuge, triply strong". It meant a house consisting of three good rooms and made of strong wood, brick and stone. The houses of the father and sons were situated within the same compound surrounded by a wall. Father, mother, sons and daughters-in-law lived and dined together.

The daughter-in-law, though living in separate quarters, attended to domestic duties. She took care of her little brothers-in-law, sisters-in-law, supervised the work of servants and looked after domestic animals. In particular she paid attention to the needs and comforts of her husband, mother-in-law and father-in-law. In addition to this a happy home must be ringing with the loud laughter, sweet shouts and playful pranks of little children. The gods were requested to bless the family with children and their long and prosperous life. The housewife was always present at the divine worship, and sang hymns in her soft and sweet voice. It was her duty to welcome guests and visitors in the absence of men-folk. There was no purdah system. Women attended public functions bedecked with fine clothes and ornaments, usually a necklace, finger rings and ear rings. They composed hymns and in some cases attained the rank of rishis. The sacred fire was never allowed to go out. Women wore an undergarment tied in a knot below the navel. Over this a petty-coat was put on. The whole body was covered with a shawl as the season was cold throughout the year. They dressed their hair in braids, dangling behind on the back. They wore turbans on their heads. Men used an undergarment round their waist, passing between the legs and tucked up on the back. The whole body was wrapped with a woollen cloth. In mid-winter soft skins of animals were used. Men wore hair long or short. Some shaved their beards, though it was in fashion to keep beards and moustaches29.

29. Rigveda, VII, i, 11, 12; Abinash Chandra Das, p. 215.
SECULARISM WAS THE RULE

Our government at the present day is based upon the principle of secularism. Secularism means paying equal attention to the affairs of all the people without any consideration of religious faiths. The ancient Aryans did not use the word Hinduism for religion as applied by Christians for Christianity and by Muslims for Islam. They used the word Dharma. It did not mean theology or religious faith or religious institutions. It stood for a path of life. In the Rigveda Dharma means laws, regulating the course of life. The Dharma is truth. If a man speaks the truth, he follows the Dahrma. By adopting the path of Dharma even a weak man can rule a stronger person.

In the Vedic period the king or state was not under the control of Brahmans. The priest was treated with respect. The spiritual help offered by his rituals and sacrifices to please gods was welcomed. But the king of the state was not in the hands of the priest. Many kings opposed the views of the priest in state affairs. In cases of disobedience the property of the priest was confiscated. We come across bitter curses pronounced by Brahmans against the Kshatriya rulers for confiscating their cows and wealth. The other sacred literature, Brahmans and Upanishads clearly state that the Kshatriya king enjoys the highest status in society, and that he had the right to expel the Brahman priest, who sat lower but next to him.

DEMOCRACY ORIGINATED AND FLOURISHED HERE

India was the first country in the world to conceive the idea of democracy and Hariyana provided her with this honourable position. Ancient Indians, genius for political organization expressed itself in the self-governing village. The village as a unit has a reference even in the earliest Rigvedic period. The Gramani or the village headman is mentioned in a hymn of the Rigveda. He voted in the election of a king. He presided over the village assembly constituted by the villagers themselves, to solve various village problems in the interest of the whole village.

At the state level, the king, a representative of all the people, was not like a king of the medieval days. He was under the control of

30. Rigveda, X, 62, 11; 107, 5.
31. R. C. Ajumdar, Corporate Life in Ancient India, p. 133.
the Vidatha or folk-moot. From Vidatha originated three institutions. Samiti was the modern Lok Sabha, Sabha was the Rajya Sabha. Sena was a nation in arms.

The Samiti was an important institution. Immediately before the Samiti's session began the priest held the sacrificial prayer saying:

"Assemble, speak together: Let your minds be all of one accord, as ancient gods unanimous sit down to their appointed share.

The place is common, common the assembly, common the mind, so be their thought united.

A common purpose do I lay before you and worship with your general oblation.

One and the same be your resolve and be your minds of one accord.

United be the thoughts of all that may happily agree."

The Sabha and the Sena worked like the Samiti in accordance with the democratic principle.

This in brief is the bird's-eye-view of the religious, social, economic, and cultural conditions of Haryana in the earliest days. Some of these traditions still prevail as they existed in the hoary past. Democracy and secularism are still the leading features of the life of the common people in this region. One great proof of the strong secular spirit of the people of this area is their tenacity, grit, and perseverance in sticking to their old Dharma and religion. Delhi, the great capital of the Muslim rulers who dominated this area for about 700 years is situated in this region. While most of the distant provinces of the Muslim empire, such as Panjab, Kashmir, Sind, and East Bengal became predominantly Muslim, the people of Haryana sustained through the greatest upheavals of the time their vedic traditions.

32. Rigveda, X, 191, Griffith's translation; R. C. Majumdar, p. 124.
THE BHADANAKAS OF HARYANA

Dr. BUDDHA PRAKASH, M. A., Ph. D., D. Litt.

The Bhadanakas are mentioned in the Kavyamimansa of Raja-
shethra, together with the Takas and the inhabitants of Marudesa,
as the speakers of Ayabhramsha.¹ The Skandapurana refers to them
distinctly from the Tomaras and states that their Kingdom com-
prised 100,000 villages.² The sakalatirthastora of Siddhasenasuri puts
them between Kanauj and Harshapura and mentions Siroha and
Kammaga as the chief Jaina pilgrimages in their country.³ According
to the Vividhatirthakalpa of Jinaprabhasuri. Siroha was a big
town on the route from Daulatabad to Delhi.⁴ On the basis of these
references Professor Dasharatha Sharma writes that 'the Bhadanaka
territory should have comprised the tract including the present
district of Gurgaon, a part of the Alwar State and the Bhiwani
Tehsil of the Hissar district.'⁵ It is also likely that the Bhadankas
had their seat of power at what is known after their name as
Bhadavasa or Bhadavasa five miles to the south of Rewari. That
the Bhadanakas were an important power in Haryana is manifest
from many references to them in the records of the Chauhans. In
the Bijolia Inscription of the Chauhan king Vigrahamaja IV alias
Bisaladeva, there is a reference to his clash with the Bhadanakas
and conquists their kingdom, as Professor Sharma has very aptly
shown.⁶ Again, the Chauhan monarch Prithviraja III is said to have
measured swords with these people and inflicted a crushing defeat
on them, a poetic account of which is given by Jinapatisuri.⁷

¹ Kavyamimansa G.O.S.) p. 51.
³ Catalogue of Ms. at Patna (G. O. S.), I. P. 156, verses 22-27.
⁴ Vividhatirthakalpa (S. J. G.), p. 95.
⁵ Sharma, Dasharatha Early Chauhan Dynasties, p. 92.
⁶ Epigraphia, India vol. XXVI, p. 105 verse 19.
⁷ Sharma, op. cit. p. 74.
HARIYANA: STUDIES IN HISTORY AND POLITICS

The question arises as to who these Bhadanakas were. Professor Sharma suggests that they were probably "the Ahirs, who are known to have been intimately connected with Apabhramsha and even now preserve the tradition of having fought against the Chauhan rulers Bisaladeva and Prithviraja III." But apart from the fact that their territory included Ahiravati which derives its name from the Ahirs, we have no evidence to connect the Bhadanakas with these people. The fact that the whole of Haryana is named after the Ahirs, but has a population consisting of many castes and tribes, shows that it is not necessary that a region or locality, called after the name of the Ahirs must be inhabited only by these people. Thus the residence of the Bhadanakas in and near Ahiravati cannot be the conclusive proof of their being Ahirs.

The Bhadanakas are obviously connected with the ancient Bhadras who were an important people of Haryana. In the Mahabharata these Bhadras are bracketed with the Rohitakas and Agreyas, the people of Rohtak-Agroha, as well as the Malavas, the modern Malvis of Malwa, lying between the Ghaggar and the Sutlej in East Panjab. They are said to have constituted republics or oligarchies which Karna conquered in course of his expeditions recorded in the vanparva of the Mahabharata. We may locate these Bhadras in the Rewari-Bhiwani region where the village of Bhadvasa seems to attest their existence.

The Bhadras have an unmistakable relation with the Madras. At some place in the Mahabharata, bhadra and madra are interchangeably used as variants. For instance, the Adyar Library Manuscript, no XXXVB, 131, and the Bombay Government collection Manuscripts no 235 and 469 of the Mahabharata read bhadra in place of madra in the line shhitrigartayaudhey rajany madrakekayah. Likewise in the Ashtadhyayi of Panini (II, 3, 73; v, 4, 67) bhadra and madra are synonymous. Professor

8. Ibid. p. 59.
11. Ibid., II, 48, 13.
Przybyszewski suggests that *bhadra* is merely a variant of *madra*. To quote him, "it is tempting to consider the variation *bh/m* as a simple graphic confusion." This confusion may be due to the fact that the capital of the Madras, Shakala, was also known as Bhadrakara or Bhadrapura. In the itinerary of the famous physician Jivaka Kaumarabhritya, given in the Vinaya of the Mulasarvastivadins, we read that he travelled from Takshashila to Bhadrakara, where he passed the summer, and thence repaired to Udumbara, where he cured a sick-man; from there he reached Rohitaka (Rohtak) and then went to Mathura. In the *Mahamaya* the Yaksha shaila is said to have been worshipped at Bhadrapura which evidently represents Bhadrakara and which Fleet plausibly identifies with Shakala, the capital of the Madras. Besides this, the ancestor of the Madras, Vyushitashwa, is said to have been married to Bhadra Kakshivati. According to tradition, Vyushitashwa suffered from physis and died as a result of cohabitation with his wife. But, in consequence of a divine favour, she bore by his corpse seven sons, three of whom were Salvas and four Madras. A parallelism has been traced between the legend of Bhadra, the mother of the Madras, and that of the princes Media, the mother of the Medes. Thus it is likely that the name Bhadra, borne by the eponymous mother of the Madras, may also be responsible for their being called Bhadras.

It follows from the above discussion that Bhadras and Madras originally represented one and the same people. These people were most probably a branch of the Indo-Iranian tribe called Mada and Mede—the names, *madra, madda, mada, mede, Mattenoi* being variants of the same name. Sometimes *Madia* appears in the form of *madrakara* in which the suffix *kara*, Pushto *kor*, is also an Iranian word meaning an army or a people. The name of the presiding deity of the Madra capital Shakala or Bhadrnakara, Kharaposta, is also an Iranian word. Thus H. K. Deb is right in holding that the Madras/ Bhadras were an Indo-Iranian people.

The name of the Madras/Bhadras is not found in the Rigveda. But it becomes prominent in the Brahmanas and Upanishads. Panini (VII, 3, 13; IV, 2, 108) mentions two divisions of the Madras, Aparamadra, inhabiting the Gujrat region between the Jhelum and the Chenab, and Purvamadra, settled in the Gujranwala and Sialkot districts between the Chenab and the Ravi. Their capital Shakala, situated on the bank of the Apaga, is the same as modern Sialkot, lying along the Ayek. Their realm was known as the home of beautiful women. They had the custom of selling their women and marrying them in consideration of the bride’s price. Their social organisation was marked by the mobility of social classes. Among them a barber could become a Brahmana and a Shudra could become a Kashatriya and vice-versa. There was also no cut and dry distinction between the freemen and the slaves.

In Prakrit dr becomes ultiply with the result that Madra becomes Malla and Bhadra becomes Bhalla. Vamana says that the Prakrit forms Malla and Bhalla were used for villagers. Thus it appears that whereas the aristocratic classes called themselves Madra and Bhadra, the rustic folk were known as Malla and Bhalla. In course of time these names were used for different peoples or different sections of the same people.

The Mallas became the Malavas. The Mahabharata records a tradition that the hundred sons of the Madra King Ashvapati, born of the queen Malavi, came to be known as the Malavas. They, and their associates, the Kashudrakas, are placed in East Panjab, in the Mahabharata. Their modern descendants are the Malav Sikhs of Ferozepur, Ludhiana, Patiala, Jind and Malerkotla.

20. Mahabharata, I, 1229.
21. Ibid., VIII, 45-61.
22. Pischel, Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen s. 294.
23. Mahabharata, II, 297, 60.
24. Ibid., VII, 19, 16; VIII, 7, 15.
As a result of the rise of Poros and the invasion of Alexander in the fourth century B.C., their brethren beyond the Ravi were pushed southwards in the Chenab—Ravi Doab. In the second century B.C., the Indo-Greeks pushed them down from there into central and eastern Rajasthan, where they settled in the Jaipur—Tonk region. From there they moved into the Mahi Valley in Gujarat and the Betwa and Shipra valleys called East and West Malwa, after their name.25

Like the Malava branch of the Madras, that branch of them, which was known as Bhadra/Bhadana/Bbadanaka, settled in Haryana in the region of Rewari, Bhiwani, Gurgaon and a part of the Alwar state. They were an important power as is clear from the references of the Mahararata cited above. In the post-Harsha period they assumed particular prominence and were mentioned along with the Tomaras and other powers. In the period of Chauhan expansion they were a dominant people of this region and, as such, had to face several encounters with them. Lastly, they were engulfed in the Chauhan empire of Prithviraja III. What became of them after the defeat of Prithviraja by Shahabuddin Ghuri should be the subject of further research.

REPERCUSSIONS OF SURAJMAL’S DEATH ON HARIYANA [1763-68]

BY

DR. H. R. GUPTA, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT

Suraj Mal, the most famous and greatest of the Jat Rajas of Bharatpur was accidentally killed on the 25th December, 1763 in a battle with Najib-ud-daulah. His youthful son Jawahir Singh and the entire Jat nation determined to avenge themselves upon the slayer of their chief. Jawahir Singh made preparations on a large scale in the course of the following year. He also hired the services of the Marathas and the Sikhs.

These activities of the young Jat Raja gave Najib a fright. Anticipating that the storm must burst upon him, Najib sent his envoy Meghraj to Ahmad Shah Abdali in Kandahar appealing for help and protection. Meghraj passed through the Panjab in September-October along the foot of the northern hills via Jammu, as the direct road through Lahore had been closed by the Sikhs. Najib then tried to pacify Jawahir Singh, but with him it was a question of honour and prestige, and so he stuck to his resolution. He marched upon Delhi early in November and besieged Najib-ud-daulah in the city. This offered a chance to the Sikhs as Najib’s estates in Saharanpur, Meerut, Bijnor, etc., lay unprotected. The Budha Dal under Jassa Singh Ahluwallia crossed the Jumna at Buriya Ghat and entered the Gangetic Doab.

They swept over the major portion of this rich territory and displayed a great alacrity in searching for loot, even piercing to the remotest villages situated at the foot of the hills. Najib was besieged in Delhi. But Hafiz Rahmat Khan at the head of a detachment of 6,000 offered the intruders only nominal resistance and then quietly retired. This visitation of the Sikhs is numbered among the most terrible ones which ever befell this unfortunate country.  

SIKH-JAT ALLIANCE AGAINST NAJIB-UD-DAULAH

Jawahir Singh had besieged Najib-ud-daulah in Delhi early in November, 1764; but the siege was prolonged on account of the

1. Selections from the Peshawa’s Daftar (hereafter abbreviated as S.P.D.), vol. XXIX, 73.
lukewarmness of Jawahir’s ally Malhar Rao. This made Jawahir-
Singh seek assistance in another quarter. He invited the Sikhs, who
were plundering the Gangetic Doab, to Delhi and concluded his
negotiations with them, promising to give a large sum of money and
taking 12-15,000 of them in his pay. "The Sikhs arrived (early in
January, 1765) at Barari Ghat, 7 kos from the city. The river on
that side was fordable. Jawahir Singh crossed it, and went to
interview the Sikhs. But here his relations with them did not
become friendly. They hindered the driver of the elephant ridden
by Jawahir from coming to the assembly of interview. More than
a hundred Sardars, as arranged, came and interviewed (him). The
sitting of the conference commenced with a prayer, which in their
terminology is called Ardas. In it they said, “Jawahir Singh, the
son of Surajmal, has come within the shelter of the Khalsa Jee and
becomes a Sikh of Nanak. He is demanding redress for his father’s
blood.” This behaviour was disliked by Jawahir Singh. They also
drove out the huqqa-bearer of Jawahir Singh with insult and abuse.
“But he was in the utmost need (of Sikh assistance) and bore all this.
It was settled (that) the Sikhs would prepare for fight and form
trenches in the direction from which they had come, namely the
north of the city; the Subahdar (Malhar and Jawahir Singh would
fight as before from the eastern side; while the Sikh horse-men would
scour the country on the west so as to cut off (provisions from the
city totally. The fighting went on in this way for twenty days.”

THE SIKH-ROHILLA CONTEST OUTSIDE DELHI

The method of fighting between the Sikhs and Najib-ud-daullah
is described in a picturesque way by the eyewitness Nur-ud-din,
which we reproduce below:—

“Everyday the Sikh troopers used to ride out and enter the
old houses which lay desolate near the garden of Yaqub Ali Khan
on the river bank — such as the mansions of Namkin and Hafiz-ud-

3. Father Wendel, History of the Jats, 97; but 20,000 according to Miskin,
Tazkira-i-Tahmas Miskin, 264.

4. It will be interesting to note that Alha Singh’s soldiers numbering
1,000, under Bhola Singh fought on the side of Najib-ud-daullah on this occa-
sion. Karam Singh, Maharaja Alha Singh, 232; Nur-ud-din, Tarikh-I-Najib-
ud-daulah, 82b-83a.
din Khan and the Badalpura and other mohallas, and wished to come towards the city walls. Najib, leaving men at different places in the trenches near the river, himself with a force of horse and foot and his kettle-drums mounted on elephants, etc., came out by the Lahore Gate, posted his men each under the cover of some ruined house or lane, while he himself sat down on a stone. The Rohilas engaged the Sikhs with their matchlocks. The musketry fight continued briskly till two ghars after nightfall. Mian Niaz Gul, a risalidar of Najib, was wounded with a bullet. The Rohila infantry pried their muskets well. Najib told his men to fire their rockets wherever the Sikh horsemen were standing crowded in a knot, so that they were scattered by the rockets. At some places fighting took place and many Sikhs were wounded. About the time of sunset, a Sikh who wore silver armour, fell down from his horse and the Sikhs wished to carry his corpse off, while the Rohilas, desiring the seize of his property, attempted to detain the body. Here the battle raged furiously; three Rohilas were slain and seven wounded, while many of the Sikhs also were wounded. At last the Rohilas with drawn swords dragged the corpse away. A purse was found in his belt, containing gold coins, valued at Rs. 1,000. In this manner fighting with the Sikhs went on for nearly one month. At three pahars of the day Najib-ud-daulah used to come out of the city, and the Sikhs also and some of Jawahir’s troops sent for aiding them used to arrive on the scene, and they used to fight till sunset. After sunset each party went back to its camp."

SIKHS’ SUDDEN RETIREMENT FROM DELHI

The fighting was going on in Delhi in this way when the news reached the Sikhs that the Abdali had crossed the Indus and was approaching towards Lahore by forced marches. Thus Sikhs as a consequence suddenly retired to the Panjab even without asking leave of Jawahir Singh. They remained busy fighting in Panjab till the retreat of Ahmed Shah in March, 1765. Ahmed Shah left Najib ud-daulah as his plenipotentiary and dictator at Delhi.


(January 9, 1795, News from Delhi. Najib-ud-daulah has been defeated by Jawahir Singh, and has retired into the fort. The city has fallen into the hands of Jawahir Singh. Nijib-ud-daulah is desirous of going to his own country through the assistance of Marathas.)
SIKHS RE-ENTER HARIYANA

In September 1765, the Sikhs assembled at Amritsar and decided to plunder Hariyana. In consequence they marched thither and after passing Sirhind divided themselves into two bodies. The Taruna Dal crossed the Jumna at Buriya Ghat and entered Saharanpur district, while the Budha Dal consisting of 25,000 horse under the leadership of Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and Tara Singh, Sham Singh and other sardars attacked Najib’s jagirs in the country north of Delhi.6

Najib with 10,000 soldiers was busy in reducing rebellious villages in the Bhiwani and Rohtak parganas and had succeeded in impressing his power on the Narnol side. On hearing that the Sikhs were levying blackmail on his country, he advanced towards them and met the situation with such skill and persistence as was to be expected from the leading Muslim general of the time after Ahmad Shah Durrani. The Rajah of Bhatner and Amar Singh, grandson and successor of Alha Singh, also marched from their places to join Najib-ud-daulah against the Sikhs.7

Najib-ud-daulah himself wrote a letter to the Emperor Shah Alam II then residing at Allahabad, on the 3rd November, 1765 and described the Sikh depredation and his own measures for defence thus:—“The infidels (Sikhs) having with all malevolence advanced as far as Panipat and Sataalaj, proposed proceeding directly to Shahjahanabad. But upon his sending forward his tent to Mahaldar—Khan’s garden and collecting a number of new and old troops, they perceived that they had not then an opportunity of putting their designs into execution. And so after ravaging and plundering the circumjacent villages, they retreated. Their retreat was also due to the fact that the time for the celebration of the Chak8 was near at hand. As they are under no apprehension of troubles from any quarter they are determined to come this way after that festival. To the writer it appears to be a very difficult matter to punish them. It can be

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6. S.P.D. XXIX, 99 & 102; Calendar of Persian Correspondence (hereafter abbreviated as C.P.C.), I, 2533 A.
7. S. P. D., XXIX, 99 and 102; Nur-ud-din, 100a; Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire ii, 396.
8. To celebrate at Amritsar the Diwali festival which fell on the 14th October.
effected only by the blessing of God and His Majesty's auspices. As far as it lies in his power, he will not be negligent in giving proofs of his fidelity and attachment. With this view he has assembled all his forces from the different districts, and having left the city, has encamped on the frontiers in order that the enemy may be struck with terror and also that his troops may all be together.”

THE BATTLE OF SHAMLI

The Sikhs on the west side of the Jumna after ravaging a part of Najib's territory and the imperial dominion returned to Amritsar, Soon after the Diwali celebration they made for Delhi and commenced plundering Najib's villages. Najib-ud-daulah who had anticipated this irruption and had been making preparations, since their last departure from his country, marched to oppose their advance, and met them near Shamli, 12 miles east of Karnal.

Nur-ud-din, the biographer of Najib-ud-daulah, gives a vivid and graphic pen-picture of this battle which we reproduce here in a summary way. Everyday there were many skirmishes between the two sides. One day four gharis after nightfall, The Sikhs took shelter in the neighbouring sugarcane plantations and plied their matchlocks from there. From time to time they came out, and band after band emptied their matchlocks and went off. This kind of warfare continued till one pahar of the night, when the Sikhs retired to their place of rest.

The next morning Najib got up early and marched towards the Sikhs in an organized form. His right wing was under Sultan Khan, his full brother; left wing under Zabita Khan, his son; vanguard under Karm Khan Bazzar; rearguard in charge of Afzal Khan, his brother, while Zain Khan, the chief of his artillery, accompanied him with small guns. Najib had not gone far when the Sikhs surrounded them on all four sides and the fight began two ghatis after dawn. The fire of battle raged till noon, when a dry nala intervened in their path and certain loaded carts of Najib found it difficult to get over it. The Sikhs just at this moment came up running, and clashing with the division of Zabita Khan in a mango garden, performed excellent barqandazi. Many men were wounded on the two sides and the Sikhs wished to contrive things in such a way that

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by keeping the Rohilas engaged in fighting they would detain them from advancing for some time and utilise this delay in setting their own camp on the march and carry it towards the river. But Najib did not at all stop his advance, and, therefore, in the division of Zabita Khan many men were slain.

The battle raged furiously till one pahar of the day still remained. The bank of the Jumna, where the Sikhs had placed their baggage train came near. The Sikhs formed the plan of gaining a little respite by any means so that their camp might cross the river with ease, and in that event their entire property and baggage would escape plunder. They fell upon the rear. Najib's soldiers being hard-pressed asked him to permit them only once to attack the Sikhs at full gallop and repel them, otherwise the Rohilas would die silently under blows. Najib replied, "The halting place of the Sikhs is now very close. Have patience for a little while and we shall reach their camp, then much booty will fall into our hands. When their camp is once beaten up, they will not again spread through the country, and the plunderers who have joined them will be put to distress and return to their homes."

A severe scuffle ensued between the Sikhs and Najib's rear, in which the former gave a very hard time to the latter. Every time the Sikhs fell on the Rohilas with shouting, "Wah Wah Guru!" Najib then himself came to the rescue of the rearguard with the zamburaks and his household squadron. The Sikhs, on seeing Najib's flag went to a greater distance and stood on a mound emptying their matchlocks. Najib-ud-daulah attacked them there and drove them away from the hillock. By this time night had approached, Najib stayed where he was standing while the Sikhs crossed the Jumna with all their baggage and camp in the darkness. In the morning not one horseman of them was left.

**THE PLUNDER OF REWARI**

After the battle of Shamli the Taruna Dal advanced towards Delhi, and joined the Budha Dal in the neighbourhood of Kharkhoda, 20 miles east of Rohtak and one day's march from Delhi.  

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10. Nur-ud-din, 100b-105a; Cf. S.P.D., XXIX, 102, dated 19th December, 1765.
Jawahir Singh, the Jat Rajah of Bharatpur, was already hard-pressed by the Marathas. He, therefore, could not bear the onslaught of the Sikhs. Consequently he sought for peace and opened negotiations with them through his vakil Ram Kishore Ahir. He paid them a subsidy of 7 lakhs of Rupees in order to bring their marauding activities to an end, and hired a body of 25,000 of their horse to fight the Marathas on his side. Jassa Singh, Tara Singh, Sham Singh and two other sardars remained here, while the others spread over the country of Najib-ud-daulah and again began to desolate villages in the main Doab. Najib pursued them as far as the Sonepat district and then they retired towards their homes.12.

Jawahir Singh and the Sikhs concerted a plan of action and it seems to have been decided to divert the concentration of the Maratha-forces from the Jat kingdom’s frontiers by attacking their ally Raja Madho Singh of Jaipur. The Sikhs consequently marched thither and decided to plunder the rich town of Rewari on their way. Below we give the interesting account of the plunder of Rewari in the words of Nur-ud-din :—“The Sikhs, by forced marches at night, made a raid 48 kos from Delhi, and close to Mewat. They plundered and burnt it and took prisoners (for ransom). This town had been flourishing for a long time past and was included in the jagir of Rajah Nagar Mal Khatri, a high civil officer of the Emperor. The Amil of the place on behalf of Rajah Nagar Mal was totally off his guard. He now shut himself up in a mansion, and with a few hundred foot-soldiers that he had, fought all the day; and at night, by reason of his knowledge of the country, effected his escape from it (though) in utter ruin, and went to the territory of the Jat Rajah where Nagar Mal himself was. The ryots of Rewari were plundered to the extreme; only the people who reached

12. S.P.D., XXIX, 121, 177 and 197. Wendel, a contemporary historian, writes :—“His own country is the prey of the enemy (Marathas) who followed him close and he must either make an inglorious peace or risk all his fortune in a new war. Obstinately he has chosen the latter course, taken at a vast expense a corps of 20-25,000 Sikhs who had at that time come to his own country to ravage it; —blind obstinacy of the Rajah; he has been previously obliged to pay an advance of seven lakh rupees to these barbarous allies for desolating two of his entire provinces. The expedition will end in his openly falling out with them; and he will at last have the Sikhs as well as the Rajputs on his hands. Thus his father’s treasures are taking wing.” History of the Jats, 108b (French Ms.)
Gokulgarh (a fortlet) constructed by the zamindar of that place, and standing half a kos from Rewari, remained safe.\textsuperscript{13}

The Sikhs then entered the territory of Raja Madho Singh of Jaipur, and joined by Jawahir Singh's forces began to loot the villages and towns unopposed, and sacked Kot-Putli. Duleraí (the Bakhshi) and Jai Chand (the Khan-i-jaman) were away from Jaipur to lay siege to the fort of Kanaud held by Ratan Singh Khangarot, a rebel chief against Jaipur. The Sikhs encamped seven or eight kos distant. The Sikh forces were overwhelming and Madho Singh in helplessness appealed for Maratha help on promising a daily allowance of Rs. 5,000 by way of expenses. Sindhia's contingent was at once bought off by the Jaipur Rajah. Jawahir Singh patched up a truce with Madho Singh and returned to his country taking the Sikhs with him.\textsuperscript{14}

In December, 1767 the Sikhs again turned their attention towards the country of Najab ud-daulah across the Jamuna. After much fight and plundering they returned in March 1768. On the retirement of the Sikhs from the Doab to their own territories, Najib went to Aonla where he celebrated the marriage of his son Kalu Khan. The Sikhs finding him absorbed in these nuptial festivities, again spread in the parganahs of Karnal and Panipat and ravaged the imperial domains. Thereupon Najib moved from Aonla by forced marches, arrived at Delhi and then marched towards the the Sikhs to exert himself to expel them as usual. He fought many battles with them but was defeated. The Sikh leader Jai Singh (Jassa Singh) wrote a letter recalling all the Sikh bands then in Bharatpur with Jawahir Singh.\textsuperscript{15}

Having defeated Najib the Sikhs marched towards Delhi and menaced the imperial city, "committing hostilities and depredations in those very quarters." Musavi Khan, the King's agent, had scanty forces with him and possessed no sources to draw succour from, and

\textsuperscript{13} Nur-ud-din, 106b-107a and S.P.D., XXIX, 121.

\textsuperscript{14} Khuswagt Rai, Kitab-I-Tarikh-I-Panjab, 104 ; S.P.D., XXIX, 99, 102, 121, 127, 197.

\textsuperscript{15} He wrote : "What are you doing there? I have repeatedly written to you to chastise Najib, but you have not done it. So I have now come here, You join me from his kingdom." S. P. D., XXIX, 143.
was therefore not sufficient strong either to defend the fort of Delhi or to undertake an expedition.\textsuperscript{16}

Najib-ul-daulah was so much shaken in his determination and his utter weakness against the Sikhs unfolded itself in so glaring a manner before him, that he thought of seeking his political salvation by making a pilgrimage of Mecca or by retiring into some obscure retreat\textsuperscript{17}. He openly confessed himself beaten in a letter addressed to the Queen-mother of Shah Alam II, and recalled his agent Sultan Khan, troops and goods from Delhi, leaving the royal family and the city to their fate\textsuperscript{18}

The sudden desertion of the capital by Najib deeply disturbed the mind of the Emperor. Moreover, it elevated the spirits of the Sikhs so highly that they now wanted to play the role of king-makers by offering to escort Shah Alam to the imperial capital. There was, however, no unity among the Sikh chiefs, and every one of them wished to be the king-maker and hence the Emperor declined to give himself up to them.

\textsuperscript{16} C. P. C., ii, 835; Nur-ud-din, 113.
\textsuperscript{17} C. P. C., ii, 847.
\textsuperscript{18} Najib wrote to the Dowager Queen, "To this hour her servant has manifested unshaken loyalty to the House of Timur. And his services, however, poor or inconsiderable, have yet been zealous and sincere. Hitherto he has preserved the Royal domains, and what he has been able to give he has given. But now Her Majesty must forgive her servant and not expect what he has no ability to perform. The Sikhs have prevailed and they have written to all the tribes in general to join them, pointing to his weakness and encouraging them to cast him out. Her Majesty will consider him now as one unable to provide for his own security here. If, therefore, it meets with her august approbation and the proposal is thought practicable, her servant is ready to escort the whole Royal family to the Presence. There is still time enough left for the execution of this purpose. Moreover, on account of the engagements which subsist between Her Majesty and her servant, he will continue firm to her side while he has the power to do so; and when he has no power left, he will escort Her Majesty to the presence of her son. He is ready to perform these conditions and would on no account have it said that he failed them and turned his back on the day of trial." C. P. C., II, 847.

In another letter written nearly six months later, Najib-ul-daulah again admitted his inability to cope with the situation, while writing to the Emperor:— "Until this hour I have manifested the firmest attachment and fidelity towards the young princes and Her Majesty the Begum. But now I am no longer able to continue that support to them which is necessary for their preservation. Let your Majesty in your own Royal person advance to your capital and yourself defend your own honour. Your vassal ingenuously represents that he is not equal to the charge in his present situation." C. P. C., II, 1101; S. P. D. XXIX, 143.
A Marathi despatch dated the 30th December, 1763, written by Sadashiv Ballal to Vishvasrao Lakshman, says that Najib again fought with the Sikhs but was defeated\textsuperscript{19}. This is the last battle of this period fought between the Sikhs and Najib-ud-daulah which we have come across in the contemporary records.

Having overpowered all their enemies, the Sikhs obtained possession of the major portion of the Panjab extending in the east from the bank of the Jumna, running from Buriva to Karnal, in the west as far as the Indus from Attock to the vicinity of Bhakkar, and in the south from the neighbourhood of Multan and Sind, to the foot of the Siwalik hills in the north up to the boundaries of Bhimbar, Jammu and Kangra, interspersed here and there with some petty independent chiefships. Some learned person, out of hatred for the sovereignty of the Sikhs, commemorated the date of this event by the following chronogram which gives the year 1768 A. D. "Jahane Kharab Shudah\textsuperscript{20}.

\textsuperscript{19} S. P. D. XXIX, 223.
\textsuperscript{20} Forster, I, 324-5.
THE HARIYANA—SIKH RELATIONS

BY

Dr. GANDA SINGH, M. A., Ph. D., D. Litt.

The relations of the Sikhs with Hariyana are as old as the beginning of the sixteenth century when Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikh religion, began his missionary travels. Born in 1469, he was the most widely travelled religious prophet, the greatest pilgrim of the age who visited the places of worship of almost all the religions, theistic and atheistic, in India and abroad, not only to have first-hand knowledge of the beliefs and practices of their votaries but also to preach his own message with particular emphasis on the practical lives of his followers.

Kurukshetra is an important Hindu tirtha in Hariyana. Guru Nanak visited this place on the occasion of a solar eclipse. A disciple brought to him a deer which he ordered to be cooked. The Brahman priests of the place considered this to be a sacrilegious act and expressed his horror at the use of flesh on a sacred day. The Guru exposed the hollowness of such beliefs and said that it was fools who wrangled about flesh without knowing in that lay the secret of a virtuous life. In the town of Thanesar near Kurukshetra there stands a Gurdwara known as Sidh Bati to commemorate the visit of Guru Nanak.

Kurukshetra was also visited by the third Guru Amar Das in about 1556, when he also stayed at Pehowa. At Thanesar he was asked by the Pandits why he had abandoned Sanskrit, the language of the gods, and had composed his hymns in the vernacular of the people. The Guru replied: ‘Well water can only irrigate adjacent land but rain water the whole world,’ meaning thereby that his message was not meant for a limited coterie of Sanskrit scholars but was meant for all.

There are at Pehowa, Kurukshetra and Thanesar and in their neighbourhood a number of Sikh shrines sacred to the memory of the sixth, seventh, ninth and tenth Gurus, Hargobind, Har Rai, Tegh Bahadur and Govind Singh.

Kaithal has two gurdwaras in memory of the ninth Guru Tegh-Bahadur, one in the town and the other outside the Dogran gate to the north of the town.
The Gurdwaras at Jind, Rohtak and around them are connected with the visits of Guru Tej Bahadur who passed through the Hariyana tract more than once during his journeys to and from the eastern provinces and to Delhi where he was executed in 1675 under the orders of Emperor Aurangzeb for espousing the cause of the Kashmiri Brahmanas against forcible conversions to Islam.

After the death of Guru Gobind Singh began the political relations of the Sikhs with Hariyana.

On the solar eclipse day on September 3, 1708, on the bank of the river Godavari, at Nander, in the Deccan, Guru Gobind Singh discovered something really vital in a youthful ascetic Madho Das by name and relumed it with promethean fire. The Guru made so deep an impression upon him that he surrendered himself completely to the Guru and was then and there baptised into a Khalsa with the new name of Banda Singh. His blood boiled to hear the stories of the persecution of the Sikh Gurus at the hands of the Mughals and of the merciless butchering of the seven and nine years old sons of Guru Gobind Singh under the orders of Nawab Wazir Khan of Sirhind. But what set him ablaze against the Mughal government and their representatives at Sirhind was the fatal attack upon the Guru himself by the agent of the Nawab of Sirhind. He sought the Guru’s permission to proceed to the Punjab forthwith. On his arrival in the Bagar territory of the Delhi province, he soon became popular with people as a defender of the weak and helpless against professional decoits and official tyrants.

In one of his expeditions in this area his attack upon a gang of robbers and dacoits was so sudden, bold and severe that they were thrown into confusion and, without a second thought, they took to their heels. The news of this act of bravery on the part of Banda Singh and his Sikh companions spread far and wide and infused into the people of the Bagar a new spirit for self-defence. He then moved into the parganah of Kharkhoudah in Hariyana proper and established himself near the villages of Sihiri and Khanda which became his first headquarters in this part of the country. Thus from his base depot in Hariyana, Banda Singh despatched the Guru’s letters to the Sikhs of the Malwa, the Doaba and the Manjha districts of the Punjab calling upon them to join with him in waging war against the Mughals. It was from here that his Sikh companions from the Deccan proclaimed that Banda Singh had been appointed by Guru
Gobind Singh as a leader, a Jathedar of the Khalsa, and that it behoved every true Sikh to rally round his banner. It was from here that he embarked upon his career of conquest and occupied the town of Sonepat. He then marched northwards and took possession of Kaithal and the neighbouring areas of Thanesar. As the rivulet Ghaggar forms practically the northern boundary of the Haryana tract, the conquest of Sirhind and the subsequent expansion of the kingdom of the Sikhs under Banda Singh to the north and north-east of it are beyond the sphere of this paper. With the fall of Banda Singh in 1715-16, there is a gap of over two decades in the active history of the Sikhs. Emperor Bahadur Shah had moved against them in 1710 and had dislodged them from most of their positions. And to throttle their movement and spirit for independence, he issued edicts to his faujdars on December 10, 1710, to kill the disciples of Nanak (the Sikhs) wher ever they were found—Nanak—prastan ra har ja kih baraband, bagatI rasanand. This edict was repeated by Emperor Farukh-Siyar during whose time Banda Singh was captured and executed at Delhi along with some eight hundred Sikhs.

The next forty years in the history of the Sikhs are full of a life-and-death struggle. Under imperial orders, moving columns were sent out by Nawab Zakaria Khan Bahadur from the provincial headquarters of Lahore to hunt them out from their villages and to exterminate the whole nation of the Sikhs. ‘In hundreds they were daily brought in chains and executed in the streets of Lahore’. But it may be said to their credit that not a single Sikh ‘abjured his faith or perjured his soul to preserve his muddy vesture of decay’. They had to leave their homes and hearths in the central Panjab and seek shelter in mountains and jungles and in the sandy deserts of Bhatinda. At times, they had to go into the Haryana territory for a temporary refuge. This continued up to 1753 when, with the death of the Lahore governor, Mir Mannoo, in November, they heaved a sigh of relief. But they had yet to contend with a more relentless foe from the north-west, Ahmed Shah Durrani of Afghanistan, who wished to conquer the Panjab and annex it to his Central Asian empire. This was more than what the intense patriotism of the Sikhs could stand. Forgetting all their enmity against the Mughal emperors and their blood thirsty representatives in the Panjab, they stood up against the Durrans. Although, like the Marthas in 1761 at Panipat, they suffered very heavily at the hands of Ahmed Shah in the Ghulughara of February 5, 1862, they defeated
the Afghan Governor Zain Khan of Sirhind on January 14, 1764, on the third anniversary of the battle of Panipat, and successfully rolled off the Afghan power from the south-eastern Punjab, including the Hariyana, and from the north-western Punjab, and in fact from the whole of India, in April 1765.

To organise themselves against the Mughal tyranny and Afghan usurpation, the Sikhs, as history knows it, had divided themselves at first into two Dals, the Budha Dal (the Army of the Elders) and the Taruna Dal (the Army of the Young). The two Dals were then subdivided into five Jathas which, in course of time, came to be expanded into as many as twelve Misals, eight to the north of the river Satluj and four to the south of it. Of the four cis-Satluj Misals, the Karorsinghias, the Nishanawalias and the Shahids made no permanent impact on the Hariyana territory. It is true that on several occasions they accompanied the other Misals on their cis-Satluj and trans-Jamuna exploits and, at times, their leaders like Sardar Baghel Singh Karorsinghia were selected to lead the combined expeditions of the Dal Khalsa, their individual acquisitions were greatly confined to the north of Ghaggar which formed the northern boundary of the Hariyana. The leaders of the Phulkian Misal, the chiefs of the houses of Patiala, Nabha and Jind, alone carried their arms to the Hariyana both for offensive and defensive measures against the Bhattis, the Rohillas, the Delhi officials and the French and British adventurers who cast their covetous eyes on the Hariyana and Malwa territories. When on the defeat of Zain Khan, the Durrani governor of Sirhind, the Sikh Sardars parcelled out the Hariyana territory among themselves, Sardar Gajpat Singh, a descendant of the senior branch of the house of Phul, occupied extensive areas, including the districts of Jind [and Safidon, in the heart of the Hariyana. This established the closest and happy relations between this area and the Sikhs who contributed considerably to its political importance and economic welfare. The Patiala rules, Ala Singh and Amar Singh, also occupied a portion of the Hariyana territory during the sixties and seventies of the eighteenth century. The progress of the Sikhs towards Delhi alarmed the Mughal authorities, but by an arrangement in 1777 at Jind with Najaf Quli Khan on behalf of Emperor Shah Alam, Hansi, Hissar and Rohtak were made over to the emperor, and Fatehabad, Sirsa and Rania were retained by Maharaja Amar Singh. The great famine of 1840 Bk. (1783 A.D.), known as chalisa, worked havoc in the area and
Most of the Sikh agriculturists, who had greatly contributed to its economic development, came back to their original villages to the north of the Ghaggar. This afforded an opportunity to the Bhattis to take possession of the vacated lands. In the meantime the Irish adventurer George Thomas appeared on the scene and carved out a principality for himself (1797—99) with dreams of conquering and occupying the Punjab and planting the British flag on the bank of the Indus. He was, however, defeated and ousted by the combined forces of Patiala, Jind and Kaithal, helped by Louis Borquin on behalf of Sindhi (1802). The arrangement of 1777 was maintained and was later confirmed by Lord Lake in 1804. With the extension of the British power in this area, they claimed in 1809 the deserted lands as belonging to them. This laid the foundation of a long dispute between the Patiala State, which protested against the British claims, and the British government. The dispute, known as the Nali Case, because of the Ghaggar (rivulet or Nali) passing through the area in its last stage, continued with varying results for about a century and a quarter. It was revived by Maharaja Bhupendra Singh in 1921 and was finally given up by him in 1927. But as the British authorities, who were a party to the case, were also its judges, the claims of the Patiala State were only partially recognized and some 106 villages were taken away from it.

The small Sikh state of Kaithal was founded in 1767 by Bhai Desu Singh, a descendant of Bhai Bhagtu, a devoted disciple of the fifth Guru Arjan. He was succeeded by his son Lal Singh who in turn bequeathed his heritage to Bhai Udai Singh well known for his patronage of learning and learned men. It was during his time that the great Sikh Scholar Bhai Santokh Singh wrote at Kaithal his monumental works the Ramayana, the great Hindu epic, still in manuscript, and the Sri Gur-Pratap Suraj Grantha, popularly known as the Suraj Prakash, edited in 14 volumes by the late Bhai Vir Singh. On the death of Bhai Udai Singh in March 1843, without leaving any male issue, the British occupied Kaithal as a lapse to the paramount power. As the state had not been granted to the chief by the British Government, the term lapse could not be applied to it. Moreover, the right of adoption had been recognized by the British Government. Not only this. According to the Sikh custom, a widow could succeed her husband. In spite of all this, the state of Kaithal was forcibly occupied by British troops and annexed to the British Indian dominions.
Such of the areas of Haryana as had fallen into the possession of the East India Company in 1803 as a result of the victory of Lord Lake against Jaswant Rao Holkar, along with those ceded by Sindbia, formed a part of the Delhi Division under the Lieutenant-governorship of the North-west Provinces of Agra and Oudh. In the Mutiny of 1857, the people and the troops stationed in Haryana, were the first to rise against the British, and the region was wholly lost to the British. The British rule was re-established in this region after the fall of Delhi; and soon after the whole of the region was detached from the North-West Provinces and transferred to the Punjab.

As citizens of a common province, the Sikhs and the people of Haryana had very cordial relations and never during the past one hundred and eight years was there any clash of interests. In fact they always supported one another in their common welfare. In the closing years of the fourth decade of the century, the Sikhs and the Haryana Jats gave to the Punjab two of the most distinguished ministers in Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia and Chaudhari Sir Chhotu Ram who helped ameliorate the condition of the petty landholders and peasants of the country.

The partition of the country as a result of the creation of Pakistan, which uprooted lakhs of Sikhs from the western Punjab, brought the Sikhs and the Haryana people still closer. A large number of displaced Sikhs settled down in the towns and rural areas of Haryana and have greatly influenced the language, the dress and the ways of life of its people. And above everything else, the Sikh struggle for a unilingual state of the Punjabi-speaking people has not only given to the Haryana people a state of their own but has also provided them with greater opportunities for social welfare and economic development according to their needs.
CIVIL REBELLION IN HARIYANA IN THE UPRISING OF 1857

BY

KRI PAL CHANDRA YADAV, M. A.

The bifurcation of the subject of the great Uprising of 1857 into two sub-divisions, mutiny of sepoys and rebellion of the civil population, is generally accepted by all the scholars of the Uprising. But not many of them have given due attention to the latter aspect of the Uprising; and practically none has dealt with the civil rebellion in Haryana. Hence an important chapter of the Uprising of 1857 has remained conspicuously missing. In the present paper I have endeavoured to fill up this gap.

GURGAON DISTRICT

The military insurrection which started at Ambala and Meerut on May 10, 1857, became a political movement at Delhi on May 11, and turned into a popular uprising on the 13th when the mutineers of Meerut and Delhi had attacked Gurgaon. The deputy commissioner of the Gurgaon district, W. Ford, along with four or five clerks and some other officers, fled away to Mathura via Bhondsi, Silani and Palwal, picking up the custom officers of all these places with him, and thus leaving no symbol of the British authority to be seen anywhere through out the length and breadth of the district. That meant a complete political vacuum and led the people to believe that the British rule had ceased to exist. Consequently, the flame of rebellion flared up in the most virulent form in the whole of the district and more particularly in Mewat.

The Mewatis rose up at once in great number. Their natural

1. In 1857 the district of Gurgaon had an area of 1,938 square miles and a population of half a million. It was bounded to the north by the Rohtak district, to the west and south-west by the states of Alwar, Nabha and Jind; to the south by the district of Mathura; to the east by the Jamuna and to the north east by the Delhi district, Kaye and Malleson, A History of the Sepoy war in India, VI, 139.
leaders and chaudharies addressed letters to Bahadur Shah acknowledging him the Emperor of Hindustan and began to conduct the 'intizam' of their villages and localities in accordance with his instructions.\(^5\)

In the last week of May when almost the whole of the rural Mewat had come under the rule of Emperor Bahadur Shah, the urban Mewat still owed allegiance to the British through their 'native officials' and wealthy persons, on whom the favours had been showered by the Government earlier. Large gatherings of Mewatis attacked such towns. They did not meet any opposition at Tauru, Sohna, Ferozepur-Jhirka, Punhana and Piningwan, and easily reduced them to subjection. A great deal of plundering and destruction also took place. The town of Nuh proved to be a hard nut to crack. The local police and the 'loyal Khanzadas'\(^9\) gave a stiff battle to the Meos. But soon they were overpowered by the superior number of the latter. The Khanzadas suffered heavy casualties\(^7\). After the Khanzadas of Nuh, the Rawat Jats of the region near Hodal and the Rajput of Hathin, "who were supposed to be on the part of the (British) Government", were attacked by a large gathering of Surot Jats of Hodal, Pathans of Scoli and the Meos. The fight continued for several months and the 'loyalists' suffered heavy losses\(^8\). On receipt of the S. O. S. signal from the Rawats, the British authorities before Delhi despatched a small force to Hodal to help their supporters. The loyalists and the British troops fought well, but they were completely routed by the Mewatis\(^8\).

In the middle of June Major W. F. Eden, the political Agent at Jaipur happened to pass through Mewat at the head of a big contingent force comprising about 6,000 men and 7 guns. He was going to Delhi but finding Mewat, intervening between him and Delhi, in a "most deplorable state of anarchy," he thought it advisable to settle

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5. File R/269; Trial of Bahadur Shah, 118; Sultan Akbar, June 10, 1857.
6. They were an allied caste of the Meos, and consider themselves to have sprung up from the Rajputs of the Yadava clan. For details see Sharaf-ud-din, Muraqa-i-Mewat, 79-134; Alwar District Gazetteer, Para 18, P. 168.
8. Ibid.
9. The Gurgaon district Gazetteer records this episode thus (at PP. 5-6): "Suddenly a strong hostile force of Mutineers appeared. British troops had to retreat and many Mewatis were surprised and killed,"

CIVIL REBELLION IN HARIYANA

it before going to Delhi for its "turbulent population" could at any
time pose a serious danger to the forces before Delhi.10

Major Eden’s contingent force met stiff opposition at the hands
of the thousands of armed men from the villages between Tauru and
Sohna. Had he not been in possession of the artillery guns, his
force would have experienced heavy losses.14 He destroyed many
villages. He halted at Sohna for three days. Ford and thirty Eu-
ropean officers came down from Mohana and joined him there.
After that, his force moved towards Palwal and remained be-
tween that place and Hodal for a long time. But sickness, discontent and
growing spirit of revolt among his troops, obliged him to return to
Jaipur in August, 1857.12

The departure of Major Eden’s force led to further deterioration
in the situation. Even the fall of Delhi on September 20, 1857 did
not effect any improvement in the situation. Consequently on Oc-
tober 2, a strong column of 1500 men with a light field battery, a few
18 Pounder-guns, and 2 mortars, was sent under |Brigadier-General
Showers to punish the turbulent Meos, Gujars, Ranghars, Ahirs and
‘the rebel princes’; and to settle the Gurgaon district23. Through-
out the month of October, the Brigadier-General laboured hard to
realize his aims. He seized the nawabs of Jhajjar, Dadri, Farrukhn-
agar and the Raja of Ballabgarh, dispersed their troops and took
their forts.13 In the settlement of Mewat, his work was shared by
Clifford, the assistant collector of Gurgaon. Clifford’s sister was
“stripped naked at the palace, tied in that condition to the wheels
of gun-carriages, dragged up in the ‘Chandni Chowk’ or silver street
of Delhi and then, in the presence of King’s sons cut to pieces.”
Clifford “had it on his mind that his sister, before being murdered,
was outraged by the rebels.” Naturally he had a fire of revenge
burning violently in his heart. He burnt village after village and
destroyed the country side with fire and sword. In his own words,
“He had put to death all he had come across, not excepting women
and children.”14 But he could not carry on his ruthless campaign

11. Jawala Sahai describes it thus, “Major Eden’s artillery opened fires to
different quarters, burnt villages and destroyed a number of the Meos”.
14. Griffiths, 96-97,
for long, for he was killed by the Meos of Raisina and Muhammadpur.  

Brigadier-General Showers carried fire and sword far and wide. All the villages between Dharuhera and Tauru were indiscriminately burnt and their inhabitants were shot down ruthlessly. At the deserted town of Tauru some 30 persons were killed. A few miles short of Sohna, column met a stiff resistance and the hands of the inmates of a Meo village who killed about 60 sepoys of general Showers' column in a hand-to-hand fight. Describing the strife of a brave Mewati, an eye-witness observes: "A Mewati, a huge fellow, armed with shield and sword was put up half way down the Khud (pit) at our feet. Twenty shots were fired; but no, the bold fellow held steadily on, springing from rock to rock, descending to the bottom of the dell, and then mounting the opposite face." "The braveman," who put up this heroic show for quite a long time, was ultimately put to death by the Guides.

The column having cleared the area around Sohna and Tauru and leaving it in the charge of a Gorkha detachment of the late 22 N. I. under Captain Drummond, went to Delhi via Ballabgarh. An account of his experiences in the district of Gurgaon by Brigadier-General Showers is worth noticing: "From the time I entered the Gurgaon district, I was in enemies' country, that in all encampments and during every march I was exposed to the attacks of the enemies' horsemen......I had to anticipate attack from every village that I passed, where I had to be continually on the alert against an enemy, it may well be understood that the protection of captured property was of secondary consideration."

In the third week of November 1857 Captain Drummond received intelligence through the "native officials" of Sohna, Hathin, and Palwal that "Several thousand Meos and a few hundred cavalry were congregated about Kot and Rupraka" and had been attacking

17. Ibid., II, 59.
18. Ball, II, 59; Foreign Secret Consultations, Nos. 21—27, January 31, 1858.
the "loyal Rajput villages" for several days. Besides, they were also intent on plundering the Government treasury at Palwal.20 Captain Drummond, with a small force comprising a detachment of Hodson’s Horse, another of Tohana Horse, and some 120 men of the Kumaon battalion, at once proceeded to Rupraka. On the way, he was reinforced by a company of the 1st Panjab Infantry (Coke’s) from Ballabgharh.21

Captain Drummond’s force burnt all the Meo villages on the Sohna-Rupraka route and destroyed their crops. Panchanka, Geopur, Malpuri, Chilli, Utawar, Kot, Mugla Mitaka, Kulukka, Guraksar, Malluka, Jhanda, etc., were among these unfortunate villages.22 When the column reached Rupraka, 3,500 Meos and others drawn up in front of the village, gave them a tough fight. Though the Meos fought heroically, and lost 400 lives, the day went to the British who possessed superior fire power.23 The action at Rupraka, says Captain Drummond, was very important in the way that “not only have the Meos been defeated, their villages and property burnt and destroyed, but the friendly Jat villages who have hitherto been kept in a state of siege by constant aggression on the part of their enemies are relieved.”24

On November 27, 1857 another rebel force commanded by a Meo leader Sadur-ud-din attacked the pargana of Puinghwan.25 A British force under Captain Ramsay from Palwal and Gurgaon was despatched at once to meet the danger. The force reached Puinghwan on November 29.26 But the rebels were then at a small village called Mahun. They made for that village next day and reached there at 7 A.M. The Meos took the defensive in the village. Exchange of shots continued till mid-day. Then the British troops bombarded the village with guns. Three Gorkha regiments advanced upon the village from three directions, and they seized the village in

20. Foreign Secret Consultations, Nos. 21-27, Jan. 29, 1858.
21. Ibid.; Records Intelligence Department (N. W. Provinces), II, 220.
22. Foreign Secret Consultations, Nos. 21-27, Jan. 29, 1858.
23. Ibid.; Records Intelligence Department, II, 220.
25. Delhi Division Records, Military Department, Case No. 1 of 1858; Report by Mr. Macpherson, Joint Magistrate of Gurgaon.
26. Ibid.
a short time. The entire village was destroyed by fire. They cut down 28 Meos in the village including Sadur-ud-din’s son, and 42 more in the neighbouring villages. Making an assessment of the whole affair, Macpherson, the Joint Magistrate of Gurgaon, and the chief actor in the action at Mahun observed: "Altogether I look upon it as a most successful affair, I should say about 70 rebels killed...The whole number of the rebels assembled was so small that their resistance was to me a subject of the greatest surprise."

Having crushed the last of the risings in Mewat, the column effected its retreat, but not before making a severe example of the villages and people suspected to have taken part in the rebellion. The villages of Shahpur, Bali Khera, Kherla, Chitora, Nahirika, Gujar Nagla, Baharpur, Kheri, etc., were set on fire and wiped out of existence. After sometime many more villages in the neighbourhood of Pininghwan met the same fate for assisting the rebel leader Sadr-ud-din and refusing to pay revenue to the British Government.

The landed property of several of the villages, chaudharis and lambardars were confiscated in accordance with the Act XXV of 1857 and of 1858 for their rebellious proceedings and failure to extend any help to the British at the time of sore-need. The Meo villages of Jharsa, Kheri, Jalalpur, and Davela in the Jharsa pargana and Shikrawah and Ghaghus Kheri in the pargana of Nuh, suffered confiscation of the entire landed property of theirs. Bhaktawar Singh of Jharsa and Udampur, Ilahi Bax of Badshahpur and Dhanuspur, Mirkhan of Naurangpur and Abu of Bhora and Binola in the Jharsa Pargana, Brijia Nand of Shahjahanpur, Ramjas and Hamza Ali of Chhajunagar, Jaffar, Nurkhan, and Ghariba of Rasulpur in the Pargana of Palwal got their shares of land property confiscated. Besides that, 235 persons were hanged and many more got long term imprisonments for taking part in the rebellion. Heavy fines were imposed on the individuals and rebel villages.

27. Ibid
28. Ibid
29. Ibid
30. Ibid
31. Ibid
ROHTAK DISTRICT

The civil population in the district of Rohtak\(^{33}\) and especially the small communities of Ranghars, the Muslims of Rajput origin living in the midst of sturdy Jat population showed signs of great disaffection\(^{34}\). The chief reason for this type of behaviour was that from among them a considerably large number of people had been serving in the irregular regiments of the East India Company. All these regiments were disaffected. The Sepoys of these regiments who came home on leave or after regiments had broken out in revolt, brought disaffection along with them to their villages.

Although seething with the fire of revolt in their hearts, they did not break out until May 24, 1857 when Tafzal Hussain, an emissary of Emperor Bahadur Shah came to Rohtak with a small force. Deputy Commissioner Loch and Tahsildar Bakhtawar Singh gave a fight to the Delhi force; but they proved quite unequal to the task of encountering with them. Loch fled to Gohana with Thanedar Bhurekhan; and Tahsildar Bakhtawar Singh also behaved in the same vein. Not only these officials, but all the Europeans and "loyal officers" fled away from the district. The rebels burnt the office, Kacheries and bungalows of the British officials. They destroyed the records, plundered the Mahajans and Banias and set the prisoners free from the district gaol. After accomplishment of all these transactions, Tafzal Hussain returned to Delhi with the Rohtak treasury amounting to Rs. 1,10,000. On his way he attacked the town of Sampla, and burnt all the European buildings. The custom bungalows at Meham, Madinah and Mandaunthi were burnt\(^{35}\). The whole of the district plunged into a flood of rebellion. The Ranghars, Rajputs, Jats and even low caste people, like Kasais, etc., played a prominent role. In the words of Kaye and Malleson: "There can be little doubt that the sympathy of the people, from noble to peasant, was enlisted on behalf of the representative of Moghuls."\(^{36}\) Even the mafidars of the British Government, who

33. The district of Rohtak had an area of 1811 square miles with half million souls in 1857. It was bounded to the north by Karnal, to the east by Dujana and Delhi; to the south by Gurgaon and to the west by Hissar, and Jind. Kaye and Malleson, VI, 140-41.
34. Kaye and Malleson, VI, 141-41.
36. Kaye and Malleson, VI, 140-41.
enjoyed rent free tenures and several other privileges, stood against their masters. File R/131 preserved in the State Archives at Patiala gives a long list of 59 mafidars who chose to stand against the British. They belonged to nearly all the castes living in the district.

When Tafzal Hussain left Rohtak, the district came in the grip of lawlessness. The Settlement Report of Rohtak gives an exaggerated account of the faction fights among different Jat clans; but no incident is of communal strife between Hindus and Muslims. The British authorities took a very serious view of the whole situation. Deputy Commissioner Loch was given the 60th N. I. from the Delhi field force to reduce the district. The corps reached Rohtak on May 31; but Loch could not realize his aim with its help, as it was in a semi-mutinous state and ultimately broke out on June 11, and made their way to Delhi.

On July 23, 1857 Emperor Bahadur Shah issued a farman to the people of Rohtak expressing his "anxious concern for the welfare and comfort of his subjects." He advised them that "one man is not to stretch out the hand of violence against another, and that all are to continue in full subjection to the authority of the peaceful landholders, who are known to be the well-wishers of the State."

In the beginning of August, reports came in the Delhi camp that the Ranghars were collected in great force under the leadership of Babar Khan. Besides that a considerable body of the 'rebels from Delhi' had stolen a march in the direction of Rohtak. It was feared that they might greatly impede the advance of siege train which was then on its way to Delhi from Ferozepur and create other havoc in Haryana.

To check this force from aggravating the situation in the Rohtak district Lt. W. S. R. Hodson was sent with a small force

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38. See The Spokesman, April 1966.
40. Ibid
41. Forrest, Selection of letters, despatches, etc., I, 352. Hodson says, "A party of the enemy...moved out from Delhi by the Najafgarh road with the avowed purpose of threatening our communication with Sonepat and GTR or of marching to attack Hansi and the Raja of Jind."
CIVIL REBELLION IN HARYANA

comprising 6 European officers, 103 men of the Guides, 233 of Hodson's Irregular Horse and 25 of Jind Horse, 360 in all by Major General Wilson, commanding the Delhi field force in the early hours of the 15th August. Hodson reached Kharkhoudah, a considerable village about 20 miles from Rohtak at about 12 O'clock the same day. The village gave a tough fight to the lieutenant and especially the "leave men of the irregular corpse who had taken refuge in one of the strong buildings belonging to a lambardar of the village right in the centre of the town." The sepoys fought well under the inspiring leadership of Risaldar Bisharat Ali, a man lately decorated with the Order of Merit. Even Hodson admitted "They fought like devils". But their superior number and fire power overpowered and destroyed the rebels. The British suffered considerable losses on their side.

Hardly had Hodson finished this encounter, when intelligence reached him that Rohtak had become rallying point of a considerably large number of rebels and that they were determined to oppose his advance at any cost. He at once left Kharkhoudah and reached Bohar. Then after a short halt and respite pushed on for Rohtak where he reached at about 4 O' clock the next afternoon.

Here he formed his men just outside the town and rode forward with two officers and a few sowars to reconnoitre. But soon his movements were checked by the enemies who had collected themselves in a considerably large numbers inside a fortified building in the vicinity of the old civil station. Hodson effected retreat and made a fresh attack after a short-while with full force. Two troops to the right, and the same number to the left with orders to take up defensive positions, he made a dash at the main

42. Forrest, I, 352; Cave Brown, II, 37.
43. Ibid., 352 and Hodson, Twelve Years of a Soldier's life in India, 265.
44. Forrest, I, 352.
45. Hodson, 265.
46. Cave Brown, II, 37 gives the number of rebel-sepoys killed as 26 including Risaldar Bisharat Ali Khan.
47. Forrest, I, 352.
49. Ibid
50. Forrest, I, 352-54.
51. Ibid
gate with the remaining force. But the Indian sepoys repulsed his attack successfully. Nor could they make an entry from any other side. Hodson withdrew his men to the open space in the Kacheri compound near the junction of the roads coming in from Delhi, Bohar and the town of Rohtak and bivouacked there for the night.

On the other hand when the British column was relaxing in the night, Babar Khan, the chief of the Ranghars was busy collecting a cavalry force on the Hansi road. He returned to Rohtak in the early hours of July 17 with some 300 Ranghar-horsemen belonging to different irregular cavalry regiments. He launched a fierce attack on Hodson, who was already alerted by many "loyal people" of the town who had supplied him with not only information regarding the activities of Babar Khan but also rations and other required commodities. A large body of horsemen dashed up the road from the town at speed, followed by a mass of footmen around with swords and matchlocks, "Certainly not less than 900 or 1,000 in numbers." A fierce fight took place. After short-while the Indians left the open field and retired to bushy hides in close proximity of the town and here "under shelter, they incessantly poured in the galling fire."

As long as the Indians were in that position, the British cavalry could cause little harm to them. The only hope lay in drawing them out. To effect this, Hodson sent out "one troop to the right...second to the left...and placed the rest in the centre, pushing the guides to the front." Thus disposed they defied their enemies' efforts to outflank them presenting a front where ever they appeared. Hodson then ordered his troops to retire slowly and alternately. The manœuvre succeeded. On seeing the cavalry retiring, the Indians rushed on them. When he had drawn them out about three quarters of a mile in the open Hodson

52. Cave Brown, II, 38.
53. Ibid
54. Forrest, I, 352-54.
55. Forrest, I, 352-55; Hodson, 267-68.
56. Cave Brown, II, 38.
57. Hodson, 267-68.
58. Cave Brown, II, 39.
59. Ibid
ordered his party to halt and charge. The Indians never expected this and the sudden attack disorganised their efforts. The Guides, being in the rear, as they retired, launched a fierce attack on the enemy and took a heavy toll. As the situation warranted the Indian force again made a retreat. Hodson did not follow them. And that was the end of the indecisive battle of Rohtak where both the parties broke without registering victory on each other.\(^6\)

Hodson tells his story thus, "Unfortunately I had no ammunition left and therefore, could not without unprudence remain so close to the town filled with matchlock men, we marched quietly to the north of the town and encamped near the first friendly village that we came to."\(^6\) On the 18th, the rebels evacuated the district of Rohtak and went to Bassi, six miles from Hansi in considerably diminished number.\(^6\) On the other hand Hodson left Rohtak for Delhi, leaving the district and its important towns, such as Kharkhuda, Sampla, Sonepat, Meham, Gohana, etc., under the care and watch of the Raja of Jind and some local Chaudharies.\(^6\)

**HISSAR DISTRICT**

In the district of Hissar\(^6\), the uprising of the troops stationed at its chief towns of Hissar, Hansi and Sirsa, set the ball of rebellion rolling in the last week of May 1857\(^6\). There was quick reaction among the civil population and they threw themselves heart and soul into the rising\(^6\). "The district villagers," reports an eye-

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60. Forrest, I, 352-57.
61. Hodson, 267-68.
63. Ibid

64. File R/131 contains a long list of such local chaudharies Tahsil-wise who extended all sorts of help to Lt. Hodson with money and material and later on held their local places for the British. They were afterwards handsomely rewarded for these services. These loyal persons did not belong to one or two particular castes or communities, but to many, such as Jats, Ranghars, Mahajans, Bhat, Brahmanas, etc.

65. The district of Hissar, with an area of 3,540 square miles and the population of 400,000 souls, in 1857, was bounded by the Patiala state in the north, the Jind state and the Rohtak district in the south and south east; and the Bikaner state on the west. Kaye and Malleson, VI, 139.

66. See The Spokesman, April 1966, for a detailed account of the sepoy mutinies at Hissar, Hansi and Sirsa.

67. Kaye and Malleson, VI, 139.

68. Dr. Minas, Narrative, vide Chick, 713.
witness, "created unheard of mischiefs"—killed the European officials, their women and children, plundered their bungalows, destroyed the offices, Kacheries, gaols and so on, looted the Mahajans, Baniyas and other 'loyal elements' and destroyed all that belonged to the British.

Muhammad Azim, the Assistant Patrol of Bhattu, who happened to be a prince of the royal family of Delhi proclaimed the end of the British rule and established his authority on behalf of Emperor Bahadur Shah throughout the length and breadth of the district. At Hansi, a Hukam Chand, his nephew Fauquir Chand and friend Meena Beg played prominent role. They addressed letters to Emperor Bahadur Shah and offered services of men, money and material to him.

In the first week of June, Prince Muhammad Azim, along with a strong force from Hariyana, went to Delhi and offered his services to Emperor Bahadur Shah. But his absence from that important region proved very harmful. General Van Courtland, the deputy commissioner of Ferozepur, at the instance of Sir John Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner marched for the reduction of Hisar district, with a force of 550 men and 2 guns. Captain Robertson acted as a political officer with the column. His column was reinforced by some 120 men of the Kashmir raj at Malaut, a considerable village near Sirsa.

The force did not meet any hindrance until they arrived at Udha, where Nur Muhammad Khan, the Nawab of Rania, opposed them with a force of 3 to 4 thousand strong on June 17. A desperate battle was fought by the Nawab and his followers, but they were defeated with about 530 men killed. Nawab Nur Muhammad

69. Foreign Secret Consultations, Nos. 100-103, 25 Sept. 1857; Hisar district Gazetteer, 35; Kanhiya Lal, 196-99; Chick, 706-7; Jawala Sahai, 290-91
70. Chick, 714-15; Jawala Sahai, 290.
71. Hisar District Gazetteer, 35.
72. Ibid
73. The state of Rania was confiscated by the British Government quite long before the outbreak of the mutiny. The present nawab and his relatives used to get a monthly pension as under:—Nawab Nur Muhammad Khan Rs. 200 per month; Grand mother of the Nawab Rs. 100 per month; Mother (1) Rs. 50; Gohar Ali (uncle) Rs. 125; other relatives Rs. 1031. See Foreign Secret Consultations, 204-07, 9 July, 1857.
74. Dr. Minias' Narrative, vide Chick, 710-12.
Khan with his followers effected escape but he was caught while passing through the Ludhiana district and condemned to death by hanging. On June 18, the village of Chatravan, where Capt. Hillard and his brother-in-law were killed, was attacked. The villagers were ruthlessly butchered and the village was burnt to ashes. Again the column had hardly measured a few miles after Udha, when another force of the Bhattis comprising several thousand strong gave a tough fight to the column at village Khirka, on the left bank of the Ghaggar river on June 19. But they also met the same fate as their brothers had met at Udha and lost as many as 300 lives. Thus overcoming the stiff opposition that they met and destroying the villages they passed through, the column reached Sirsa on June 20. Here General Vancourtlandt received second reinforcement consisting of 800 men and 2 guns from the Raja of Bikaner. With fire and blood, the General resettled the region of Sirsa in a little more than a fortnights time. The civil organisation of the region was reestablished and soon the situation reverted to its former state.

General Vancourtlandt, along with the field force, left Sirsa on July 8. Meeting opposition at the hands of the villagers where he passed through the General reached Hissar via Fatiabad on July 17. General massacre of the civil population in and around Hissar, especially the Bhattis, Ranghars and Pachads and other low caste Muslims went on for many days. The house of Muhammad Azim in Hissar was completely destroyed and his Begam was made captive. On knowing these developments Emperor Bahadur Shah sent Prince Azim to Hissar from Delhi with a big force consisting of 1500 cavalry, 500 infantry and 3 guns. Prince's arrival in his country was hailed by the people and several thousand of them collected round him in a short time. Meanwhile, General Vancourtlandt,
leaving a strong garrison force under Capt Mild May at Hissa went to Hansi, where the situation was deteriorating. Order was soon restored in Hansi after the General’s arrival. General had hardly settled Hansi when a fierce attack was launched on Hissar by Prince Azim in a bid to recover his wife. In a bloody battle, in which 300 rebel forces lost their lives, the garrison force was over-powered; but meanwhile the reinforcements arrived from Hansi and Prince Azim had to flee for his life, losing the battle. On September 2, the rebel forces attacked Tosham, the headquarters of the tehsil and killed all the government officials—Tehsildar Nandpal, Thanedar Pyare Lal, Qanungo Khazan Singh and plundered the treasury and the loyal bankers. Rebels proceeded towards Hansi. General Vancourt Landt advanced to meet the rebel force. On August 6, he met an insurgent force at village Hajimpur near Hansi. He subdued the rebels and burnt the village.

But this in no way affected the strength of the rebels whose ranks were further swelled by the rebels of the 10th Light cavalry of Ferozepur and a number of Jhatjar Sowars. The force was stationed at a considerable village Mangala. This caused some anxiety to Gen. Vancourtlandt. He sent a strong force under Capt. Pearse to meet the rebels on September 10, 1857. A heroic struggle was waged by the rebels under the inspiring leadership of Prince Azim. But the superior fire power of the British defeated the rebels. Their loss was 400 dead; whereas the loss of the British side was quite negligible when compared with that of the enemy. The village of Mangala was burnt down. On September 30, Prince Azim fought the last battle with the British forces at Jamalpur but again he lost the battle.

Prince Azim left Hissar along with his followers and moved down to district Gurgaon, where Rao Tula Ram was struggling against

84. Chick, 714 ; Hissar District Gazetteer, 36.
85. Hissar District Gazetteer, 36.
86. Ibid
88. Ibid
89. Ibid
90. Hissar District Gazetteer, 36.
91. Ibid; Chick, 716.
the British in Ahrirwal. He formed union with the Rao and fought a desperate battle against British at Narnaul on November 16, 1857. Nothing was heard of him after the fall of Narnaul.

Soon after the work of persecution started in the whole of the district. Nearly 133 persons were hanged and their properties were confiscated. Hukam Chand and Faqir Chand of Hansi, who had given up the slogans of revolt against the British ever since General Van Courtlandt had entered the district, and had been serving the British cause with fullest loyalty in the revenue department, were arrested on the discovery of their earlier letters sent to Emperor Bahadur Shah. Both of them were hanged and their entire property was confiscated. Besides, the proprietary rights of seven villages—Mangali, Jamalpur, Hajimpur, Udha, Chatravan, Khirka, and Jodhka were forfeited while heavy fines were levied on many more.

**PANIPAT DISTRICT**

The district of Panipat, which was considered to be “the most turbulent district in the North West Province,” did not give as much trouble as expected during the uprising. Being on the Grand Trunk Road between Karnal and Delhi, it was always the foot-fall of the British army marching to and from Delhi and Panjab that resounded in the ears of civil population of the district. Besides that, all the important towns of district were heavily protected by the forces of the Patiala and Jind chiefs.

The civil population rose in almost every big village. Commenting on the state of the district, Capt MacAndrew informed the Government of India on June, 1857: “I find the country... considerably disorganised; the revenue and police officers are in the state of flight; many of the Zamindars and big villages are quite refractory.”

92. Ahrirwal literally means the ‘home of the Ahirs’.
93. Chick, 716.
94. Ibid., Hissar District Gazetteer, 36.
95. File R/269.
96. Chick, 716; Hissar District Gazetteer, 36.
97. The district of Panipat had an area of 2,336 square miles and population of 400,000 in 1857. See, Kaye and Malleson, VI, 139.
98. Ibid., VI, 150
99. Ibid.
100. Punjab Government Records, VIII, I, 27-28
The villages of Rohan, Kukeor, Karawari, Shah Partik, Rulowdh, Jagdishpur, Sandhu Kalan, Murshidpur, Malik Sunder Lal, Malik Khairi, Fazilpur, Kuberpur, Sultanpur, Patee Musalmaman in Sonepat Tehsil and Turuf Rajputana, Sunarai, Bursut, Surut and Orlana Khurd were some of the prominent villages in other parts of the district who refused to pay land revenue and defied the British rule.\textsuperscript{102}

To bring the people to order, a force of about 250 troops was sent from Karnal under Captain Hughes of Ist Panjab Cavalry on July 13, 1857. This force was checked by a force of the Jats comprising 900 matchlockmen and many mounted sowars at village Bulleh, a considerable village 25 miles from Karnal. After fierce fight that lasted a short while, the Jats compelled the enemy to flee away.\textsuperscript{103} Captain Hughes did not give way to despair at his failure. He at once despatched messenger to Karnal for reinforcements to give a fresh fight to the enemy.

He encamped in jungle at a short distance from the town. But during the night the Ranghars flocked in from the neighbouring villages to the number of some 3,000 and under shelter of the small jungle and the banks of a canal, kept up a harassing fire. Captain Hughes could not stand the enemy-pressure and at day break of July 14 effected his retreat. Meanwhile the reinforcements comprising two guns of the Nawab of Karnal and his cavalrymen, and 50 sowars of the Patiala raj arrived\textsuperscript{104}. Coming up unnoticed by the enemy, they suddenly open fire on their hideouts. After much loss the Ranghars fled away.\textsuperscript{105}

The village of Bulleh was re-attacked. The Jats took up the defensive in a strong building, the double barricades of which could defy the enemy without artillery. The fire of guns of the British force caused considerable damage to the building and its inmates coming in the open launched an attack on the enemy. The British cavalry, by a flank manœuvre, got between the rebels and the town—people with speed and completely encircled them. In the grim battle that ensued, nearly 100 Jats fell and the day was lost. The losses of the British side were comparatively less. The cavalry lost in all two native officers and three troopers and fifteen wounded, besides.

\textsuperscript{102} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{103} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{104} Cave Brown, II, 37.
\textsuperscript{105} Ibid.
several horses killed. Captain Hughes's own horse received three wounds.

The villages around Bulleh were ransacked and made to pay the arrears and revenue and heavy fines. But this was in no way a lesson for the insurgents. Hardly had the British force left Karnal, than they again started their rebellious proceedings. Next a huge force assembled at the village of Julmana and showed fight. At the instance of the commissioner of the Cis-Sutlej Division Lieut-Pearson attacked the rebel force. But so strong was their position that he failed to register victory over them. He asked for reinforcement but could not get any owing to the further deterioration of atmosphere at Panipat and Ambala.

The situation still worsened by the outbreak of the mutinies at Phillour and Jullundur in the second week of June 1857. The Deputy Commissioner of Panipat received the intimation on June 8 that "the rebels (from Jullundur) being a numerous body might be expected to march upon Ambala or Patiala, in either of the cases Thanesar was pretty sure of a visit from them". The Maharaja of Patiala took an alarm at it and in the words of the Deputy Commissioner of Thanesar, "there was not a Patiala soldier, horse or foot left in the Thanesar district on the night of June 8". Under such circumstances Lieut. Pearson was called back leaving Julmana as it was. But the Jullundur mutineers proceeded to Delhi and did not attack any of these places.

The danger thus averted, attention was redirected on the refractory civil population and the Pargana of Kaithal more than the village of Julmana had become disorganized. On June 15, Lieut. Parson set on this tour of settling this pargana. He subdued all the villages without meeting any stiff opposition Captain Mac Niele, the Deputy Commissioner of Thanesar advanced towards the Ladwa Tahsil and attacked and destroyed the refractory villages.

Towards the westward side the trouble was still brewing. The Ranghars collected in great number, attacked the Thana of Asundh and captured it without meeting any opposition at the hands of the

106. Cave Brown, II, 37 says that Rs. 100 was the fine imposed on the village of Bulleh.
police stationed therein. On hearing of this Lieut. Pearson advanced towards Asundh with a strong force. But so great was the position of the Ranghars in that country that he could not dare attack them. On the contrary he was attacked and pushed back by them.\textsuperscript{108}

Taking Patiala force and all other available troops with him Captain Macneil assumed the work of subduing the Asundh and Julimana and other refactory villages. He left his place on July 16 via Karnal. The situation had greatly changed by then. General Van Courtlandt was successfully reducing the district of Hissar and the Rohtak district was already restored. The village of Asundh was stormed and captured without any opposition on the part of its inhabitants. It was subsequently burnt to ashes.\textsuperscript{109} Then the villages of Julimana and Chatur also met the same fate. Many more villages were attacked and reduced. All the defaulting villages gave in.\textsuperscript{110}

\textit{Ambala District}

In the district of Ambala there were clear signs in the beginning as if the civil population would rise en masse against the British. But the strict measures applied by the authorities with the support of the troops of Patiala, Nabha, Jind and other petty chiefs helped them in nipping the revolt in the bud, excepting in a few cases.

There was a rising at Rupar under the leadership of Sardar Mohar Singh. He was a Kardar of the Ex-ruler of Rupar Sardar Bhup Singh, who had been deposed for helping the Sikhs against the British during the Anglo-Sikh wars.\textsuperscript{111} He was a popular figure in and around Rupar. People looked to him for guidance and advice and more particularly at such critical times as during the mutiny. He openly preached sedition and asked people to throw off the British yoke as the same had been done in other parts of India.\textsuperscript{112}

Although no definite evidence is in hand regarding his conspiring with the potentates of the nearby states, he was supposed to have instigated many persons of high rank and some hill chiefs too; that

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\textsuperscript{108} Ibid., 32.
\textsuperscript{109} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{110} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{111} Punjab Government Records, VIII-I, 39; Cave Brown, I, 212.
\textsuperscript{112} Ibid.
of Nalagarh being chief among them.\textsuperscript{113} Things went on as such till the month of June when the vaguely disaffected sepoys of the 5th N.I. came from Ambala to Rupar. Soon Sardar Mohar Singh established communication with them and planned to rise in open revolt.\textsuperscript{114}

Captain Gardener, officer commanding the 5th N. I., however, smelled revolt and cautioned his men to refrain from any such activity. But the sepoys refused to listen to him and openly insulted him.\textsuperscript{115}

The captain reported the whole matter to the authorities at Ambala, who asked him to arrest Sardar Mohar Singh and send him to Ambala for trial. But only Gardener knew how difficult was his job. The sepoys declared “their intentions to protect him (Sardar Mohar Singh) and swore he should never be taken prisoner.”\textsuperscript{116}

This happening further deteriorated the situation. Sardar Mohar Singh took the offensive and attacked the Tehsil headquarters. But he was defeated by the police and the jagirdari levies of the Singhpura Sardars.\textsuperscript{117} The Vanquished Sardar retired to a nearby jungle. Soon after the 5th N. I. was recalled to Ambala.\textsuperscript{118} The troops had hardly left the station of Rupar, when the police apprehended Sardar Mohar Singh and sent him to Ambala for trial. Here he was tried along with his three followers, was found guilty, and executed.\textsuperscript{119}

Whole of the population of the district sympathised with the rebels' cause. When the Jullundur mutineers passed through the district on their way from Rupar to Delhi in the month of June, they received whole-hearted support from the people. This fact has been admitted by Forsyth, the deputy commissioner, thus: “One fact was evident to all engaged in the pursuit that the population had

\textsuperscript{113} Punjab Government Records, VIII-I, p. 36.
\textsuperscript{114} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{115} Cave Brown, I, 212.
\textsuperscript{116} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{117} Levies at Rupar numbered 128 foot and 49 sowars. See Punjab Government Records, VIII-I, 41.
\textsuperscript{118} Ibid., 39.
\textsuperscript{119} Ibid.
decidedly not enlisted themselves warmly on the part of the Government, not a man turned out who was not compelled to do so through the fear of the loss of his Jagir and in many instances information collected to deceive was all that we could obtain. He cited some such examples. "The Mir of Garhikotah," he said, "showed great lukewarmness, and I fined him one thousand rupees for his conduct. The Pathans of Khizarbad and the villages of Ferozepur, Naraingarh, Thuska and Govindpur were heavily mulcated (for rebellious behaviour)."

The British authorities of the district were, as a matter of fact, surprised to see the indifferent and unsympathetic attitude of the people—the peasants, zamindars and even the Banias and the Mahajans throughout the district. In the words of Forsyth, "On this occasion the wealthy bankers of Jagadhari displaced a spirit of disloyalty and closefistedness on worthy of a class who owe all their prosperity to the fostering care and protection of the British Government."

121. The Mir fell under suspicion in consequence of a letter supposed to have been written by his son-in-law, Abdul Husain from Muzaffar Nagar in the month of September. This led to the search of his fort, where a large quantity of gun powder, sulphur, etc., was found. In the month of June, he entertained and helped the Jullundur mutineers. Consequently his fort was dismantled by the order of the Chief Court and heavy fine was imposed upon him. See Punjab Government Records, VIII-I, 42.
123. Ibid., 42.
IMPACT OF THE DELHI HARTAL OF 30 MARCH, 1919 ON HARIYANA

BY

DR. SANGAT SINGH, M.A., PH.D.

In response to the clarion call given by Mahatma Gandhi, Delhi observed hartal on 30 March 1919 to protest against the Rowlatt Act. The hartal in the city was full and complete. "The universal character of hartal", wrote Chief Commissioner of Delhi, "was, it must be confessed, a surprise to the officials."\(^1\)

In face of the surging crowds, the authorities called for army from the Red Fort. It is well known that the hartal lead to firing on the crowds before the Railway Station. The police fired buck-shots and the army used service ammunition. According to the *Bombay Chronicle*, 5 April, 1919, the authorities used soft-nosed solid nickle tube and velopex bullets. The Government however denied it.\(^2\) Another incident worth recalling is that in the evening Swami Shraddhanand opened his chest before the insolent soldiers standing as guard near the Clock Tower, facing Municipal Hall and told them: "I am standing, fire."\(^3\) The incident might have taken an ugly turn, but for arrival there, by chance, of Orde, a superintenden, C I.D. The hartal in Delhi continued from 30 March to 18 April 1919.

In the first week of April serious and organized efforts were made to spread the gospel of hartal far and wide beyond Delhi. The first area to have come under the influence of the gospel of hartal was Haryana. The reasons for such a behaviour were many. Haryana was till 1857 a part and parcel of Delhi and still looked to the imperial city as a centre of their activity. The association of Swami Shraddhanand with Delhi during the Satyagraha was a direct source of inspiration to the people of Haryana where the influence

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2. *Home Political B Proceedings*, 192-95, April 1919.
of Arya Samaj was supreme. Pan-Islamic influence from Delhi was also at work. So, different kinds of appeals were made to different classes of people.  

The District of Rohtak and the Panipat Tehsil of Karnal, being strong-holds of Arya Samaj, eagerly looked to Delhi for inspiration. There were local leaders genuinely interested in the cause of national movement. Piru Singh, Manager of the Arya Samaj Gurukul at Mathindu was throughout very active in Bahadurgarh and was in close touch with Swami Shraddhanand. Similarly the conduct of Rai Sahib Chhotu Ram, a strong Arya Samajist of great influence, was stigmatised by the Deputy Commissioner as ‘actively disloyal.’

During the first half of April, people in large numbers from Rohtak, Sonepat, Bahadurgarh and the adjoining towns on the main railway lines daily visited Delhi, acquainted themselves with the development of events and equipped with pamphlets and hand-bills issued by Delhi political organisations, returned by the train which reached Rohtak at 7-10 P.M. The daily arrival of this train used to be attended by the gathering of crowds of people near Railway Stations and the news brought back was eagerly canvassed throughout the towns.

Emissaries from Delhi, prominent among whom was Maulvi Bashir Ahmed convened mass meetings and delivered inflammatory speeches. Economic pressure in the form of dishonouring hundies and social boycott was also brought to bear on the defaulting individuals and towns. For instance, the town of Beri did not observe hartal on 6 April. So the Delhi agitators, as an object lesson caused a hundi of Lala Lakshmi Narayan, banker, Rais, and Honorary Magistrate to be dishonoured. A hartal on 11 April followed. Similarly Ambala Cantt. failed to observe hartal on 6th April. Thereupon the shopkeepers received letters from Delhi threatening social boycott. Some of the retailers who happened to visit wholesale piece goods and other merchants at Delhi were refused goods. On 12 April, two emissaries from Delhi came and ordered a general

5. Hunter Committee Evidence, VI, 221.
h hartal at Ambala Cantt. the following day. The hartal was all a success and was followed by a public meeting in the afternoon. The hartal at Gohana in Karnal district, and other towns and villages have been attributed to similar influences.

A number of emissaries from Delhi, prominent among them being Surrendera Nath Sharma who was later prosecuted and sentenced to 3 years imprisonment under the Defence of India Act, visited almost all the small towns in Haryana. The hartal at Rewari, Gurgaon, Faridabad, Ballabgarh, Palwal, Hodal, Sohna, Nuh, Biobbar, and Punahanna in Gurgaon District and at Lodwa, Shahabad, Kaithal in Karnal have been attributed to direct pressure from Delhi. Hissar rather went a step ahead. Emulating Delhi, the President of Arya Samaj was invited to the pulpit at the Sirsa Juma Masjid on 12 April and the next day at Hissar Idgah. Students from Delhi assisted in promoting hartal at Bhiwani on 6 April.

The influence exerted by Delhi on Haryana and other parts of the Panjab prompted Michael O'Dwyer, Lt. Governor, Panjab to urge on 19 April 1919, the day Delhi quietened down, to “respectfully and very strongly urge” the Government of India to extend Martial Law to Delhi, as without that there was little chance of Haryana calming down. The following day, the Government of India conveyed to the Chief Commissioner Delhi, the purport of request from Panjab and also pointed to the impact of Delhi on the western districts of U. P. Since Delhi had already quietened down, the reply of Mr. Barron, Chief Commissioner, Delhi was firm that “in the context of present circumstances, there is no justification for Promulgation of Martial Law.”

This was followed by a conference attended by William Vincet, Home Member, James Du Boulay, Secretary Home Department, Charles Cleveland, Director Central Intelligence and Hare Scott, the

7. Ibid, dated 27 April, 1919.
10. Ibid.
11. Telegram, dated 19 April, 1919 from Chief-Secretary, Panjab to Secretary Home, Government of India.
12. Telegram, dated 21 April, 1919 from Chief Commissioner Delhi to Secretary Home, Government of India.
Senior Superintendent Police, Delhi, when keeping in view the
categorical reply from the Chief Commissioner, it was finally decided
not to go in for Martial Law at Delhi.¹³

To judge the extent of impact of Delhi on the adjoining areas
and the means to stop it, a conference was held on 24 April, at
Chief Commissioner’s residence. It was attended by Mr. Barron,
Chief Commissioner, Delhi, Lt. Col. Beadon, Deputy Commissioner,
Delhi, Mr. Hare Scott, Senior Superintendent Police, Delhi, Mr.
Trevaskis Deputy Commissioner, Gurgaon and Major Ferrar, Joint
Deputy Commissioner, Lahore who was deputed on special duty by
the Panjab Government.¹⁴ Mr. Barron regarded the information
forthcoming from Panjab as vague and not of much help. Major
Ferrar, however, to acquaint himself with the events, contacted the
local authorities for first hand information and submitted separate
reports on Rohtak, Gurgaon and Ambala, which are good source of
information.¹⁵

Armed with new evidence, the Lt. Governor Panjab, again
advocated the extension of Martial Law to Delhi.¹⁶ Mr. Barron’s
reply to the proposal was an emphatic no.¹⁷ The reply caused a
dismay in the Home Department, and Mr. Vincent, Home Member
wrote, “what we must insist on is increased vigilance in Delhi and
timely detailed information from other provinces. If there is any
further outbreak in Delhi, as I anticipate in the near future, martial
law will have to be enforced there at once if the Civil authorities are
unable to check disorder promptly and effectively.”¹⁸

Because of its proximity to Delhi, and the influence of Arya
Samaj, Hariyana did not lag behind in the freedom struggle. The
movement was not confined to the cities and towns, but percolated
to the masses in the country side. This was an index of political
consciousness of Hariyana as early as 1919.

¹⁴. Ibid.
¹⁵. Ibid.
¹⁶. D. O. dated, 29 April, 1919, from Chief Sec. Panjab to Deputy Sec-
Home, Government of India.
¹⁷. Letter No 76-C-Home, dated, 1 May, 1919 from Chief Commissioner,
Delhi to Sec. Home, Government of India.
¹⁸. Minutes, dated 6 May, 1919.
HARIYANA—THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

BY

KRI PAL CHANDRA YADAV

The Panjab- Reorganization Bill passed by the Indian Parliament on September 10, 1966 bifurcated the bilingual state of Panj ab and made provision for the setting up of the new state of Haryana comprising the districts of Gurgaon, Mahendragarh, Rohtak, Hissar, Karnal and some parts of the Sangrur and Ambala districts. Covering an area of nearly 16,835 square miles and a population of 76,10,700 souls, the new state forms 35.43 percent, and 37.64 percent of the entire Panjab’s area and population respectively.

NAME HARIYANA : ITS ORIGIN

Before we describe the land and the people of Haryana let us see how the name Haryana has come into vogue. This name is a matter of controversy which admits of diverse interpretations. The Imperial Gazetteer of India says that word Haryana is probably derived from Hari, green and is reminiscent of time when this was a rich and fertile tract. A. Seton also subscribes to this view. F. Wilson, in Punjab Notes and Queries, opines that “Hariyana is so called because it was formerly a green forest (Haryalban)” The Hissar District Gazetteer, on the basis of oral tradition, attributes the name to Raja Harishchandra, who is said to have come from Oudh at some undefined period and peopled this part of country. It also gives a second view that it stems from the word ‘Hari’ (slain) in allusion to a tradition of great slaughter of Kshatriyas by Parashu Ram on 21 different occasions. The Settlement Report of Hissar says that this name is derived from Hariban, a wild plant.

1. This was based upon the recommendations of ‘The Punjab Boundary Commission’ vide their Report, May 31, 1966, para 136, point 3, p. 49.
4. Foreign Political Consultation, No. 34, July 22, 1809 (N. A. I.)
6. P. 5.
7. P. 5.
with which the area was formerly said to be overgrown. Maharaj Krishan, the author of *Tarikh-i-Zillah Rohtak*, tells us that this region was previously inhabited by robbers and dacoits and the name is derived from the act of robbery (Haran) on the part of these people. Dharnidhar in his book *Akhand Prakash* says that this word comes from "Haribanka" connected with the worship of Hari, the Lord Indra. Since the tract is a dry one, its people worship Indra (Hari) always for rain. Pandit Girish Chandra Avasthi traces its origin in *Rigveda* where *Hariyana* is used as a qualifying adjective with the name of a King Varuraja. This king, he says, ruled over this tract; and as such, the region came to be known as Hariyana after him. Acharya Bhagvan Dev says that this name has been derived from Har, the Lord Mahadeva, who was worshipped and is being worshipped even today very popularly by the people of this area. Maha Pandit Rahul Sankratayana was of the opinion that this word was a corrupt form of "Haridhankya", a term often used for this region in the ancient literature. Pandit Bhagvaddutt holds the view that the word has come from the *Dasharn*—the place having ten forts which has been used for this region in the Mahabharta. Dr. Hari Ram Gupta is of the opinion that this region being the earliest home of the Aryas was called the 'Aryana' or the abode of the Aryas, like Ludhiana, the region of the Lodhis and Bhattian, the home of the Bhattis.

All these views are based on traditions and conjectures, which are, unfortunately, not very old. None of these accounts go beyond the 19th century. Nor do we find their statements supported and confirmed by any historical evidence. As such the view expressed by Dr. Buddha Prakash seems to us more authentic. He says that since this region was inhabited by the Abhiras during the post-Mahabhарат period, it came to be called after their name: Abhirayana=Ahirayana=Hirayana=Hariyana. Prof. Vasudeva Saran Aggarwal

8. *Ibid*.
13. Quoted by Dr. Shankar Lal Yadav, p. 59.
15. This view was expressed by him in the course of a discussion.
also looked eye to eye with Dr. Buddha Prakash on this point.17 Unlike all other views, this view is supported by historical evidence too. The Kamasutra says this region was called after the name of its Abhira-inhabitants and the Shri-Kantha Janpada and Kuruksetra were parts of it.18 The descendants of these Abhiras (now-a-days called Ahirs) even today, as they did during the ancient and medieval days,19 inhabit this region in a good number. Thus this view appears to be more reasonable from the point of view of philology as well as history.

BOUNDARIES

Although Haryana has been changing its names and political boundaries like all other provinces of India from time to time, its geographical boundaries are more than permanent. They are the Shivaliks in the north; the river Yamuna in the east; the Aravalli ranges and a part of the Thar desert in the south; and the river Sutlej in the west. These natural boundaries produced, in more or less isolated conditions, a distinct culture, a special mode of living, and a different linguistic pattern. And these factors gave a sort of individuality to the region which can be seen to exist even today in as good a form as it existed in the ancient and medieval times.

How Haryana’s natural boundaries were respected by the political authorities through the ages is a very long story. Keeping brevity in view, let us start our tale with the medieval times. To quote Dr. Tarachand: “In the sixteenth century Akbar organized the provinces of his empire on what must have appeared to him the natural lines. The Indus plain was divided into Multan and Thatta. The Punjab with its capital at Lahore formed a province. Ajmer stood for Rajasthan. Delhi, Agra, Oudh, Allahabad, ....Bengal ...., Malwa ...., Ahmedabad, Khandesh and Berar” were there.20 The Province of Delhi (Haryana) shows the Ain-i-Akbari, extended between the Thar desert and the Sutlej. It comprised the Sarkars of Delhi, Rewari, Hisar Firoja and Sirhind.21 The position of the Subba of Delhi (Haryana) remained unchanged during the reigns of Jehangir and Shah Jehan. Aurangzeb made some alterations; but the

17. For Prof. Aggarwal’s views see Dr. Shankar Lal Yadav, p. 59.
19. Ibid.
position of Delhi (Hariyana) remained quite unaffected. The reason was that Aurangzeb also kept in the view "linguistic and natural divisions" while demarcating the provinces. The author of Khulasat-ut-Twarich, Sujan Rai Bhandari of Batala writing in 1695 also confirmed this fact. These administrative divisions based on linguistic and natural divisions continued unchanged up to the middle of the 18th century when the whole administrative machinery broke up into pieces owing to the rise of the Jats, Rohillas, Sikhs and Marathas in this region as well as due to the foreign invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah Abdali.

Before we proceed to the next point one thing need be made clear first. Although officially called 'Delhi Subha' this region was popularly known as Hariyana throughout the medieval period. The Skandpuran, The Palam-Baoli Inscription of Vikram Samvat 1337, the Ajmer Museum Chauhan Prashasti of the mid-12th century, the Delhi Museum Inscription of 1328, Jait Ram Vani Granth, etc., bear testimonies to this historical fact. Everywhere, excepting the official documents, this popular name was assigned to the region is revealed by the following popular saying which was current during the 18th and 19th centuries (even today the older generation remembers it).

Shalak Alwar bich Hariyana
Jathe ghi, dudh, dahi ka khana

(Hariyana is situated between the Shivaliks and Alwar and the people of this region live on milk, ghi and curd.)

In the earlier days of the 19th century the British, out of sheer ignorance of the land and the people of this region, picked up the

22. Tarachand, p. 23.
25. Epigraphia Indo-Muslimica, p. 35.
popular name Haryana and assigned it to a small district comprising some parts of the districts of Rohtak, Hissar and of the states of Jind and Patiala after the year 1820. But they soon knew the reality and realized the unsoundness of their work in the light of it. In 1837 the Government undid the mistake by liquidating the district and transferring its villages to the newly-created district of Bhattiana. But the British writers, for the reasons best known to them alone, chose to stick to this mistake.

In all their writings they have taken Haryana as it stood as a district between 1820 and 1837 and not the popular Haryana Pradesh. For instance, Walter Hamilton's The East India Gazetteer (London, 1828) Vol. I, pp. 669-70, J. Winson's Final Report on settlement of the Sirsa District (1879—83), pp. 29-30, Hissar District Gazetteer (1882), p. 5, Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series, Panjab, 1908, Vol. I, p. 222 and alphabetical series Vol. XIII, P. 53 all speak of the same old district of Haryana which was "a tract of country lying between 28°30' to 30° N and 75°45' and 76°30' E, chiefly in the eastern half of Hissar District but also comprising parts of Rohtak District and of the States of Jind and Patiala." Not to speak of these British writers even many modern historians like Dr. Ganda Singh even today draw upon the same conclusion on the basis of the above mentioned works. A distinction must be made between the Haryana Prant and the Haryana district of the 19th century.

STRATEGICAL IMPORTANCE

Owing to its geographical situation, Haryana has been occupying a very important place in the history of India from time immemorial. In the words of Dr. Buddha Prakash:

"It constitutes the gateway to the citadel of the Gangetic valley, formed by the Himalayas in the north and the Aravallis in the south with the great desert of Rajasthan, prolonged seaward by the salty and tidal marsh of the Rann of Kutch, in the west. The land between the north-eastern extremity of the desert and the foot of the Himalayas below Simla provides a passage from the north-west which leads to the entrance of the Gangetic plain at Delhi on the Yamuna. Naturally, therefore, this gateway is the key to the security

29. Ibid., para 29.
of the north India plain and on its defence has depended the independence of the country from ages immemorial. It is significant that this region is littered with ancient battlefields like Kurukshetra, Taraori, Panipat, Kunjpura and Karnal where the fate of India continued to be decided for centuries without number. That is why it is Karmakshetra and Dharmakshetra, the land adored with libations of blood and the region requiring an immense sacrifice on the part of the people. Every inch of this territory is a holy place and pilgrimage, where people have been coming from all parts of the country with a religious motive and a burning faith in the sacredness of its soil. This religious sanctity enshrines the military importance of this region, and its spiritual association encases the material advantage that ensures from its proper protection. A region, on the security of which the destiny of the millions of men depends, cannot but be the land of highest religious purity and cultural significance.\(^3\)

**PHYSICAL FEATURES**

Hariyana is a broad level plain standing nearly on the water-parting between the basins of the river Indus and the Ganga. It is formed almost entirely of alluvium. In the whole of the region, excepting the flood plains of the Yamuna and the Ghaggar, locally called the *Khadar*, the alluvium is of the "old type" containing sand, clay, silt and hard calcareous concentrations about the size of nuts known as "kankars". In the *Khadar* the deposits of the alluvium are of the "Recent type". They consist of coarse sand and some silt regularly deposited by the rivers and small mountain stream of the Indo-Ganga water-shed. This process appears to be still going on in this region.\(^8\)

In the south-western parts of the Hariyana-plain a great deal of wind—blown sand stands piled up in the form of sand dunes. These dunes sometimes are many feet high and go beyond miles in length. The alluvium is covered by sand and the region is as bad as a desert. The only parts useful for cultivation and production in this region are the places where due to some reason or the other sand does not collect. Such places are locally called "Tals."

In the southern most parts of the Hariyana-plain, a number of

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hills appear here and there. They are the parts of the Delhi system of the Aravalli ranges and are called Alwar and Ajaibgarh series. The hills of the eastern Ferozepur-Jhirka and Rewari Tehsils belong to the Ajaibgarh series and comprise the soft slates and subordinate bands of siliceous lime stones. The hills along the western border of the Ferozepur-Jhirka, Nuh tehsil and Mahendragarh district come under the Alwar series and are formed of quartzite, grit, conglomerate and lime stones.

**RIVERS AND STREAMS**

The Yamuna. Although no big river flows through Haryana, the region is fortunate in having the river Yamuna on its eastern boundary with the Uttar Pradesh. Even though the supplies in this river are meagre as compared to the other big rivers of India, it does provide irrigation for large tracts in districts Karnal, Hissar, and Rohtak through the Western Jamuna Canal. It also charges the sub-soil water all along the border.

Besides that, there are many small rivulets which flow with usually enough floods in the rainy season but always dry up in the hot season and indeed seldom last beyond October. These rivulets though notoriously known for their flood havocs during the rainy season, add up to the prosperity of Haryana. They bring a great deal of rich clay with them and leave it behind at the places where they pass through. The result is that farmers get very luxuriant crops of wheat, gram and sugarcane on their fields. Besides that sub-soil water is found alongside these rivulets and provides great irrigational facilities. And thus keep their courses free from draught and famine.

The Ghaggar. The Ghaggar rises in the outer-Himalayan ranges between the Yamuna and the Sutlej. It enters the plains as a rapid and variable mountain torrent, passes near Ambala and after south-westerly course of about 70 miles chiefly through the Patiala district of the Punjab where it is joined by the united streams of the Saraswati, Markanda and other numerous hill torrents which cross the Ambala district between the Yamuna and Sutlej, it bends to the west through Hissar district and the Bikaner Division of Rajasthan where it is finally lost,33 some 290 miles from its source.34

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33. It is lost near Bhatner.
From the appearance of the Ghaggar valley and the numerous remains of towns and villages which stud its banks all the way down to Bhawalpur, it is evident that at one time it conveyed a much larger volume of water than at present and probably was the channel of a perennial stream. It has been identified with the Sarswati by some and the Dhrashadwati by the others. The latter seems to be more correct.

The Saraswati. It was a great river in ancient days. The Rigveda calls it a river par excellence. It is regarded as the first of the vedic rivers. In ancient period of our history it was much bigger a river and joined the Arabian Sea. But today it is a very small rivulet. It rises in the outer—Himalayan ranges between the Yamuna and the Sutlej. In the most of its course it has no defined bed. But in its lower reaches in the district of Karnal, it becomes useful to the rice lands. Its floods, however, rarely extend to any distance. It carries no silt and its banks are usually high and steep. It ultimately joins the Ghaggar in the district of Patiala and dries up with it near Bhatner in Bikaner.

The Markanda. A rivulet of the Indo-Ganga water-shed it flows across the Ambala and Karnal districts. It is distinguished from the rest of the hill-streams by its extensive flooding and by the heavy deposits of silt. Sand is more rarely deposited and as a rule only in the vicinity of the banks. Its surplus water finds its way into the Sanisa Jhil where it joins the Saraswati.

There are four rivulets of the Mewat hills—the Sahibi, Indori Dohan and Kasavati. The Kasavati and Dohan are not so important.

The Sahibi. The Sahibi rises in the Mewat hills near Manoharpur and Jitgarh, about 70 miles north of Jaipur. Gathering volume from a hundred petty tributaries, it forms a broad stream along the boundary of Alwar and Patan and crossing the north-west corner of the former below Nimrana and Shahjehanpur, enters Rewari above Kotqasim. From this point it flows due north.

36. *Ibid*.
37. *Ibid.*, VI, 61, 2 and 8; VII, 95, 2.
38. *Karnal District Gazetteer*, 1918, pp. 5-8; Sirsa Settlement Report, para 5.
through Rewari and Pataudi to the Jhajjar Tehsil. Flowing through Lohari and throwing off branches into Patauda and Kheri Sultan it again passes the Gurgaon district till it finally enters Rohtak at the village of Kutani. On reaching this point it divides into two branches which again reunite near Sondhi, Yakubpur and Fatehpur. From here the reunited stream turns to the north again and going a few miles more through the district it passes into the Delhi territory where it is made to meet the Yamuna through a channel.\textsuperscript{40}

**The Indori.** It rises near the old ruined city and fort of Indore perched on the Mewat hills, west of the town of Nuh of the Gurgaon district. After a few miles of run, it divides itself into two branches. The main branch goes off north-west and joins the Sahibi on the southern border of the Rewari Tehsil; while the collected waters of a number of feeders of the north branch pass three miles west of Taoru, spread over the low lands round Bhora and ultimately also fall into the Sahibi near Pataudi. This is the end of the Indori.\textsuperscript{41}

**GEOLOGY AND MINERALS**

Hariyana is poor in mineral resources. Excepting calcareous concentrations called “kankar” which is available everywhere,\textsuperscript{42} there is no other mineral in the whole of Hariyana except Mohendragarh district. Though Mahendraagarh has not been geologically investigated thoroughly, yet large number of minerals are reported to occur in the area. Some of the important minerals in the area are iron ores, calcite, lime-stone, asbestos, barytes, beryl, copper ores, comelian, garnet, mica, etc. Out of these, iron ore, calcite, lime-stone and kankar are being quarried at present.\textsuperscript{43}

**CLIMATE**

Although Hariyana lies almost 300 miles north of the Tropic of Cancer, its climate is more or less tropical. Since it is customary to divide the whole year into three seasons in India everywhere—the

\textsuperscript{40} Rohtak District Gazetteer, 1910, para 5.
\textsuperscript{41} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{42} Hisar District Gazetteer, 1915, p. 9; Rohtak Settlement Report, 1873-79, p. 8; Karnal District Gazetteer, 1883-84, p. 2; Gurgaon District Gazetteer, 1910, p. 9.
cool season, from November to February; the hot season from March to early June; and the rainy season from June to October, let us study the climatic conditions of Haryana season-wise.

To start with the winter season, Haryana remains under the influence of cool outblowing land winds throughout the season. But the Himalayan mountain walls protect the region as it does the rest of India, from the icy—blasts from central Asia. Hence the temperature remains low—the mean January temperate at Hisar is 56°F. The general anticyclonic conditions of winter months are sometimes interrupted by the feeble cyclones which give a little rainfall to the region. Summer months experience hot weather with dry desicating hot winds (loog) and occasional dust-storms. The climax of the season is reached in May and June when the region is hot like a furnace. About the middle of July the monsoon clouds begin to appear and the humidity increases rapidly till a thunderstorm announces the advent of the rains.44

The rainfall pattern of Haryana has been affected considerably by the region’s continental location and nearness to the subtropical upper air high pressure of Thar desert. This results in low rainfall and variation at different places. The districtwise rainfall (average of five years 1958-62) is as follows45:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Rainfall in inches</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ambala</td>
<td>47·16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnal</td>
<td>29·15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jind</td>
<td>22·95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rohtak</td>
<td>19·51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gurgaon</td>
<td>19·18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahendragarh</td>
<td>18·87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hisar</td>
<td>17·83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

About 80% of the over-all rainfall in Haryana falls between July and September. There is a pronounced rainfall peak in the months of July, August and September. There is a very little amount of rain in Haryana during the winter season by the cyclones. It is

44. **Hissar District Gazetteer**, pp. 16-17 provide a very interesting account of the climatic conditions of the district.

HARIYANA—THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

3 to 4 inches in the upper parts and less than an inch in the lower ones.

AGRICULTURE

Hariyana is essentially an agricultural state. About nine-tenths of the entire population depend on agricultural pursuits for their existence. A little under three-fourths of the total land area of Hariyana is cultivated—about 41 percent sown every year and further 31 percent lying temporarily fallow. About 35 per cent. of all the land sown is irrigated. The total yield of foodgrains is about 24,39,300 tons a year or 1-9 lbs. per head per day. 46a

CATTLE WEALTH

Hariyana is known throughout the country for its milch and draught cattle and claims the honour to be the home of the two of the best Indian breeds of cows and buffaloes. This is because its soil and climate are eminently suited for the breeding of good stock and the people of this area are good breeders. The region has vast potentialities for the development of dairying industry and given proper guidance and direction it can well become the Denmark of India.

THE PEOPLE

The people in Hariyana, excepting a few lower castes, are the descendants of the Aryan race. They profess many religions. According to the 1961 census 67½ lakh people in this region are Hindus, 5 lakh Sikhs, 3 lakh Muslims, 26 thousand Jains, 85 hundred Christians and 7 hundred Buddhists. 46 Every religion is further divided into castes and sub-castes. Among the Hindus the important castes are Ahirs, Brahmans, Bishnois, Gujars, Jats, Khatis, Malis, Rajputs and Harijans. The Sikhs have Jats, Khatri, Aroras, Tarkhans, and Harijans among their ranks. Among the Muslims, the Meos (2,16,800) form the bulk of the population, and other castes, such as Ranghars, Gujars, Lohars, Rangez, etc, number only a few thousand.

46a. Ibid., pp. 23, 192-93, 208-9.
HARYANA: STUDIES IN HISTORY AND POLITICS

There is no denying the fact that the lives of the people are to a great extent controlled by castes. They determine their upbringing, education, customs, habits, marriage, occupation, dwelling-place, type of home, etc. Description of a few important castes may be of interest.

The Ahirs. The Ahirs,\(^47\) popularly known as Abhiras in history, constitute a prominent element in the population of Haryana. They form the bulk of the population of the Gurgaon and Mahendragarh districts and the Jhajjar Tehsil of the Rohtak district. In the districts of Hisar, Rohtak, Jind, and Karnal the Ahirs number only a few thousand.\(^48\)

Tall, wiry, with dark eyes, ample beard and the complexion varying from wheat colour to dark brown, the Ahirs are exclusively agriculturists. They stand in quite the first rank as husbandmen.\(^49\) They are of the same social standing as the Jats, Gujars, Rajputs, Rors, Sunars, Khatis (Tarkhans) who would eat both cachcha and pacca food with them without any hesitation.\(^50\)

The Banias. The word "Bania" stems from a sanskrit word "Banijya", means trade. Internally they are divided into three main divisions, the Aggarwals, the Oswals, and the Maheshwaris. The Banias form by for a considerably important commercial caste in Haryana, as elsewhere in India.\(^51\) Agroha, an ancient city of Haryana, is popularly believed to be the birth place of the Aggarwals.\(^52\)

The Brahmanas. Haryana is the home-land of the Gaur-Brah-

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\(^48\) Kripal Chandra Yadav, Chapter II.


\(^50\) Ibbetson, II, pp. 6-7.


\(^52\) *Vishva Jyoti*, Hoshiarpur, October 1966.
HARIYANA—THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

manas. Besides traditional religious business, called “purohital”, the Hariyana Brahmans are very good husbandmen. They are in no way inferior to other agricultural classes, like Ahrs, Jats, etc., in cultivation and are superior to the Gujars and Rajputs. The Brahmans still consider themselves of the superior status and though eat pucca food with Ahrs, Jats, Rajputs, Malis, Sunars, Baniyas and others would neither eat kachcha food nor smoke with them.  

The Gujars. The Gujars are fine stalwart fellows precisely of the same physical type as the Jats, Rajputs and Ahrs. It is very difficult to differentiate among these castes socially; all the four eat kachcha and pucca food with each other.

The Gujars were originally a pastoral than an agricultural tribe. They were quite unwilling cultivators if taken to it and much addicted to theft. But now they have improved a lot and have taken to agriculture everywhere in Hariyana.

The Jats. The Jats are in every respect most important of the Hariyana people. They are concentrated in the districts of Rohtak, Hissar, and some parts of Jind, Karnal, Gurgaon and Mahendragarh districts. They are all Hindus, the Mula Jats (Muslims) having gone to Pakistan in 1947.

“Tall, complexion fair, eyes dark, hair on face plentiful, head long, nose narrow and prominent but not very long,” the Jats are indeed “a bold peasantry, their country’s pride, accustomed to guide the ploughshare and wield the sword with equal readiness

53. Ibbetson, II, 6-7.
55. Ibbetson, II, pp. 6-7.
56. Ibid.
58. Qanungo, p. 20.
and success-second to no other race in industry and courage. 59
Socially, they occupy the same position which is shared by the Ahirs, Mails, Gujars, Rajputs, Rors etc. 60 The Jats are very good farmers. 61

The Meos. The Meos get their nomenclature from their residential tract, the Mewat, comprising the hilly country of Gurgaon, Alwar and Bharatpur. 62

The Meos are essentially agriculturists, but barren tracts of land do not give enough for their existence. Gifted with the qualities, such as daring, courage, adventure and hardihood, the poor Meos took to the profession of theft in the past. 63 They loved independence much more than anybody else. Throughout the medieval period of our history they have played the part of a refractory people and never recognized the authority of the Delhi kings in Mewat. 64

Though converted to Islam during the Muslim rule, the Meos profess a happy combination of Hinduism and Islam. They celebrate Holi and many other Hindu festivals. Men and women dress themselves in the old Hindu fashion. On the occasions of marriage, birth and other ceremonies, Hindu customs and traditions are followed. They avoid gotras in marriage. 65 The Meos are agriculturists now.

The Rajputs. The Rajputs 66 are found almost everywhere in Haryana. They are, as a matter of fact, of the same social standing as the Jats, Ahirs, etc. Though agriculturists, they are thought to be

59. Ibid.
60. Ibbetson., II, p. 367.
63. Smith, Life of Lord Lawrence, I, pp. 88-89.
64. Ibid.
65. Abu Rashid, Ashalat-i-Mewat, pp. 2-38; Crook, III, p. 485; Rose, III, p 79; Ibbetson, III, p. 82.
too lazy to follow the pursuit successfully. Extravagant and fond of litigation, they are often in weak financial position.

Tall, fair complexion, wiry but strongly built, brave, active and smart, the Rajputs make very fine soldiers. A considerable large number of them are found in the Indian army. They are indeed the pride of Haryana.

COMMUNAL HOMOGENEITY

Despite the diversity of religions and castes there has been a remarkable communal homogeneity in Haryana through the medieval and modern periods. Let us begin our story from the medieval times. In those olden days the two faiths, Hinduism and Islam were so strongly blended and intermingled that one could hardly be distinguished from the other. For example, the Muslim-Rajputs professed social, cultural and ritual customs of the Hindus. They avoided one gotra in marriage; retained their Brahanam purohits who gave them protection thread (Raksha Bandhan) at Siloni and the barley seedling to be worn in the turban at the Dusshera festival. Muslim Gujars were also like that. They could be hardly distinguished from their Hindu counterparts. Their women wore Hindu garments (Ghaggara), avoided gotra in marriage, did Karewa, and employed Brahanam purohits in most of their social and religious ceremonies. Above all, the Meos presented a striking example of a happy combination of Hinduism and Islam. They celebrated Holi and many other festivals. Men and their women wore dresses in the old Hindu style. On the occasion of marriage, birth, death and other ceremonies Hindu customs and usages were followed.

Both the communities worshipped the common village deities. Women in general played an important part in this respect. A Muslim woman who had not offered to the small-pox goddess (Sitala mata) would feel that she had deliberately risked her child's life. On special occasions she fed Brahanam-priests. Similarly a Hindu wo-

68. *Ibid*.
70. *Hissar District Gazetteer*, p. 91.
72. Abu Shakur, pp. 2-38.
man would regularly make offerings at the shrines of Muslim saints on every Thursday and at the time of the marriage in the family.73

Even where the population was almost wholly Muslim, the Hindus lived there as good neighbours. Though every Muslim village had its mosque, acknowledged Shariah, and solemnised marriages according to the rites of the holy Quran, the Brahmans were frequently employed as agents for arranging betrothals and other such purposes. The same was the condition in the Hindu villages where Hindus lived peacefully with the Muslim minority. The Muslim faqirs and pirs were equally respected by them. Both communities were closely drawn towards each other and generally lived in love except when the feelings of the minority community were injured by publicly killing a cow or obstructing the Moharram procession. How these small incidents went to spoil the communal harmony can be seen from the following incident that took place at Rewari (district Gurgaon) in the Spring of 1838. The British commissioner of the division granted permission to the Muslims to slaughter cow at Rewari. “The rage and indignation of Hindus knew no bounds”. They vainly approached the authorities to undo it. Finding the British officials quite inexorable, they returned home, and waited in ominous peace until the festival of the Moharram came round six weeks later. The Hindus “suddenly rose and attacked the Muslim procession with all manners of weapons, bricks, stones and even dead pigs and dogs”. The confusion and tumult which ensued were tremendous and desperate affray and loss of life would have been the result, had not the strong police force checked them.74 But such incidents had no everlasting effect on the communal harmony and the heat and acromony subsided in a natural way after some time.75

DISINTEGRATION BY THE BRITISH

The British dreaded such a communal homogeneity. In accordance with the old Roman dictum “divide et impera”, they strove to disintegrate them to render it “impossible for them (Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs) to enter into a general combination”. For this purpose they picked up the points of difference and rivalry among them and fanned them to a dangerous extent.76

74. Smith, II, pp. 91-94.
75. The Spokesman, October 1966.
76. Ibid.
During the Uprising of 1857, the British tried their level best to inflame the feelings of antipathy among the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. But the news of the outbreak of the revolt flared up the nationalistic feelings of the people. Communal harmony prevailed everywhere. And if a thin wall of antipathy was created by the British somewhere sometime by their false propaganda, it was soon demolished by the presentation of true facts by the Indians. A study of the events would bear a testimony to it.

The efforts of Emperor Bahadur Shah in this direction and their positive effects on the region of Hariyana are too well known to be described here. The chiefs of this region left no stone unturned to foster a congenial communal atmosphere in their respective states. Raja Nahar Singh of Ballabhgarh gives details of his efforts to Emperor Bahadur Shah thus: "Although I, in my heart" profess the Hindu religion, still I follow the dictates of the Mohammedan leaders and am obedient to the followers of that creed." How superior was he to the communal prejudices can be seen from the following assertion: "I have gone so far as to erect a lofty marble mosque within the fort (of Ballabhgarh). I have also made a spacious Idgah...close to my park." Besides that, the Jat raja had appointed many Muslim officials to the responsible posts in his administration. The Muslim chiefs of Jhajjar, Dadri and Pataudi had also behaved in the same vein with their Hindu subjects and had given them many a high post in their states.

These chiefs, with an exception of the Nawab of Farrukhnagar who had a long quarrel with Rao Tula Ram of Rewari, had reached mutual understanding in 1857. The Muslim chief of Dadri helped Tula Ram in suppressing his co-religionist Ahmed Ali, the Nawab of Farrukhnagar, who, instead of waging war against the British, was fighting his neighbours in furtherance of his personal interest. A letter of Muhammad Bakht Khan, the Lord Governor General at Delhi, shows that the Rajput ruler of Nimrana, and the Muslim rulers of Jajjar and Pataudi at one time agreed to follow Tula Ram, the Hindu chief of Rewari through thick and thin.

77. Ibid.
78. Foreign Political Consultations, Nos. 51-55, March 4, 1859.
80. Foreign Political Consultations, Nos. 51-55, March 4, 1859.
81. Mutiny Papers, bundle No. 43, document No. 2 (N.A.I.) without date.
This understanding was by no means confined to the princes only. The people also inculcated mutual understanding among themselves. In the district of Gurgaon the masses, with an exception of a few anti-social elements which normally try to take advantage of such situation everywhere, worked with a nationalist spirit. The "loyalists" were attacked by the "rebels" irrespective of caste, creed or religion. For instance, the Meos attacked and killed the "loyal khanzadas", their own brethren at Nuh. Next the Rawat jats of Hodal village and the Rajputs of Hathin "who were supposed to be on the side of the (British) Government" were attacked by a large gathering of the Surat Jats of Hodal, Pathans of Seoli and the Meos. On another occasion the Meos joined with Ahirs under the leadership of Rao Tula Ram and attacked the Rajputs of the Bhora Pargana who were disturbing the Rao in the 'intizam' of his territory at the instigation of the selfish ruler of Farrukhnagar. In Panipat district is found a good instance of the Muslim Ranghars coming to the rescue of their Jat brethren of the village of Bulleh when they were attacked by a British force under Captain Hughes on July 14. In Hisar Hindus and Muslims assembled and fought under Prince Muhammad Azim. The rising at Sirsa has been often interpreted by many people as to have taken communal turn. In the words of Majumdar "At Sirsa the rising took a communal turn. The Hindus fled and the Muslims plundered not only the treasury but also the town and the neighbouring villages." Perhaps Dr. Majumdar has based his account on the statement of Dr. Chaudhari, who draws upon almost the same conclusion on the false authority of Chick.

In the second week of November all the leaders of Haryana—Prince Muhammad Azim of Bhattu, General Samad Khan of Jhajjar, Rao Tula Ram and his cousin Kishan Singh of Rewari and Ahmed Ali (Risaldar) commandant of the Jodhpur Legion—assembled at Narnaul under a common banner, irrespective of their caste, creed or religion, and gave a tough fight to the British on the battlefield of Narnaul on November 16, 1857.

82. Gurgaon District Gazetteer, pp. 5-6.
83. Ibid.
84. Foreign Consultation, 581-86, Aug. 6, 1858.
The British saw a great danger in the communal homogeneity among the Indians. In consequence they strained their every nerve to disturb it. This ultimately resulted in great communal differences among the various communities. There were communal riots and quarrels. The Muslim league was formed and the demand for Pakistan came up. But Haryana remained unaffected and saving a few minor quarrels here and there, there was never a serious trouble over any question among the different communities.

Finding that their communal policy of 'divide and rule' did not work well in Haryana, the British Government tried to divide the people economically. They created two classes. One, agricultural, mainly living in villages and the other commercial or urban classes. The rural population was won over by giving them a few small posts in the administration, such as those of Tahsildar, sub-inspector etc.90 In consequence differences arose. But they disappeared after the advent of independence.

Immediately after August 15, 1947, a wave of bloody quarrels which, unfortunately, spread throughout Northern India, spread in different parts of Haryana too. But very soon such great national leaders as Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru came in and appealed to the good sense of the people. Consequently normalcy prevailed in the region after a short while. A good number of Muslims, especially the Meos, gave up the idea of going to Pakistan.90

Now there are no communal differences and all sections of the society are living amicably.

89. See Shri Ram Sharma, Haryana Ka Itihas (Urdu), pp. 87-88.
90. Shri Ram Sharma, pp. 143-46.
THE ROLE OF THE JATS IN NORTHERN INDIA'S ETHNIC HISTORY

BY

M. K. KUDRYAVTSEV [U.S.S.R.]

All Indian population censuses conducted in the country since the 1870's have treated the Jats as an important population group. The 1931 census, the most comprehensive census on record, gave the number of Indian Jats as over 8 million. More than 6 million of these lived in the Punjab that was not partitioned at the time; approximately one million lived in Rajasthan and about 800,000 in the United Provinces (now the state of Uttar Pradesh). According to the census, large groups of Jats also resided in Kashmir, the North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan and Sind. Unfortunately, the recent population censuses conducted in the Republic of India and in Pakistan have not supplied adequate statistics on the Jats.

The Jats use different languages. In 1931, under one half of all Jats covered by the census used Punjabi, at least one and a half million different Lahnda dialects, while the majority of the rest, both in the Punjab and elsewhere, spoke Hindustani (Urdu and Hindi). The Jats profess different religions. According to the same 1931 census, half of the six million Punjab Jats were Moslems, over 2 million Sikhs and about 1 million Hindus.

One may well ask: why did the Indian censuses include in one group people who lived in different parts of the country, spoke different languages and professed different religions?

The population census reports, other official documents, ethnographic surveys (Ibbetson, Crook, Rose, present-day authors) traditionally treat the Jats as a separate caste or a group of castes. Other researchers, especially economists, are inclined to regard the Jats as a separate social group of cultivators. However, on closer examination it becomes obvious that both definitions, far from giving a comprehensive idea of what the Jats really are, obscure our understanding of important historical events which involved the Jats.

True, some Jats are members of caste groups of different social status which bear a variety of names. However, caste distinctions (a restricted choice of occupation, endogamy, marriage,
dietary and other regulations, common religion, caste self-government, etc.) are not characteristic of the Jats as a community. Moreover, many of them do not recognize caste distinctions at all. Nor do the Jats make up an integral social group. Although most Jats both in India and Pakistan are farmers, it should be remembered that many Jat groups in the West Punjab which is Pakistan's territory depend on stock raising as their principal occupation, while a number of Jats who dwell in towns and cities have been for many generations artisans and merchants. In the past, Jat families gave rise to many feudal dynasties. In the colonial period, several generations of Jat groups served in the British Indian army and in the police.

Some researchers did use the term "tribe" to define the Jats, and separate Jat tribes were not infrequently identified as such in the West Punjab. However, no one has assumed the task of analysing the ethnic meaning of the term "Jats" and tracing their history in a systematic manner.

This explains our special emphasis on features of ethnic affinity between various groups of Jats, vague as these features may seem. We would also like to call attention to historical references to the Jats as a separate group of tribes in connection with major events in Northern India's history and to their special role in the formation and national consolidation of the people of the northern parts of the Republic of India and Pakistan.

The origin of the Jats is still obscure. As far back as the 1820's and 1830's, James Tod suggested that the Jats, together with some other tribes, were brought to India in the wake of the Scythian invasions from Central Asia at the beginning of the Christian era. He asserted that the Jats may have originated from Scythia's Getae mentioned by Herodotus! Alexander Cunningham attempted to find references to the Jats in the works of Greek and Roman authors. He identified the ancestors of the Jats with the Zantii or Xantii mentioned by Strabo and the Intii referred to by Pliny and Ptolemy, i.e., gave as their place of origin the same central Asian territory between the Oxus and the Yaxarthes. Thus, the two researches quoted above agree that the Jats came to India from outside and also agree on their probable place of origin and the time of their probable migration to India. It will, however, be recalled that some legends speak of the Jats as having lived in Sind long before the Scythians invaded the country and even of direct association of Jat chiefs with the heroes of the Mahabharata. All these hypotheses and legends still await thorough scientific investigation.
THE ROLE OF THE JATS

The earliest reliable historical data about the Jats is found in the first references to the tribe in records which date back to the period of the Arabic invasion of Sind at the beginning of the 8th century A.D. The Arabic book "Chach-nama", written shortly after the Arabs had conquered Sind, says that the Jats were probably the largest tribe conquered by Chach before the Arab invasion. Already at that time the Jats made up an important group of semi-nomadic tribes, mostly cattle-breeders, who were dispersed over a large territory. However, there were also settled Jats, notably Jat communities in the towns on the Indus.

Rajas of the Chach dynasty had armed Jat detachments in their service. There is historical evidence to the effect that in the Brahmin Rajput state in Sind the settled Jats had a socially inferior status. The Jats were so numerous that the Arabs (who called them "Zat") believed for a time that they made up the basic population of the country. Jat detachments were the first to take the side of the invaders and number of Jats embraced Islam.

Arab geographers and travellers of the 9th and 10th centuries (Belazuri, Masudi, Ibn Klurdadbagh) describing the population of North-West India invariably mentioned the Jats in the first place as the largest indigenous group.

Among other tribes the Arab geographers more often mentioned a group of tribes called "Med", who were related to the Jats, but were their constant rivals. As regards the Meds, A. Cunningham says with still greater certainty that they came from the Oxus and together with the Jats moved to the Indus towards the beginning of the Christian era. Presumably the Meds originally settled in the South Punjab and Upper Sind while the Jats occupied Lower Sind and Baluchistan. There are practically no further traces of the Meds in ethnic history, but later historical documents as a rule refer to the Jats as dwelling in the Punjab. The annalists of Mahmud Gaznavi, for instance, recorded Mahmud's expedition in 1026 against the Multan Jats who had previously attacked his army on its way back from the Somanath expedition. Mahmud's army and the Jats had a battle on a river, with thousands of specially equipped and armed boats taking part on both sides. By that time many Jat groups had embraced Islam and often joined the invading armies. The fortunes of war often drove them far away from their birthplace. Other Jats who were Hindus resisted the invaders either as warriors of detach-
ments commanded by Jat chiefs or as soldiers of the Rajput feudal army. Thus, Timur himself during his Indian campaign of 1398 had to make special raids against the Jats who were attacking his army and supply echelons, spread over a large distance north of Panipat, i.e., in the East Punjab.

For his description of the formation of the Rajput princely State of Bikaner in the mid-15th century, James Tod drew on legends and historical chronicles available at the time, he asserted that Jat tribes made up the bulk of the population of the new state. According to Tod, Bikaner had some 2200 Jat villages or, as he called them, patriarchal communities. These villages in Bikaner were incorporated in six territorial units which Tod called cantons. Jat chiefs not so much ruled as guided their fellow tribesmen. The Jats were primarily engaged in stock raising and practiced commercial exchanges with their land-cultivating neighbours. Various Sufi Preachers were spreading Islam among the Bikaner Jats.

In recognition of the fact that the Jats had been original masters of the country and in memory of their voluntary submission to Rajput rule, the Bikaner rulers instituted a ceremony in which each new ruler of the Rajput dynasty had a special symbol put on his forehead by one of the Jat chiefs who thus invested the new ruler with the rights of a sovereign.

The founder of the Mogul Empire, Babur who had made several reconnaissance expeditions to the Punjab prior to his conquest of India, wrote in his memories: “Each time we went to Hindustan the Jats and Gujars came from the mountains and valleys in innumerable force to drive away bulls and buffalo.” Babur also mentioned clashes with the Jats in 1525 near Sialkot, in the North Punjab.

Not only Timur and Babur but also Moslem invaders who had preceded them drove the Jats off their territory and forced some of their groups to move further south and east. Separated from their Punjab tribesmen, these Jat groups often found themselves amidst peoples with entirely different and very ancient cultural traditions.

It was only natural that small Jat groups dispersed in a new ethnic environment could not resist its influence for a long time. In the end they were either fully assimilated by the local population.
or adopted its language, way of life and religion to make up a separate caste. The name Jat was sometimes retained by them as a caste designation. In the caste hierarchy these groups were as a rule below the middle, although not at the very bottom. Such was the position of Jats in many areas of the middle Ganges and inside Rajasthan. It was these Jats that the British authorities in India first came in contact with. In their further contacts with Jats in other parts of the country officers of the British administration did not hesitate to call all of them a caste.

The situation was quite different when the Jats moved to new areas enmass led by their chiefs or tribal elders, and settled on large territories making up Jat communities. It is obvious that these Jats too, were influenced by the neighbouring peoples. With time they adopted the language and the way of life of their neighbours, their religions and even social system including the caste set-up. However these processes developed in a different manner among the Jats and assumed more involved forms. Thus, property and social differentiation resulted in the formation of Jat castes of different social status, from the superior castes to the untouchables each caste having its own name which as a rule was similar to that of its counterparts among the neighbouring peoples. However, all Jats of such a group, regardless of their caste, for a long time remained aware of their common origin, retained their traditions and the name Jat as their common national designation. Such was the position of Jats in the northern parts of Rajasthan in the areas adjacent to the Upper Ganges and the Jamna and in some other localities.

The Jats who dwelt in the areas directly west and south west and Delhi had the same status. In the second half of the 17th century and early in the 18th century these Jats, led by their chiefs, repeatedly rose against the Moguls. Some of the uprisings lasted for years. The movement drew in tens of thousands of Jats. These were no longer semi-nomadic cattle breeders, but farmers. Despite the social differentiation that had gone very far and the caste distinctions they remained conscious of their ethnic affinity and unity. It was precisely due to this that the Jats were able to overcome their differences at a crucial period and put up staunch opposition to their common enemy in the struggle for self determination. The Jats' unity turned their struggle into a popular liberation movement. This appears to be the only possible explanation of the fact that following a number of uprisings the Jats succeeded in forming
and maintaining for some time in the mid-18th century an independent Jat State situated close to Delhi, the capital of the Mogul Empire.

The above episode of Jat history is another argument in favour of the conception that, contrary to the assertions of some historians, in this case, too, they did not act as a caste. There is every reason to believe that they constituted a local group of an ethnic entity, although the group admittedly had undergone major changes.

It is especially regrettable that the students who investigated the Sikh movement in the Central and East Punjab in the 17th-18th centuries, disregarded the ethnic composition of the participants and the role of ethnics in historical events. Most investigators agree that it was a mass-scale, popular, anti-feudal movement but fail to answer the question, what nation or nations were involved. It is also an established fact that the formation of the Sikh sect was completed in the course and as a result of this movement. The movement also stimulated the formation of the modern Punjabi language and was responsible for the development of the Gurmukhi alphabet and the appearance of the first books in Punjabi. Especially important is the fact that the period under discussion witnessed the formation of the nationality now called the Punjabis. It is also generally recognized that the Jats were the largest group in the movement, in its armed forces and in the Sikh community itself. However, we have been unable to find in the works on Sikhism and Punjab’s history any comprehensive ethnic analysis of the Punjabi Jats, and of their role in the formation and evolution of the Punjabis.

What then, is the reliable historical data on the Jats of the period available to us at the present time?

In the 17th century they accounted for a significant percentage of the Punjab’s rural population and made up some sections of its urban population. As regards the level of social development, the Jats presented a highly heterogeneous picture. In the Western part of the country most of them fully retained the tribal set-up, while some remained semi-nomads. However, this Jat group was not active in the Sikh movement.

The settled Jat farmers of the Central Punjab practically retained no traces of the tribal system, but some Jat groups in the area
still displayed marked carry-overs of tribal organizations. Thus, at the turn of the 18th century when the Sikh movement embraced the population of the central areas, many Jat groups led by their chiefs joined the Sikh sect; in the army such groups formed separate detachments. The democratic traditions preserved by the Jats affected the structure of the Sikh community—the Khalsa. The Eastern Jats were more differentiated socially but nevertheless they remained aware of their common origin with other Jats.

Most Jats used kindred dialects of the language now called Lahnda ("western"). This name does not occur in the documents of the 17th and 18th centuries, and it is doubtful that the dialects had a common name. However, it appears that even in that early period some dialects, especially in the East Punjab, were influenced by Hindustani (its literary form being Hindi and Urdu), which must have given rise to the formation of the Punjabi language. In their later evolution the Punjabi and the Lahnda dialects drifted so far apart that some researchers included them in different groups of the modern Indian languages. In the period of Mogul rule part of the urban population adopted Hindustani. Some Jats followed suit.

Prior to the expansion of Sikhism many Jats had considered themselves Moslems, while in the eastern regions many of them had declared themselves Hindus. In reality most of them adhered to their former beliefs which were but slightly affected by Islam or Hinduism. The Jats who had adopted very few Islamic dogmas and still remained basically indifferent to Hinduism with its caste system readily adopted the new Sikh religion which was easy to understand, ruled out religious sacrifices, refused to recognize Brahmical hierarchy and, most important, disclaimed caste distinctions.

Common origin and ethnic affinity, common language, communal traditions preserved to a greater or lesser degree, absence of bitter religious opposition or pronounced caste distinctions were all responsible for the fact that the Jats became the motive force of the Sikh movement which thus became a broad popular movement.

The further fate of Punjab’s Jats is very closely connected with the history of the Punjabis. They did not develop into a separate nationality. Together with other Punjab tribes such as the Gakhars, Khokhars, Janjuas, Gujars, some of the Rajputs
The Jats, the non-Punjab Pakhtuns, Tajiks and other elements, the Jats formed the Punjabi nation, making up its ethnic basis. The Jats became members of all class, social and caste groups in feudal—and later in capitalist—Punjab.

The position of the Jats in the south-western parts of the Punjab was quite different. As is known, the people of this part of the country use mainly the Lahnda dialects. The place of the Lahnda dialects in the ethnic classification of the Indian Languages has been extensively discussed, with special works devoted to the subject. Unfortunately, no attempt has been made to investigate the ethnic character of the people who use these dialects, i.e., the indigenous population of the South-West Punjab.

We have already pointed out that the West Punjab Jat tribes, from the time they were first mentioned in historical records and up to the late-Middle Ages, remained primarily pastoralists and largely semi-nomads. The development of agriculture in the Central Punjab under the Moguls and the Mogul system of administration affected the people of the Western areas very insignificantly, with the exception of the population of large towns. Settlement on the land assumed large-scale proportions here only in the period of British rule and has not yet been completed. As late as the beginning of this century, many Jat groups in the area were divided into tribes with clan subdivision and retained the communal way of life and self-government. In the West Punjab they had not yet formed an integrated nationality but retained their ethnic affinity, their language and the name Jat as the common designation.

By way of conclusion, it should be emphasized that despite different interpretations of the term “Jat”, which in some periods and places did have different meanings historically, the Jats have always been a separate ethnic group. They have always played a major role in the ethnic history of northern India as a large, dynamic and very active population group. It was the Jats who formed the ethnic nucleus of the people now called the Punjabis. The role of the Jats has not, however, been confined to this. In different periods and conditions they made up an essential ethnic component of the Sindhis, Rajasthani and other peoples of the Republic of India and Pakistan.

The above discussion demonstrates that material that has long been known, when treated in the context of a nation’s ethnic history
(in our instance, the history of the Jats) proves that it is impossible to dispense with an analysis of the ethnic milieu (which is the subject of the process of historical development) and its evolution if we are to arrive at a correct interpretation not only of cultural and political history, but also of the position and the state of different peoples in our times. [Courtesy: Soviet Feature]
POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN
HARYANA, 1928-1947

By
JAGDISH CHANDER, M.A., Ph.D.

I

The advent of the Simon Commission (1928) and the death of Lala Lajpat Rai (November 1928) made a deep impact on the Haryana politics and struggle for freedom became more stimulating. It stirred the people, particularly the youth, all over the country and efforts were made by various organisations to become more active in Haryana. Especially the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, formed by Satya Pal in 1926 (headquarters at Amritsar), became active here. Before we proceed to take a view of the activities of the Sabha, a brief account of its aims and objectives seems pertinent. Precisely, the Sabha stood for:

(i) To organise the labourers and peasants all over India and then establish a complete independent republic of the labourers and peasants.

(ii) To infuse a spirit of patriotism into the hearts of the youth of the country in order to establish a united Indian nation.

1. Satya Pal, 1884-1954, Passed M.B.B.S. examination from the Medical College, Lahore, 1908; joined the anti-Rowlatt Act agitation 1919; organised a band of Hindu-Muslim Nationalist Workers at Amritsar; his greatest contribution to the nationalism was during Gandhian epoch; Progressive nationalist; powerful speaker and organiser; raised his voice against British repression and oppression during Martial Law at Amritsar; published an Urdu Newspaper 'Congress' from Lahore; suffered repeated imprisonments; sympathised and rendered free medical aid to the political sufferers and the victims of Martial Law; great protagonist of Hindu-Muslim Unity.

2. See Home Department, Political, File 438/1930 (Delhi: National Archives of India).


4. Home Department, Political, File 130/1930 and K.W.
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(iii) To express sympathy with and to assist the economic, industrial and social movements free from communal sentiments.

The Sabha had its branches almost in every district. In Haryana it functioned in Ambala, Karnal, Rohtak and Hissar districts. Leaders of the movement were Gopal Das, Rajinder Singh and Sardar Singh in Ambala; Dev Raj in Karnal; Lachhman Das, Manage Ram Vats, Chandu Lal, Murari Lal, Ram Saran Das, Atma Nand and Daulat Ram Gupta in Rohtak; and Durga Das Gupta, Bhagwan Das Gautam, Lekh Ram, Thakur Shish Pal Singh, Radha Kishan Verma, K.A. Desai, Banwari Lal, Hari Singh, Mohan Chand, Chhote Lal and Bhagwat Swarup in Hissar. A perusal of the list of leaders shows that almost all of them without exception belonged to the Congress. But there was a little difference between the ordinary Congress leaders and the leaders of the "Naufawan Bharat Sabha". The latter had left leanings and believed to some extent in socialist programme.

The main following of the Sabha came from labourers, peasants and students. Therefore, the main centres of activities were the labour colonies and schools and colleges in the towns and villages. How popular was the Sabha in Haryana is a difficult question to answer? By a rough estimate, however, its popularity can be said to be very limited. Most of the people in the towns and villages did not know anything about it because there was no well-organised propaganda machinery of the Sabha. The Sabha leaders spread its message very secretly to a few only.

5. Ibid., Fortnightly Report of Punjab: April 15, 1931; Home Department, Political, April 1931, File 18; The Tribune (Lahore), April 9 and July 19, 1930.

6. The Tribune, March 12, 1931; Home Department, Political, File 130/1930 and K.W.


8. Ibid., July 19, 1930; Interview with Thakur Shish Pal Singh on May 17, 1970.

9. Based on information supplied by the following living leaders of the Naufawan Bharat Sabha: Daulat Ram Gupta, Thakur Shish Pal Singh, Sittal Parsad, Radha Krishan Verma, Mange Ram Vats and comrade Lachhman Das.
as the Government was very suspicious of its activities from the very beginning. The Sabha, in any case, had about 270 members on its rolls. The district-wise break-up of the membership was as shown in Table I:

**TABLE—I**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Ambala</th>
<th>Karnal</th>
<th>Gurgaon</th>
<th>Rohtak</th>
<th>Hissar</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strength</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gurgaon was the only district where there was no branch of the Sabha.

The Naujawan Bharat Sabha did not do much work in Haryana. The reasons for this are not far to seek. The literacy percentage was very low in the region and the socialist ideology was not comprehensible to the illiterate people properly. Its activities were restricted owing to the lack of funds and press. It had only one press, at Amritsar called ‘Naujawan’ which used to publish pamphlets. Moreover, the people feared police repression and, therefore, they did not come forward to join the ranks of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha.

Yet the Government viewed the growth of the Sabha organisation in Haryana as a dangerous portent and it decided to finish it once for all. In consequence, it issued a notification (No, 1980 S.H./General of June, 23, 1930) declaring the Naujawan Bharat Sabha as an unlawful organisation. Next, on the night of June 23, 1930 the offices of the Sabha were searched all over Haryana and a list of members and other materials were recovered. Soon after this, Lachhman Das, President of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Rohtak, Durga Das Gupta, Banwari

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10. Ibid.
11. Home Department, Political, 130/1930 and K.W.
12. Home Department, Political, File 498/1930 and K.W.
13. Ibid.
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Lal, Hari Singh, Mohan Chand, Mool Chand, Chhote Lal and Bhagwant Swarup, members of the Sirsa Naujawan Bharat Sabha\textsuperscript{15} along with many others were arrested under Section 17 (2) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act.\textsuperscript{16} The Naujawan Bharat Sabha prisoners were considered as 'very dangerous persons' and they were given harsh treatment in jails. To say briefly, their life was made hell. They were denied basic amenities. Even food was awfully bad and the prescribed ration\textsuperscript{17} was not given. The vegetables were cut into pieces with a hatchet in the way fodder was prepared for cattle. Dal was not cleaned and 'kankars' were there in it. They were served two chapatis\textsuperscript{18} with vegetable and dal in the morning and evening. There was no breakfast and no evening tea. Besides, they were treated as 'C' Class prisoners. These prisoners were asked to do manual labour, such as grinding of oil seeds, wheat, twisting of ropes and stone-breaking.\textsuperscript{19} These and other harsh treatments made most of the members of the Sabha scare and the activities of the Sabha came to a grinding halt.

Some of its prominent leaders, who were not yet arrested, reorganised the Naujawan Bharat Sabha under different names. A Naujawan Hindu Sabha was formed at Hissar and Ambala,\textsuperscript{20} a Youth League at Rohtak\textsuperscript{21} and a Bal Bharat Sabha at Mandi Dabwali.\textsuperscript{22} All these organisations were purely on the Naujawan Bharat Sabha pattern, Their aims were more or less those of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha.\textsuperscript{23} But like their parent body these organisations also made little impact on the people of Haryana for the reasons already referred to.

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15. Ibid.
17. The food scale for an ordinary prisoner was as follows:
   Wheat Flour... 10 Chhatanks  Fuel......6 Chhatanks
   Dal  1½ Chhatanks  Vegetable...4 Chhatanks
   Oil  ... ½ Chhatanks  Parched Gram—2 Chhatanks
   Salt  ... ½ Chhatanks
   For details, see The Tribune, December 24, 1930.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid., March 12, 1931.
21. Ibid., September 4, 1930.
22. Ibid.
Now about the Congress activities. The Simon Commission and Lalaji’s death had given a shot in the arm to the activities of the Congress in Haryana. To begin with, the Congressmen called a Punjab Provincial Political Conference at Rohtak on March 8—9, 1929 under the presidency of Satya Pal. He was a progressive nationalist, a good speaker and organiser. Moti Lal Nehru and Jawahar Lal Nehru also attended the conference. The gathering was big and the conference was in every way a grand success. Many resolutions of importance were passed, touching such national subjects as the Nehru Report and other local problems such as remission of land revenue owing to the failure of crops, the boycott of foreign clothes and picketing of liquor shops.

After this conference, a peasants’ and workers’ conference was held on March 9-10, 1929 at the same place under the presidency of Arjan Lal Sethi. Jawahar Lal Nehru, Sardul Singh Caveeshar, Sohan Singh ‘Joshe’, Duni Chand (Ambala),

25. Ibid.
26. Ibid., The Tribune, March 13, 1929.
27. Ibid., Sharma, Shri Ram, Takreek, pp. 43-44.
28. Sardul Singh Caveeshar, 1886? Joined the Indian National Congress; active participant in the Civil Disobedience Movement, 1930; arrested and imprisoned for 5 years; In jail he was subjected to brutal fortune; put behind bars nine times for his zealous participation in the national movement; distinguished writer and learned author; president of the Punjab Provincial Congress, 1920; Member of Congress Working Committee, 1928; joined Subhash Chander Bose’s Forward Block and resigned from Congress.
29. Sohan Singh Joshi, 1898-1975. Noted revolutionary; started career as a school teacher; inspired by books on Marxism and Leninism; joined freedom struggle; came into close contact with the Ghadar Party; advocated equality; began his political life by participating in the Akali Movement, 1921; member of S.G.P.C.; joined Naujawan Sabha of Bhagat Singh and elected its president, 1928; started ‘Kirti’ paper; founder of Workers’ and Peasants’ Party; sentenced to 7 years imprisonment in connection with Meerut Conspiracy case; General Secretary of Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, participated in Quit India Movement, 1942; died in 1975.
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Shrimati Parvati Devi, Neki Ram Sharma and Baldev Singh attended the Conference. The speeches delivered and resolutions adopted at this conference were revolutionary in character. The system of forced labour (begar) and village patrol were condemned, and the people were advised not to make payment of taxes. They were asked to establish peasants’ and workers’ societies in all villages and towns of Punjab and Haryana.

After the political conference of Rohtak the work of reorganising Congress Committees and enrolment of their members was taken in hand. Shri Ram Sharma, a prominent Congressman of Rohtak, started organisational work. He visited Beri, Kalanaur, Meham, Gohana, Rohtak and Sonepat. As a result, 22 new Congress Committees were formed, eight in towns and 14 in villages. It shows that considerable progress was made in villages too. Bakshi Ram Kishan, Nanu Ram, Thakur Datt Sharma, Sham Lal, Neki Ram Sharma and K. A. Desai worked in Hisar town and villages, enlisting members and organising Congress Committees. About 20 Congress Committees—seven in towns and 13 in villages were formed in Hisar. In Karnal and Ambala districts, Congress Committees were formed in all the tehsil centres. In Gurgaon, however, the Congress activities were at a low ebb.

The programme work accelerated Congress activities which got further fillip by the passage of complete independence resolution of 1929 (at Lahore Session). The District Committees, in pursuance of the resolution of the Congress, issued a circular to all their units with regard to the celebration of Independence Day on January, 26, 1930 by taking the following pledge:

30. The Tribune, March 12, 1929.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid., March 13, 1929.
33. Ibid., May 18, 1929.
34. Ibid., June 29, 1929.
35. Ibid., July 16, 1929.
37. The Tribune, October 2, 1929.
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"We pledge ourselves afresh to this great cause of India’s freedom and to end the exploitation of our people and resolve to work to this end till success comes to our people. The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe, therefore, that India must sever its connection with the British and attain complete independence (Poori Azadi)."

In almost all the cities, towns and big villages ‘Independence Day’ was celebrated. In Kalka, Jagadhri, Ghanauli, Karnal, Kaithal, Thanesar, Rohtak, Jhajjar, Beri, Khatriwas, Sonepat, Rewari, Bhiwani, Hisar and Sirsa big processions were led by prominent Congressmen, speeches delivered and pledge taken.

On April 6, 1930, the Congress launched a Civil Disobedience Movement. Public meetings were held all over Haryana to mark the beginning of the movement. Satyagraha Sabhas were organised in every district and volunteers were enrolled to go to jails after violating the salt laws. Thereafter the salt laws were actually violated by preparing salt. At Rewari, salt was prepared and auctioned for Rs. 1,032. A packet of salt was purchased by a 12-year old girl, Kasturbai, for Rs. 60, her total savings collected at the rate of two pice a day. The District Congress Committee

41. On March 12, Gandhiji with 79 padch trees left the Sabarmati Ashram at 6.30 A.M. on foot and reached the sea at Dandi on April 5. Early on April 6, Gandhiji and his party dipped into the sea water, returned to the beach violated and picked up a pinch of untaxed salt left by the waves and broke the law. It was a novel method of violating the salt laws. See Tendulkar, D. G., Mahatma-Life of Mohan Dass Karan Chaud Gandh, Delhi, 1952, Vol. III, pp. 24-25; The Tribune, March 14, 1930.
42. For details, see, The Tribune, March 15, 16, 18, 1930.
43. It was pointed out that a Salt Commission sat in 1836 and recommended that Indian salt should be taxed in order to enable English salt to sell in India.
44. For details see, The Tribune, April 23, 1930.
45. Ibid.
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manufactured salt on April 13, at Hissar.46 The salt was prepared in iron pans at Bhiwani on April 21 by the volunteers led by K. A. Desai. The salt laws were violated on April 26 at Ambala under the leadership of Abdul Gaffar Khan and Bhagat Ram Sehgal.48 Several women manufactured salt at Ambala.49 At Rohtak, the salt laws were breached on April 10 and at Panipat, the next day.51

The boycott of foreign clothes was also a part of the Civil Disobedience Movement. Foreign cloth Boycott Day was fixed on March 17 all over Haryana.52 But before the boycott work was actually taken in hand the propaganda work was started. Leaders, like Madan Mohan Malviya, Gopi Chand Bhargava,53 Neki Ram Sharma, Abdul Gaffar Khan and Suraj Bhan toured the districts of Haryana and exhorted the people to boycott foreign goods. Then came the compaigning. First, they started picketing shops that were selling foreign cloth.54 There was successful picketing at Sirsa, Abdullapur and Abdul Majid.55 As a result, the traders of all these places agreed not to buy foreign cloth in future. The traders of Rohtak, Bhiwani and Ambala undertook not to import foreign cloth.56 At Ambala women volunteers started picketing temples and person wearing Khaddar only were permitted to go inside.57 This experiment achieved great success and the people

46. Home Department, Political, January, 1930, File 250.
48. The Tribune, April 29, 1930.
49. Ibid., May 1, 1930.
50. Sharma, Shri Ram, Haryana, op. cit., p. 94., Tehreek, op. cit., p. 50., Interview with Sharma, Shri Ram on June 16, 1970.
52. Home Department, Political, File 179/1929.
53. Gopi Chand Bhargava, 1889-1966. Started medical practice in 1913; came into prominence during Jallianwala Bagh Tragedy, 1919; deeply influenced by Gandhiji; took part in every Congress movement since 1920; Secretary of Lahore District Congress Committee, 1921; arrested or interned several times; criticised the Act of 1935; advocated joint electorate: opposed to caste and untouchability and stood for widow remarriage, powerful speaker, became Chief Minister of Punjab after partition died in 1966.
54. The Tribune, August 8, 1930.
55. Ibid., June 18, 1930.
56. Ibid., April 13, 1930; Daulat Ram Gupta, op. cit., p. 59.
57. The Tribune, July 19, August 20, and September 7, 1930.
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started wearing Khaddar in large numbers. Nearly 5,000 persons of Ambala district took pledge to wear Khaddar.\(^{58}\)

Picketing of liquor shops was also carried out by the Congress volunteers in large numbers. The real object of the picketing was two-fold: (i) to reduce consumption of liquor and (ii) to curtail the excise revenue.\(^{59}\) At some places those persons who bought liquor were subjected to indignities of various kinds, such as parade in public on a donkey with blackened faces and garlands of shoes.\(^{60}\) The Congress volunteers picketed liquor shops at Rohtak on May 1.\(^{61}\) As a result, the consumption of liquor in the town decreased many fold. In Ambala, a liquor shop at Babyal village (near Ambala Cantt) was picketed.\(^{62}\) A liquor vender was socially boycotted and his house was surrounded by a crowd on August 8.\(^{63}\) Even the sweeper did not go to render conservancy services in his house.

Educational institutions were also boycotted. The progress of the movement was marked by a rapid decline in attendance at schools. The students resorted to strikes and committed some acts of indiscipline. But the movement did not succeed. It fizzled out after about a month or so.\(^{64}\) The parents and guardians opposed it and send their sons and daughters to schools and colleges. The boycott of law courts also proved ineffective. Although arbitration courts or panchayats were set-up in great numbers, they had a brief existence.\(^{65}\) The picketing of polling booths for the election to the Assembly and Council was attempted at Rohtak. But later it was abandoned as the Jats of Rohtak opposed it.\(^{66}\) In Ambala district some Banias abstained from voting\(^{67}\) and the attempt to picket at two polling stations resulted in the arrest of the picketers. Thus the boycott or picketing in these three fields was ineffective in Haryana.

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58. Ibid.
59. Home Department, Political, File 179/1929.
60. Ibid.
62. Ibid., June 21, 1930.
63. Ibid., August 12, 1930.
64. Home Department, Political, File 179/1929.
65. Ibid.
67. Ibid.
A campaign against the payment of tax was also launched. It began in Hissar district \(^68\) in villages of the Skinner Estate near Hansi. This Estate of 15 villages which was granted to Col. James Skinner, an Anglo-Indian, who was in the service of the British East India Company in recognition of his meritorious services. Skinner made Hansi his headquarters and administered the Jagir from there. He was called ‘Sikander Sahib’ in Haryana. Skinner died in 1841 and the whole Estate went into the hands of his two sons, Col. Stanley and R. H. Skinner. Unlike their father, the new masters charged very high rent, \(^69\) which was utterly disproportionate to the yield of the land. The peasants, after a prolonged suffering, formed a *Kisan Sabha* \(^70\) to fight the oppression in January 1929, with Neki Ram Sharma as its president and Lajpat Rai of Alkhpura as its Secretary. The Sabha advised its members to refuse to do ‘begar’ without any payment or sell their produce without getting the market price.

The *Kisan Sabha* was quite effective. Its members toured villages and enlightened the people about their difficulties and grievances. Big Panchayats of peasants of the Skinner-Estate villages (Barsi, Alkhpura and Garhi) resolved not to pay rents and started a non-violent Satyagraha movement (1930). \(^71\) But as was expected of the peasants and with martial blood flowing in their veins, soon the movement became a violent agitation. On April 11-12, the peasants of Daulatpur \(^72\) (near Hansi) forcibly removed the crops belonging to the landlords. The authorities let loose a reign of terror. In retaliation the tenants and some members of the *Kisan Sabha* attacked a Sub-Inspector of Police and his party at the Dhana Khurd Police Station on April, 21\(^73\). Large scale arrests were made. But this did not effect any improvement in the situation. The villagers still stood in defiance of the Landlords. At last a compromise was reached between the peasants

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File 18, *Tahreek, op cit.*, p. 48

70. The *Kisan Sabha* was formed in January 1929, with Neki Ram Sharma its president and Lajpat Rai Alkhpura, its Secretary. The *Sabha* advised people to refuse to give begar.


72. Home Department, Political, January 1930, File 250

and the two Skinners. The latter agreed to realise land revenue at Rs. 5 per pucca bigha of irrigated land and Rs. 1.25 on unirrigated land. This was a great victory of the Kisans.

In Haryana, the Government adopted a repressive policy to curb the agitation of the Congress. The party was declared illegal, the people were deprived of the right of speech and association and meetings and processions were prohibited. Yet, the people did not lose heart. Meetings and processions were held in defiance of the law. News bulletins and leaflets were printed and distributed among the people inspite of the official ban. A district political Conference was held at Jhajjar on April 12-13 under the presidency of Suraj Bhan. Thousands of peasants from the neighbouring villages attended it. Mangli Ram Yadav, Chairman of the Reception Committee made a stirring speech. He was followed by Devi Chand and Ram Phul Singh who exhorted the people to continue the fight without caring for the trouble. All these activities gave a fillip to the morale of the people. Thousands of them came forward to court arrest.

The Government also adopted a policy of ‘divide and rule’ to weaken the Congress. The landlords, government contractors and title holders were given certain facilities and concessions by the Government. The Government helped them to organise ‘Aman Sabhas’. Members of the Aman Sabhas, accompanied by officials, visited villages under the pretext of giving famine relief or distributing Taccavi, but preached against the Congress movement. Efforts were also made to fan the Hindu-Muslim rivalries. But all these efforts met with little success and the movement went on till the end of 1930 when the Gandhi-Irwin talks were held. The Congress activities almost came to a halt for a short while.

74. Sugla., H.D., op. cit.
76. Ibid.
77. *The Tribune*, April 18, Home Department, Political 1930, File 170; *Tillereek*, op. cit.
78. Ibid.
79. *The Tribune*, September 14, 1930; *Haryana*, op. cit., p 95; Interview with Mangli Ram Yadav, June 18, 1970.
81. Ibid.
In the meantime, elections of the Punjab Legislative Council were held in September 1930. The main contestant parties were the Congress, the Unionist Party and the Hindu Mahasabha. There was a good deal of campaigning on the part of all the parties. The Congress, which had organised itself very well in the past few years, yielded great influence over the urban voters with whom it was already popular. It also tried to woo some rural voters and success was achieved in Karnal and Hissar because of local rivalries among the rural populace. In Rohtak and Ambala districts and parts of Gurgaon and Hissar districts, the Unionists were very popular. This party had a very strong hold especially in Rohtak where the Congress could not dare to influence the voters in several villages. The Hindu Mahasabha had its influence over a few urban traders and the Ahirs of Gurgaon, because of Rao Balbir Singh, a traditional leader of Ahirs.

The Table II shows that the Congress and the Unionist Party were on equal footing (four each); the former had its hold on the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Constituency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Allaha Dau Khan</td>
<td>Unionist</td>
<td>Ambala, North East (Muslim), Rural.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Mam Raj Singh</td>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>Ambala (Non-Muslim), Rural.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chauhan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Nathu Singh</td>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>Karnal (Non-Muslim), Rural.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Balbir Singh</td>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>Gurgaon (Non-Muslim), Rural.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahasabha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Yasin Khan</td>
<td>Unionist</td>
<td>Gurgaon-cum-Hissar, (Muslim), Rural.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Chhotu Ram</td>
<td>Unionist</td>
<td>Rohtak, South East (Non Muslim), Rural.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Ram Sarup</td>
<td>Unionist</td>
<td>Hissar, North West (Non-Muslim), Rural.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Joti Parsad</td>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>Hissar, South East (Non-Muslim), Urban.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Sajjan Kumar</td>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>Hissar (Non-Muslim), Rural.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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82. For details see Parliamentary Papers Return showing the Results of Election in India 1929-30, London: His Majesty's stationery Office, 1931, Presented by the Secretary of State for India to Parliament by command of His Majesty, July 1931, Command No. 3922, Vol.XXIV, pp. 22-24; The Tribune, September 12, 1930; Reed Sir Stomley and Sheppard, S. T. Indian Year Book, Bombay 1931, 1931, pp. 144-45.
urbanites and the Unionist Party on the peasantry ruralites. The Hindu Mahasabha was not popular anywhere except in Gurgaon and there also Ahirs did not have any faith in the programmes of the party; were interested in their ‘Raja’ Rao Balbir Singh.

In Punjab, the Unionists swept the polls. Consequently, the Lieutenant Governor called their leader Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, to form a ministry. Fazl-i-Hussain took Sir Chhotu Ram in his council of ministers. This was a big victory and a moral booster to the party in Haryana. The Unionists started a vigorous programme of making their party a force. One main factor that added teeth to their efforts was that the Government started a crushing campaign against the Congress after the break of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact.

Although the above factors had adverse affect on the health of the Congress, its staunch followers did not give way to despair. Rather they accepted the challenge, both of the local Unionist Government and the British authority at the Centre and revived the civil disobedience movement. The Government ban on meetings was defied. Twelve public meetings\(^{83}\) were held in Karnal district. Prominent Congressmen made inciting speeches in these meetings and urged the Government to concede their demands otherwise the masses would follow the revolutionary path and achieve ‘azaadi’ (freedom) by resorting to ‘jang’\(^{84}\) (war). Meetings were held at Ambala, Kalka, Jagadhari, Hisar, Bhiwani and Budhlapa and the speakers asked the people to continue the anti-Government agitation without caring for the consequences.\(^{85}\) In Rohtak district, 10 public meetings\(^{86}\) were held in which the police were openly abused and jeered at. The leaders delivered rebellious speeches in every meeting, advocating not to pay land revenue and calling for launching a campaign to drive Englishmen out of India.\(^{87}\) A Hindustani Congress Volunteer Seva Dal Camp\(^{88}\) was

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83. These meetings were held at Pundari, Gasina, Balah, Salwan, Sinkh and Karnal. For details, see Home Department, Political, File 33/II/1931; \textit{Ibid.}, File 33/IX/1931.

84. \textit{Ibid.}

85. Home Department, Political, File 33/IX/1931.

86. These meetings were held at Rohtak, Bahadurpur, Jasial and Mohana. For details, see Home Department, Political File 33/IX/1931; \textit{Ibid.}, File, 33/IX/1931.

87. \textit{Ibid.}

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organised at Rohtak on November 20, 1931 in which volunteers were given training in lathi drill. It was definitely a revolutionary activity. After some time, a parallel Government was established by the Rohtak Congress Committee—from Deputy Commissioner to thanedar. Sham Lal was appointed as Congress Deputy Commissioner and Shri Ram Sharma as Superintendent of Police of the district. More than 200 Congress Committees with 2, 500 members, were established in the district.

Boycott of foreign cloth and picketing of liquor shop was resorted to at Rohtak, Jhajjar, Bhiwani, Hissar, Sirsa, Rewari, Karnal, Kaithal, Ambala, Shahabad and Thanesar. At several places the people refused to pay land revenue and taxes. Three incidents occurred in villages of Karnal district when Tehsildars, Naib Tehsildars and Qanungo were assaulted while engaged in the collection of land revenue. Similar incidents occurred at Kaithal also.

The Government tried to curb the movement by resorting to repressive measures. Lathi charge, merciless and reckless beating with iron rods or bamboo sticks were the order of the day.

**TABLE - III**

**DISTRICT-WISE ACCOUNT OF ARRESTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>No. of persons jailed.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ambala</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnal</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gurgaon</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rohtak</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hissar</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>582</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

91. *Tahreek*, op. cit., p. 54; *District Gazetteer Rohtak*, pp. 32-33.
92. Interview with Shri Ram Sharma, Mangli Ram Yadav, K. A. Desai, Mange Ram Vats, Ram Kumar Bidhat and Daulat Ram Gupta.
93. Home Department, Political, File 18/IX/1931.
POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN HARYANA

The raids on and searches of the houses of the Congressmen were carried out by the police. Yet, the people courted arrests in large numbers.98

While the civil disobedience movement was in full swing inspite of the unabated fury of Government repression, Gandhiji suddenly side-tracked the whole campaign by raising the question of Harijan upliftment.97 Meanwhile, he fell sick and was released from the jail by the Government on May 8. At this Gandhiji decided to suspend the civil disobedience movement for six weeks.98 His decision was endorsed by the All India Congress Committee which met at Patna on July 12, 1933. Later, on Gandhiji’s suggestion the mass movement was withdrawn and an individual satyagraha movement was launched in its place.100

The suspension of the civil disobedience movement had a great demoralising effect on the Congressmen in Haryana and they could not continue the individual Satyagraha any more. Meanwhile, elections to the Legislative Assembly (Central) were held in October/November 1934.100 Only one nominee was to be sent to the Assembly from Ambala Division. The main contestant parties for this seat were the Congress and the Punjab Nationalist Party. Two persons, Sham Lal (Rohtak) supported by the Congress and Thakur Das Bhargava sponsored by the Punjab Nationalist Party101 fought for the seat. There was a good deal of campaigning by both the parties. Eminent Congress leaders, like Rajgopalachari, Vallabhbhai Patel, Bhulabhai Desai and Satya Pal visited various parts of Haryana and spoke in favour of the Congress Candidate.102 The Nationalist Party’s Chief, Madan Mohan Malaviya, along with Neeki Ram Sharma and Ram Parsad explained their party’s views and appealed to the voters to favour their candidate.103

99. Ibid.
99. Ibid., p. 480.
100. Fortnightly Report of Punjab; 1st and 2nd half of October and November 1934; Home Department, Political, October 1934, File 18; The Tribune, October 3, 21 and November 17, 1934.
101. The Tribune, October 21, 1934.
103. The Tribune, November 4, 1934.
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In the end, however, Sham Lal (Congress) came out successful by a narrow margin. The election had a very bad effect on the Congress and the Nationalist Party. Their in-fight came into the open and weakened their ranks. The Congress though won, could not give a better account of itself. That is why we see that for about three years after the 1934 election, there was no political activity worth mentioning in Haryana.

In 1937, however, again there was election fever. The Congress, the Nationalist Party, the Unionist Party and the Hindu Mahasabha entered the fray. To strengthen the Congress position an Election Board was formed with its headquarters at Rohtak. Shri Ram Sharma was made in charge of the Board and Hardev Sahai appointed its publicity secretary. Similarly, other parties put their houses in order and came out to work in all seriousness. The Unionist Party made Sir Chhotu Ram in charge of its election a campaign. Rao Balbir Singh led the campaigning for Hindu Mahasabha candidates.


Fazl-i-Hussain, Chief of the Unionist Party and Chhotu Ram toured all over Haryana convassing support for the

104. Ibid., November 4, 1934.
105. Ibid., November 17, 1934.
106. Ibid.
107. Earlier there were nine seats for the Punjab Legislative Council from the Haryana region. But by the Act of 1935 the number of seats for the region was raised to 22 in the house of 175 members.
108. The Tribune, January 6, 1937.
109. Ibid., January 6 and 10, 1937.
110. Ibid., January 14, 1937.
112. Dr. Satya Pal’s letter to Subhash Chander Bose, December 8, 1938: Chhotu Ram was “notorious for his anti-Congress attitude and abusing the Congress day in and day out”. See NMM&L File P-10/1937-39.
POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN HARYANA

Unionist candidates. In villages, especially in Rohtak district, the two leaders were received with great honour and enthusiasm. The Jats, who held Chhotu Ram in great esteem, came in thousands to listen to their beloved leader and his senior friend.

Similarly Hindu Mahasabha leaders, like Raja Narender Nath and Rao Balbir Singh, toured the constituencies of party candidates. They appealed to the voters to cast their votes in the name of Hinduism and for its protection and progress. Ram Parsad, Secretary of the Hindu Election Board, toured Rohtak and Hisar urban constituencies canvassing support for the Board’s candidates. He addressed two meetings at Bhiwani and Hisar also. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya toured the area asking the electorate to vote for candidates of the Nationalist Party. Zafar Ali Khan, President of the Majlis-Iltihad-i-Millat, visited Rohtak and Karnal, canvassing for the Muslim candidates.

Polling began on January 18, 1937 amidst great enthusiasm. The results were as follows:

TABLE-IV
SUCCESSFUL CANDIDATES (1937)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidates</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Constituency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abdul Hamid</td>
<td>Unionist</td>
<td>Ambala-Simla (Muslim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jugal Kishore</td>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>Ambala-Simla (Reserved)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duni Chand</td>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>Ambala-Simla (General)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anant Ram</td>
<td>Unionist</td>
<td>Karnal South (General)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faqira</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>Karnal North (Reserved)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nawabzada Moham-</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>Karnal (Muslim) Rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mad Faiyaz Ali Khan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

113. The Unionist Party also published its manifesto. See The Tribune, January 21, 1937.
114. Ibid.
115. Ibid., January 2 and 5, 1937.
117. For details, see NMM&L, File, E-23/1937; The Tribune, February 4 to 12, 1937; The Indian Year Book. 1938-39, pp. 144-47.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial No.</th>
<th>Candidate Name</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Constituency Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Rampat</td>
<td>Unionist</td>
<td>Karnal North (General) Rural.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Balbir Singh</td>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>Gurgaon North-West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mahasabha</td>
<td>(General)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Sumer Singh</td>
<td>Unionist</td>
<td>Gurgaon South-East (General)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Yasin Khan</td>
<td>Unionist</td>
<td>Gurgaon North-West (Muslim) Rural.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Prem Singh</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>Gurgaon South East (General) reserved-Rural.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Abdul Rahim</td>
<td>Unionist</td>
<td>Gurgaon, South East (Muslim) Rural.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Chhotu Ram</td>
<td>Unionist</td>
<td>Jhajjar (General).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Tikka Ram</td>
<td>Unionist</td>
<td>Rohtak North (General) Rural.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Ram Swarup</td>
<td>Unionist</td>
<td>Rohtak (General) Central</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Atma Ram</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>Hissar, North (General) Rural.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Het Ram</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>Hissar, South (General) Rural.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Sahib Dad Khan</td>
<td>Unionist</td>
<td>Hissar (Muslim) Rural.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Suraj Mal</td>
<td>Unionist</td>
<td>Hansi (General) Rural.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Shri Ram Sharma</td>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>Southern Towns (General) Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Deshbandhu Gupta</td>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>Southern East Towns (General)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above account shows that the Unionist party emerged as the most powerful single party in Haryana in 1937. It bagged 12 out of 22 seats. The Congress lost some seats in the lower Haryana, especially in Hissar districts where it had made a dent in the last elections. In Ambala (rural) it maintained the same status. The Hindu Mahasabha got only one seat—the Ahir seat of Rao Balbir Singh.
POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN HARYANA

The party-wise position in the Punjab Legislative Council was as follows:—

TABLE-V
POSITION IN THE PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Strength</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unionist</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khalsa Nationalist Party</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu Mahasabha</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akali</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahrars</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ittihad Millat</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim League</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress Nationalist</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL: 175

The above results show that the Unionist Party was the largest party with a clear majority (99 seats out of 175). The Lieutenant Governor, therefore, called Sikandar Hayat khan, its leader, to form a ministry. Sikandar chose his six-man Cabinet (three Muslims, two Hindus and one Sikh). The share of Haryana in Sikandar’s Cabinet was two: Chhotu Ram and Tikka Ram were included in the Ministry. Chhotu Ram was made Development Minister and Tikka Ram, his parliamentary Secretary.

The thumping success of the Unionist Party had a demoralising effect on the Congressmen in Haryana. However, in these bad days they made self-introspection. As a result, they came to know that they could not win any election and emerge as a great party unless they set their house in order. Accordingly, they ended their petty differences and faction fights, and started

120. Ibid.
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positive activities. A Punjab Political Conference was held on March 26-27 at Madina in Rohtak.\textsuperscript{121} Thousands of *Kisans* attended the conference. Besides, Bhulabhai Desai, Lahri Singh, Gopi Chand Bhargava, Joginder Singh and Raizada Hans Raj made stirring speeches there exhorting the people to join the Congress.\textsuperscript{122} Next, a Congress membership drive was started. Rohtak district was divided in four halqas and batches of four whole-time workers were assigned to each *halqa* to carry on an intensive propaganda and enlist Congress members.\textsuperscript{123} Baldev Singh, Shri Ram Sharma, Bharat Singh, Lahri Singh, Anand Swarup, Dilawar and Abdul Ghani visited various villages and propagated Congress ideologies and enlisted several members.\textsuperscript{124}

These Congress activities unnerved the Unionist Leader, Chhotu Ram, and he, along with Sikandar Hayat Khan, the Premier, visited Panipat, Rewari, Rohtak, Hisar and addressed several meetings of peasants.\textsuperscript{125} They asked them to come to the Unionist fold. At Rohtak black flags were shown to them and a hartal was observed.\textsuperscript{126} This led to a clash and Congress volunteers were beaten up.\textsuperscript{127} As a protest against this incident a Haryana Political Conference was held at Rohtak under the presidency of Charan Singh, a Congress leader. It condemned the assault on Congress workers by the Unionist Party.\textsuperscript{128}

Towards the end of 1938, there occurred a famine in Hisar district\textsuperscript{129} and some other parts of Haryana and there was scarcity of fodder also. Funds were raised by the Congress to help the famine-stricken people.\textsuperscript{130} Subhash Chander Bose, President of the All-India Congress (1938), visited Haryana in November and went to the Congress relief depot at Hisar.\textsuperscript{131} He visited

\textsuperscript{121} *The Tribune*, March 27, 1938; Gupta, Daulat Ram, op. cit. p. 72; *Tahreek*, op. cit., p. 65.

\textsuperscript{122} *The Tribune*, March 29, 1938.

\textsuperscript{123} *Ibid.*, April 12 1938.

\textsuperscript{124} *Ibid.*, Interview with Shri Ram Sharma and Lahri Singh.

\textsuperscript{125} *Haryana*, op. cit., pp. 123-24; *The Tribune*, October 8, 1928.

\textsuperscript{126} *Ibid.*, October 11, 1938.


\textsuperscript{128} *The Tribune*, October 9, 1938.

\textsuperscript{129} *Ibid.*, October, 1938.

\textsuperscript{130} *Ibid.*

\textsuperscript{131} *The Tribune*, November, 29-30, 1938.
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Bhiwani and Rohtak and appealed to the Government to help the people and save the cattle wealth of Haryana from destruction. By these actions the Congress gained ground and became popular in the famine-hit areas. But then came World War II (1939) and the political activities in the region were shifted towards the War.

III

World War II started in September 1939. Lord Linlithgow, Viceroy of India, dragged this country into the war without consulting the Indian leaders or the provincial ministers. The stand of the Viceroy on war had a mixed reaction. The Congressmen, as per advice of their party's central authority, refused to co-operate in the British war efforts. Big Zamindars, princes and other such elements, as also the Unionist, led by Sir Chhotu Ram and Hindu Mahasabhaites, led by Rao Balbir singh came to help the British in every possible way. The Muslim League stood neutral as dictated by its central command.

The Congressmen made preparations to oppose the British authorities in their war efforts. They carried out a vigorous propaganda through different media against the Government's highhandedness in "dragging India into the war without consulting us". They exhorted the people not to provide recruits and not to contribute to the war fund. Not only this, the Congress also decided to launch a Satyagraha to pressurise the Government during the war to accept the genuine demands of Indians. As a first step towards this goal, Satyagraha committees were formed all over Haryana. These committees enrolled members and enlisted Satyagrahis for the coming struggle. Besides, its members urged the people not to contribute to war funds. Conferences were organised, especially in rural areas, from where the Government recruited personnel for the army. Its leaders addressed conferences at Jakhod Khera and Chodawas in Hisar tehsil, Bawani Khera, Hansi and Pur in Hansi tehsil, Mittathal

132. Ibid.
134. The Tribune, April 9, 1940.
135. Fortnightly Report, Punjab: 1st half of August, 1940: Home Department, Political, August 1940, File 18,
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in Bhiwani tehsil, Lakarwali and Fatehabad in Sirsa tehsil, and several villages of Gurgaon, Karnal and Rohtak. The national programme of the Congress was explained at length to the rural masses. The loyalists, as also the Unionists and Hindu Mahasabhaites, were bitterly criticised for their helpful attitude towards the Government. This criticism led to many ugly incidents at many villages the worst being at Jasawar Kheri, a village 10 miles from Hisar. A rural conference was organised at this village on February 24 1940. Hari Singh, a prominent local Jat leader was in the Chair. In the speeches that were made, there was attack on the loyalists in general and the Unionist Minister, Chhotu Ram in particular. The pro-Government elements succeeded in their attempt to disturb the meeting. There was a free for all and many persons were injured in the clash on both sides. Being in an over-whelming majority, the Congressmen ultimately succeeded in restoring order. Later, the villagers resorted to a social boycott of the police and the loyalists.

This campaign had an impact on the people and the Congress organised meetings in Rohtak Villages which were the strong holds of the Unionists. Shri Ram Sharma, Nanhu Ram, Mool Chand Jain and many others toured 30 villages (of Rohtak) in the last week of December 1940 and addressed largely attended meetings. Thousands of rupees were collected for the 'Satyagraha Fund' and 300 Satyagrahais were enrolled. Encouraged by this, Sham Lal (Rohtak) and Dada Ganeshi Lal (Hissar) took a whirlwind tour of the upper Haryana. Their most impressive visits were to Jagadhri, Ladwa, Thanesar, Shahabad and Ambala city. In Karnal district a largely attended rural political conference was held at Khera village under the presidentship of Lala

136. The Tribune, October 19, 1940.
138. Ibid.
139. Ibid., Interview with Shri Ram Sharma and Dada Ganeahl Lal.
140. Ibid.
141. The Tribune, January 4, 1941.
142. Ibid.
143. Ibid., Interview with Dada Ganeshi Lal, June 30, 1942,
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Duni Chand (Ambala), Lalaji called upon the people to join the Congress, have faith in non-violence and follow the constructive programme of the party. They were also asked to spin and weave Khadi daily. Several other meetings were also held in the district. In Gurgaon district, Rup Lal Mehta, General Secretary of the District Congress committee (Palwal) and Thakur Ram Singh, President of the District Congress Committee, visited several places in Rewari and Gurgaon tehsils and enrolled party members and Satyagrahis and asked them to be non-violent.

Gandhiji launched an individual Satyagraha movement on October 17, 1940. He instructed that one individual should go out at a time in the street shouting anti-war slogans and should get himself or herself arrested. The Satyagrahis were selected from among the members of the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee, the Central and Provincial legislatures and eminent Congressmen. They offered themselves for arrest by shouting slogans. In Haryana, the Satyagrahis shouted the following slogans: ‘Help to the Satanic Government in the War is sin’, ‘Don’t get your sons butchered for a few paise for this dishonest Government’, ‘Better die for the independence of the motherland than to die for the Satanic Government’, ‘Long Live the Revolution’. The Government took a very stiff attitude to suppress the Satyagraha and arrests were made in quick succession. The following table will show the district-wise break-up of arrests made in Haryana in connection with the Individual Satyagraha.

The individual satyagraha movement continued for 15 months when it was suspended by Gandhiji. At this, satyagrahis were released from jails. The Tribune

144. The Tribune, March 19, 1941.
145. Ibid., January 25, 1941.
146. Interview with Shri Ram Sharma, Daulat Ram Gupta, Dada Ganesh Lal and Lahri Singh.
147. Fortnightly Report, Punjab: October to December 1940-41: December, 1940-41: Home Department, Political, October to December 1940-41; File 18, The Tribune, October-December 1940-41; Haryana Tilak, op. cit., p. 124
### District-Wise Individual Satyagraha Arrests

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Number of Arrests</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ambala</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnal</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gurgaon</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rohtak</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hissar</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>627</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Described their release as a belated gesture on the part of the Government.\(^{150}\)

The individual satyagraha was almost a failure. It had no impact on the Government at all. Nor did it satisfy the Congressmen and the tepid nature of the movement had little attraction for them. They saw 'little glamour in going to jail like that.' Fortunately, the Congressmen got a brilliant chance after a short while to show their mettle. On August 8, 1942 the All-India Congress Committee passed the 'Quit India' Resolution by an over-whelming majority. But on the next day, Gandhiji and other big leaders were arrested. This news spread like a wild fire. Hartals and meetings were held all over Haryana in which repressive policies of the Government were condemned and the 'Quit India' movement was popularised among the people. All classes of people took part in the movement. They flung themselves into the last battle of freedom struggle (do or die'). Their chief targets of attack were means of communication-posts and telegraphs offices, telegraph wires and railways and Government offices, as the following table\(^{151}\) would show:

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151. This information is based on personal interviews with the living freedom fighters of Haryana: Ranbir Singh, Sittal Parsad, Thakur Shish Pal Singh, Bakshi Ram Kishan, Mange Ram Vatsa, Devi Lal, Balwant Rai, Radha Krishan Verma, and Comrade Ram Prata.
TABLE VII

VIOLENT ACTIVITIES IN 1942

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particulars</th>
<th>Number of Destructive activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stations attacked</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post offices attacked</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telegraph Wires cut (at places)</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police Stations and other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Buildings attacked</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railway lines damaged by</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scrapping fish-plates</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Government took a very serious view of all these violent activities and adopted repressive measures. It declared the Congress as an unlawful organisation. It resorted to lathi charges, firings and bursting of tear gas shells in an attempt to suppress the movement. It arrested several Congress leaders throughout Haryana. The following table will show arrests made from August 8, 1942 (when the movement was started) to May 5, 1944 (till the suspension of the movement):

TABLE VIII

DISTRICT-WISE ARRESTS 1942-44

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>District-wise Jailed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ambala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The struggle for the fight to finish continued up to May 5, 1944 inspite of the repressive measures taken by the Government. It was then suspended as it began to fizzle out. As the great leaders, like Gandhiji and Jawahar Lal Nehru, were in jails there was none to give strength or direction to the movement. Secondly,

152. For details see Punjab Fortnightly Reports, August 1942 to December 1944: Home Department, Political, August to December 944, File 18.
different revolutionary elements had joined the movement. It changed its character from non-violent to violent. The Government took immediate steps to fight violence by violence. To conclude, the movement of 1942 in Haryana failed to achieve any success.

Another important event during the course of World War II was the setting up of the Indian National Army\textsuperscript{133} by Subhash Chander Bose in 1942 which became a part and parcel of the Indian independence movement. He gave the I.N.A. the rousing war cry of ‘Delhi Chalo’. As many as 2,248 soldiers of Haryana joined the I. N. A. and their district-wise break-up is as follows\textsuperscript{134}:

\textbf{TABLE—IX}

\textbf{DISTRICT-WISE NUMBER OF I.N.A. PERSONNEL}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Ambala</th>
<th>Karnal</th>
<th>Gurgaon</th>
<th>Rohtak</th>
<th>Hissar</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Officers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soldiers</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>580</td>
<td>724</td>
<td>478</td>
<td>1,917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>986</td>
<td>873</td>
<td>539</td>
<td>2,248</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These officers and other ranks from Haryana fought many actions under the inspiring leadership of Netaji in the eastern sector. They did not care for their lives; and as many as 273 of them gave their ‘blood’ for India’s freedom. The district-wise break-up of these martyrs is as follows\textsuperscript{135}:

\textbf{TABLE—X}

\textbf{DISTRICT-WISE NUMBER OF I.N.A. MARTYRS}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Ambala</th>
<th>Karnal</th>
<th>Gurgaon</th>
<th>Rohtak</th>
<th>Hissar</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Officers</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soldiers</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{133} For details, see Majumdar, R.C. op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 707-37.

\textsuperscript{134} This information is based on the list of Freedom fighters prepared by the Haryana Government.

\textsuperscript{135} For details, see Azad Hind Gazette, 1945
POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN HARYANA

Although the I.N.A. movement failed, yet its impact on our freedom struggle is great, especially in Haryana where 1975 of them came after being released and infused a new life in the national movement. They spoke against the Government in their towns and villages. As a result, the freedom struggle gained momentum in villages too. They brought the freedom near.

Although the Quit India movement and the struggle of the I.N.A. bore no fruit, yet, indirectly, the two movements stirred the people so much that the whole country was prepared for freedom struggle and the Haryana territory was no exception.

IV

The Congress and the I.N.A. movements had a deep impact on the people of the ‘native states’ of Pataudi, Dujana, Loharu, Jind and partially of Patiala and Nabha. The rulers of these states had been recovering heavy land revenue, imposing unbearable taxes and taking Begar (Haq-ul-Khidmat) for the past several years. Because of these highhandedness discontentment was simmering in these states. When the Congress movement spread the awakened subject of these States made requests to their rulers to ameliorate their conditions. But they did not listen to them. In consequence, they formed Praja Mandals in every state and got them affiliated to the Punjab Riyasti Praja Mandal and, ultimately, to the State Peoples’ Conference, an all-India body to fight the injustice done to the States’ people. They started agitations against their rulers. So far there was no political body in the States on the pattern of the Indian National Congress.

It will not be out of place so mention about these states in the region and the struggle against their rulers.

PATAUDI: Pataudi is a small town, 19 miles south-west of Gurgaon on the Rewari-Delhi railway line. The town was founded during the regime of Jalal ud-Din Khilji, by Pata, a Mewati chief

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from whom it derived its name. This town and 40 villages were given to one Talab Faiz Khan by the British for his services rendered during the second Anglo-Maratha War (1803). The State had an area of about 53 square miles and a population of about 21,520 (rural 17,415; and urban 4,105) people. A little less than 90 per cent of the population of Pataudi was of Hindus. The rest were Muslims. The gross annual income of the State was about Rs. 3-1/2 lakhs.

In the 1940s when the Praja Mandal movement first started here Mohammad Iftikhar Ali Khan, a cricketer of international fame, was the ruler of the state. The internal administration of the State was carried on by a Dewan, Khan Bahadur Sheikh Alam Ali. The administration was on the whole inefficient and corrupt. Land revenue and taxes were heavy; and very little was spent on education and other facilities. The State had only a small dispensary and five primary schools.

The people of Pataudi were backward in politics. The Congress activities in Gurgaon, however, had some impact on them and they formed a Praja Mandal on June 1, 1939. The people framed their demands (special reduction in the land revenue) in July 1939 under the presidencieship of Maulana Nur-ud-din and gave an ultimatum for an agitation. The Nawab was at that time in England, captaining the Indian cricket team. He was tele-


159. All-India State Peoples’ Conference Files pertaining to Praja Mandal Movement is preserved in Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. For Pataudi State see File 16’/1946-48 vide report No. 3412 submitted by Jugal Kishore Khanna and Jainarain Vyas.


162. Letter from Jawahar Lal Nehru, President, All India States Peoples’ Conference, under the title ‘Note on Pataudi’ to the Pataudi State subjects, July 20, 1946 (Preserved in NMM & L).
graphically informed of the situation. He at once returned and declared the Praja Mandal an illegal body.\textsuperscript{163}

In consequence, the Praja Mandal started a satyagraha on August 17, 1939. Soon the number of satyagrahis reached 200. The State was not in a position to meet the financial burden satyagrahis put on it. On October 4, 1939 a huge meeting was held and 500 marched to the Palace to offer satyagraha. Seeing the gravity of the situation the Nawab made a compromise in writing with the office-bearers of the Praja Mandal on the following basis:\textsuperscript{164}:

(i) Praja Mandal would be recognised as a legal body;
(ii) Exemption of revenue for Kharif 1939 by 12-1/2 per cent would be effected;
(iii) A committee, consisting of four elected members with the settlement officer to propose the new rate of revenue would be set up; and
(iv) The Punjab Panchayat Bill would be introduced.

The satyagrahis were immediately released. The Nawab promised to fulfil other reforms soon. But unfortunately though the satyagraha was withdrawn, the Nawab did not fulfil his promise. The Praja Mandal, therefore, again gave an ultimatum to the Nawab on February 24, 1940.\textsuperscript{165} The ultimatum ran thus:

(i) Declare immediately a 50 per cent reduction in land revenue as the people were dying of starvation and not to compensate this reduction by levying other taxes as the people were hardly in a position to pay the levies. It suggested reduction in the Nawab’s private purse and cut in other administrative expenses.

(ii) Set up a Committee whose members should be elected by the public to carry on the administration of the State, having full hold upon the State’s finance and power.

(iii) Declare Praja Mandal as a legal body and grant civil liberties to the people.

\textsuperscript{163} NMM & L, AISPC, File 7/1940.
\textsuperscript{164} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{165} Ibid. File 162/1946-48.
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The Nawab did not care to accept the demands and consequently the Praja Mandal again came into conflict with the State authorities. The State police arrested the President and the Secretary of the Praja Mandal on March 9 and charged them under I.P.C., Sections 115-A, 121-A and 153-A. Many other arrests were made and thus almost all the prominent leaders of the movement were put behind the bars. A notification was issued by the authorities declaring the Praja Mandal and its activities as illegal. The movement was thus suspended.166

But shortly after the ‘Quit India’ movement in 1942, the Praja Mandal movement was again revived. Some old members of the Praja Mandal, headed by Rup Chand, presented a list of their grievances to the Nawab on March 17, 1946. The Nawab at once ordered arrests of all the leaders once again. In consequence, Rup Chand, Vinodi Lal, Gauri Shankar, Chhote Lal, Chandgi Ram, Ram Nath, Nand Kishore, Suraj Kishan, Net Ram, Ami Lal, Rama Nand and Ram Singh were put behind the bars.177 The people also accepted the challenge and started a satyagraha. A dharna was staged in front of the Dewan’s residence. It led to a firing and lathi charge by the police in which many people were injured. But this time all these repressive measures failed to suppress the movement. Rather it further gained momentum.180

Now the Nawab had to yield. He released all the leaders from the jail and agreed to concede to their demands.

DUJANA: Dujana was a small state, having an area of 91 square miles and a population of 30,666 (rural 26,388 and urban 4,278 people).179 The total revenue of the State was Rs. 231,000 per annum179 Dujaua, a small town, 37 miles west of Delhi, was its headquarters.177 The state had one town and 32 villages.172

170. Ibid.
171. Ibid., All India States’ Peoples’ Conference : Dujana State, File R.C, II.3.
POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN HARYANA

In 1945, the State was ruled by Ikatdar Ali Khan, who was an illiterate man. He played in the hands of one Umardraz Khan to whom he had raised from a school teacher to the post of Naib Dewan. He was ‘looting and robbing the people mercilessly and imposed heavy taxes. Nahar, which was a district of the State, was ruled by a Nazim. Leaving Dujana and Mahrana, there was no dispensary and one school for 30 villages.

Dissatisfied with the administration of the State, the people organised a ‘Praja Mandal’ with its headquarters at Nahar in 1945. Dev Karan Singh and Sardar Singh became President and General Secretary respectively of the Dujana Raj Praja Mandal, Nahar. Among others Neki Ram Yadav, Hari Ram Arya, Tara Chand Arya, Budh Ram, Sheo Chand, Mohan Lal and Ramjilal were its active workers.

The leaders of the Praja Mandal movement sent many memoranda to the Nawab enlisting their demands. But he paid no heed to them. Eventually, they exhorted the people to start a civil disobedience movement, and the people of the State refused to pay taxes. As a result, the Nawab became restless and adopted repressive measures in order to suppress their movement. Dev Karan, along with 10 other active workers of the Praja Mandal was arrested. They were kept in jail for two months without any trial.

As a protest against the Nawab’s action, the Dujana Praja Mandal organised a Haryana Kith Political Conference at Nahar on November 19, 1946. Besides local leaders, Brish Bhan and Harbans Lal, President and General Secretary of the Punjab States, Praja Mandal, took part in it. The Conference condemned the strict attitude of the Nawab towards the Praja Mandal leaders and demanded their unconditional release. The conference established a board, consisting of Brish Bhan, President of the

173. NMM & L, File R.C. II.3.
174. Ibid.
175. Based on personal interview with living Praja Mandal leaders: Dev Karan Singh, Sardar Singh, Tara Chand Arya, Budh Ram, Hari Ram Arya and Neki Ram Yadav.
176. Ibid.
177. NMM & L, File R.C. II.3 vide letter No. 135.
178. Ibid.
179. Ibid.
HARYANA : STUDIES IN HISTORY AND POLITICS
Punjab State Regional Council, Hari Singh, President of the Jind State Praja Mandal, Mangli Ram Yadav, President of the Jhajjar tehsil Congress Committee, Dev Karan and Tara Chand Arya, President and General Secretary of the Dujana Praja Mandal respectively, in order to place their case before the Nawab.\textsuperscript{180} Negotiations were continued for a pretty long period. Ultimately in February 1947 the Nawab bowed down before the Praja Mandal and released all its leaders. He conceded all the demands of the Mandal.\textsuperscript{181}

LOHARU : The State of Loharu was situated in the south-east corner of Punjab on the borders of Rajasthan.\textsuperscript{182} It had an area of 226 square miles and a population of 27,892 (rural 23,869 and urban 4,023) people.\textsuperscript{183}

The founder of the State was Ahmed Baksh Khan, a Mughal Sardar who was employed by the Raja of Alwar in consultation with Lord Lake in 1803. In recognition of his services, he received Loharu in perpetuity from the Raja. In 1940's, his third descendant Mirza Aizuddin Ahmed Khan was the ruler. He was not an enlightened person and trade, commerce, industry, irrigation, education, medical facilities and development were sadly neglected by him. Besides, the Nawab realised heavy land revenue and a camel tax (probably Rs. 2-8-3 per head; was levied on every owner of a camel). Various other taxes were also imposed. He was also intolerant of other religions.\textsuperscript{184}

In 1940, the Arya Samaj leaders, like Thakur Bhagwat Singh, Nihal Singh Taksaq, Nathu Ram, Ganga Sahai, Bansi Lal and Shankar Lal raised their voice against the religious intolerance and cruelty of the Nawab. The Nawab tried to suppress them but failed. Meanwhile they formed Praja Mandal also which raised its voice against the collection of land revenue at Dussehra and

\textsuperscript{180} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{181} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{183} Census of India, 1941, Vol. VI (Punjab), pp. 2-3.
\textsuperscript{184} For details see Fortnightly Report, Punjab : January to December 1934 : Home Department, Political Proceedings, August 1935, File 18; The Tribune, August 11, 1935.
camel tax.\textsuperscript{185} They also demanded appointment of Hindus, who were 95 per cent of the total population, on higher posts. Neki Ram Sharma also helped the cause of the Loharu people. At last, the Nawab accepted all their demands.

**JIND**: The present tehsil of Dadri, and the District of Jind formed a part of the Jind State. This area then constituted the Jind Nizamat, consisting of Jind and Dadri tehsils. It had an area of 1,026 square miles, three towns and 346 villages. Its population was 279,284.\textsuperscript{186} The ruler of the State was Maharaja Ranbir Singh. Like other States it was also in a moribund condition. The people made the demands to improve their condition but the Nawab paid no heed to them.

Thus a Parja Mandal movement was started in 1939 in order to get redressal of the people's grievances. Their prominent leaders were Banarasi Das Gupta, Lahri Singh, Sagar Datt Gaur, Ram Kishan, Nihal Singh Taksaq and Shiv Karan.\textsuperscript{187} Ever since its formation the Praja Mandal waged relentless struggle against the Ruler.\textsuperscript{188} On his part the Ruler fought heroically. The movement became more violent at Charkhi Dadri. In February 1947 a state of revolt prevailed and a parallel Government was established by the Praja Mandal leaders.\textsuperscript{189} Nihal Singh Takshaq was the main leader of the movement. When the movement assumed alarming proportions, the (Jind) State authorities became nervous and called Pattabhi Sitarammya, a veteran Congress leader, to solve the issue.\textsuperscript{190} Later, the (Jind) State Ruler conceded to almost all the demands and released the arrested leaders and satyagrahis\textsuperscript{191}

**PATIALA**: The present tehsils of Narnaul and Mahendergarh formed a part of the Patiala State (since 1858). This region was called the Mahendergarh Nizamat consisting of two

\textsuperscript{185} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{187} Based on personal interviews with living leaders of the Praja Mandal: Banarasi Das Gupta, Sagar Datt Gaur and Lahri Singh.
\textsuperscript{188} Daily Milap, December, 4, 1946.
\textsuperscript{189} The Hindustan Times, March 28, 1947.
\textsuperscript{190} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{191} Ibid.
tehsils: Narwana and Narnaul. Mahendergarh was its headquarters. Maharaja Yadvindra Singh was the ruler of the State in 1938 when the Praja Mandal movement first started. 192 Though he was a progressive ruler yet the general condition of the people was not satisfactory. Narnaul and Budhlada were the important centres of the Praja Mandal movement. 198 Here public meetings were held almost daily in which the authorities were condemned severely. During the Quit India movement (1942) many Congress leaders were arrested. It had a great impact on some politically minded persons of the State, especially at Narnaul. Here about 18 persons planned to create disturbances and some objectionable posters were distributed. But before they could execute their plans a country made bomb exploded. This exposed them and the authorities carried out investigation. 194 All the 18 persons were arrested. This stirred the whole of Narnaul city. People observed hartal and demanded release of the arrested persons. Similar news came from other parts of the State. Ultimately, the Raja ordered the release of these persons and conceded to their reasonable demands.

NABHA: The present tehsil of Bawal with an area of 282 square miles and a population of 91,723108 was a part of the Nabha State (since 1858). Partap Singh was the ruler of this State. He used to take ‘begar’ (forced labour) and levied other exorbitant taxes on the people. No facilities, such as education and hospitals, etc., were provided by him.

Owing to their sufferings, political awakening came to the people of this State also and the Praja Mandal movement was started just after world war II. Madho Singh of Kanti was the founder of this movement.196 Besides him other prominent leaders were Mathura Parsad, Devaki Nandan, Rup Narain, Din Dayal, Mata Din Bhardwaj, Ishwar Singh Azad, Shyam Manohar,

193. See, Records of Patiala State, Prime Minister’s Office File 670 (Patiala; State Archives); Interview with Mata Din Bhardwaj, Mangla Ram, Mansa Ram and Mehtab Singh, September, 25, 1970.
194. See, Activities of the workers of the Punjab Kisan Committee in Punjab States, case No. 830-C of 1939, August, 24, 1943, pp, 363.
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Rameshwar Singh and Mukh Ram Sharma. Even some women participated in the movement. Kamla Bai, their leader, exhorted the women to follow the example of Rani of Jhansi and Chand Bibi. Captain Shiv Narain and Kirpa Ram, ex-INA Officers of Bawal also urged the people to fight for freedom. A forceful demand was put forth for a responsible Government in the State.

On March 25, 1946, the State police arrested all the prominent leaders and the authorities promulgated an order under Section 144 C.P.C. in the Bawal area. As a protest, a movement was started by the people. On March 26, a jatha of 53 volunteers, accompanied by Dr. Umrao Singh, Kamla Bai and Babu Ram Sharma, was sent to Bawal. They violated the prohibitory order and were arrested. The educated people also came forward and supported the movement. Ultimately, the Raja released all the prisoners and conceded to their demands.

These details show that the people in the Haryana States also became politically conscious in the 1940s. After the war, their movement, almost in every State, gained momentum and the rulers had to concede to their demands.

V

After the end of the war, election to both the Central and State Legislatures were held in 1946. Electioneering was started by all parties in right earnest. Many Central and Punjab Congress leaders visited Haryana, addressed election meetings at various places, giving the message of the Congress to lakhs of people. The Unionist party was not very active. Its great leaders, Chhotu Ram and Sikander Hayat, were no more there. In their absence the Unionist policy was explained by Khizer Hayat Khan. The Muslim League was active and several of its leaders visited the

197. Ibid; Interview with Mata Din Bhardwaj, June 30, 1970.
198. Ibid; Niljar, B.S., op., cit., p.112.
199. Ibid.
203. See, Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates, February 19, 1945, p-6,
Muslim majority places. At the polls the Congress fared well (Table XI) winning 11 out of 21 seats.

**TABLE — XI**

SUCCESSFUL CANDIDATES FROM HARYANA IN 1946 LEGISCATIVE COUNCIL ELECTION.\(^\text{204}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidates</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Constituency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Mohammad Hassan</td>
<td>Muslim League</td>
<td>Ambala Simla (Muslim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Prithvi Singh Azad</td>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>Ambala Simla (Reserved)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Rattan Singh.</td>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>Ambala Simla (General -reserved)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Sunder Lal</td>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>Karnal North (General -reserved)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Samar Singh</td>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>Karnal South (General)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Jagdish Chander</td>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>Karnal North (General)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Maulvi Ahmed Jan</td>
<td>Muslim League</td>
<td>Karnal (Muslim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Abdul Hamid Khan</td>
<td>Muslim League</td>
<td>Karnal South (Muslim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Prem Singh</td>
<td>Unionist</td>
<td>Gurgaon-South-East (Reserved)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Mohar Singh</td>
<td>Unionist</td>
<td>Gurgaon North-West (General-rural)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Mehtab Khan</td>
<td>Muslim League</td>
<td>Gurgaon North-West (Muslim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Jiwan Lal</td>
<td>Unionist</td>
<td>Gurgaon South-East (General)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Mohammad Khurshid</td>
<td>Muslim League</td>
<td>Gurgaon North-West (Muslim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Sher Singh</td>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>Jhajjar (General)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Badlu Ram</td>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>Rohtak (General)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. S. S. Ram</td>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>Hissar North (General)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Sahib Dad Khan</td>
<td>Muslim League</td>
<td>Hissar (Muslim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Lahri Singh</td>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>Hissar South (Central—rural)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Suraj Mal</td>
<td>Unionist</td>
<td>Hansi (General—Urban)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Shri Ram Sharma</td>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>Southern towns (General—Urban)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Shanno Devi</td>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>Southern-Eastern towns (Genral—Urban)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{204}\) For details, see NMV & L, File 12/1945; The Tribune, February 19-23, 1946; The Indian Year Book, 1947, pp. 150-51.
POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN HARYANA

The Muslim League, which got the second position, won six seats and the Unionist Party four. Two Congress members were elected to the Central Assembly from this region.

The results of the elections of 1946 made the struggle in Punjab almost inevitable. On the one hand, the Muslim League and the Congress and on the other, the Akali Dal and the Unionist Party were closely matched in the House of 175 as the following table would show:

**Table — XII**

**PARTY-WISE STRENGTH IN THE PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Strength</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muslim League</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akali</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unionist</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>175</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Though the Muslim League got 75 seats, still it was not in a clear majority, and as such it could not form a ministry. However, the Congress, the Unionists and the Akalis joined hands and formed a coalition ministry under Khizer Hayat Khan. The ministry, however, could not function properly because the Muslim League did not allow it to proceed with business. It pressed hard for partition. There were communal riots at various places to which Haryana was no exception. The communal situation became serious at Rohtak, Hissar, Ambala and Gurgaon. The troops, however, brought the situation under control in the first three districts. But not in Gurgaon, where

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it worsened and became out of control. Especially, in the south-western parts, called Mewat, there were serious clashes between the Meos and the Baluchs on the one side and the Ahirs, the Rajputas, the Gujars and the Jats on the other. The district was declared a dangerously disturbed area under section 3 of the Punjab Disturbed Areas Act, 1947 by a Government notification. This declaration gave extra-ordinary powers to civil and military authorities in the area. Inspite of this, the riots could not be controlled. There was a lot of bloodshed; hundreds of Hindus and Muslims lost their lives and property worth lakhs of rupees. This bloody tamasha was ultimately stopped after a month by the strong measures of the Punjab Government and intervention of the Congress leaders from Delhi.

After this dark hour, the bright sun shone in the east on August 15, 1947. The ‘tri-colour’ was unfurled at the historic Red Fort and India became free. The people of Haryana danced with joy in every village and in every town. Their sacrifices bore fruits at last.


211. For details of these bloody happenings, see NMM & L, File G-10/1947; The Tribune, March 13-14, 25, April 5, 8, 9, 13 and June, 5, 1947; The Hindustan Times, August 20, 1947,
THE POLITICAL SCENE IN HARYANA
— A ROUND UP

J.N. Singh Yadav, M.A., Ph. D.

The emergence of Haryana as a new State on November 1, 1966 on the political map of India was not considered to be an incidence of significant importance at the time of its inception. It was a bold and farsighted decision on the part of the Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi to have created the new state after bifurcating the problematic state of Punjab. In a way, it amounted to reversal of earlier policy of the central leadership not to create new states any more in general and to bifurcate the border state of Panjab in particular. The people in general did not consider the formation of the new state as a happy incidence. No one, at that time even had an iota of imagination that this small state would play an important role in the body politic of India. The economists had serious doubts about the viability of this small state: the new state was poor in basic resources and therefore would not be able to hold its own for long. But the events to come proved beyond anybody’s comprehension that the bold experimental step taken by Smt. Gandhi, was a far sighted decision of mature statesmanship.

I

Political and Socio-Economic Set Up

Haryana, at the time of its birth, was not only the smallest State of the Indian Federation, but it was also one of the most under-developed States of the country. Its set up had remained predominantly rural\(^1\) with agricultural economy devoid of any sort of mechanisation in their pursuits. The process of industrialisation, urbanisation and modernisation had also not been satisfactory in this part of the country.

1. According to 1971 Census, 82% of Haryana’s 10,035,808 people live in villages.
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Secondly, low rate of literacy interacted on the process of politicization and the apathy of the inhabitants in participation in the affairs of the State. The region, with a few exceptions, had only been able to produce people with their love for farming and soldierly, but not politicians of national stature, what to talk of international fame.

Thirdly, the state, like any other region of the country, suffered the evils of parochial caste loyalties which dominated the socio-political realm as against loyalty to a broader political community. Perhaps the lower rate of literacy has something to do with this enigma. But as regards this factor, Haryana could not be singled out. The factor is present in Indian politics. The degree of intensity of its influence depends upon the situational factors. In Haryana, it can be claimed that the intensity is lower than what it is in Bihar or Uttar Pradesh. If there exist some sort of intercaste rivalry, it is not absent in the form of intracaste too. No caste in Haryana could (and can) claim to hold the political scales even without the support of more than one community. Therefore, this interdependence of castes is a happy phenomenon of the State politics. Moreover, Haryana has made it clear that caste loyalties and considerations are on the wane due to present rate of development.

Fourthly, the region has suffered by the politics of fragmentation at the hands of Britishers in 1858 as a result of punishment for their participation in the First War of Independence. They also suffered from this even after independence when rest of the fragmented regions of the Country were integrated into States with identical social and politico-cultural background. One part of Haryana was tagged on the PEPSU while the other part remained with the erstwhile Punjab. This “mistake” was not rectified even when the Indian States were reorganised on the lingual and socio-cultural bases in 1956. The PEPSU was merged with Punjab in 1956, which later on paved the way for the creation of Haryana.

2. 26.7% in 1971 as against 29.4% of the country.
3. Though no caste-wise figures are officially available, yet it is a rough estimate that following is the ratio of different castes in the State: Jats 23%, Ahirs 8%, Gujars 6%, Harijans 20%, Meos 2%, Rajputs 3%, Brahmans 14%, Punjabias 16% and others 7%.
4. Still the regions which were disintegrated and formed the parts of other
Fifthly, though small in size, area and population, the State was not a homogeneous blending of ethnic and political groupings. The interaction of caste politics could be noticed in the form of factional politics which had not only persisted at the time of creation of this State but also had gradually come to dominate the internal affairs of almost all the political parties in Haryana. The political parties reflect the political and social system in a given milieu. The creation of the new State and creating power-structure eclipsed the integrative spirit within the ruling (Congress) party which developed a tendency ‘of capturing governmental power.’ This intraparty struggle reflected the frustration of the ruling elite and their politics became the politics of power instead of principle. Later on, as a repercussion this feature emerged as a strong variable in the politics of the state as ‘politics of defection and opportunism’.

THE DAWN

At the time of inspection of Haryana in 1966, fresh election were impracticable and the State assembly was formed of the old composite Panjab assembly, belonging to the Haryana region. The party-wise position in the (new) Haryana assembly was as follows:

**TABLE I**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party-wise position in the Assembly on November 1, 1966</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indian National Congress</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>51</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>%age</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 3 opposition members joined Congress Party on the eve of bifurcation.

The above table shows that the Congress party commanded absolute majority in the assembly. The number of opposition neighbouring States were not integrated with Haryana. Hence the demand for formation of Vishal Haryana came. But, later on Birender Singh tried to make political capital out of this demand. As a result of this attitude the demand was associated with a regional political party got and only limited support.
members was only 3, and hence, politically ineffective. The ruling party had no challenge from the opposition. The Congress Party chose Bhagwat Dayal its leader and he became the first Chief Minister of Haryana on November 1, 1966. He was the Congress President of the erstwhile Panjab and had a better rapport with the Central leadership. Earlier Bhagwat Dayal had firmly associated himself with the powers opposing the bifurcation of Panjab on the linguistic basis. Later on, however, when the State was conceded to in principle, he involved himself actively in the process.

Bhagwat Dayal emphatically stated that he was in favour of a small Council of Ministers but as the Congress party was a house divided against itself, he had to include as many as fifteen other Ministers and Deputy Ministers in his Council of Ministers. Thus, every third legislator was a Minister or a Deputy Minister. However, once saddled in the new set-up, Sharma began to weed out his political opponents and prospective candidates for Chief Ministership, depriving them of share in power and thus neutralising their political influence. In order to have a hold on the organisational wing of the Party, he managed unanimous election of Ram Krishna Gupta as the President of Haryana Pradesh Congress Committee (HPCC) on November 18, 1966. In spite of all this, T. Manaen, AICC General Secretary, had to appeal to the Congressmen to remain united and work in harmony. He called upon such elements in the party which did not subscribe to its ideology and programme “to leave the party instead of creating bickerings and dividing its ranks into various groups and factions”.

Politically, the State did not inherit any of Panjab’s problems—it was free from intractable and difficult political parties, with no Akali—like politics, no language problem, no communist pockets, even the Jan Sangh was weak. But the intra factional rivalry in the Congress party made the situation uncomfortable.

The Indian Express, January 1, 1966.
7. The Times of India, November 19, 1966.
8. Ibid
THE POLITICAL SCENE IN HARYANA

The plethora of opportunism and personal jealousies that came to surface were the despair and laughing stock of political observers. The Congress legislators were, however, advised by the High Command to cooperate with the State leadership and not to aggravate the situation in any way. In consequence, the disgruntled members had to restrain themselves as the time for next general election was approaching. They wished to undo the political misdeeds of Bhagwat Dayal in the ensuing elections.

Haryana leadership had to face the first challenge, when Sant Fateh Singh announced his decision of self-immolation in case Chandigarh was not awarded to Panjab before December 27, 1966. In New Delhi, a meeting of the central leaders was arranged with the Chief Ministers and other leaders of Punjab and Haryana on the night of December 25, 1966. It was a matter of concern for all and Smt. Gandhi wanted to solve the tangle in right earnest. It is said that Smt. Gandhi was annoyed by the recalcitrant and adament behaviour of the Chief Minister Bhagwat Dayal, who insisted that old Delhi should be given to Haryana in case Chandigarh was transferred to Punjab. This was one of the reasons of ousting of Bhagwat Dayal in 1967. He mistook himself as a leader of all-India stature due to his place in the INTUCK and, therefore, instead of cooperating as a disciplined soldier of the Congress Party, he behaved in a different manner. But inspite of this, the coxing problem was solved by Smt. Gandhi in most satisfactory way by her statesmanship. Later on, proposal of arbitration by the Prime Minister was accepted by the Chief Ministers of Punjab and Haryana. Since the general elections were close at hand, the arbitration had to be postponed. \(^9\)"

II

Fourth General Election

Haryana went to polls on February 17, 1967. It was the first general election for the new State, and therefore, an occasion for the people not merely to give their verdict in favour of one or the

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9. He had the support of Gulzari Lal Nanda and Morarji Desai, in particular, in the Congress High Command of that time.
10. For details in this connection, see Yadav, K.C., Chandigarh-an integral part of Haryana, Delhi.
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other political party but to give to Haryana a political pattern and direction. However, the people of the Haryana experienced and learnt some interesting things during these elections. Every influential Congress leader, including the then Chief Minister Bhagwat Dayal, and the Congress President Ram Krishan Gupta not only covertly helped the candidates opposing the official Congress candidates but also sponsored and supported their 'own' candidates in many constituencies. Ram Krishan Gupta would not tour or support 'financially' the candidates of Bhagwat Dayal. Birender Singh, whose claim for Chief Ministership was frustrated earlier by Bhagwat Dayal, had an eye on the office and was, therefore, trying to bring his own men by opposing the Congress candidates, particularly in the Ahir belt consisting of Mahendergarh, Gurgaon and a part of Rohtak district. Thus, internal differences in the Congress led to considerable tension and disarray, political atmosphere remaining uncertain. Now the intraparty factional behaviour of the Congressmen was quite indicative of the coming events. On the other hand, the opposition was trying to have a united front. There was an alliance between the Swatantra Party and the Jan Sangh to give Congress a tough fight.

Political Behaviour Of The Voters

The Congress was by far the best organised party with ample resources and following at its disposal. But owing to intra party dissensions it could secure only 48 seats in the Assembly. This, however, placed the party in comfortable majority to form its government.

The Congress Party secured 7 seats in the Lok Sabha election and lost one each to Bhartiya Jan Sangh and an Independent. The percentage of voter-participants was as high as 72.65%, and a clear indication of political consciousness and participation in

12. Bhagwat Dayal was well aware of the fact that this sort of political atmosphere would result in and tried to take some measures to effect improvement in the situation. He induced and inducted Birender Singh in the ten-member Election Committee who, according to the press reports, was likely to leave the Congress on the eve of general election. He also sought to capitalise on the sentiments of the people that only a stable and suitable leadership of CONGRESS RULE could bring rapid economic development to the State.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Valid votes</th>
<th>INC</th>
<th>Swat.</th>
<th>BJS</th>
<th>SSP</th>
<th>CPI</th>
<th>CPM</th>
<th>PSP</th>
<th>RPI</th>
<th>Other Recognised Parties</th>
<th>Unrecognised Parties</th>
<th>Independents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Polled/%age/ seats covered</td>
<td>3,029,941</td>
<td>1,252,290</td>
<td>96,410</td>
<td>436,145</td>
<td>108,172</td>
<td>27,239</td>
<td>16,379</td>
<td>6,447</td>
<td>87,861</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASSEMBLY</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>(41.33)</td>
<td>(3.18)</td>
<td>(14.39)</td>
<td>(3.57)</td>
<td>(0.90)</td>
<td>(0.54)</td>
<td>(0.21)</td>
<td>(2.90)</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>471-81-283</td>
<td>81-48-0</td>
<td>12-3-7</td>
<td>48-12-21</td>
<td>23-0-17</td>
<td>12-0-12</td>
<td>8-0-8</td>
<td>3-0-3</td>
<td>24-2-20</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>260-16-196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOK SABHA</td>
<td>3,052,219</td>
<td>1,344,830</td>
<td>170,251</td>
<td>605,838</td>
<td>167,973</td>
<td>51,758</td>
<td>25,479</td>
<td>10,905</td>
<td>70,920</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100%</td>
<td>(44.06)</td>
<td>(5.60)</td>
<td>(19.85)</td>
<td>(5.50)</td>
<td>(1.70)</td>
<td>(0.83)</td>
<td>(0.36)</td>
<td>(2.32)</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>(19.77)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67-9-49</td>
<td>9-7-0</td>
<td>2-0-1</td>
<td>7-1-2</td>
<td>5-0-4</td>
<td>3-0-3</td>
<td>2-0-2</td>
<td>1-0-1</td>
<td>2-0-2</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>36-1-34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The figures shown in third and sixth columns under the names of parties indicate the (1) number of seats contested, (2) seats won, and (3) security deposits forfeited.

INC—Indian National Congress; Swat—Swatantra Party, BJS—Bhartiya Jan Sangh; SSP—Samyukta Socialist Party; PSP—Praja Socialist Party; CPI—Communist Party of India; CPM—Communist Party (Marxist); RPI—Republican Party of India.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Constituency</th>
<th>Valid votes Pollled</th>
<th>INC</th>
<th>Swat.</th>
<th>BJS</th>
<th>SSP</th>
<th>CPI</th>
<th>CPM</th>
<th>PSP</th>
<th>RPI</th>
<th>INDEPENDENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ambala (SC)</td>
<td>316,269 (37.72)</td>
<td>119,303</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>128,003 w (40.47)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>68,963 (3) (21.80)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Karnal</td>
<td>336,691 (50.03)</td>
<td>168,204 w</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>168,001 (49.97)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Kaithal</td>
<td>357,691 (50.54)</td>
<td>180,770 w (42.99)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>23,161 (2) (6.48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Rohtak</td>
<td>350,700 (50.26)</td>
<td>176,258 w</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>120,262 (34.41)</td>
<td>6,803 (1.94)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>46,977 (5) (17.39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Jhajjar</td>
<td>356,287 (58.80)</td>
<td>209,492 w</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>17,206 (4.83)</td>
<td>9,038 (2.54)</td>
<td>27,467 (7.71)</td>
<td>8,899 (2.50)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>84,185 (3) (23.63)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Gurgaon</td>
<td>349,394 (24.91)</td>
<td>87,018 (20.02)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>70,166 (3.51)</td>
<td>12,276 (4.75)</td>
<td>16,580 (11.80)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>41,213 (25.28) w</td>
<td>33,815 (3) (9.68)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE IV

Pattern of contest in 1967 Lok Sabha and Assembly Elections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967²</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Rohat (SC) and Tosham Constituencies. 2. Lok Sabha Elections. 3. Assembly Elections.

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the affairs of the State. At least 8 political parties fielded their candidates to contest the assembly as well as Lok Sabha elections, the number of Independent-contestants was 260 in case of Assembly and 36 for the Lok Sabha election. But except the Indian National Congress no other party, particularly with Leftist leanings, did well. The Bhartiya Jan Sangh emerged as second largest party with 12 members in the assembly (with 14.39% votes). In Lok Sabha, it could get one seat from Haryana. No other party could make a dent in the Congress monopoly. A large number of Independents (196), all the candidates of Communist Parties, PSP and RPI lost their security deposits. 4 SSP (out of 5), 2 BJS (out of 7) and 1 Swatantra (out of 2), candidates also forfeited their security deposits.

The results of the election were also indicative of the voting behaviour of the people of the State and thus some clear trends emerged. They did not show any consideration for the Left parties, and voted either for the Congress or the Rightists. The main reason for this political behaviour and voting pattern can be understood in the light of the aspiration of different communities to see their own caste leaders to be the Chief Minister. They did not see any prospect for the Left parties, and thus thought it useless to vote for the latter. Moreover, the land-owing farming-majority had no taste for the Left ideology which could endanger their proprietorship of the land. The influence of the big landlords could also be noticed on the voting behaviour of the voters. Similarly, the Congress party rationalised the quota of Congress-tickets on the caste basis. Absence of the big cities, industrial establishments and workers organisations was one more determinant factor for the success of parties with rightist leanings. The socialist and left parties were completely routed and could secure hardly 5.22 per cent. of the total votes polled and no seat in the state assembly. The Jana Sangh made a determined bid to make an entry into the politics of the State in the 1967 elections. The outcome of the election results were beyond any body's comprehension when it secured 12 (14.81%) seats and 14.39% votes. Their strong holds were mainly the urban population dominated by Punjabi refugees. The leadership and social base of the party was typically urban middle class. The policies and programmes of the Party failed to attract the rural masses. However, the Jan Sangh played a very vital role in the politics of Haryana during the year 1967. The Swatantra Party was third in
the race with 3.18% of votes and 3 (3.58%) seats in the assembly. Even the performance of the Republican party was better than the Socialists or the left parties, it contested 24 seats and got 2.90% votes and 2 (2.46%) seats.

But another startling outcome of the poll was the victory of 16 Independents who made a frantic bid to enter the state politics which resulted in creating imbalance in the power structure. They contested every seat in the State and polled more votes than the all opposition parties combined except the Congress, that is, 998, 969 (32.97%). It was a clear indicative of the voting behaviour of the voters, who showed much consideration for the individualities, instead of parties or their programmes. The Independents were responsible, to an extent, in encouraging defections and counter defections in the future.

Voting Pattern in Lok Sabha Elections

There were 9 constituencies for the Lok Sabha in the State. The Congress contested all the nine, while the Swatantra, Bhartiya Jan Sangh and the Republican Party of India fielded their candidates for 2, 7 and 2 seats respectively. The SSP put 5, PSP 1, CPI 3, and the CP (M) 2 candidates for the election. The number of Independents was 36, the ratio of 4 to 1 per constituency, in case of assembly elections, no doubt it is comparatively less, that is 3.21. But the balance of result tilted heavily in favour of Congress, which bagged 7 seats. Jan Sangh was also successful in getting one seat while the other one went to an Independent (Table III). The votes polled by the political parties were higher in every case compared with the assembly polling. It was a clear case of cross-voting. Obviously, the candidates contesting either the Lok Sabha or the Assembly seat did not insist upon to their voters to vote for the candidates of their parties in the both cases, instead they asked them to vote only for themselves and thus leaving the voters to their liking for the first/second vote.

On the other hand, it shows that the voters did not give much weightage to the Independents. The only Independent who won the election from Gurgaon constituency was a former Congressman of long standing, belonging to Muslim Community, and thus had an edge over other candidates including the Congress nominee, specially in a constituency where there is a sizeable
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number of Muslim (Meo) voters. The constituency has been represented—with only one exception when after the death of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Parkash Vir Shastri got elected in the by-election in 1956—by a Muslim candidate. So it has been a Muslim constituency till its delimitation in 1976. Another constituency lost by the Congress was Ambala (reserved for Scheduled Castes). The Jan Sangh candidate defeated his nearest rival Congress nominee by a margin of 8,700 votes polling 128,003 votes (40.47%). The Congress bagged 7 seats with 1,334,830 votes (44.06%) (Table III).

The constituency-wise performance of the different political parties and Independents also varied (Table IV). The Congress got the highest number of votes in Jhajjar—209,492 votes with 58.80% of total votes polled. Its score was lowest in Gurgaon with 87,018 votes (24.91%). The Left and Socialist Parties got only 8.39% votes, which was just 0.49% more than the votes secured by Swatantra Party and the Republican Party of India. Interestingly, the percentage of votes polled by the Independents was higher than the votes bagged by all opposition parties. It shows that personality, caste, sub-caste(particularly in the Jat-dominated areas) and communalism played an important role in voting behaviour of the voters. The absence of industrialised cities, workers or peasantry-organisations and higher rate of literacy were the determinant factors for the voting pattern and rejection of Left and Socialist oriented parties. Ordinarily there were habitual Congress voters and they found no zest for others. The absence of a strong national or state level alternative was also a favourable factor for pro-Congress trend. All the same, people did not show any consideration for the programmes and manifestoes of the parties. For instance, the Congress party was never successful in the Mahendergarh (Lok Sabha) constituency, till it gave its ticket to Rao Gajraj Singh, belonging to the majority Community—Yadavas—in 1967.

No constituency returned an uncontested candidate to Lok Sabha or Legislative Assembly (see Table IV). There were multi-cornered contests in the case of Lok Sabha and the Assembly-only one being direct in each case. In majority cases, the Congress was benefitted wherever there were multi-cornered contests, as it had reserve votes in the form of Harijans, backward classes and other committed Congressmen. It had a better cadre-based organisation in the state in comparison to other parties. The opposition
parties had no political alliances, electoral pacts, understanding or criteria for nomination of candidates. They did not have any common programme or strategy and campaigning. Had there been any alliance or understanding between the opposition parties, they could have won more seats, particularly in the assembly.

III

Politics Of Power

Under the 'directives' of the High Command, Bhagwat Dayal was unanimously re-elected the leader of the Congress Legislature Party in the new Assembly on March 4, 1967\(^{13}\), and was sworn in as the Chief Minister for the second time. On March 10, a 11-man Council of Ministers was sworn in. The district wise break-up was as under\(^{14}\):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ambala</th>
<th>Rohtak</th>
<th>Karnal</th>
<th>Jind</th>
<th>Hissar</th>
<th>Mahender Garh</th>
<th>Gurgaon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Chief Minister, it seems, did not learn any lesson from his past experiences. His haughty temperament and rigid attitude probably obliged him in not doing so. And soon after assuming the Chief Ministership, he again embarked upon the old path of crushing his political opponents within the party. Birender Singh, Chand Ram and none of their supporters were included in the Council of Ministers. Even Rizak Ram and Hardwari Lal were taken in the Council on the assurance of personal loyalty to the Chief Minister. In all, it was a political blunder on the part of the Chief Minister to ignore the claims and underestimate the power of the dissidents.

As a result of this approach of the Chief Minister towards the dissidents political atmosphere became uncertain and a spell of uneasy balance hung heavily over the Government. Fears and doubts were expressed about the stability and smooth running of the Ministry. All this could have been easily avoided if amity had prevailed between the dissidents and the Chief Minister. It was suggested to Bhagwat Dayal to induct Sumitra Devi, sister of

\(^{13}\) *The Hindustan Times*, March 5, 1967.

\(^{14}\) *The Times of India*, March 11, 1967.
HARIYANA: STUDIES IN HISTORY AND POLITICS

Birender Singh, in the Ministry so that the latter could have a face saving. But Bhagwat Dayal remained adamant not even to consider any such proposal\(^5\).

Humiliated, frustrated and annoyed by the behaviour of the Chief Minister, the dissidents realised that they had no future in the Congress fold. The only alternative left for them was to take to some other course, if they were really serious for having a share in the power-structure. The dissidents organised themselves and hatched a conspiracy to give a show down to the Chief Minister on the occasion of the election of the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly. Bhagwat Dayal did not know of this and the Ministry met a surprising defeat on March 17 when its nominee for Speakership, Daya Kishan lost to Birender Singh by 40 votes to 37\(^6\). The dissidents did not stop there only. They at once left Congress and formed a new party named ‘Haryana Congress’. At this juncture the Independents also organised themselves. They too formed their own party—‘Navin Haryana Party’. To make the best out of the new situation, both these newly formed parties entered into an alliance. Subsequently, they took other groups and parties in the Assembly to forge a United Front with Birender Singh as its leader\(^7\).

These developments annoyed Bhagwat Dayal beyond description. He at once rushed to Delhi to consult the Central leadership. In the meantime, the United Front ‘purchased’ Hardwari Lal, number two in the Cabinet. Hardwari Lal played an unclean game. He told his colleagues in the Cabinet that he had telephonic instruction from Bhagwat Dayal to get resignation letters from all the members of the Council of Ministers as it would strengthen his position. On the other hand, when Bhagwat Dayal enquired about the political situation in the capital, Hardwari Lal told him that all the ministers had resigned and they had no confidence in his leadership. He also advised Bhagwat Dayal Sharma to return to Chandigarh and to resign.

\(^5\) It was a rumour in the political circles at that time, that Hardwari Lal advised Bhagwat Dayal not to give any consideration to Rao as there was no danger from him. Later on, Bhagwat Dayal himself admitted it in a number of public meetings.

\(^6\) The Tribune, March 18, 1967.

\(^7\) The other prominent leaders were: Devi Lal, Shri Chand, Mul Chand Jain, Pratap Singh Daula and Chand Ram.
THE POLITICAL SCENE IN HARYANA

gracefully. The Congress High Command not feeling satisfied with the Chief Minister for his past behaviour held him responsible for the bad situation, and advised him to submit his resignation, and to adopt a policy of watch and wait. Having lost on all sides, Bhagwat Dayal submitted his resignation to the Governor, B.N. Chakravarty, who accepted it and thus came to an end the 142-day rule of Bhagwat Dayal Sharma.

The events in Haryana had a far reaching impact on national political milieu. 'Going the Haryana way', the Congress ministries in different States fell like a house of cards. Commenting on the new situation, the Patriot wrote in its editorial: "... The truth now established in Haryana is universally applicable wherever the Congress is in office. Twenty years of pomp and comfort have made a whole generation of Congress leaders insensitive and immobile even in the face of total crisis. Haryana is not merely a warning it is proof that the Congress in its present shape cannot exist." The central leadership of the Congress Party was helpless as it was a house divided against itself. They failed to realise the danger and could not stop this process of downfall which later on plagued the other States too.

The Hindu Commented on the situation: 'Knowing full well that caste was a potent force in the body-politics of Haryana, the Brahmin leader brought to bear excessive self-confidence in the task of picking up his team of ministers; he sought to vanquish by one decisive stroke his potential rivals belonging to the remaining three dominant castes in the State, viz. Ahirs, Jats and Harijans, by keeping them all and their adherents out of the cabinet. They on their part deftly exploited the caste sentiment and brought about his downfall within a short period of two weeks after his unanimous re-election as the leader of a party commanding a majority in the Vidhan Sabha.'

The casteism, no doubt, had played a big role in overthrowing the Bhagwat Dayal ministry. A Jat-Ahir combination brought about his downfall. But it was Sharma who had precipitated this crisis in the politics of the State. His ultra-castes against different castes; then his highhanded attitude in dealing with leaders of different factions in the party; and his prideful posture in styling himself a disciple of the late Pratap Singh

A New Experiment

Haryana became the first State where the Congress Ministry was toppled by the Congress men. "The toppling game started by the dissidents-turned-defectors, was to become a pattern for bigger States like Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh and the old factional politics was soon to be transformed into a full scale politics of defection." In the words of Patriot: "Haryana is no distorted caricature of the internal situation of the Congress. It is forewarning of the fate that looms large for the juntas that they rule the Congress States and the one that tries to look like a government at the Centre. What happened to Bhagwat Dayal may happen elsewhere with direr consequences. Bhagwat Dayal fought the elections on a simplified caste platform. He had assumed that Chand Ram, the Harijan leader could be separated from his Harijan following when a direct appeal could be addressed by the Chief Minister to support him against the Jats. He scrapped through this idea only because several Jat leaders accepted Gulzari Lal Nanda's advice to abide by Congress discipline and not to think in terms of caste. The force of this advice could not obviously withstand the pressure of disappointment that overtook Chand Ram and others unceremoniously cast away by Bhagwat Dayal when he formed his new government. They seized the first opportunity to prove that the Congress is no more a political party but a cooperative of opportunistic office hunters...."

After the exit of Bhagwat Dayal, Birender Singh was invited by the Governor to form the Government. A fifteen member Samyukta Vidhayak Dal Council of Ministers was sworn in on March 24, 1967. Ministerial positions being mostly shared by defectors and the Independents, the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra parties preferred to stay out of office (Table VI).

THE POLITICAL SCENE IN HARYANA

TABLE VI


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Cabinet Ministers</th>
<th>Ministers of State</th>
<th>Deputy Ministers</th>
<th>Parliamentary Secretary</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Haryana</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents (Navin Haryana Party)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Birender Singh started his rule with high sounding promises, but what actually happened was only a sordid drama. Chaos and confusion reigned supreme. Political unrest and corruption became order of the day. All national dailies carried sorry details of political behaviour of its legislators and political elites. Defections and counter defections became a regular phenomena in the political life of the state and made mockery of the Parliamentary system the nation had opted for. The constitutional experts stroked their heads in dismay, political immorality stood exposed as never before. It was felt that perhaps the Indian character was not cut out to absorb shocks and personal set-backs inbuilt in the parliamentary form of government (see table VII).

It was a challenging task for the soldier-turned-politician to keep the ministry on an even keel. Surprisingly, Birender Singh got a rude shock from his own party too. Devi Lal and his supporters started to rock the boat alarmingly. Though Devi Lal was neither a member of the Legislative Assembly nor a minister, yet he had a reckonable following in the Assembly at that time. When a single member or vote could imbalance the majority, he was counted as a strong power. But Birender Singh was more than a match for Devi Lal in the art of feint and ambush. He surprised him by submitting the resignation of his four-month old ministry on July 15, 1967, in order to drop the Devi Lal-group
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No. of seats secured in the 1967—election</th>
<th>No. of seats held in the Assembly on Nov. 21, 1967 (at dissolution)</th>
<th>No. of MLAS who defected</th>
<th>No. of candidates who contested the mid-term elections</th>
<th>No. of former MLAS who contested the 1968 election*</th>
<th>No. of defectors who contested</th>
<th>No. of the new entrants in the 1968 election**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INC</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BJS</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VHP</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swat.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents and others</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>81</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>398</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Shows the party affiliation in 1968 election.
** Shows the party on whose label they contested irrespective of their defection from a party they defected from.
who was thwarting his plans from inside. In spite of Devi Lal’s claims that the United Front Ministry had lost the majority support, the Governor invited Birender Singh to form a new government. Obviously, the new list did not contain the names of two known camp followers of Devi Lal—Deputy Chief Minister Chand Ram and Minister of Irrigation and Power Mani Ram Godara.

But the malaise did not end. Defections and counter-defections gained pace. The dexterous Rao attempted to break the vicious circle, but it remained only a wishful thinking. Devi Lal joined hands with Bhagwat Dayal in a bid to oust the Rao. This horse-trading on the part of the political elites added a new word in the vocabulary of politics—‘Aya Rams and Gaya Rams’. Incidentally, the new experiment of a coalition government in which widely heterogeneous elements had joined hands to form it proved a failure. The strange-bed-fellows combined together only to launch ‘operation alliance’ and ‘operation topple’ for their narrow ends. The administration was paralysed and the development of the State came to a halt, the Chief Minister being always on a vote-buying spree.

The Governor watched the whole game seriously and assessed the situation. He felt that Birender Singh was ‘as much disgusted with the daily defections and change of sides of legislators as others were, though he could not help it as far as he was concerned because the Congress party was trying to topple him and he was trying to beat them at their own game.’ Taking into consideration the political situation of the State the Governor made positive recommendations to the President of India under article 356 of the Constitution for the imposition of President’s rule in the State. The Governor recommended in his report that the people of the state should be given an opportunity through a mid-term election to choose once again their rulers and expressed the hope that ‘so many opportunist legislators would not be re-elected.’

Interestingly, when the positive recommendations were made by the Governor for Presidential rule, Birender Singh still had the majority suppority (of 40) in the Legislative Assembly having 78 members at that time. But political instability had made the

life of the people miserable and therefore, ignoring the formal niceties, the Governor made his recommendation. He observed that the legislators changed their affiliations as frequently as they changed their under-clothes, and as such, political stability was a mirage. The Governor analysed the political situation with a degree of caution. The role of Governor during the Samyukta Vidhayak Dal's rule and in recommending the imposition of President's rule in the State instead of inviting the Congress Party to form the Government can be said to be the most democratic and worthy of a Constitutional Head. The report of the Governor is a fine piece of constitutional document which shows the political acumen of the person who prepared it.\textsuperscript{25} It says:

"The Opposition (the Congress) could never reconcile itself to its position as a responsible Opposition. It must bear some responsibility for not having given the Government peace or a chance to settle down to constructive work. The Government has also sought to maintain itself precariously in power by creating too many Ministers which is an abuse of its constitutional powers...... With all its good intentions, the Government cannot do much for the people because it is being kept pre-occupied all the time with the problem of its very survival...... Allegations have been made by the Opposition that the Ministry is continuing in power through corruption, bribery, political victimisation and distribution of offices but then the Opposition is also apparently securing defections through no better means or through no cleaner methods."

The people of Haryana, who were fed up with the sordid drama of incessant defections, heaved a sigh of relief upon the President's rule imposed on November 21, 1967. Consequently, the Assembly was dissolved and the Council of Ministers dismissed. Birender Singh went in appeal to the Panjab and Haryana High Court against the proclamation of the President, the court rejected the petition for want of jurisdiction.

The determinant factors for failures to topple the Rao Ministry are not far to be sought. As discussed earlier, Bhagwat Dayal was a nominee of the Congress High Command and not a

\textsuperscript{25} \textit{The Indian Express}, November 22, 1967. The report is marked, no doubt, as secret, but was published in the newspapers and was later placed on the table of the both Houses of the Parliament.
THE POLITICAL SCENE IN HARYANA

leader by selection or election. In all fairness, he was not a leader *par excellence* *vis-a-vis* other contestents for the office. In Punjab, he was brooded to neutralise the political influence of the Jat-political elites in particular and agriculturist-political elites in general. Even the prominent Jat leaders like Rizak Ram; or Ranbir Singh, who did not leave the Congress Party, did not support Bhagwat Dayal in his game of toppling down the Rao Ministry. Bhagwat Dayal is said to have alleged that some members of the Pradesh Congress Committee and legislators had covertly given their support to Birender Singh in order to keep him away from the power structure.

The Presidential rule brought political stability to the State. The administrative machinery was geared up to undo the irregularities of the previous regime. The situation normalised and the law and order improved soon. On the political side, it was restricted to preparations for the forthcoming elections. All parties organised themselves properly. An interesting phenomena during the period was that all the political parties and elites condemned defections irrespective of the fact that even some of them had defected more than once.

V

Claimants Of Power

The Congress Party in Haryana was a house divided against itself. There were three factions: One led by former Chief Minister Bhagwat Dayal, the second faction was under the influence of the then Congress President Ram Krishan Gupta, M.P, and the third group was led by the stormy Jat leader Devi Lal, who considered himself a king maker and an expert in toppling down ministries. The Congress High Command, reviewed these happenings with deep concern and appointed a seven-man advisory Committee on January 28, 1968 including Sharma, Ram

26. It would be interesting to note that Bhagwat Dayal was elected the President of Haryana Pradesh Congress Committee by a margin of one vote. He was opposed by the lone Muslim member of the Committee, Abdul Gaffar Khan, who was sponsored and supported by the group led by Ranbir, Singh Devi Lal, Rizak Ram and others.

27. He is reported to have been taking credit for toppling down 4 ministries: one of Bhim Sen Sacheliar, second of Pratap Singh Kairon, third of Bhagwat Dayal Sharma and fourth of Birender Singh.
HARIYANA: STUDIES IN HISTORY AND POLITICS

Krishan Gupta, Devi Lal and Chand Ram, etc. The Committee was assigned the task of selecting candidates for the coming elections. After much wranglings the list was finalised. All the defectors and faction leaders were kept out of the Congress list. However, their close relations and followers were given party tickets on their behest. Only 25 candidates of the dissolved assembly got the Congress tickets, while 41 were new and 15 were defeated Congress candidates in the 1967 election. Bhagwat Dayal, Rizak Ram, Chand Ram and Ram Krishan Gupta were kept out of the contest.

The Jan Sangh party also followed the Congress in keeping the defectors out. They gave tickets to only 8 former members of the dissolved assembly, and tried to induct new blood in the party. Other parties also behaved almost in the similar vein (See Table VII).

Political behaviour of the voters

The political behaviour of the people is reflected through the voting-pattern. But political behaviour is influenced by and also function on of a net work of relationships that are social, economic, religious, etc., and must, therefore, be understood against such a background. The study of the incidence of voting as such which is usually undertaken in the conventional sense, is the study of merely the expressional part of a voting behaviour and not the political behaviour as a whole. What is, therefore, to be kept in mind is the motivations which compel the voting behaviour to confine to certain behavioural patterns. Therefore, it shall be interesting to analyse the political behaviour of the people of Haryana on the basis of their voting pattern during the mid-term poll on May 12 and 14, 1968.

One cannot but agree with Kashyap28 that “what was involved in the mid-term election in Haryana was something of much greater significance than a routine trial of strength for the control of a tiny seven district (then) State......” The stakes particularly for the Congress were so high that the Central leadership threw in all they could... Haryana was the domino—

28. Kashyap, Subhas C., op. cit., p. 185,
POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN HARYANA

if it fell, neither U.P. nor West Bengal could possibly be saved. If Congress could win in Haryana, there was reason for hope elsewhere." Haryana had set in the pattern of defections, now it could lead the Congress to victory in other States. The Congress threw in all weapons it had in its armoury. It put every thing at stake. The Prime Minister, Deputy Prime Minister, Home Minister and other important leaders of the organisation toured, canvassed and contacted people to seek and get their vote and support.

The Opposition parties also put all their resources in the field. They got some sympathy from the public as their position was augmented due to the contrast in the resources mobilised by it vis-a-vis the Congress. As the Congress did not allow any faction leader to contest, and had kept the question of leadership undecided, the morale of the Opposition was boosted. They had one more point to propagate that the Congress Party even could not decide about the future leader of the Legislative Party, it was still a divided house and, therefore, was unable to deliver goods to the people. Secondly, loyalties in Haryana tend to be more candidate-oriented than issue-oriented or party-oriented.19

Consequently, the opposition exploited the situation to their full advantage. The Vishal Haryana Party got the maximum benefit out of this situation. (See Table VIII). The Party fielded 29 candidates, wrested 13 seats and 14.86% votes, the Jan Sangh came to second position getting 10.45% votes and 7 seats (16.6%) out of 42 it contested. Thus it did not fair well in comparison to the Vishal Haryana Party, and its own performance in 1967 when it contested 48 seats and got 12 seats (25%) and 14.39% votes. The reason for low vote percentage turned out in favour of the Jan Sangh was due to its role in supporting the defectors’ government.

The Swatantra Party contested 32 seats (12 in 1967) and was successful in only 2 (3 in 1967) constituencies with 8.18% votes, the Republican Party got 1 (2 in 1967) out of 14 seats (24 in 1967) it contested and secured only 1.60% votes. The voters did not show much fervent for the Independents, who got 9 seats in comparison to 16 in 1967, though they got 17.11% votes—only second to the Congress Party. Incidentally, the numerical

### Table VIII
**MID-TERM POLL 1968**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>1 Contested</th>
<th>2 Won</th>
<th>3 Security forfeited</th>
<th>4 % age of Seats won</th>
<th>5 Votes polled</th>
<th>6 % age of votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indian National Congress</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>59.26</td>
<td>1,114,176</td>
<td>43.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swatantra Party</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2.47</td>
<td>207,843</td>
<td>8.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhartiya Jan Sangh</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8.64</td>
<td>265,739</td>
<td>10.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communist Party of India</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>8,210</td>
<td>0.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samyukt Socialist Party</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>23,936</td>
<td>0.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communist Party (Marxist)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>3,632</td>
<td>0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Praja Socialist Party</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1,601</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vishal Haryana Party</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19.75</td>
<td>377,744</td>
<td>14.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican Party of India</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1.23</td>
<td>40,597</td>
<td>1.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akali Dal Sant Group</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>15,055</td>
<td>0.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhartiya Kranti Dal</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.23</td>
<td>48,298</td>
<td>1.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>7.41</td>
<td>434,907</td>
<td>17.11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total**


THE POLITICAL SCENE IN HARYANA

strength of the Congress seats remained static at 48 (59.25%). The voting-pattern of the voters in Haryana once again exhibited that they had no leanings towards Left Parties, the landed-aristocracy having its full impact on the political-behaviour of the voters. The caste-feelings were as high as it could be almost in every constituency. Every party had selected its candidates on the basis of dominant-caste\(^{30}\) in the constituency.

The district-wise performance of the political parties shows the political preferences of the voters in different areas (See Table IX). Although, the performance of the Congress cannot be said to be very satisfactory, but some how it was able to maintain its previous position due to its majority support particularly in Ambala, Karnal and Hisar districts where it won 7, 9 and 11 seats out of 9, 15 and 17 constituencies respectively. It got a set-back from VHP which wrested 4 seats in Mahender Garh, 5 in Gurgaon and 3 each in Rohtak and Hisar districts. Birender Singh emerged as a leader of the southern Haryana where he got a large following in Yadavas in particular and agriculturists in general. The frustrated and neglected southern part felt personified through him when he became the Chief Minister of Haryana. He tried to eulogize himself as the traditional leader of the Yadavas. He contested from two constituencies—Jatusana and Ateli simultaneously and got elected from both places, defeating two Nihal Singh's from these constituencies. The Yadav-voters of Ateli were particularly against Nihal Singh, the former Education Minister, as he did not defect with Birender Singh and remained in Congress. The VHP drew blank in Ambala and Karnal districts. It got only 1 seat in Jind district, which it contested. In all, 12 of its candidates forfeited their security deposits.

The Jan Sangh fielded its candidates in every district, maximum (10) in Karnal and minimum (1) in Jind. But it was in Rohtak district, that it won the maximum (3) seats. It did not bag any seat in Jind, Gurgaon, Mahender Garh and Hisar. In Ambala and Karnal, its performance could not be said to be satisfactory where it won 2 seats in each district. The CPI did not put any candidate in Ambala, Rohtak, Jind and Mahender

30. J.R. Siwach has defined the one-caste dominant constituency as 'one where a sizeable number of voters (about 30% or above) belongs to one caste. See, his article 'Elections and Caste Politics of Haryana', JSSSG, Vol. VII, No. 2, p. 103.
TABLE IX

District and Party-wise (1) number of contestants, (2) seats won, and (3) number of candidates forfeiting security deposits in the 1968—Assembly Election.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DISTRICT</th>
<th>Seats</th>
<th>INC</th>
<th>SWAT</th>
<th>BJS</th>
<th>CPI</th>
<th>SSP</th>
<th>CPM</th>
<th>PSP</th>
<th>VHP</th>
<th>RPI</th>
<th>SAD</th>
<th>BKD</th>
<th>INDEPENDENTS</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ambala</td>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>9-7-x</td>
<td>2-x-2</td>
<td>7-2-3</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1-x-1</td>
<td>5-x-4</td>
<td>5-x-4</td>
<td>3-x-3</td>
<td>25-x-22</td>
<td>57-9-39</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Karnal</td>
<td>(16)</td>
<td>16-9-x</td>
<td>6-x-3</td>
<td>10-2-1</td>
<td>1-x-1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1-x-1</td>
<td>7-x-3</td>
<td>4-1-3</td>
<td>4-x-3</td>
<td>30-4-24</td>
<td>79-16-40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Jind</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>5-3-x</td>
<td>3-1-x</td>
<td>1-x-1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>2-x-2</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1-1-x</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>9-x-8</td>
<td>21-5-11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Rohtak</td>
<td>(15)</td>
<td>15-9-x</td>
<td>7-x-5</td>
<td>7-3-4</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>8-3-5</td>
<td>1-x-1</td>
<td>1-x-1</td>
<td>30-x-21</td>
<td>69-15-37</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Gurgaon</td>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>13-7-x</td>
<td>6-x-3</td>
<td>8-x-7</td>
<td>1-x-1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>9-5-x</td>
<td>4-x-4</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>19-1-16</td>
<td>60-13-31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Mahender Garh</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>6-2-x</td>
<td>1-x-1</td>
<td>4-x-4</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1-x-x</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>4-4-x</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>14-x-11</td>
<td>30-6-16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Hisar</td>
<td>(17)</td>
<td>17-11-x</td>
<td>6-1-1</td>
<td>7-x-5</td>
<td>1-x-1</td>
<td>4-x-3</td>
<td>1-x-1</td>
<td>5-3-x</td>
<td>4-x-4</td>
<td>1-x-x</td>
<td>2-1-x</td>
<td>34-1-26</td>
<td>.82-17-41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>(81)</td>
<td>81-48-x</td>
<td>31-2-16</td>
<td>44-7-25</td>
<td>3-x-3</td>
<td>7-x-5</td>
<td>1-x-1</td>
<td>2-x-2</td>
<td>39-16-12</td>
<td>18-1-16</td>
<td>1-x-x</td>
<td>10-1-7</td>
<td>161-6-129</td>
<td>398-81-215</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District (No. of Seats)</th>
<th>Valid votes polled</th>
<th>INC</th>
<th>BJS</th>
<th>SSP</th>
<th>CPI</th>
<th>CPM</th>
<th>Swat</th>
<th>PSP</th>
<th>VHP</th>
<th>SAD</th>
<th>RPI</th>
<th>BKD</th>
<th>Independents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ambala (9)</td>
<td>250,895</td>
<td>123,778</td>
<td>45,551</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>3,588</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>18,850</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>12,425</td>
<td>5,372</td>
<td>40,964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(49.33) (18.16)</td>
<td>(1.43) (0.15)</td>
<td>(7.51)</td>
<td>(4.95) (2.14) (16.33)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(41.49) (20.51)</td>
<td>(0.69) (0.73)</td>
<td>(6.42) (7.89)</td>
<td>(3.77) (3.10) (15.40)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(49.45) (0.64) (3.22)</td>
<td>(22.74) (10.04)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(47.07) (10.63)</td>
<td>(9.83) (9.57)</td>
<td>(0.06) (0.07) (22.76)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Gurgaon (13)</td>
<td>425,015</td>
<td>179,201</td>
<td>29,807</td>
<td>2,967</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>42,640</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>125,556</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>6,674</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>38,176</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(42.16) (7.01)</td>
<td>(0.70)</td>
<td>(10.03) (29.54)</td>
<td>(1.57) (8.98)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Mahender Garh (6)</td>
<td>178,890</td>
<td>63,944</td>
<td>1,872</td>
<td>6,908</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1,872</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>64,792</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>36,243</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(35.74) (1.05) (3.86)</td>
<td>(1.05) (36.22)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Hisar (17)</td>
<td>555,075</td>
<td>238,486</td>
<td>30,827</td>
<td>12,253</td>
<td>1,837</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>46,189</td>
<td>1,434</td>
<td>67,825</td>
<td>15,055</td>
<td>2,534</td>
<td>27,202</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(42.56) (5.55) (2.21)</td>
<td>(0.33) (8.32) (0.26) (12.22) (2.71) (0.46) (4.90) (20.08)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Total 81</td>
<td>2,541,638</td>
<td>1,114,176</td>
<td>265,739</td>
<td>23,936</td>
<td>8,210</td>
<td>3,632</td>
<td>207,843</td>
<td>1,801</td>
<td>377,744</td>
<td>15,055</td>
<td>40,597</td>
<td>48,298</td>
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<td>(43.83) (10.45) (0.94)</td>
<td>(0.32) (8.18) (0.07) (14.86) (2.71) (1.60) (1.90) (17.11)</td>
<td></td>
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HARIYANA: STUDIES IN HISTORY AND POLITICS

Garh districts, and in the other districts its maximum poll did not cross 0.70% of votes (in district Gurgaon). The lone CPM candidate who contested, and lost, in Karnal district only, he got 3,632 (0.73% votes), the SSP got 4,775 (3.22%) votes in Jind, 6,908 (3.86%) in Mahender Garh and 12,253 (2.26%) in Hissar districts. The PSP was no better than SSP-it contested one seat in Ambala and got 367. (0.15%) only, while in district Hissar it got 1,434 (0.26) votes in one constituency (for details, see Tables IX and X).

The voting turn-out was 57.2%—a fall of about 15% in comparison to 72.65% voter-participation in 1967. Non-voting can be delineatly analysed in contextual dimension of the politics in the State. Though no single factor can be taken solely explanatory for non-participation, yet lack of political socialization was a pertinent point for non-voting in Haryana. Subhas C. Kashyap ignores this factor when he enlists the causes for less voter-participation due to (i) the extremely inhospitable weather of the summer month, and (ii) the pressure of the harvesting time.\(^{31}\)

The decline in the votes polled by Independents in quantity and percentage was a sure sign of institutionalisation of the voter-participants. Interestingly, out of the 64 sitting Members who contested, only 20 (31.25%) emerged victorious--44(68.75%) being rejected by the voters. Once again the Caste emerged as one of the important determinant variable factor in the politics of the State. Local factionalism was also determinant of voting behaviour, but there were no 'vote-banks' in this election—the voters being 'candidate-oriented'.

VI

Choice Of Leader

As part of its overall strategy, the High Command gave no indication, either before or during the poll, of its choice of the leader of the Congress Legislature Party. There were many aspirants in the field for the post: the prominent among them being Bhagwat Dayal Sharma, Om Prabha Jain, Ram Krishan Gupta, Ranbir Singh, Brigadier Ran Singh and Devi Lal. Even the then Union Minister of State, Sher Singh was said to be in the run for

\(^{31}\) Kashyap, Subhas C., op. cit., p. 186
the office of the Chief Ministership. The name of Home Minister Gulzari Lal Nanda was also being mentioned in some quarters. But the Congress High Command was in search of a dynamic person free from reservations and prejudices and having a clean past who could have been acceptable to all factions in the Party. There was a good deal of suspense and melodrama in the party circles. But then Bhagwat Dayal again came in and insisted that the legislature party should be given a free-hand in electing its leader. This was accepted by the High Command.

The meeting for formal selection of leader was held at Gulzari Lal Nanda's house in New Delhi in which 32 out of 48 Congress legislators participated. It was alleged that majority of these Congress legislators wanted Bhagwat Dayal as their leader. But the Congress High Command was against Bhagwat Dayal being chosen as the Party leader because of his past activities which not only annoyed Smt. Gandhi, but also was responsible for political defections in the State. In fact, his claim for the office was struck down when he was refused party ticket to contest the mid term election. Others came in like wise. The Jat leadership, as also the members, in particular, were against Sharma being chosen as the leader of the party. Ranbir Singh, a prominent Jat leader having a following of 16 members, openly challenged Bhagwat Dayal and staked his claim to leadership on the plea that he was the oldest Congressman in the legislature party. Obviously, Bhagwat Dayal did not like Ranbir Singh to be the leader. These happenings made the Congress High Command perturbed and it at once decided to intervene. Finally, it decided in favour of an unassuming, non-controversial, Bansi Lal. Obviously, the alternative left to the party was to 'own' the choice of the High Command. Gulzari Lal Nanda and Sher Singh too, were in favour of such a selection. All these factors contributed to the selection of Bansi Lal, an MLA from Tosham, who had been an active worker of the party and a member of the Rajya Sabha from 1960 to 1966. The Legislature Party meet in New Delhi on May 19, 1968 and unanimously elected Bansi Lal as its leader.

32. The Times of India, May, 16, 1968.
33. Obviously, Ranbir Singh and his supporters were not present there.
34. The choice was objected to by Ranbir Singh, who felt being ignored in the choice over and above his own claim. However, these faint voices of disagreement were finally silenced.
HARIYANA: STUDIES IN HISTORY AND POLITICS

A State, with warring factions in the party organisation, notorious for defections and counter-defections, toppling of ministries and handicapped of economic resources was a challenge for the new Chief Minister. Every body wondered whether an untrained high spirited youth of 41 with practically no experience of administration would be able to pull the State out of political instability and economic backwardness. His simplicity, however, impelled many to think that his selection was just a stop-gap. But the coming events proved the fallacy of their estimation.

The first session of the Third Assembly of Haryana began on July 15, 1968 with the election of its Speaker. Often in Indian Legislatures, the trial of strength is made between the governmental party and the opposition at the time of the election of its presiding officer. A person whose task is so difficult to carry out his duties remaining neutral of power politics is made all the more difficult by making the office an arena for trial of political strength. The governmental party rarely consult the opposition parties in selection of the candidates for the office of the Speaker, while the opposition parties, knowing their strength well, do contest the office and make the Speaker the choice of the Government and not of the House. If some of the Speakers adopt a partisan attitude in fulfilment of their duties of the office, they should not be blamed for obliging the organisation or persons who put them in office.

Thinking that the drama of last year might be repeated again, the Opposition put Balwant Rai Tyal to contest the office of the Speaker against Brigadier Ran Singh.35 The latter won by securing 50 votes to 27. This was the first trial of strength in which Bansi Lal emerged victorious. Not only that, he also got the support of 3 non-congressmen36 for his candidate.

But the political vortex was yet to make its appearance in full. New dissensions flared up in the Pradesh Congress committee. In fact, late Governor Birender Narayan Chakarvarti had very aptly analysed the (political) human nature in his

35. The Statesman, July 16, 1968
report submitted to the President in November 1967, when he said that once any legislator had tested power and seen that by treating to defect he could get what he wanted, he would not remain without power—the first and perennial pursuit of a politician. Taking Bansi Lal as a novice in the field, Bhagwat Dayal tried to assert himself in the decision-making process, which the former did not relish. The Chief Minister, in fact, wanted to rejuvenate the administration by giving free hand to the services so that they might prove their capability. He did not want to give them any excuse to complain that there is undue interference in the day to day administration by outsiders. He intended to give the State a clean administration. This annoyed the egotistic careerists who led Haryana to the point of complete breakdown a year ago and lay low far some time after Bansi Lal assumed power, but they became restive when it became apparent that conditions were slowly being created in which their brand of politicking would provoke universal hostility. Unless they quickly queered the pitch by means fair or foul, they stood little chance of having turn to bat again.37

The central figure of the fresh intra party squabble was no other than the former Chief Minister Bhagwat Dayal, who publicly claimed Bansi Lal as his own man. When he failed to get his once cherished hope fulfilled, he aspired for the second, that is, the Presidentship of the Pradesh Congress. The then Congress President Ram Krishna Gupta was considered to be the right hand man of Bhagwat Dayal, but he was not ready to make room for the latter. Even, much against the wishes of the majority of the members of the HPCC and Congress legislators, Bansi Lal got Bhagwat Dayal elected as the member of the Rajya Sabha in August 1968. But nothing less than HPCC Presidentship could satiate Bhagwat Dayal who exposed himself by that time through his activities. His presumption was that Bansi Lal would make him the President of the HPCC as he had made ‘sacrifice’ for Bansi Lal in his election of the Chief Ministership. As the majority was not in favour of Sharma, Bansi Lal behaved in most democratic way by respecting the wishes of the members of the HPCC in conceding them to elect

the President. However, election could not be held due to stay order from the court. In the meantime, the Congress President suspended Sharma for his antiparty activities, sabotaging the election of Congress members, irregularities in the accounts amounting to five lakh of rupees, etc. However, the Congress High Command came to Sharma’s rescue once more, and stopped the execution of the suspension. On the other hand, the Sharma group got a case of embezzlement registered against Ram Krishan Gupta. Not only that Bhagwat Dayal alleged that the HPCC president took such steps on the advice of the Chief Minister. Since Bansi Lal refused to be the protege of Bhagwat Dayal the conflict between the two became so sharp that Bhagwat Dayal launched a direct attack against the Chief Minister. Apart from running a campaign against the Ministry he sought to create a major crisis when on September 17, four of his supporters Mahabir Singh Yadav, Ran Singh, Khurshid Ahmed and Ram Dhari Yaur, all cabinet ministers complained of Chief Minister’s ‘rude’ behaviour and the victimisation of the followers of Bhagwat Dayal. In protest they submitted their resignation letters to the Chief Minister and informed the Congress President of the development, but Khurshid Ahmed withdrew his resignation within no time.

The Chief Minister appraised Shrimati Gandhi of his doubts and fears. With Bhagwat Dayal in control of party affairs, it would be impossible to keep intact for long the homogeneity of his Government, political stability could be maintained only if the head of the government and head of the party were not pulling in opposite directions. He emphasized that his programme of development would suffer a serious setback if the old game of defections was to begin all over again. Shrimati Gandhi appreciated the stand of the Chief Minister and authorised him to deal with the situation in his own way. The Chief Minister struck back.

The resignations of all the other three ministers were accepted. Moreover, the Central Parliamentary Board decided, on the advice of the Chief Minister, to give a free hand to the members of the HPCC to elect its President. This shocked

39. The Times of India, November 7, 1968
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Sharma, but worst was yet to come for him. Misjudging their power, his supporters put three demands: (i) unanimous election of Sharma as HPCC President, (ii) taking the three ministers back, and (iii) sacking Khurshid Ahmed from the cabinet. These demands were outrightly rejected by the Chief Minister. He also denied having made any commitment regarding any particular person being offered any office.

The Sharma group changed its stand later on. One of the spokesmen of the group said that ‘the dissidents no more wanted organisational elections to be held. Instead they wanted on ad hoc Committee... The second demand of the dissidents was that the three ministers should be taken back into the Cabinet, the dissidents would not press for the dismissal of Health Minister, Khurshid Ahmed. If they want to have such a man in the cabinet, let them have him.”

By December 4, it became clear that Sharma group was preparing to stage a final show-down. Birender Singh Rao, the former Chief Minister was ‘jubilant’ over these developments. The opposition insisted on Bhagwat Dayal Sharma to bring with him at least 20 legislators so that a viable government could be formed. The Rao remarked, “we have once toppled a Congress government, we can repeat that performance. But one cannot say if we will do that in the near future.” However, defections and toppling of ministry was not a thing of past for him. Later on, he is confessed to have said that it would have been to his benefit in either case—toppling of Congress ministry or defeat of Bhagwat Dayal. The Statesman lamented over the political developments in the State and the role of political elites: “The country is unlikely to be inconsolable if the Congress Government of Haryana once again collapses because of internal dissensions. But the implicit deterioration in political life cannot but be a source of concern.”

40. The Hindustan Times, November 7, 1968.
41. The Patriot, November 12, 1968
42. The Statesman, December 5, 1968
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid., (Editorial), December 7, 1976.
54. The Assam Tribune, December 11, 1968
Having realised that they could not break through into the top ranks and thus had no future in the organisation, the dissidents gave a 24-hour ultimatum to the Congress High Command and threatened to quit the party if the demands were not accepted.\textsuperscript{46} Their demands were:

(i) fixation of a date to hold a meeting of the legislature party with permission to the dissidents to move a vote of no-confidence against the Chief Minister, and

(ii) dismissal of Khurshid Ahmed from the cabinet.\textsuperscript{47}

Since their demands were not accepted, 15 Congress MLAs—4 short of earlier number—alongwith Bhagwat Dayal defected from the Congress Party on December 8 and joined the opposition.\textsuperscript{48} The Congress High Command decided to take a strong step this time, although Morarji Desai tried to save Bhagwat Dayal but in vain. Y.B. Chavan and Nijalingappa vehemently criticised the conduct of Bhagwat Dayal. They were of the view that nothing short of expulsion of Bhagwat Dayal from Congress was adequate. Consequently, he was suspended from the party on December 9, 1968.\textsuperscript{49} After this, the Samyukta Vidhayak Dal was formed and Sharma was elected its leader. The happiest of all was Birender Singh whose S.V.D. Government had been overthrown a little over a year ago due to Sharma's efforts. Now the two rivals joined hands together to topple down the government of a third common rival.

Commenting on the political situation and role of the elites as actors in this drama, the \textit{Statesman} wrote \textsuperscript{50} obviously the politicians of Haryana have learnt and unlearnt nothing for what is happening in the State is a repetition of the dismal drama of 22 months ago. Even the actors in the power-play are the same; only in a few cases there has been an amusing reversal of roles. In March 1967, it was the Congress Government of Bhagwat Dayal which was brought down by a hand of determined defectors headed by Birender Singh who was later to become the Chief Minister with a record of number

\textsuperscript{46.} \textit{The Tribune}, December 8, 1968.
\textsuperscript{47.} \textit{Ibid}.
\textsuperscript{48.} \textit{The Times of India}, December 9, 1968.
\textsuperscript{49.} \textit{The Statesman}, December 10, 1968.
\textsuperscript{50.} \textit{Ibid}.
of cabinet expansions to his credit. This time Sharma has taken the lead to topple a Congress Government, and the Rao has not only joined a united front with Sharma as its leader but also publicly hailed him as Haryana 'Chanakya'."

The move was condemned by the *Hindustan Times*. It wrote that "......The Congress revolt in Haryana is clearly inspired by personal rather than policy consideration. Even Sharma is unable to claim higher respectability for it."61 *The Hindu* described Bhagwat Dayal Sharma as the 'malaise in the body politic of the Congress Party in Haryana'62.

The undaunted Chief Minister hoped that 'the crisis will blow over and good sense will prevail on the party's dissident legislators and they will not take the extreme step of leaving the Congress'63. But the appeal went unheard. He decided to take a bold decision and apprised the Congress High Command of the development. The latter allowed him to expand the ministry and not to resign till it was proved beyond doubt that he had lost the majority in the Assembly64. The Chief Minister, in the meantime, met the Governor and gave him some facts. He was sure that he had still a majority support and the dissidents would stage a come back. He said he could take no cognisance of the reported defections from his party as nothing had been communicated to him formally. He asked the opposition to substantiate their claim of majority on the floor of the House which was due to meet in about six weeks' time. The question was also echoed in Parliament. The Speaker of Lok Sabha, Sanjiva N. Reddy, recalled the decision of the Speakers' Conference that the floor of the Assembly was the proper place to decide the majority of Government.

A day later, the Chief Minister met the Governor and produced definite and 'convincing documentary evidence' to establish his claim that the Congress Party still enjoyed a majority in the House. The Governor announced to the press on December 12 that "in the changed circumstances now' he did not see

51. *The Hindustan Times*, December 9, 1968
any reason to think that the Chief Minister ‘may have lost his majority’. He told the newsmen that the Chief Minister ‘still seems to have the support of 42 members, including six Independents in the 81-member Vidhan Sabha, in which one seat is vacant’.

In political manoeuvring, Bansi Lal proved more than a match for the combined experience and resources of the two former Chief Ministers of the State—Bhagwat Dayal and Birender Singh. He foiled the game of his political opponents. In the mean time, five Independents and a lone Swatantra member affirmed their unqualified support to the Ministry. Realising their mistake, 6 dissidents—Ran Singh, Jagdish Chander and Om Prakash Garg (Karnal District), Neki Ram (Jind), Roop Lal Mehta (Gurgaon) and Maru Singh Malik (Rohtak)—came back to the Congress fold on December 11, 1968. Later on, most of the dissidents deserted Bhagwat Dayal Sharma, as he failed to topple down the ministry, and returned back to the Congress Party. Some Independents also defected to the Congress Party. And thus Bansi Lal consolidated his position in the politics of a State which had become notorious for defections. He not only survived the attempt to dislodge him from power; he also saved Haryana from a stalemate which might have serious repurcussions on the developmental programme of the State.

On January 2, 1969, Ram Saran Chand Mittal was elected the HPCC President unopposed, being the choice of the Congress High Command. The Chief Minister was also permitted to expand the ministry. Thus strengthen, and taking the compulsions of politics into consideration, he decided to have more ministers. Ran Singh, the Harijan member, was taken back into the Council of Ministers on March 6, 1969. Up to July 21, Jaswant Singh Chauhan, Piara Singh, Ram Prakash and Govardhan Das were sworn in as Parliamentary Secretaries. The number of members of Council of Ministers rose to 19 on April 9, 1970 when 10 more Cabinet Ministers were appointed.

But the political crisis was not yet over. The Chief Minister was committed to complete development works, while all

56. The Times of India, December 12, 1968.
57. Ibid., April 10, 1970.
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types of hurdles were being put in his way. The press had a hostile attitude. The members wanted a share in the power. He was fighting on all sides. He added one more member to his team to make it more cohesive: Shrimati Sharda Rani from Gurgaon was appointed Chief Parliamentary Secretary on January 1, other Parliamentry Secretaries being promoted as Deputy Ministers.

But the things did not seem coming to a happy end, the Ministry was not out of the woods—Bhagwat Dayal combined his mite with all the opposition leaders to dislodge the ministry. The opposition had only one aim and programme before itself: to topple down the government by fair or foul means. Having failed to cut much ice in the Congress rank and file, Bhagwat Dayal formed a new political party called the 'Hariyana Kishan Mazadoor party.' Addressing the first conference of the party on May 26, 1969, he declared that he would "topple down the ministry very soon as it was a corrupt ministry." But he was disillusioned soon. A trial of strength took place on August 12, 1969 between the SVD and the Government on a motion of no-confidence moved by Kishan Mazdoor Party leader Roop Lal Mehta. The motion was defeated by 42 votes to 36 after a debate of six hours in the Assembly. Dissillusioned by the developments in the political circles, Bhagwat Dayal resigned from the leadership of the S.V.D. on August 12, 1969. On August 14, a censure motion against the Health Minister, Khurshid Ahmed was also rejected by a voice vote in the Assembly.

Having failed to topple down the Ministry through defections, the opposition parties resorted to other methods to bring it down. A memorandum against the Chief Minister was submitted to the President of India for appointment of a Commission of Inquiry to probe the corruption charges. The Chief Minister, in his 175-page reply repudiated the charges as "false, frivious and baseless" inasmuch as political life in the State had never been as clean as it had been under his government. These charges were repeated by the Opposition several times in vain. Every thing did not go well either within the ruling party. There was

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a flare up—two of its members demanded a change of leadership. On July 13, 1970, in a press conference, Ranbir Singh and Shrimati Chandravati—both of Congress (R) alleged of the rude behaviour of the Chief Minister. But even they failed to move grounds.

The Chief Minister had stabilised his government in the face of all these political waverings and vortexes. The old game of defections and counter-defections, started by Bhagwat Dayal ended in favour of the ruling party when some of the dissidents returned to the Congress fold, while some others were elected in the bye-elections and some others defected to join the ruling party because of the Chief Minister's success in developmental policies and plan achievements. The State had the politics of stability with development instead of defectionalism.

There was one more crisis awaiting the fate of Haryana. The question of Chandigarh was revived by the interested parties and those who could hope to make political capital out of it. The Prime Minister's arbitration in the matter and award of Chandigarh to Punjab flared up the situation once more. The sentiments of the people were aroused by the opposition. Demonstrations were held and the police had to lathi charge and even to open fire to disperse the rowdy crowds. The government skillfully handled the situation, although it took some time to return the normalcy. The award was more than compensation for Haryana. The Prime Minister's decision, by virtue of which Chandigarh was awarded to Punjab, allowed a period of five years to Haryana to build its own capital for which the Centre would give a grant of Rs. 10 crores and in addition a loan of a like amount. The Central award also provided that the fertile cotton-growing belt of Fazilka and Abolhar tahsils of Ferozepur district of Punjab would be annexed to Haryana. It goes to the Chief Minister's credit that Haryana got an asset instead of a liability (Chandigarh). The Opposition—consisting of the Syndicate, the V.H.P. and the Jan Sangh—was hoping against hope that the Centre's decision on Chandigarh would herald a new area of instability. But nothing of that sort actually happened.

60. The Tribune, July 13, 1970.
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Process Of Polarization

The year of 1969 was crucial for the Indian National Congress. The party bosses, it seemed, had not reconciled their position with the Prime Minister who was not coming to their thinking. In fact, the progressive policies of the Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi annoyed the Right Wing reactionaries in the set up. A plot was hatched to get rid of her leadership. The untimely death of former president Zakir Hussain provided them an opportunity. The Congress Syndicate selected Sanjiva Reddy, the Speaker of the Lok Sabha, to be the Congress candidate for the Presidency much against the wishes of Shrimati Gandhi, who was in a minority in the Congress Working Committee. She was of the view that the candidate of the Party must have the backing of the Leader of the Party, otherwise things might not go well in the working of the polity. But the CWC would not listen to this argument. The rank and file in the party too, did not like the idea of bypassing its leader. They demanded the right to vote according to their conscience. A political crises came to surface in the party. In fact, it was a struggle between two opposite ideologies in the party—Status Quoists and the progressives—the latter being represented by the Prime Minister.

The ideological struggle had its impact on all India-basis. More and more members of Parliament, States Legislatures and party organisation demanded the right to vote according to the dictates of their conscience. In the meantime, the acting President V.V. Giri resigned to contest the election for the President.

Ram Saran Chand Mittal (HPCC President) declared that the Haryana Congress would support the Party candidate Sanjiva Reddy. But the Chief Minister foresaw the outcome and declared to support the Prime Minister in the struggle and vote for the Independent candidate V.V. Giri. Soon, the Pradesh Chief, Ram Saran Chand Mittal also affirmed the line taken by the Chief Minister. Thus Haryana was one of the States to support Shrimati Gandhī in the controversy of the Presidential Election. The process of bifurcation of the Congress Party was completed after Giri won the election. Haryana was with Shrimati Gandhi.

Political analysts were of the hope that this would polarize
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the Indian political parties and it would be a boon in disguise. But their hopes were belied soon. However, many of the members, who had left the Congress returned to it—either to the Ruling Congress or to the old Congress, as they were termed.

The government of Shrimati Gandhi was reduced to a minority. She had to depend on the support of the Communist Party of India, the Muslim League and the D.M.K. The minority government could not adopt radical programmes, though it was free from the internal factionalism at that time. Smt. Gandhi took a bold step when she got the Lok Sabha dissolved on December 27, 1970 and decided to take a people’s mandate.

A ‘grand Alliance’ was forged among all the major opposition parties against the Congress(R) and its allies,—CPI and DMK. Of course, it was not a polarization of political parties or ideologies, but a marriage of convenience without any economic programme. Its main aim was reflected in its negative approach in its slogan—“Indira Hatao” (Remove Indira Gandhi). But she was contesting with a solid economic programme, which also can be described in one line—‘Garibi haṭao’ (Remove poverty). This was the first general election of the Indian democracy which was being fought on ‘issues’ and not on personalities. Shrimati Gandhi had not shown any ‘chrisma’ during her regime. All her efforts such as, to scrap privy purses, nationalisation of banks, etc., had ended in a failure. There seemed to be one thing on her side—there was no such person in the opposite camp who could be a better Prime Minister than her. But it was not enough, people were doubtful about the ambitious economic programme envisaged by her.

TABLE — XI
Pattern of contest in 1971 Lok Sabha Elections

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<th>No. of seats contested by 4 Candidates</th>
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<th>7</th>
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No. of seats contested 9. Total Candidates 63.
### TABLE XII

Party-wise performance in the 1971 Lok Sabha Elections

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<th>Seats</th>
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<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defeated</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1,572,929</td>
<td>339,213</td>
<td>334,830</td>
<td>86,510</td>
<td>5,942</td>
<td>3,917</td>
<td>10,895</td>
<td>9,413</td>
<td>6,604</td>
</tr>
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<td>(11.19)</td>
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<td>(0.13)</td>
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<td>28</td>
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<td>(9.16)</td>
<td>(0.59)</td>
<td>(0.10)</td>
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**Source:** Election Commission of India, 1973 (Unpublished data).
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</table>

**Source:** Election Commission of India, 1975 (unpublished data).

w—Winning candidate
But the results were startling, not only for the Opposition but also for the Congress (R). In Haryana, the Chief Minister, who had stabilised his position by that time, inspired confidence in the people to support and vote for the Prime Minister and her party. As a result of this, the Congress bagged 7 seats out of 9 in the State. Only two seats were conceded to the Opposition—the Rohtak seat to the Jan Sangh and the Mahender Garh seat to the Vishal Haryana Party (See Table XI-XII). The latter was contested and won by the former Chief Minister Birinder Singh defeating the Congress candidate Nihal Singh just by a small margin of 1899 votes, and that too due to cross-voting. Incidentally, the Haryana political scene also became all the more smooth for the Chief Minister by the shifting of two opposition leaders, Birinder Singh and Mukhtiar Singh, from Chandigarh to Delhi.

**Voting Behaviour**

The result of the poll (1971) was an indication of the end of anti-Congressism in the State when the Congress secured majorities in 61 of the 81 assembly Constituencies (see Table XIII). It secured majorities in all the 17 Assembly Constituencies of Hissar and all the nine of Ambala as against the eleven and seven seats it won in the 1968 assembly elections in the two districts. In Rohtak and Karnal, the Party got majorities in the twelve out of the 15 and 12 out of the 16 constituencies respectively, compared to the 9 won by it in each of the two districts. Out of the 3 Assembly seats it had won in Jind district in 1968, the Congress could get only majority of votes in one Assembly constituency conceding the remaining two to the Opposition. In Mahender Garh, it got majority in 3 out of 5 and 2 out of remaining 4 constituencies of district Gurgaon. In the last named district, it got majority in 6 out of 9 constituencies.

The people of Haryana, as usual, showed no consideration for the Left or even for the Socialists. Castes, personalities, personal influences, regional developmental results, etc., were the main factors which contributed in determining the voting-participation. The names of Shrimati Indira Gandhi and Bansi Lal had much effect, particularly in backward people. The political stability was one more important factor to influence the voting-behaviour of the people.
It seemed that the people of Haryana could not do full justice with the defectors and in choosing some others to be the members of the Assembly in 1968. As the question of leadership was freeze at the time of election, intra-party squabbles could not be solved. Besides that, Haryana people required the harnessing of democratic instinct and strengthening of democratic movement at the grassroots level. Haryana's chronic political instability was due to its small size. The leadership resembled local chiefs. In the State, from district leadership to statewide fame is but a small step. And popularity leads to ambition.

There was an apt thinking on the part of the members: "If even 'A' can be Chief Minister (or Minister), why cannot I". Lack of political traditions was one more factor responsible for the malaise. In the transition period, the Chief Minister and his supporters undoubtedly had to make compromises and to strike a balance between concrete implementation of the radical programme and political realities in the State. So much so that every second MLA held a well-paid public office, several of the Ministers were defectors while some got it for having threatened to defect. Though the elections of Birender Singh and Mukhtiar Singh, no doubt, proved a boon in disguise, yet the Chief Minister knew well that certain members of the party were quiescent volcano waiting for the appropriate time to erupt. They had a covetous eye on the office of the Chief Minister. They were not worried over the fate of the people. The Chief Minister, on the other hand, wanted to pull the State out of the dark alleys of backwardness and neglect from where nobody had earlier tried to rescue it. It was a difficult task to be accomplished in the prevailing conditions. The 1971-Lok Sabha elections infused new spirit and confidence in the Chief Minister. He was assured of massive majority victory in future also. He decided to take a step. He asked the Prime Minister to permit him to have mid-term poll of the Assembly in the State in 1972—exactly one year before the stipulated tenure of the Assembly. Getting a green signal from the Prime Minister, the Chief Minister advised the Governor to dissolve the Assembly for new elections. Consequently, the Assembly was dissolved on January 21, 1972 and fresh elections ordered.

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61 Kashyap, Subhas C., op. cit. p. 217
HARIYANA: STUDIES IN HISTORY AND POLITICS

Factionalism in the party once again came to surface when the selection of the party candidates started. All efforts to strike a compromise ended in a fiasco. Besides the official list, former Speaker Brigadier Ran Singh, Shrimati Om Prabha Jain, Mahabir Singh Yadav and Shrimati Chandravati submitted their separate lists. The former Union Minister of State, Sher Singh, was also opposed to the list submitted by the HPCC. Deputations met Smt. Gandhi and alleged that the Chief Minister recommended the names of persons “who have defected from the party several times and are known to have indulged in corrupt practices.”62 The Congress Central Election Committee had to defer decision on the selection of the candidates thrice. The faction leaders were hopeful that a situation like 1968 might be created when Bhagwat Dayal Sharma was kept out of contest. But the Prime Minister firmly backed Bansi Lal and the issue was decided in his favour. No doubt, some of the dissidents were also given party tickets, while some others were kept out.63 According to the final list, 77 of the 81 candidates were Bansi Lal’s nominees. Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Neki Ram, two Ministers were also dropped—both due to their old age. However, Veerender Singh, son of Neki Ram was given the Congress ticket in place of his father.

TABLE XIV

Pattern of contest in 1972 Assembly Elections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of candidates who contested</th>
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<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of constituencies in which they contested</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


63. Shrimati Om Prabha Jain, Shrimati Chandravati and Mahabir Singh Yadav were given tickets, while Brig. Ran Singh and Ranbir Singh were left. In place of Ranbir Singh, his son was given the party ticket.
THE POLITICAL SCENE IN HARYANA

Haryana was one of the States which went to poll in March 1972. It was for the third time the electorate going to the polls in a period of 5 years, and less than 6 years from the inception. Neither of the two previous Assemblies completed their full term. Previously the Assembly was dissolved by the Governor under article 356 of the Constitution, but in 1972 he did so under a different provision, of the Constitution, that is under article 174. This time the ministry was retained.

The number of the candidates contesting the election was smaller as compared to 1967 and 1968 (there were 384 candidates, in all). The new feature of this election was that all non-Congress (R) parties had an alliance between themselves. The Congress (R) liked to go ahead alone. The Congress contested all the 81 seats. The United Front set up candidates for 62 seats and had an understanding with Independent candidates in regard to 11 other seats. The Arya Sabha and Congress (O) emerged as new political parties in the State politics.

There were many weapons in the armoury of the ruling party. The pro-Congress swing since the 1971 Lok Sabha poll further increased as a result of the improved image of the Prime Minister following India's victory in the war and the emergence of Bangla Desh. Another factor in favour of the party was the political stability which the party's rule provided during its four-year tenure. The political stability, of course, led to the rapid development of Haryana which had remained a backward and underdeveloped area since long. This included cent-per-cent rural electrification, completion of several new irrigation projects to provide water to the sandy and un-irrigated land, and construction of new roads.

The Opposition, on the other hand intensified its onslaught against what it called the autocratic rule of the Chief Minister. It charged him with having encouraged defections and shielding the corrupt. But these arguments did not have much impact upon the voting behaviour in this election. The opposition also tried its best to arouse the caste and sub-caste sentiments. As regards developmental programmes, the Opposition affirmed that in the first place the achievements of the administration were being over-rated and a blind eye was being turned to the large-
### TABLE XV

Voters participation and Party-wise performance in 1972 Assembly Elections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Seats</th>
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<th>NCO</th>
<th>Swat.</th>
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<th>PSP</th>
<th>CPI</th>
<th>CPM</th>
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<td>24</td>
<td>19</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elected</td>
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<td>52</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
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<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Securities/or forfeited</td>
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<td>—</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<th>12,617</th>
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<td>(6.55)</td>
<td>(1.98)</td>
<td>(0.36)</td>
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<th>RPI</th>
<th>BAS</th>
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<td>5</td>
<td>208</td>
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<td>—</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
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| 8,333 | 242,444 | 1,486 | 7,467 | 77,234 | 6,676 | 824,095 |
| (0.24) | (6.94) | (0.04) | (0.21) | (2.21) | (0.19) | (23.258) |


Unrecognised Parties consist of candidates of the Sant Akali Dal, Hindu Mahasabha and Socialist Unity Centre.
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### The Political Scene in Haryana

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scale corruption which had been indulged in under the cloak of development programmes. The Congress won 52 seats, while the Congress (O) was second with 12 seats (see Tables XIV and XV). The Jan Sangh and the Vishal Haryana Party licked the ground. Two powerful Vishal Haryana candidates lost two prestigious seats. In Jatusana constituency, Col. Maha Singh defeated Kumari Sumitra Devi, who enjoyed great respect in the ilaqa. But the soldier-turned-politician Col. Maha Singh proved to be more than a match in this constituency. In Rewari constituency, Abhay Singh defeated Shivraj Singh, the younger brother of Birender Singh.

It was indicative of people’s distaste for the regional political parties—without any economic programme. This was also due to the decline of the Vishal Haryana charm and the influence of Ahir leader, Birender Singh. Col. Maha Singh had done a yeoman’s service to the people of this ilaqa when he was in C.R.P.F. His popularity plus the Chief Minister’s developmental programmes and the tour of Shrimati Gandhi on the eve of election made it easy for the Congress victory. One more interesting feature of this election was that the Chief Minister declared that in order to test his popularity, he would not visit his constituency for canvassing or for any other reason, and also would not appoint polling agents. He was being opposed by the ‘stormy-Jat leader’ Devi Lal, who was contesting from two constituencies simultaneously. Bansi Lal won his seat with hands down with a huge margin of 20,000 votes. He did not visit his constituency before the declaration of the result. However, Devi Lal lost from both places.

All the sitting members of the BKD and the Jan Sangh and five out of the six of the Vishal Haryana were defeated. The Congress retained 31, Congress (O) 4, VHP 2 and Independents 2 seats, while others either changed sides or lost. 23 out the 62 sitting members were defeated. Thus, a majority (42) of the members was of new-comers.

Certain clear trends emerged out from this election (see Tables XVI-XVII) (i) The people voted on caste and sub-caste lines. But as all the political parties had fielded candidates

64. The Hindu, March 9, 1972.
belonging to the dominating caste in a constituency, so the preference of the voters could not be known. It was a sure indication that only dominating caste or sub-caste candidates could dare to contest and hope to win. (ii) The voters rejected the vote-bank system, and were inclined to establish a direct rapport with the candidate, though it was not practically possible. The caste-leaders influence was also on decline. (iii) The elections remained personality-oriented, instead of policy or programme oriented. The contesting political parties, such as VHP and Jan Sangh, suffered much damage as none of their ‘big’ leaders were contesting this time. (iv) Chrismatic-poltics had its great impact on the voters. Bansi Lal had emerged as a chrismatic leader, who had done wonderful work in the field of development and stabilisation of the politics in the State. There was no match to him in the field, voters had accepted him a dynamic leader with definite programme to uplift the masses and provide strong leadership to the people. (v) Another clear pattern emerged, in the division of urban and rural, and ‘Punjabi’ and non-Punjabi voters. The Punjabi-voters showed sectarian approach in voting participation by preferring a Punjabi, wherever possible. In a way, the voters had institutionalised their support.

Politics of Development

Bansi Lal was sworn in as the Chief Minister on March 14, 1972. He formed a small cabinet, to begin with. But keeping in view the acceleration of the pace of developmental schemes and toning up of the administration; the Cabinet was expanded on October 7, 1972. Besides that grievances committees had also been set up in every district to look into the grievances of the people. Every district was put under a separate Minister, who was supposed to attend the meetings of the Committee every month and see that grievances were redressed, promises fulfilled and plan targets achieved. This made the administration more efficient and vigilant.

No doubt, Haryana has always created histories. It is a land of ancient culture and mythology. The battle of Mahabharata was fought here, the light of Geeta spread in the world.

66. They were : Ram Saran Chand Mittal, Maru Singh, Harpal Singh, Chiranji Lal and Col. Maha Singh (Cabinet Ministers), Mrs. Chandravati, Mrs. Parsamni Devi, Govardhan Das and H.S. Chatha (Minister of States). The National Herald, October 8, 1972.
from here. In medieval history, all great battles were fought here and the fate of the country was decided on the plains of Haryana. It made history again when defections and counter-defections started, although not a happy event. The happening had its effect on other States. Congress Ministries fell like house of cards. Once again it was Haryana which brought back confidence in the people that only Congress party and its leaders were capable to deliver the goods.

But the achievements under the leadership of Bansi Lal during a short span of 2750 days (May 21, 1968 to November 30, 1975) were unbelievable and unheard of. It was a saga of all round development. Haryana was fifth in India in the matter of per capita income at the time of its formation as a separate State. It attained second position in the country by the year 1969-70 and has been maintaining the position since then. Its per capita income (at 1960-61 prices) was Rs. 433 in 1973-74 against Rs. 340 for the country as a whole. The target of 100% rural electrification was achieved in November 1970, which was merely 18.75% in May 1968. More than one and half lakh power-run tubewells irrigated more than 14 lakh acres of land in the State. As a result, Haryana is now the second biggest granary of the country. Extension of irrigation facilities to the chronically drought affected areas of the State received special attention of the government. The Chief Minister took personal interest in the irrigation schemes. Being a farmer himself, he knew it quite well that the farmers of the State did not shirk hard work, but the nature and natural resources kept him at disadvantageous position. Given proper facilities, the farmers of Haryana would remain second to none in producing cereals which the country has to import. Consequently, three main irrigation schemes were launched on priority basis. The Jui Lift Irrigation Scheme was taken up in November 1969 and was completed in a record time of two working seasons. Over 160 Kms. long channels with 7 pumping stations were constructed to carry the flood water of Jamuna for irrigating the parched and dry lands. The Jui canal has been made perennial since January 1973 on the commissioning of Augmentation Canal and has been working very satisfactorily.

The work on the Indira Gandhi canal of Loharu Lift Irrigation Project was taken up in the year 1970 and the foundation
stone of the first pump house was laid by the Prime Minister on January 13, 1971. The construction of 60 miles long channel and four pump houses was completed by July 1971 and the canal was commissioned on July 28, 1971. Eight new pumping stations with 80 miles of channels were further commissioned in July 1972. The project, when completed, will provide irrigation to the drought-prone areas extending over 133,000 hectares gross area in district Bhiwani and shall be utilising surplus water of Jamuna river and flood water of Drain No. 8 for Khariff irrigation. On the availability of supplies from Ravi-Beas waters the canal would become perennial. The much ambitious Jawahar Lal Nehru Lift Irrigation Scheme which will irrigate the areas in Mahendergarh, Rohtak and Bhiwani districts, has been launched. When completed, these schemes will change the very face of the State. In fact, there are dozens of other projects which have been completed or are being completed.

Road is a sure symbol of progress, it makes new ideas travel to the interior and thus revolutionises the slumbering villages. The total length of roads in the State was 5,650 Kms. in May 1968, and till April 1975 it was 14,280 Kms. Now almost every village has been connected with a road. The State transport buses ply on these roads carrying half a million passengers daily. The Roadways fleet is best in Asia in maintenance, service and earning profits. The employees are well paid and efficient in their work.

Every village has a primary school, these is a middle school at 2 kms. and a high school at 5 kms. in the State. There are three universities in the State with 125 colleges imparting instruction in education, science, arts, humanities, agriculture, medicine, technology, etc. In a span of about seven and a half years Haryana has worked miracles. Much more could have been done but for the constraint of resources. Priorities were fixed and the Chief Minister soon made it clear that he was not the man to wait. The change has been tremendous: Haryana has acquired the reputation of being a forward looking modern, dynamic State. For this transformation, the most important single factor has been the quality of leadership. The State had been fortunate in having at a very critical period of its inception Bansi Lal as its
Chief Minister whose constant endeavour had been to push things through at a break-neck speed so that the impact could be immediate and instant.

The period of Bansi Lal's Chief Ministership is a story of all round development. There had been charges against him for not observing certain official procedures while a crash programme was launched for the development of the State. In fact the Chief Minister, Bansi Lal, focussed his entire attention to see that the State got a face-lift without loss of any time. His vision was clear, while others failed to recognise it in the initial stages. Normal procedures of administrative routine baffled and annoyed him. He spoke directly to the common man in the common man's language. He distrusted red-tape and did not hesitate to act in utter disregard of the so called procedures. He wanted positive results.

Bansi Lal managed and controlled the party machine with remarkable efficiency. Nihal Singh was unanimously elected the HPCC President when Ram Saran Chand Mittal was included in the Cabinet. Banarsi Das Gupta was elected Speaker of the Haryana Vidhan Sabha on April 3, 1972 and later on inducted in Cabinet. On November 16, 1972 Swarup Singh was elected the Speaker of the Vidhan Sabha unanimously. On December 1, 1975, Bansi Lal was included in the Central Cabinet of Smt. Gandhi and Banarsi Das Gupta was sworn in as the new Chief Minister of Haryana. The State came to occupy a place of political eminence in the national politics. The switch over of Bansi Lal to the Centre and elevation of Banarsi Das Gupta to the Chief Ministership seemed to be so smooth going and well expected that little surprise was expressed by the press or the people.

Last, but not the least, it would not be out of place to mention the role played by the late B.N. Chakravarty, Governor of the State. He was more than ornamental Constitutional Head of the State. He always took keen interest in the various developmental schemes from their very inception. He had been a source of constant inspiration and acted as "a friend, guide and philosopher" to Bansi Lal. He played a vital role in the upliftment of Haryana.
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