

A few Notes on the subject of the Kumaon and Rohilcund Turæe

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Previous to the reign of the Emperor Akbar, that is, to the latter half of the 16th century, the history of Kumaon in connection with its lowland possessions, and also, of the Hill Raj of that name itself, is but imperfectly known.

Even to a still later period, tradition, confirmed by documentary evidence and the voice of general testimony in the neighbouring districts, takes the place, within the province itself, of all authentic written records on which reliance can be placed. The few Puthan families of respectability now settled in the Turæe are, like their whole race in Rohilcund, but a recently introduced colony. From them, therefore, it would be vain to look for any details connecting the series of events even in their own villages. The *Bhoksa* and *Tharoo* tribes, although permanent occupants in the whole jungle tract lying along the base of the Sub-Himalayan mountains between the Ganges and the Gunduck, are not, and never have been, permanent residents at any one spot; nor are they possessed of sufficient intelligence to know the tale of their own chosen region, or be able to recount the revolutions which have occurred on the scene of their migrations. Of the other tribes inhabiting the present villages or clearings in the Turæe, it is not probable that many families can trace their settlement in that dismal wilderness, beyond the third, or utmost fourth generation preceding them. Rajah Sheo Raj Sing, the principal personage of the Turæe pergunnahs, does not owe his present position in that tract of talooqdar, or manager, or farmer, or zemindar, (or whatever, under existing arrangements may be his proper designation,) to any direct descent from the Kumson Rajahs, or to any long possession continued from their time to his own. Before his grandfather Lall Sing, accompanied by Mahundra Chund the representative, at least by immediate birthright, of the royal race of Kumaon, descended with their families to the plains, and became, by favour of the Nuwab Wuzeer, connected to the latter history of the Turæe, intestine disturbances had begun to destroy the semblance even of a

central government in Kumaon, and the state records, such as they were, became scattered among the various *kamdars*, to whom they had been officially entrusted; and who only preserved such portions of them as might tend to prove their own importance, or that of their several families. During the troubles consequent on the Ghoorka invasion in the year 1790 A.D., the regular traces of past times became more and more obliterated; and when the last relics of the *Chund* Rajahs abandoned their native hills, and took refuge at *Kilpoory* in the plains, nearly the only place where they still possessed any thing like a property in the land, they took down with them no weighty burden of state records, and left but few behind. Afterwards at Roodurpoor, one chief scene of their exile, a fire occurred, which is stated to have consumed many family documents; while at Almora any *chifter* or record office that existed, may be supposed to have commenced its collections only from the accession of the Ghoorkhalee Government. Under these circumstances, it is not a matter of wonder, that neither the British authorities in the hills, deriving their information from *hanoongoes*, and other usual depositaries of such knowledge, nor, the descendants of the Hill Rajahs in the persons of Sheo Raj Sing above named, or his cousin of the elder branch Pertaub Sing, now residing at Almora as pensioner of the English Government, should be able to furnish *exact* data, for an historic narrative.

2. Using such means as I have in my power, I proceed to draw a *Turac* during the Kumaon Raj, Kuttoora Dynasty, Chund Dynasty, &c. &c. short and rough sketch of the successive revolutions to which the country has been subjected, and, whenever possible, of its successive conditions, in the hope, that such a description, however imperfect, may be found if not useful as evidence, at least acceptable as part of a picture, at a time when the attention of those in authority has been strongly drawn to the *present* state of the tract described.

3. The dynasty called *Kuttoora* is the earliest known to have reigned in Kumaon. The Rajahs of its line are said to have been of the *Sooruj-Bunsee* origin, and they have been clothed by the imagination of the *paherees* with almost divine attributes, while the extension of their authority to Delhie and Kanouj in the plains, and from Mundeel to Siccim in the hills, is con-

idently assumed as a matter of fact. The whole race* appear to have become utterly extinct, but, at what time and in what manner, no one can tell, and in fact their whole history is lost in the greatest obscurity. Within the present provinces of Kumaon and Ghurwal, *Josheemuth* near Budrinath, and *Kuttoor* not far to the North of Almorah in the now almost desolate valley of Byjnat, are celebrated as the principal seats of their power. The ruins still existing in the latter place, and at *Dwara Hath*, some miles to the westward, are pointed out as relics of the Kuttoor Raj, as are also the low carved stone pillars called *Brih-Kumbh*,† placed at intervals of a few miles, so frequent in the eastern parts of the district, and which are said to have marked the halts or encampments in the royal progresses. Some of these ruins, especially the *chubootras* and wells, are not without beauty, at least in their carving, and the great number of small temples even now standing, each as it were dedicated to a separate idol, and the quantity of idol images themselves, which have been found in their precincts, shew that the Kuttoora Rajas were devout worshippers of the whole Hindoo Pantheon. The shape of the buildings, and the character of the sculptures, are said to be similar to the architectural features observed in the South of India, but, I believe, that the same forms are quite common in Bundelcund and on the banks of the Nurbudda. From the account above given, it will at once be seen, that the dynasty of which we are speaking, was of lowland origin, and that no signs of an aboriginal extraction are visible in its remains. As, before the Mahomedan conquest of India, the rulers of a region so illustrious in the *Shastras* as the *Himalaya* mountains, being also by their position masters of the sacred rites at the various sources of the Ganges, may be supposed to have held rank equal with, if not superior to, the Rajahs of *Kuttaw*, or country between the mountains and the Ganges now called Rohilkund; and, as after the establishment of the Mahomedan empire in Hindostan, the Kumaon Rajahs were found in hereditary possession of the Turase by a tenure quite independent of any grant from lowland potentates, I see no reason

* At least that tribe of the Kuthoora *Suruj-bunsees* which reigned in Kumaon.

† This is *Bhakhá* for *Brihatumbh*. बृहत्स्तम्भ

for doubting that the Turæe throughout its whole extent formed an integral part of the Kuthoora Kumaon Raj. That it also formed an *important* part, may be assumed from the almost absolute necessity still existing, that a large portion of plain country should, if not attached to the hills, at least be available for the annual resort of the *Paharees* and their cattle; (an occupancy which under native rulers could hardly be maintained without an actual right of property in the soil, and actual separate possession thereof by the hill powers;) and from analogies drawn from the late and existing feeling in *Nepaul* in regard to the tract at its base. Beyond this, all is conjecture regarding those ancient times; and the question whether *Sumbhud* and *Bareilly* were then subject to Kuthoor, may be left for discussion between the *Paharees* and the *Desees*, when they meet annually at their now common pasture grounds, and need not engage the too jealous attention (as at one time it was feared it might,) of British functionaries.

4. The Kuttooras in Kumaon were, we are told, succeeded for Khussia Raj. some time (13 or 14 generations) by a *Khussia Raj*, that is, by numerous petty chiefs among the mountaineers themselves, each governing his own small territory, and fighting with his neighbours. The many small forts scattered throughout the province, in situations where such defences would be useless to a Government holding undivided authority over the whole tract, would seem to prove the truth of this traditional history.

5. On emerging at last, from this confusion, we find the earliest Chund Dynasty, name of the *Chund* dynasty in *Som Chund*, a *Chundrabunsee Rajpoot*, who is narrated to have come from the village of *Joosee* in the province of *Allahabad*, (Trans-Doab,) and to have established his power and a capital at *Chumpawut*,* at or about the year 1100 Saka, corresponding to 1235 Sumbut, and 1178 A.D. The *Joshee* (Jyotishee) Brahmins who have subsequently been such influential members of the hill community, accompanied the first of the Chunds to Kumaon. It would be quite out of place to register in this report, the list of Rajahs who followed *Som Chund*. Some per-

* Also called *Kalee Kumaon*, from its vicinity to the Kalee river.

sons, indeed, are found who deny the continuity of the dynasty altogether;* but, be that as it may, the historian of the *Turrae* has almost nothing to tell concerning any of the line previous to the 44th generation. *Roodur Chund*, son and successor of Rajah *Kullean Chund*, (who removed the capital from Chumpawut to Almorah, and built that city in 1620 St. or 1563 A.D.,) was a contemporary of the Emperor Akbar, and, in the course of his reign of 28 years, made frequent visitations to the *Turrae*, and, not to leave himself without record in the land, became the founder of *Roodurpoor*.

6. But, what is meant by the *Turrae* in Akbar's time? To what extent of lowland dominion did *Roodur Chund* of Kumaon *Turrae* in his time succeed? Although an hereditary, was the *Turrae* an undisturbed possession of Kumaon in preceding times? On a reference to co-temporaneous history, we find that the year 1194 A. D., is the date generally fixed for the conquest of *Kanouj* by the arms of *Kutb-ud-Deen*, the Lieutenant of *Shahab-ud-Deen*, and, also, that 1195 A.D., saw him extend his victories across the Ganges to *Budayoon*. It is, I think, extremely probable, that an incorrect tradition may have anticipated the commencement of the *Chund* dynasty in Kumaon by sixteen years; and that, in the great revolution which transferred the empire of the Gangetic plain as far as *Benares* from the *Rahtores* to their Mahommedan victors, when the dispersion of numerous powerful Hindoo tribes took place everywhere, among them the earliest *Chund* and his followers found their way to Kumaon. But, whether the elevation of this race in the hills preceded or followed the fall of the *Kanouj* kingdom, the shock of that fall may well be supposed to have reached to the foot of the *Himalya*, and hardly to have been arrested at *Budayoon*, and the lower parts of *Kuttair*. The rule of the hill powers, whether *Khussia* or *Chund*, if it had survived at all the decadence of the

* It seems a matter of universal tradition that between the 8th and 9th succession of *Chunds*, a second *Khussia* Raj intervened; and also, that until the 11th of the line, by name *Lutchmee Chund*, some representatives of the old *Kuttoora* dynasty possessed a limited power at *Kuttoor* itself; but that in the reign of this Rajah, they were subdued by violence, or absorbed among the mass, or otherwise disappeared, and "the land knew them no more."

Kuttoora line, and the breaking up of that *Raj* into petty chiefships, must have been rudely shaken at this period. Even allowing, that subsequently, some kind of authority over this tract was regained, as the *Chund Rajahs* became, one after the other, more and more firmly seated on their mountain throne, the authority must have been one exercised under permission on account of tribute yielded to others, or, at best, under neglect or contempt on account of its intrinsic insignificance.

The *Puharrees*, indeed, while boasting of their ancient boundary on the south as *Gunga-wár*, or, not short of the Ganges, almost unanimously allow, that at one time, the possessions of their ancestors in the plains were woefully circumscribed, if not altogether lost; and that it was not without difficulty that *Udhian Chund*, the 30th of his line, attained by some means or other an honorable and determinate position in the *Des* for himself and successors. To continue, then, the story, and answer the remaining questions placed at the head of this paragraph, *Roodur Chund* found himself the lord of the *Muhals* or *Pergunnahs* named below:—

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|------|-------------------------------------|------------|-----------------------|
| 1. | <i>Suhujgeer</i> , | now called | <i>Juspoor</i> . |
| 2. | <i>Casheepoor</i> or <i>Kotah</i> , | | <i>Casheepoor</i> . |
| 3. | <i>Moondia</i> , | | <i>Baspoor</i> . |
| 4. | <i>Guddurpoora</i> , | | <i>Guddurpoor</i> . |
| 5. } | <i>Boksar</i> , | | } <i>Roodurpoor</i> . |
| 6. } | | | |
| 7. | <i>Bukshee</i> , | | <i>Nanukmutta</i> . |
| 8. } | <i>Chinkee</i> , | | } <i>Bilheres</i> . |
| 9. } | | | |

This whole tract, which is exclusive of the Upper *Bhabur* nearer the hills, (of which I shall have to speak hereafter,) was called *Choura-see Mal*, and *Noulukhia Mal*, 'mal' being, then as now, the hill term for the low country. The former name was derived from the size of the territory, which was reckoned at 84 *coss* in length,—the latter name from the real or nominal revenue of the territory; viz., nine *lacs*. The boundaries on the west were the *Peera* or *Peetu Nuddes* at *Risipoor*

between *Juspoor* and the *Ramgunga*; on the north the *Ookhur Bhoomes*, or, region of no water,—(now the *bun* or forest;) on the south the higher ground of the regular plains according to certain old known limits of the *Pergunnahs*; and on the east the *Sarjoo* or *Sardak* river near *Poorunpoor*. The reign of *Roodur Chund* was not entirely without troubles, for during *Akbar's* minority, the Imperial officers attempted to resume the territory, and sent a force for that purpose. The young *Rajah*, however, made a successful resistance, and afterwards proceeded to *Delhi*, where he obtained favor at the Court of the Emperor, and distinguished himself in some expedition against *Nagor*. The final result of this step was his obtaining a *sunnud*,* for the *Chowraee Mâl†* *Pergunnahs*, and his return to the hills with enhanced power.

7. In the time of his immediate successor, *Lutchmee Chund*, (still in the reign of *Akbar*,) the royal armies appear to have revisited the *Turæe*, and their places of encampment are still pointed out at *Tandak*, and more especially at *Peepulkutta*, where there is a mango grove called the *Badshahes Bagh*. Fourth in descent from *Roodur Chund*, we find *Tremul Chund*, *Rajah* of *Kumaon*, between the years 1625 and 1688 A.D. During part of this period, the *Turæe* is stated to have attained a high degree of prosperity, and to have actually yielded nine laks of rupees from various sources of revenue to the hill treasury; but, before the death of *Tremul Chund*, the prosperity of the tract excited the envy of its neighbours, and encroachments began to be made by the *Kuttair* *Hindoos*, not disallowed by their *Mogul* rulers. His successor, *Baz Bahadoor Chund*, finding himself in danger of total dispossession from these fertile lowlands, repaired to *Delhi*, and imitating the conduct of his ancestor, entered into the military service of the Emperor, *Shah Jehan*. He accompanied the Imperial expedition against *Candahar* and *Cabul*. A fortunate opportunity occurred, and the division which the *Rajah* commanded was able to gain some important advantage. Consequently, on the return of the royal armies

* Not now existent at *Almorah*.

† Some persons incorrectly consider this word as an abbreviation of the Persian word *Muhâl*.

to Delhi, *Baz Bahadoor Chund* was honored by many signal marks of favor, but not content with obtaining empty titles, he adhered to the original object of his visit, and procured the full recognition of his right to the *Chourasee Mal*, together with an order, addressed to the Viceroy of the *Sooba*, for effectual assistance against the *Kuttair* chiefs. Through the aid of *Nuwab Roostum Khan*,* he succeeded in expelling his enemies from the *Turaee*, and he afterwards caused the town of *Bazpoor* to be built, and to bear his name. It is said that "every *beegah* and *biswansee*" was cultivated at this time, and that the construction and repairs of bridges, *bunds* and water-courses was diligently cared for by the officers of government. These functionaries resided at *Roodurpoor* in the plains, and at *Barokherree* and *Kotah* on the spurs of the lowest range during the hot months. *Casheepoor* was not then a place of any importance, and the *Puharrees*, (I know not how correctly,) even place the foundation of the present town and gardens at a period more recent than the *Rajas* hitherto named. At *Kotah* and *Barokherree* and elsewhere in the lower hills are remains of forts and residences, and mango groves, which go far to shew, that the climate at those sites was not in former times so insalubrious as at present, when few men in power would confine their retreat from the *Turaee* heats to such low elevations in the mountains as these. *Kotah*, indeed, is stated to have been the capital for all the western portion of the *Chourasee Mal*, and to have given its name to the lower *Pergunnahs*, and not only, as now, to the near submontane region. The good fortune of *Baz Bahadoor Chund* followed him to the end. He wrested the dominion of the *Bhote* passes from his Northern *Tartar* neighbours;—he associated his name with universal prosperity in the minds of his *Kumaonee* subjects;—and he died, after a rule of forty years, in the year 1678 A.D., during the reign of *Aurungzebe*.

8. If I were writing a connected history of *Kumaon*, the five successions of *Rajahs* between *Baz Bahadoor Chund* and *Kullean Chund*, would afford me ample material, both for narrative and comment: for during this period the prosperity of our hill principality having attained its culminating

* The founder of *Moradabad*.

point,* began rapidly to decline, and the descent to ruin was marked by civil war with its disastrous accompaniments of royal assassinations and popular anarchy—a fitting prelude to the foreign invasions which followed in due course. But the important epochs in the history of the Kumaon Turæe need alone occupy our present attention, and passing over the half-century to which I have alluded, I arrive in the year 1653 Saka, or 1731 A.D., at the accession of *Rajah Kullian Chund*. The Rohilla chief, *Ali Mahommed*, at or soon after this period, succeeded his converter and adopter *Daood Khan* in the powerful position acquired by the latter;—the splendours of *Budayoon*, the old capital of the *Sircar*, had begun to pale before the display of upstart military importance at *Aonla*;—and in short, *Kuttair* was fast becoming *Rohilkund*.† In the earlier part of his rule, *Kullean Chund* had to contend against the aggressions of *Nuwab Munsoor Ali Khan*,‡ who attempted to attach *Surbna* and *Bilheres* to the neighbouring (Trans-Sardah) *Chuckladarship* in *Oudh*;§ but, by a successful appeal to the Emperor *Mahommed Shah*, the nominal integrity of his Turæe possessions was preserved to the Kumaon Rajah. During his latter years he suffered from a far more terrible enemy; but let me here snatch from oblivion an important record of the times immediately preceding the invasion of Kumaon by the Rohillas, which has fortunately survived the ruin of that æra.

* *Oodotchund*, the immediate successor of *Baz Bahadoor Chund* and *Juggut Chund*, the third in descent, bear a high name in *Pahurree* history. In the time of the latter, nine lacs are again mentioned as the revenue of the Turæe; but after this epoch, the intestine disturbances became utterly destructive of all prosperity, both in Highlands and Lowlands.

† बैसीसे ऐसो करी ॥ देषो प्रभुके ठाट ॥
आंबसे को राजाभयो ॥ बांको लीको जाट ॥

Waise se aise kuree dekho Prubhooka tat!

Aonle ko Raja bhoyo—Bâkolee ko Jat.

This popular distich concerning the sudden rise of *Ali Mahommed* is well known in Kumaon.

‡ Afterwards called *Sufter Jung*.

§ *Seebdoe Joshee*, the Prime Minister of *Kullean Chund*, was wounded in a fight with the *Chuckladar Tejoo Gor*, and was taken prisoner, but subsequently released.

Table of Revenue Statistics in the Munes (Mudh-das) Pergunnahs of Kumaon for the year 1886 Saka, corresponding to 1801 Sumbul, and 1744 A.D. furnished by Kishnawand Udikaree, descendant of the former Tehseeldars of the Turree, and now inhabitant of Mouza Rutgul, Putee Uttagoodee Pergunnah Baraswandiul, Zilla Kumaon.

Name of Pergunnah.	Rupees. Har-vest.	Kharoof Har-vest.	Rupees. (Holidays.)	Kacha (Jumeo, &c.)	Saer (Miscellaneous.)	(Gaming tax.) (Jooke bach.)	Teeka. (Nuzurama.)	(Kharkee tax &c.) (Kharkee Mewa-jat.)	Total annual summa.
Kasherepore, &c.	1,00,000	1,00,000	5,509	474	20,600	713	501	1,001	2,28,189
Roodurpore B'ilhary &c.	50,000	60,000	2,750	363	10,000	352	251	7,600	1,24,856
Surbna,	25,000	20,000	1,675	208	25,000	172	150	500	72,706
Total,	1,75,000	1,80,000	9,925	985	55,000	1,257	902	2,201	4,25,251

Note.—The Tehseelder of Casherepore and the Chowassee Mad in general at the time of this statement was Permannand Udikaree. His grandfather Cashereeth, in the time of Bar Bahadur Chandi, is said to be the real founder of the present Casherepore, on the site of 4 villages, in which the temple of Ooptinee Debee was a place of old Hindoo pilgrimages. The son of Cashereeth was called Somach, and the village, of Somachpore, and numerous mango groves near Casherepore and Kotah planted by him, still render his name immortal as the thriving and fortunate servant of Oodetichand. His descendant Kishn Nund Udikaree possesses numerous zemnadi, both on copperplate and paper, of that period.

All the reports made by the Kumaon *canongoes* and other natives belonging to the province, concur in fixing the nominal revenue of the *Chourasse Mal Pergunnahs* in the year 1744 A.D. (or one hundred years ago) at about the same sum as that named in the preceding statement; viz. somewhat more than 4 lacs of rupees, inclusive of all items. But, at the time of the Rohilla irruption in that year, the actual collections had dwindled to less than two lacs,* and as the whole lowland country, of which we are speaking, was virtually held in military assignment by the mercenary troops of the Rajah, known (from the place of their origin in the west) as *Nuggurhotia Sepahoes*, it may be doubted whether in the time of *Kullean Chund*, at least previous to the expulsion of the *Rohillas* from *Kumaon*, any treasure ever ascended to Almorah at all. The present *Peshkar* of the *Huzoor Tuh-seel*, *Kishna Nund Jeehee of Gullee*, has found among his ancestral papers a long list of villages, and of their respective *ruqbas*, the abstract of which I give below. It refers to an early year of *Kullean Chund*, 1657 Saka, or 1735 A.D.; but it unfortunately does not contain any information as to the proportion of waste to cultivated land.† It may, however, be found interesting, as shewing the number of villages standing on the rent roll at that time, and as affording data for comparison with the state of affairs in 1835 A.D., a date which (I know not how correctly,) I have heard mentioned, as that in which under British rule, Terrai matters were at their worst, and from which a renaissance order of things may be assumed to have commenced.

<i>Pergunnahs.</i>	<i>No. of Villages.</i>	<i>Total Beegahs.</i>
Boksar, (Roodurpoor, Kilpoory,) ...	247	7,90,950
Bukshee, (Nanukmutta,) ..	139	3,83,300
Chinkee, (Surbna-Bilheree,) ...	121	3,15,400
Casheepoor,	139	4,86,800
Suhjgeer, (Juspoor,)	59	1,58,400
Moondia, (Bazpoor,)	81	2,38,500
Guddurpoora,	83	3,31,200
	Grand Total	27,04,550
	869	

* Only 40,000 rupees are mentioned in some of the records, but it is doubtful whether these referred to the whole or a part of the *Turmees*.

† *Kishna Nund Uikaree* also possesses very old lists of Terrai villages and their *beegahs*; but no account of *cultivation* or of *ploughs*. All these lists can be copied out *mouzahar* if necessary, either in Hindee or Persian characters, and forwarded to H. H. the Lieut. Governor.

In the years 1666-7 Saka, 1744-8 A.D., the Rohillas twice invaded Kumaon, under their two leaders *Nujeeb Khan* and *Peinda Khan*. Though their stay was short,* its ill results to the province are well and bitterly remembered, and its mischievous, though religiously zealous character is still attested by the noseless idols and trunkless elephants of some of the Kumaon temples. The first irruption was only arrested in the very heart of the hills at *Ghyr-Mandee*,† near the sources of the *Ramgunga*. Here the *Rajah of Ghurwal*, *Pruteep Sah*, checked the further progress of the Rohillas, and turned them back by a bribe of three lacs of rupees to their leaders; and, thus, the holy land, which owned his Kumaon neighbour and himself as its princes and guardian, was relieved from its first contamination by Mahomedan contact.

The second invasion, caused by the discontent of *Ali Mahommed* at the small spoil brought down to him, was stayed at the very entrance of the hills at *Barokheri Pass* (between *Bhamoursee* and *Bheem Tal*), where the Rohilla force was routed by the minister, *Seebdev Joshee* and his highlanders, who had seen too much of such visitors in the former year to allow them again to surmount the *Gaghur*. It is generally believed, that the Rohillas were incited to both attacks by some domestic traitors of the *Rotela* tribe, one of whom, by name *Himmut Sing*, had been put to death by the Kumaon Rajah for rebellious conduct. The complete expulsion of these predatory foreigners from the open plain of the *Terrai* was found too difficult a task for the *Puharree* arms; and, hence, recourse was had to other means. *Kullean Chund* himself repaired to the camp of the Emperor, then pitched at *Sam-*

* Those who object to the hill people of Almorah as being unaccountably and foolishly scrupulous on the subject of kine killing, forget that Benares, Muthra, and other Hindoo localities have been for centuries under direct Mahomedan rule, whereas Kumaon never had one of "the faithful" as its immediate lord. The only *Musulmans* formerly known within the hills were certain families of *Shikarries* and *cooks*—who received favor at the hands of the Rajahs, the former for killing game, and for ridding the country of wild beasts, the latter for preparing suitable food for any Mahomedan guest of rank. The Rajah of Bhurtpoor still entertains a similar class of purveyors.

† Near this spot is the beautiful country residence of the Kumaon Commissioner, which is highly convenient, as being on the borders of both districts, Kumaon and Gurwal.

*bhul**, and implored for aid against his enemies. At that time (1747 A.D.), the extraordinary power obtained by the Rohillas had greatly alarmed the imperial Government, already sufficiently weakened by the Mahrattas and by Nadir Shah, and very strong efforts had been made to reduce them, attended with considerable success. Twenty-two descendants of the old *Kuttair Rajahs* are said to have been present in camp, headed by the chief of *Thakoordwara*,† all clamorous for protection. The Kumaon Rajah did not sue in vain, and the result of his visit to *Sumbhul* was a renewal of his *sunnuds* for the *Chowrass Mal*, and the abandonment of the territory by the Rohillas, with the exception of the Eastern tract at *Surbna* and *Bilherree*, besides sundry marks of imperial favor. Soon after his return to the hills, he died, and the year of his death (1748 A.D.) also saw the decease of the Emperor Mahommed Shah and the adventurer Ali Mahommed.

9. The history of *Rohilcund* between the years 1748 and 1774

A.D. is well known. The constant conflicts between the *Soobahdar of Oudh*, *Safter Jung* and the Rohilla chiefs, attended occasionally with no small disgrace to the arms of the former, (and through him to those of his master the Emperor *Ahmed Shah*), terminated in the utter

Reign in Kumaon of Deep Chund, and the contemporaneous account of Rohilcund to its conquest of by the Nawab Wuzeer of Oudh in 1774 A.D.

discomfiture for a short period of the latter, by the introduction of the *Mahrattas* and *Jats* into the disputed territory as the formidable allies of the *Wuzeer*. Then followed, as might be expected, the usurping occupation of *Rohilcund* by those very allies themselves, and the attraction to that fertile quarter of their swarming countrymen from the *Deccan*. The revolutions which dethroned and blinded *Ahmed Shah*; which first exalted and then brought down to death his puppet successor, *Atumgeer II*; which linked together in the bands of temporary amity the regicide and self-elected *Wuzeer Ghazee-ud-Deen*, and many of the Mahratta leaders,—the advance of *Ahmed Shah Doo-ranee*, and the repetition at Delhi of some of the horrors enacted under *Nadir Shah*; and afterwards, on the departure of the *Abdallees* from *Hindoosthan*, the overwhelming height to which the flood of Mahratta

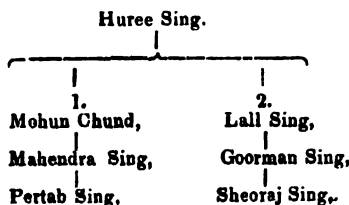
* I believe that the *Sote* then derived its name of *Yar Wufadar*, when the pukka bridge was built for the army, the Emperor having called it, “*Yar Wufadar dul umun Sote*”

† Whose family is now, I believe extinct.

dominion attained ; these events accumulating on each other, involved the whole of Upper India in anarchy and confusion, and completed the destruction of the *Mogul* empire. As affecting Hindoosthan in general, they caused the minds of all men to be fixed on one great question, till the decision of which there could only exist two great parties ; viz. Who shall be masters, the *Mahrattas* or the *Affghans* ? As affecting *Rohilcund* in particular, the crisis of affairs united together by one common interest, the ruler of *Oudh*, then *Shoojah-ud-Dowla*, and the Rohilla chiefs, *Hafiz Re hmut Khan*, *Nujeeb-ud-Dowla*, and all the minor leaders of the clan ; and for a brief period, the chivalry both of *Oudh* and *Rohilcund* was engaged in a common cause. The battle of *Paneeput* might very probably have ended in a different manner, if the *Dooranee Shah* had not been thus assisted, and if he had not found on his side in that bloody field *Affghans* of the *Hindoosthane* colony, as brave and undegenerate as his own *Abdallees*, fresh from the rugged passes of *Affghanistan*. Who on the evening of the 6th January 1761 A.D. contemplating that great battle field, and reflecting on its results, could have guessed or believed that the fate of India had really already been decided not five years before on an obscure swamp in Bengal ? or, have foreseen, that in regard to the sceptre of Hindoosthan, the slaughter of that day had been a fruitless sacrifice ; that the *Affghans* almost from that very hour would be strangers to the soil ; that the *Mahrattas*, then supposed to be an almost annihilated power, would again contest the throne of India with foreigners, but, of a still more distant origin and still more distinctive race ; or, that, finally, peace and plenty would smile on that very plain, invited to the land, neither by Mahomedan nor Hindoo, but by the Christians of a Western Atlantic isle ! Yet, to *Rohilcund* at least, (whereto my tale must return,) far different from peace and plenty were to be the intermediate gifts of the English race. When *Hafiz Re hmut Khan* flushed with his share of victory, returned to his own country, it may be assumed, that, even if no higher aspirations for the good of his subjects expanded his breast, he still fondly hoped that the good fortune of his race and family would henceforth be permanent ; that his last battle had been fought, and that he might be allowed to end his days in quiet and happiness. Alas ! the lapse of thirteen short years, not all ill-spent, we may hope, brought to

his door a totally unexpected enemy in purchased alliance with the ancient hunters of his line. If *then* at *Kutterah* on the 23d April 1774, the victorious English general turned away in sadness from the corpse of the gallant *Hafiz Rehmud Khan*, and reviewed with pain and disgust the results of his own triumph, the civil narrator of this tragical revolution, however indignant at the gross misrepresentations and false colouring of facts, which both in the senate and the library have associated the early English name in Rohilcund with altogether unredeemable shame, and the extinguished rule of the Rohillas with every fancied virtue, may be excused for pausing one moment in his task, and yielding the tribute of his deep regrets over the bier of the Rohilla chief. But I must not travel further from my record. What was the effect of all the above named revolutions on the circumstances of the *Terrai*? The reign of *Rajah Deep Chund* in *Kumaon*, after lasting nearly thirty years, ended in his murder in 1697 Saka, or 1775 A.D. He was, therefore, almost from first to last, a contemporary of *Hafiz Rehmud Khan*, and the catastrophes of the Rohilcund and Kumaon principalities occurred within a year of each other;—or, if nothing but the crowning success of the Goorkhas in 1791 A.D. can be considered as the conclusion of the Kumaon raj, the year of *Deep Chund's* violent death at the hands of *Mohun* Sing*, his spuriously descended cousin, may be recorded as commencing the fifth act of the hill tragedy. During the first sixteen years of his reign, *Deep Chund* enjoyed the advice and aid of the wise minister or *Bukshee*, *Seeb-dev Joshee*, to whose care the dying lips of *Kullean Chund* had entrusted the youthful prince. The trust appears to have been well fulfilled, and during this period the management of the *Terrai* occupied a large share of the *Bukshee's* attention. Forts were built at Roodurpoor and Casheepoor, as outposts to watch the Rohillas,

* As some mistakes are often made as to the relative position by birth of *Pertab Chund* at *Almorah* and *Sheoraj Sing* at *Casheepoor*, I give their immediate genealogy:—



and to guard the property, then far from inconsiderable, at both those places. At the former place, *Hurree Ram Joshee*, a Kumaonee and cousin of Seeb-dev, and at the latter place *Sree Ram Doss*, a native (I believe) of *Bazpoor*, acted as the agents of the Kumaon government. The son of *Sree Ram Doss*, *Nundram* by name, is celebrated in Kumaon history, as the traitor, who in conjunction with his brother *Hurgovind*, for selfish purposes, ceded the possession of the Terrai to the *Nawab Asoph ud-Dowla*, after murdering Hureeram Joshee's son, *Munooruth*, and thus obtaining power over Roodurpoor and the Eastern Pergunnahs. The nephew of Nundram, and son of Hurgovind, *Seeb Lall*, is the person whom in 1210 Fuslee, the English found in power in the Terrai, and with whom the first settlement of that tract was made. We have now all the *dramatis personæ* on the stage, before the curtain drops on the scene, at the close of Kumaonese influence in the Terrai. During Seebdeo's administration, the Rohillas did not disturb in any great degree the tranquillity of the Kumaon lowlands. Their chiefs, during the frequent flights which they made to the foot of the hills when they had encountered any disasters below in conflicts with the Wuzeer's forces, formed an acquaintance with the hill Rajah and his Ministers, which in some cases ripened into friendship. *Deep Chund* and *Hafiz Rehmud Khan* exchanged turbans, and *Seebdeo's* son, *Hurackdeo Joshee*, who afterwards became so conspicuous a political character at the period of the war between the British and Nepalese, enjoyed a place of trust in the immediate household of Nujeeb-ud-Dowla. At the battle of Paneeput, Hurree Ram Joshee is said to have distinguished himself conspicuously amongst the levies brought to that place from the Rohilcund territory, and to have carried back to Kumaon an elephant and other plunder of the Mahrattas to the extent of some thousand rupees, which the Rohilla chiefs accorded in return for the aid or goodwill of the Kumaon Rajah at that great crisis.

10. The Terrai remained in a state of (comparatively speaking) fair

Conclusion of Deep Chund's reign.—Troubles of that period.—Effects of events, both in hills and plains, on the state of the Terrai.—And summary of events antecedent to the final separation of the lower Bhabur from the hill territory.

prosperity during that portion of *Deep Chund's* reign, in which the hill territory was undistracted by internal commotions. Up to the death of *Seebdeo Joshee* in 1686 Saka, corresponding to 1764 A.D., these commotions had been very partial and trifling in *Kumaon*, while at the same time

the plains of *Hindoostan*, including *Rohilcund*, were the scene of constant disturbances and change. The Terrai became filled with emigrants from the lower country, who had fled from the extra-taxation, and the multiplied masters, which the wars of that period had created. This was the first great recent emigration into the Terrai. The next extensive influx of lowlanders occurred immediately after the accession of the *Nawab Vuzeer*, as above related, to the sovereignty of Rohilcund, and continued till the tyranny of the new reign had somewhat over-past, and till (after the second Rohilla war with *Fyzoollah Khan*, who himself brought large numbers of people to the jungle, where his entrenchments were formed,) the lower districts became again fit for the habitation of peaceful and industrious people. Thus, at first, tolerable good government at one place, and intolerably bad government at another, contributed to the occupancy of the waste lands of the *Kumaon Bhabur*, by natives of other districts; and a few years subsequently, the *Ghoorhallee* invasion of *Kumaon*, and the civil wars which preceded that event, drove down numerous mountaineers to the same quarter, and made *Casheepoor*, *Rooderpoor*, *Kilpoory*, and other frontier towns and villages the emigrant settlements of numerous individuals, whose political importance or wealth rendered them peculiarly obnoxious to the evil of a revolution, and whose stay on the hills had become incompatible with their safety. We may, I think, date at this period the planting of the numerous mangoe groves* in the Terrai, which at this day so frequently surprise the sportsman, in spots where wild beasts occupy the place of human inhabitants, and swamps lie over the site of villages.†

The death of *Seebdeo* by violence in a military emeute at *Casheepoor*, occurred as above recorded in 1686 Saka, or 1764 A.D., and from that time I much doubt whether the dependency to the hill state of Kumaon of the whole Terrai (except a slip of forest at the very base of the hills,) did not cease and determine. While that minister sur-

* There are other groves of older date no doubt, as there are ancient wells, and *chubootras*, remains of aqueducts and the like; but the existing groves for the most part do not appear older than 60 or 80 years.

† Some *Puthan* families were great benefactors of the Turai for a short time, and the large *gools* and gardens which bear the name of *Jungee Khan* and others, attest their former influence, especially in *Baspoor* and the western *Pergunnahs*.

vived, the rent roll of the *Chowrassie Mal Pergunnahs* is recorded to have been as follows; but, there is strong reason to believe, that both in the time of *Shoojah-ud-Dowla* and in that of his predecessor *Sufur Jung*, the *South-Eastern* extremity of the *Kumaon Bhabur* had fallen into the hands of the *Vuzeer* or the *Rohillas*, and that the *Kumaon Rajah* was merely considered in that quarter, *nominal Zemindar* or *Jagheerdar*.

Pergunnahs at present attached to Zillah Moradabad.

Jasspoor,	50,138	0	0
Casheepoor,	95,648	0	0
Bajpoor,	55,664	0	0
	<hr/>		
		2,01,440	0 0

Pergunnahs now attached to Zillah Bareilly.

Roodurpoor,	72,207	0	0
Gudderpoor,	45,654	0	0
Kilpoory,	40,000	0	0
Bilheeree, }	75,910	0	0
Bindara, }			
Nanukmutta, }			
Surbna,	25,000	0	0
	<hr/>		
		2,58,771	0 0

Total Rupees

 4,60,211 0 0

Of this total sum, Rs. 1,32,000 were estimated as the *Rajah's share*, supposing the sovereignty of the Kumaon ruler in this tract to have been a reality; or *proprietary profits*, supposing him to be entitled only to the name of *Zemindar*. Out of this royal share or *revenue*, (the greater part of which was collected in kind,) the military assignments

* It is also highly probable, that some portion of this amount was collected on account of *katbans*, or timber duties, in the forest lying to the north of the Chowrassie Mal, and still included in Kumaon.

to the *Nuggur Kotias* and others were paid, and Rs. 40,000 are (I believe with complete truth,) mentioned as forming the highest amount remitted to *Deep Chund's* treasury at *Almorah*.* In the earlier times of the *Terrai*, the *Rajah* dealt more directly with the cultivators of the soil, and the intervening tenures, religious, *mafee*, military, and the like, did not exist; hence, the large amounts recorded as *revenue*. In regard to the *cultivators*, the *Rajah's* share was considered to be a sixth of the produce; but, this fact would militate greatly against the stories handed down of the *Nowluchia Mal*. Fifty-four lacs worth of produce in the narrow slip of the *Chowrassie Mal*, would indeed have entitled it to a high rank among the many so-called gardens of India.

The remaining portion of the rental enumerated in the statement was collected for the benefit of some few Brahmin *Mafeedars* and some hill temples; but principally at that period by the headmen among the hereditary *Chokedars* of the *Terrai*, who had been gradually introduced into the territory from the time of *Baz Bahadoor Chund's* visit to Delhi. In the south-eastern extremity of the *Bhabur*, the race of *Burwaicks*, and in the same direction nearer the hills, the *Joteals*, and in the Western *Pergunnahs* the *Mewattoes* and *Heirees* (Mussulmans,) were the guardians, but in fact, the possessors of the soil; and a system of "black mail" was thus introduced, the evil effects of which remain to this day, and which during its continuance, rendered the sub-montane tract the general safe resort of the banditti, at the same time that it gave protection to a portion of the community; that is, those who could afford to pay the insurance fees thereof; and saved others from outrage and plunder only by making them connivers, through shelter and concealment, with the worst of criminals. *Hurrukdeb* Joshee* and *Jyekishen Joshee* succeeded their father as *Ministers*, and soon after both *Casheepoor* and *Roodurpoor* were plundered by predatory bands of *Patháns*, who are stated to have found a large quantity of booty at those places, owing to the temporary inhabitancy thereat, of the earlier emigrants of whom I have spoken.

* The direct lineal descendant of this personage, called by Mr. Fraser "the Earl Warwick, or king-maker of Kumaon," is, I am sorry to say, living in very reduced circumstances, and without a pension at Almorah, while others, with smaller claims are provided for.

The years between 1764 and 1775 A.D. formed a period of trouble and distress in Kumaon, which, however, has its parallel in every native state, and the natural consequences of which were the final foreign invasion which took place 16 years afterwards in 1791, and the intermediate visitations of mercenary troops brought into the province by the partizans of the several factions. A summary of events for this period exists in the Agent's office at Almorah, and is contained in a report dated 20th October, 1814, by Mr. W. Fraser, who appears to have received his chief information from *Hurruck-deb Joshee*. The following extract is made from the report,* explaining, quite sufficiently for the present purpose, the revolutions of that period within the hills.

Extract.

“The eldest son of Seebdeo Joshee, Jyekishen, succeeded him in his office and situation as prime minister and viceroy, in which place he continued for two years and a half, when a son was born to Deep-Chund the Rajah. On this event the mother of the boy considering that in consequence of having a son, she had some claim on the regency, intrigued with Hafiz Rehmut Khan of Rampoor, through Jodha Sing of *Kuthere*, to whose son the daughter of the Rajah was betrothed, and who was a favourite servant of Hafiz Rehmut Khan, to set aside the authority and viceroyalty of Jyekishen, who retaining his office, should obey the command of the Rannee. Through the interest of Jodha Sing, Hafiz Rehmut was prevailed upon to speak to Jyekishen, and he in disgust and disappointment resigned all his situations and retired from the government. The Rannee then bestowed the situation of Bukshee, or head of the army upon Mohun Sing, the post of prime minister upon Kishen Sing, the Rajah's bastard brother, and the viceroyalty on Purmanund, a paramour of her own. Jodha Sing gained the management of Casheepoor, a large Pergunna. About a year after this, the Rannee deprived Mohun Sing of his appointment and insignia of his office, bestowing them upon her favourite paramour. Mohun Sing fled to the Rohillas, and through the assistance of Doondee Khan of Bis-

* Evidently a translation.

“soulee, who was jealous of the power and influence Hafiz Rehmud Khan exercised in Kumaon, gathered a body of troops and Rohillas, attacked the capital of Almorah, defeated the Rannee’s troops, and eight months after his expulsion, obtained possession of the Rajah’s and Rannee’s persons, and established himself in the government. One of his first acts was to put to death Purmanund, his first enemy, and about two years afterwards, during which time he continued quite paramount, he put the Rannee to death. When this act was known, Hafiz Rehmud Khan again sent an army with Kishen Sing, the brother of the Rajah, who had fled when the Rannee was killed, expelled Mohun Sing, and put authority into the hands of Kishen Sing, who with the assistance of Jyekishen, and the old respectable officers of the government, carried on business for four or five years. Mohun Sing had fled to the camp of Zabeta Khan, and subsequently to that of Shooja-ood-Dowlah. Kishun Sing, the viceroy of the Rajah, fell into bad hands, and paying attention to favourites, dishonoured many of the old respectable servants of the government. These people considering that Mohun Sing, although expelled, would not desist from disturbance and intrigue, agreed to call him, and put the government into his hands, to be exercised in the name of the Rajah, and with the assistance and advice of Jyekishen. Mohun Sing being thus placed in power, in the course of the second year put the Rajah and all his family into confinement, treacherously murdered Jyekishen,* and established himself firmly in the government. This usurpation seemed bad in the eyes of the Rajahs of Ghurwal and Dotie. They leagued with the discontented people of Kumaon; the injured family of Jyekishen, one of the oldest and most respectable of the high officers of Kumaon, collected a large force, defeated and expelled the usurper, and established Purdoomun Sah, the second son of Lulut Sah, the then Rajah of Ghurwal, upon the rajship. Purdoomun Sah reigned 9 years, proped by the old officers of the state, amongst whom the most noted was Jeeanund, Gudadhur and Huruckdeo, of the family of Seo Dev and Jyekishen :

* At that time Nundram and others had possessed themselves of the Terrai nearly to the foot of the hills, and Mohun Sing invited Jyekishen to his camp near *Chokum*, (some miles above Chilkeea,) to arrange for a common defence of the Terrai against the lowlanders. Jyekishen fell into the trap, came to camp, and was assassinated.—

“ after this lapse of time, Lulut Sah, the Rajah of Sreenugur dying, the
 “ brothers, Jykurut Sah who had succeeded to the rajship of Ghurwal
 “ on the death of his father, Lulut Sah, and Purdoomun Sah who had
 “ been set up in Kumaon, quarrelled. Jykurut Sah was desirous of es-
 “ tablishing Mohun Sing in Kumaon to the prejudice of his brother,
 “ having been bribed by him ; and Purdoomun Sah was naturally
 “ anxious to expel his elder brother and establish his younger and full
 “ brother Puracram Sah at Sreenuggur. In the mean time, Jykurut
 “ Sah died ; and Purdoomun Sah leaving Kumaon against the will of
 “ all, went to take possession of Ghurwal. He wished indeed to leave
 “ his younger brother Puracram Sah in Kumaon, but he was equally
 “ desirous of seizing upon Ghurwal ; this strife continuing, both left
 “ Kumaon in the charge of Hurruckdeo, and (shortly after uniting with
 “ Mohun Sing) fixed him there. Hurruckdeo being driven out, collected
 “ an army in the districts of Casheepoor and Roodurpoor, again attacked
 “ Mohun Sing, took him prisoner and placed him in confinement, and
 “ in retributive justice for the murder of the late Rajah and all his family,
 “ had him put to death.* He did not continue many months in pos-
 “ session of the country, when Lal Sing, the brother of Mohun Sing,
 “ receiving the assistance of Fyzoollah Khan of Rampoor entered Kuma-
 “ on, and drove Hurruck and his party to the frontier of Ghurwal, where
 “ receiving assistance from Purdoomun Sah, he repelled the invading Ro-
 “ hillas, and regained possession of Almorah, the capital. Puracram
 “ Sah, however, always unsteady and unreasonable, took the part of
 “ Lall Sing ; and Hurruckdeo deprived of his assistance, retired with
 “ honor to Sreenugur. Lall Sing did not however reign long. A year,
 “ or a year and a half after, the Goorkha power invaded the country, when
 “ all the discontented people, and particularly the family of Jyekiashen and
 “ Hurruckdeo took refuge with them and rejoiced in Lall Sing’s final
 “ expulsion.”†

* Mohun Sing was beheaded in the temple called *Narain-ke-Thun*, two miles to the North of Almorah, on the hill now called “ Mount Browne.”—

† This report must throughout be taken *cum grano*, for though true in regard to the main facts, there is throughout a strong bias against the family of Mohun Sing and Lall Sing, and an equally strong partiality towards the great rival family of the Joshees. There is also one omission ; viz. that Hurruck Dev at one time set up a nominal Rajah, a near relation of Deep Chund, and called him *Seeb Chund*, afterwards degrading him, and there is one exaggeration ; viz. that Mohun Sing gave up

The murder of *Monoruth Joshee*, the agent of the Kumaon government at *Roodurpoor*, by *Nundram* of *Casheepoor*, an event previously glanced at, combined with the treacherous murder of *Jyekishen Joshee* by *Mohun-Sing*, as narrated in the above extract, placed the whole power over the *Bhabur* tract at the disposal of *Nundram* and his family, and he took the best steps for securing his position, making terms with the *Nawab Vuzeer*, then *Asoph-ud-Dowlah*, and by becoming *Ijaradar* of the territory under that ruler. After two or three weak and ineffectual struggles in the field with the *Ghoorkas*, *Mahender Sing* and his brother *Lall Sing* were finally obliged to abandon the hills, and settled at *Kilpoory* in the *Terrai*, under the protection of the *Nawab Vuzeer*, obtaining thereby a guarantee for the retention, by the family, on some doubtful kind of tenure of some portion of the tract, over which their ancestors of the *Kumaon Raj* had ruled, and which as far as any actual *Jagheer* was concerned, was subsequently exchanged for the grant of *Chachheit*, which is situated in a more Southerly direction. Between 1791 and 1802, when the cession of Rohilcund to the British government took place, the Ghoorkas were too much occupied within the hills to bestow much attention to the old lowland territories of Kumaon; but they obtained for sometime possession of *Kilpoory*, and they were afterwards driven out by the forces under *Ata Beg* and *Sunbhonath* sent from Bareilly, aid having been implored by *Mahender Sing* and *Lall Sing* who had been forced to fly to *Luknow*,* and the danger on its northern frontier in *Rohilcund* having become a source of deep anxiety to the *Oudh durbar*. *Casheepoor* then became the principal residence of the exiled family; but *Roodurpoor* was also often visited, and from their statements, it would appear, at that time to have been a flourishing place. *Pertaub Sing*, indeed, informs me, that even until so late a period as 1815, when the march of the British troops to

Almorah to Rohilla rule, whereas this was not exactly the case; as Mohun Sing employed mercenary Rohilla troops who occupied at times the capital, so also did Lall Sing, and so did *Hurruckdeo*, and afterwards the British; but in all these visitations the Brahmins governed both Almorah and the province, and the Rohillas never even had a mosque for their prayers. *Hurruckdeo's* rescue of Almorah was thus, after all, not so very great an act of patriotism, as the report would appear to make it.

* *Hurruckdeo* about this time (1797 A.D.) was in attendance on Mr. Cherry at Luknow and Benares, and endeavoured to interest the British authorities in favour of the Hill Rajahs against the Goorkas.

the hills, combined with other visitations, more especially banditti, harassed the inhabitants by requisitions and losses of all kinds, that place* could boast of 1,200 *Brinjarries* with their equipage, 200 hackeries and their owners, 200 weavers, and 700 families of *choomars*, *hoormees*, *lohars*, &c., in addition to a large agricultural population, and the numerous occasional followers of his father and uncle, with other exiles from the hills.

11. I have thus brought to a conclusion the history of Kumaon, chiefly in connexion with its dependencies in

The Government of the Nawab Vuzeer, and of the British. Reflections thereon and on the state of the country, with allusions to that part of the *Bhabur* still included in Kumaon —Conclusion.

the lower Terrai, otherwise called *Bhabur*, *Munes*, and *Mál* by the *Puharrees*, and I believe that, however unimportant, the information thus given, is for the most part new. Knowing little, I can tell little of the further history of the Terrai, and it would be presumptuous in me to intrude on ground which belongs to the *Plains* authorities.† The abstract of all the intelligence acquired by me on this subject, may however be briefly recorded. The rule of the *Nawab Vuzeer* in the *Mal Pergunnahs* was, on the whole, beneficial, but, chiefly in a negative point of view. The bad government of districts, naturally more adapted for culture and habitation, drove large colonies of people from the south to a region where the background of the forest and the hills could always afford a shelter against open oppression; where the nature of the climate was not such as to invite thereto the oppressors in whose hand a whole fertile and salubrious land had fallen; and, where, also, on this very account, the rulers, who did exist, found it their interest to conciliate and attract all new-comers. The management of the territory in question by *Nundram* and *Seeb Lall* is generally well spoken of, except in the matter of police; but, even in this latter respect, the mismanagement was not more injurious to society, than the state of affairs in regard to the *forest-banditti* became in times not far distant from our own. I believe that it may be confidently stated, that at the commencement of the British rule in Rohilcund, there existed in

* *Roodurpoor* was partly ruined by the establishment of the Hill *Mundee* of *Huldwanee*, 20 miles nearer the hills, and then completely, by the swamp caused by the Nawab of *Rampoor's Bund*.

† Not only present, but past.

the Terrai a greater number of inhabited spots than there existed 30 years afterwards in the same tract; that more, and more careful, cultivation was visible in every direction; that the prairie, if not the forest, had retreated to a greater distance; that the *gools* or canals of irrigation were more frequent and better made; that more attention was paid to the construction and management of the *bunds* on the several streams; and that, finally, on account of all these circumstances, the naturally bad climate, now again deteriorated, had somewhat improved. While recording this statement, I must not omit to add, that I myself possess no positive separate proofs that my assertions are correct; but that I write under the influence of almost universal oral testimony, supported, nevertheless, by this circumstance; viz., that the revenue statistics of the tract under discussion, shew a *descending* scale in regard to the income of the state, a product which under general rules, bears an approximately regular proportion to the amount of prosperity in a country. Nor, must I omit the fact, that the *Boksa* and *Tharoo* tribes are extremely migratory in their habits, and are peculiar in requiring at their several locations more land for their periodical tillage, than they can shew under cultivation at one time, or in one year. To these tribes, is in a great measure *now* left the occupation of the Terrai territory, so that *now* for every deserted village, there may be perhaps found a corresponding newly cultivated one, within the same area; and large spaces of waste may intervene, where under the present system, no room for contemporaneous cultivation is supposed to exist; the periodical waste or fallow, also, in that peculiar climate, presenting as wild and jungly an appearance as the untouched prairie. In the times, on the contrary, which I have advantageously compared with our own, the fickle and unthrifty races whom I have named, were not the sole occupants of the soil, and the number of contemporaneous settlements was therefore greater, and the extent of land required for each was less. I, therefore, come round in due course to the next fact, (the obverse of that first stated,) that, as bad government in the ordinarily habitable parts of the country introduced an extraordinary number of ploughs into the borders of the forest tract, so, the accession of the British rule, by affording a good government to Rohilcund, re-attracted the agricultural resources to that quarter, and proportionately reduced the means

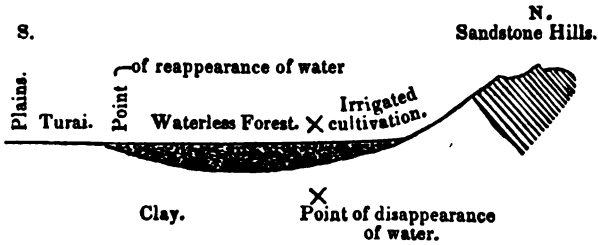
of tillage in the Terrai. Such is my general position ; but, local circumstances also added to the deterioration ; and amongst these, an allusion on my part is all that is necessary or proper to the hasty and perfunctory mode of settlement adopted in the earlier years of the British rule, to the disputes in and out of court, concerning *Zemindari* rights between *Seeb Lall* and *Lall Sing* ; and again between the latter and his elder brother Mahendra Sing's family ; to the continued bad police management ; and, perhaps more than all, to the neglect and difference of the English revenue officers, who were scared away from the tract by the bad reputation of its climate, and only occasionally attracted thither by its facilities for sport.

In fact, the sum of the whole matter is, in my opinion, this : that even long neglect in other quarters can by a change of system, be speedily remedied ; but, that in the peculiar region of which we are treating, a very brief period of neglect or bad management is sufficient to ruin the country. Its physical character has been well described by others, but more especially and directly in the recent Irrigation Report of Captain Jones, and incidentally in the lately discovered and published Geological Report by the late Captain Herbert.* Under the base of the hills, surface irrigation from the several streams that issue therefrom, can be carried on without difficulty to a certain distance on either side of them by means of water-courses taken off at different levels, this distance or point of non-irrigation being determined by the slope of the country, and the absorbing or retaining qualities of the soil, and consequently by the time of disappearance of water in the several rivers. Hence, in the *Upper Bhabur*, so long as an agricultural population can be found, extensive patches of fine cultivation† will always exist ; but, at wide intervals, and with but a short prolongation to the Southward. Then, succeeds the *okhur bhoomee*, or dry region of forest and prairie, beneath the rich mould and enormous beds of gravel of which, at an hitherto undiscoverable depth, flows the drainage of the lower mountains ; the point of re-appearance of water

* Journal Asiatic Society, Vol. XI, the map published with Vol. XIII.

† The superficial soil in the Bhabur when well irrigated, supplies admirable crops of wheat, mustard and the like ; but is said to be too light for sugar-cane, cotton and other staples ; my own opinion is, that every thing could be produced, if the cultivators were permanent and of an industrious race, instead of being only *hibernating Puharrees*.

in the river beds, and the rushing out of the numerous springs being determined by the thinning out of the porous gravelly detritus, and the approach of the clay, or *impervious stratum* to the surface, thus :



The *Lower Bhabur*, or special Terrai, succeeds, and reflection and observation both shew, that if left to itself, this region must become one of swamps and malaria, and only partial cultivation; whereas, if carefully watched, its evils of climate may be vastly amended, and its agriculture be only limited by its amount of population. A careful guidance of the waters from their several sources would prevent the formation of the swamps on the lower edge of the forest. The rapid slope of the country causes the streams to push along the superficial gravel mixed with trees and vegetable mould, and thus to form at last an obstruction *a-head of themselves*. This causes numerous windings of the streams, and at every corner a back water swamp is produced, which would have had no existence, if the current had been carefully conducted, or if the obstructions in its course had been removed, or an opening through them been made. In the same manner the proper placing of the several *bunds* on the streams, and a proper attention to outlets of canals thus formed, would prevent the evils now arising from embankments which enrich one village, or set of villages, at the expense of the whole neighbourhood; and from water-escapes, which irregularly flood all the adjacent lands, and create *grass hoods* and swamps for tigers, deer, and hogs, while they drive out the human inhabitant.

These are common illustrations, and are sufficient to prove my argument for the absolute necessity of official and even scientific attention being paid to the physical character of the Lower Terrai, the additional benefits of a good revenue management, and a good police being,

at the present period assumed. I trust that the force of this argument will not be weakened by its not being *original*. The improvement of the *forest-tract* can be effected by the cutting of broad roads through it to the several points of access to the hills, and by extension of the *Puharree* clearings at its northern edge by a better and more economical distribution of the available means of irrigation. But, it still remains a matter for science to determine, whether except in the case of large rivers, (for instance the Ramgunga and Kosillah,) which on account of their volume and force escape absorption into the gravel, any canals can be taken off from *common* streams, at their exit from the mountains, and carried continuously through the forest. If they can, I would be content to sacrifice some portion of the partial cultivation carried on by the Hillmen at the immediate foot of the hills, by means of their numerous separate water-courses. If they cannot be made so as to bring a *large and continuous portion* of the forest and prairie into cultivation, I am hardly prepared to recommend much interference with the present system of irrigation in the *Upper Bhabur*, however wasteful, in the mere attempt to prolong a mile or two further the *Puharree* cultivation, and to add to the number of villages, paying almost nothing to the State, while they decrease the pasture grounds required by the herdsmen, both of the plains and the hills, at that very portion of the forest where the means of supplying water to the cattle alone exists.* As, however, the subject of the *Kumaon Bhabur* as distinct from the *Rohilcund Terrai* will form the subject of a separate report in the ordinary course of my official duties, and, as the upper tract is quite prosperous enough not to require any immediate special remedies, I here drop my pen.

Almorah, 9th October, 1844.

J. H. BATTEN,

Senior Assistant Commissioner, *Kumaon Proper*.

* The forest here alluded to, is almost utterly useless for timber, though its pasture grounds are admirable. All the valuable timber is now confined to the foot of the hills and to the lower range, and the *sissoo* islands in the river beds. This is a fact little known, but quite true.