- No. 4.—Memorandum on the District of Bussahir; and the pacification of the disaffected portion of its inhabitants.
- Copy of a letter from the Commissioner and Superintendent Cis Sutlej States, to the Secretary to Government Punjab, No. 122, dated 30th April 1859.

I have the honor to state that, in obedience to the

From Govt. Punjab No. 256 dated 2nd March.
To Do. No. 74 dated 11th Do.
From Do. No. 312 dated 19th Do.
To Do. No. 86 dated 22th Do.
From Do. No. 341 dated 28th Do.
To Do. No. 353 dated 30th Do.

orders contained in the correspondence noted in the margin,\* I proceeded to Bussahir, and arrived at Bâgee, a convenient position in the

Bussahir territory, situated on the Hindostan and Thibet road, on the 12th April.

- 2. I was met, on the 11th April, at Narkunda, on my line of route, by Wuzeers Surject, Goberdhun Doss, Heera Nund, and others, with a personal following of about 30 or 40 persons. These were the leaders of the "Dhaoo", or king's party, as opposed to the "Doom", or insurgents, of whom more hereafter. They had been driven out of Bussahir by the "Doomites" some days previous to my arrival.
- 3. The next day I reached Bâgee, which is the first stage in the Bussahir country. The Arrival in Bussahir ter. Wuzeers Surject, Goberdhun Doss,

and others, remained behind. They said they would follow in a day or two, but they were afraid to accompany me, as I should be met by the whole body of insurgents, and perhaps some fracas might ensue. On approaching Bâgee, I observed an immense collection of men, who were drawn up on each side of the road leading to the bungalow. As I came nearer, I was met by Meean Futteh Singh, an illegitimate and elder brother of the Raja of Bussahir, and by Wuzeers Bishn Dass, Doorga Nund, and Futteh Ram,—the leaders of the popular or insurgent party. These personages were unarmed. then led between the ranks of about 200 matchlockmen, (I believe 191 represented the exact number) and then, midst a miscellaneous crowd of peasants, some of whom had swords, but the majority were unarmed. The entire body amounted to 2,500 or 3,000 men. I was saluted with loud cries and salutations, and when I came to the end of the line, a band of some ten or fifteen musicians with cymbals and tambourines, put themselves at the head of the column, and escorted me to the bungalow.

4. Before they took leave, I begged that the whole body might be drawn up in front, as I wished to say a few words. I then said, that I had been deputed by the Government to enquire into the state of affairs; I had come without any detachment of troops, to shew the pacific nature of my errand; I intended to make a full investigation, in the presence of all parties, and I hoped, in the end, to redress their grievances, and to organize an effective Government. As a necessary preliminary, I insisted upon all shew of force being laid aside, as I could not

deal with men with arms in their hands. Whenever my Court should be opened, I requested they would attend, as peaceable and quiet people ought to do, without their arms. This call was at once responded to, and several of the matchlockmen laid their arms on the ground, in to-ken of obedience. They then dispersed quietly to their various encampments, in the forest, near the bungalow.

- The next two or three days were stormy, with rain and snow. However, Wuzeers Surject and others. Surject and Goberdhun Doss, with their followers, came in. They were still much afraid of the insurgents, and begged that I would allow them the company of a Government Chupprasee, to prevent their being molested. I acceded to this request, and assigned them quarters in a neighbouring village, where, however, the insurgents paid them several visits, and insisted on their bivouacking in the open and sharing the same hardships as themselves.
- from Rampoor, his capital. PreArrival of Raja.

  vious to my arrival he had gone
  alone from Rooroo,—where he and his mother, the Ranee
  had been residing,—to the camp of the "Doomites" or
  insurgents, and had there assured them that he espoused
  their cause, and would do his best to see them righted.

  It was this unexpected move which entirely overset the
  plans of the 'Dhaoo," or King's party. They found
  themselves suddenly abandoned by the Raja, and far
  out-numbered by their opponents. They had therefore no
  alternative but flight, and thus, before my arrival, the

insurgents were completely victorious. If there had been no paramount power to over-rule and guide their proceedings, they would at once have destroyed their enemies, and established a Government according to their own fashion.

- 7. I had now all parties before me,—the Raja, the Meeân his brother, the rival sets of All parties present. Wuzeers, the Kardars or surbordinate officials, and the people,—some in a mass, and some represented by delegates from distant parts of the coun-It was the first time that the antagonists had been confronted. Meean Futteh Singh had been an outlaw since May 1857 (the commencement of the mutinies) and had eluded the attempts made for his capture. On this occasion, all were present voluntarily, and I had therefore greater facilities for eliciting the true state of affairs than any officer who preceded me. But before I detail my further proceedings, and the measures founded thereon, I will give an account of the various personages and parties who have distracted the politics of this Hill state.
- 8. The Raja, Shumshere Sing, is a youth of about

  Description of Raja.

  25 years of age. He is short in

  stature, not above 5 feet 2 inches in
  height, stoutly made, with broad Tartar features. He speaks
  and writes English pretty correctly, for, in his pupilage,
  he was educated by a Bengalee Baboo, selected by Mr.
  Edwards. I think that many of the vices now displayed
  in the Raja's character, may be attributed to the influence
  of this tutor. The Raja does not want intelligence, but he
  is most irresolute and fickle. No dependence can be

placed upon his word. It is impossible to fix him for a moment upon any definite policy. He will assent readily to any scheme that is proposed to him, and the next hour. at the instigation of others, will adopt as readily the reverse. He has now accepted, with profuse thanks, the plans I have formed for the better administration of his country. He expressed himself equally delighted with entirely different measures proposed by Lord William Hay. In short, he is utterly incapable of forming or adhering to any policy. He is at the mercy of the last speaker,—a man quite unfit for the responsible position to which he was born. To this grievous defect, he adds the vices of drunkenness and debauchery; not that he is an habitual drunkard, but his excesses are notorious and frequent. Still I do not believe him quite incorrigible. he had had better advisers in his boy-hood, or even if he could be brought under stricter discipline at present, I think there are good points in his character, which might be improved. For he is good-tempered, kind to his subordinates, and not the least vindictive or cruel.

9. Meeân Futteh Singh is the illegitimate brother of the Raja. He is a slight made man, about 32 years of age. He speaks well and fluently, and has a fair share of intelligence. Ever since, however, he emerged from boy-hood, he has been under a cloud. The Dowager Rance, the mother of the present Raja, is his mortal enemy. To the authorities he has always been represented as a turbulent and dangerous character, and certainly there are epochs in his career which justify this reproach. At the same

time, he has always been bullied and persecuted. He has never experienced kind treatment, and, in despair. he has grown morose, vindictive, and debauched. drinks even more incessantly than the Raja, Ħе and himself admits that he is not fit for work unless half intoxicated. With the people, he is a favorite. endeavour was made to seize him 1857 and 1858, but he roamed at large, unmolested, among About two months ago he joined the "Doom," or body of insurgents, was selected to be their Chief. and from that time commenced active operations, which resulted, very shortly, in the overthrow of the Dhâoo, or King's party. An allowance of 500 rupees a year was assigned for his maintenance by Mr. Erskine, but he seldom got paid, owing to the disturbed state of the country. One of his slave girls was carried off by Purrus Ram, Vakeel, and another by one of the Wuzeers. Many slights and indignities were put on him. None of his enemies can accuse him of rapacity or cruelty: the single charge against him is, that he is a seditious character, disaffected to the British. It was said of him that he proposed to attack Simla, during the height of the disturbances, if 500 men would follow him. This last charge I specially enquired into. Not a single person could aver that the menace had been spoken in his presence. all hear-say, and was not brought home to the Meean. myself disbelieve the accusation. I think he was obnoxious to Purrus Ram, Vakeel, and other leading men of the "Dhaoo", party owing to his sympathy with the people, and these men had an object in vilifying him. At the

same time I am sure he ought to be watched. Under his guidance the "Doom" became a formidable insurrection, and many excesses were committed, of which the insurgents had not been guilty before his arrival. I have seriously admonished him, and, I hope, taken steps to prevent any misconduct in future. I have dismissed him to his home, and required him to execute recognizances that he would not again interfere in public affairs. So long as he keeps these promises, I have assigned him an allowance of 50 rupees a month, or 600 rupees a year, and enjoined the Wuzeers or ministers to see that it is regularly paid.

- The Dowager Ranee, mother of the present 10. Raja, is well known as a dissolute Of the Dowager Rance. and intriguing, though clever, wo-In previous correspondence, her pernicious influence has frequently been denounced, and more than once she has been told not to interfere in public affairs. Still, when I first took charge of Bussahir, the Ranee addressed me on public matters, quite as often as the Raja. I put a stop to this practice, and said I could not recognize a divided authority. For the present, I have found it necessary to prohibit her from residing at Rampoor, the Capital, and have restricted Rooroo, her jagheer estate, where she has a comfortable house.
- of the rival Wuzeers.

  Their rank is coeval with that of the Raja, and there are three distinct families, each presiding over a distinct tract of

country. Their families are distinguished from each other by peculiar names, such as the "Poâree," the "Shooâ," and the "Kool," the names being taken from villages or pergunnahs, from which they originally sprung. As one of the principal causes of the present disorder is this institution of hereditary Wuzeers, aggravated further by the number of existing representatives, their feuds and division into separate parties, I beg to give a genealogical account of each branch, which will shew the present Wuzeers, and the factious under which they have ranged themselves:—

Those marked is an ex-Futteh Ram, Asmanement,—a Nund and Debhi Nun acts of Bishn Doss liscontent. Doss, "Doom," or insurgeas occurdagger (thust) viz: der press-Doss, were on the otleen some ders on the insurgent communi-Bishn Doss'l demonligent. Surject, on the other and endupe of designing mt to viopersonal character is reir lands defect of speech as thir rulers moved from idiotcy has now from office some year lave graby Lord W. Hay. Gorire adult ligent. By the rule o collected Wuzeers, all other memonstraployed. The Wuzee and jeet, Bishn Doss, and to say. ther Luchmee Nund, astituted actually in office, on they did and the other two,-pth, the with the insurgents. pparenteers are constantly in justice. and power, and the f: Futteh other, and are constses and lividuals

12. The "Doc nees, or

The "Doom" or Insur-

other by kor of the Poâree branch, Doorga "Shooâ," nd of the Kool branch, and Thakoor villages or of the Shooa branch, were of the As one of the party. Those marked with a single this institu'Surjeet, Heera Nund, and Goburdhun by the nuner, or the "Dhâoo" side. The leand divisio side are the most capable and intellogical accrespecially seems to be the best of all. sent Wuzer side, is weak in intellect, and the ranged theen, who have surrounded him. His

irreproachable, but he has so great a o be almost dumb, and is barely re-Heera Nund had been removed s ago, on the complaint of the people, ourdhun Doss is respectable and intelf the country, there can be only three embers of the family remaining unemers, at the time of my visit, were Surl Doorga Nund-in place of his fawho died last year. Of these Wuzeers 3,—Surjeet,—was on the Dhâoo side, Bishun Doss and Doorga Nund, were The members of each family of Wuzstriguing against each other for place amilies themselves are jealous of each antly struggling for predominance.

m' is the name given in Bussahir to any popular combination raised for the redress of special grievances,

or for enforcing claims to certain rights. It is an expression of popular feeling under great excitement,-a protest on the part of the people against certain acts of their rulers which have provoked general discontent. This is not the first "Doom" or rising which has occurred in Bussahir, and I find it is not unusual, under pressing circumstances, even in other States. When some grievance has become intolerable, the people communicate with each other, and combine for a general demon-The malcontents leave their homes, and encamp on an open hill side. They seldom resort to violence, but collect together, and by neglecting their lands and thereby diminishing the revenue, oblige their rulers to pacify and disperse them. This "Doom" has now been ten months in the field. Their members have gradually increased, until, at last, almost the entire adult male population who could possibly be spared collected under the flag of the insurgents. Still, the demonstration was disregarded. No advances were made, and no disposition shown to hear what they had to say. They were regarded as rebels in arms against constituted authority, and were threatened with coercion, if they did not disperse. Until the beginning of last month, the 66 Doom" maintained a passive attitude, relying apparently on their numbers and obstinacy for eventual justice. But, after that date, they were joined by Meean Futteh Sing, and commenced the offensive. The houses and property of those obnoxious to the people, -individuals supposed to have prevented the redress of grievances, or to have enriched themselves at the people's expense,—were

singled out for attack. The house of Purrus Ram Vakeel, against whom all the petitions presented to the Supreme and local Governments, were levelled, was razed to the ground, and his property given over to indiscriminate plunder. Other persons, four or five in number, were selected for a similar vengeance. Many excesses were committed, which have much aggravated the unhappy state of affairs, and are seriously to be deplored. These outrages were partially retaliated, according to their means, by the "Dhâoos" or King's party, and eventually, actual collision occurred, which ended in three or four men being wounded on either side, but no lives were lost.

13.—The "Dhaoo" or King's party consisted almost entirely of officials about the Raja, The "Dhaoo" or official and their personal followers. There party. was little or none of the popular element in this faction. They were the Kardars who had become obnoxious to the people, on account of their rapacity and injustice. Their head quarters was in the pergunnah of Nawur, of which tract many of the leading officials were natives. Nawur, moreover, had been more or less conciliated, and the people there did not care to join the "Doom." They would be glad if the objects proposed by the "Doom" were carried to a successful issue, but they were not sufficiently interested to endure the hardships of a prolonged The strength of the "Dhâoo" parabsence from home. ty was not in their numbers, (for they scarcely mustered 40 persons, exclusive of the peasantry of pergunnah Nawur) but, in the presence of the Raja, in the countenance of the Superintendent Hill States, and in the personal weight and influence attaching to each individual. On the one side, were masses of rude peasants, and on the other, almost all the local officials, with the Raja at their head. The "Dhaoo" always treated the undisciplined force of their opponents with contempt. They represented them as "Moofsids" or rebels, and looked forward rather confidently to the advent of a British force, which should reinstate their authority, and dissipate the popular rising at the point of the bayonet. When, however, the "Doom" threw off their passiveness and assumed the offensive, the "Dhâoo" became really alarmed. The Nâwur peasantry were called to arms, and on hearing of the destruction of Purrus Ram's house, they got the Raja to give an order (which he declares he signed under compulsion) to burn and plunder the entire village, containing the house of Jooalla Doss, the agent of the "Doom," who had gone to Allahabad and to Lahore, to petition the Governor General and the Lieutenant Governor. This man was the paid agent of the people. He was no criminal, and was absent in the execution of a duty confided to him by the popular leaders. Yet, not only his house and property but the houses of all those guilty of living in his neighbourhood, were, -twelve in number, -burnt to the ground, and the property therein, plundered.

Condition of parties on that the Government had deputed me to visit Bussahir, and to adopt measures for the pacification of the country. The Rajahat

. once deserted his officials, and went over to the popular He promised them full redress, and declared his entire sympathy with them. I have before adverted to the Raja's fickleness. Probably, seeing that the fortunes of the "Doom" were in the ascendant, he took the victorious side. At all events, I must do him the credit to state that, throughout my investigations, he consistently advocated the cause of the people, and abused his former Deserted by the Raja, and receivfriends and advisers. ing news of my deputation, obviously on the petitions of the "Doom," which had been carried to the Governor General himself, the "Dhâoo" party lost heart, and fled precipitately. Some came to the British pergunnah of Kote Khaee, others crossed the Sutlej into the Kooloo district, and the rest took refuge wherever an asylum offered.

15.—Such was the state of affairs when I reached the borders of Bussahir, on the 11th April. I have already recorded the circumstances of my arrival, and the gradual assemblage of all parties, by the 16th. The next day was Sunday, and actual proceedings were not commenced till Monday, the 18th. But from the 12th till the 18th, I was not entirely idle. Daily I met groups of peasants belonging to the "Doom," who had made up shelter from the boughs of trees and were bivouacked in the forest. I endeavoured to ascertain from them the causes of their discontent, and to probe their real feelings. It has been often asserted that these hill peasants are the dupes of other more designing men. who have led them astray. But in all my conversations,

I found invariably a settled discontent, accompanied by the same demands, which were afterwards elicited in court, when they appeared under their leaders, in presence of their antagonists, before the Raja and myself.

I found the people mixed together Process of enquiry. In one crowd. My first step was to distribute them under their local leaders, and then to interrogate them separately as to their grievances and demands. Accordingly, on Monday the 18th, they all appeared in separate groups, marshalled under their own head-men. About mid-day, the Raja and myself took our seats in the open air. The rival Wuzeers sat on either side, together with miscellaneous spectators, and each pergunnah was called up separately.

17.—Their statements were unanimous. They said The Representatives of that their country was wild and the "Doom." secluded. Except along the valley of the Sutlej, there was no traffic, and the substance of the people consisted of their crops and their flocks, which, owing to the want of markets, they could not readily convert into cash. Money was a scarce commodity, except along the line of trade, and their dealings among themselves were almost limited to exchange. In consequence of these incidents of their country, the Government revenue had always been levied, partly in kind, and partly in cash. They could easier pay a heavy revenue in this way, than a light consolidated sum in money. From the earliest days of the Bussahir principality, the State had been supported by this primitive mode of revenue. The Raja had kept his court, and the people had lived contented, under a system which, however rude and complicated to British ideas, was yet the best adapted to the necessities of the country. In 1851, the British Government, considering that the present Raja was a minor, had deputed an experienced Tehseeldar, by name Sham Lall, to make a land settlement in money, consolidating all miscellaneous imposts, and fixing upon each peasant, a sum in cash, proportioned to his means and the extent and quality of his From that time, the revenue has been thoroughland. ly disorganized. They themselves were reduced to poverty. The Raja's treasury was notoriously empty. Constant demands were raised against them; revenue emissaries were always harassing them, and they were in utter perplexity, ignorant of their accounts, and never feeling secure that their obligations were discharged. years, conflicting orders have been issued. At one time Sham Lall's settlement had been set aside, and a partial return made to the old system, with the difference that the tribute to the British Government of Rs. 15,000 a year,which is levied rateably from all the zemindars,was increased 50 per cent, or to 22,500 rupees a year, in order to raise funds for the State expenditure. They had paid this assessment for a year without complaining, but seeing that the Raja was no richer, while they were ground to the dust, they had determined to rise partly to obtain a complete return to the ancient system of revenue, and partly to punish those Kardars who had spared neither them nor the Raja, but had plundered both.

## Their demands for the future were

- 1st. The ancient system of Revenue.
- 2nd. A rigid scrutiny of the accounts.
- 3rd. The surrender of those who had embezzled the public revenue.
- 4th. The selection of three Wuzeers, who, with the Raja, should be alone responsible for the future Government of the country.
- 5th. The condign punishment of Purrus Ram, Vakeel, for rapacity and corruption.
- 6th. The exclusion of the Dowager Ranee from any concern with public affairs.
- 18.—It was after much discussion and many public meetings that these demands were Concession of the ancient system of Revenue. The Raja sat by my side, elicited. while the people narrated their grievances, and seemed to take an interest in the proceedings. With his consent, the wish of the people for a return to the old system of revenue, was conceded, with this proviso, that if the income proved insufficient for the expenses of the State, the people should make good the difference, by a rateable levy, for which the fixed character of the Government tribute already assessed upon them, afforded a foundation. The people themselves proposed this rule, anticipating apparently that there would be a deficit.
  - 19.—This system is avowedly rude and cumbrous.

    The revenue is made up of various imposts, which would be intolerable

to any landholder in a more civilized part of India; but we must not judge of Bussahir by ordinary rules of political economy. There can be no comparison between the advantages of a fixed money assessment, and multiplied cesses, levied partly in cash and partly in kind. the first place, a barbarous race of mountaineers, in a remote and secluded part of the Himalaya, is not able to discriminate correctly between conflicting systems of revenue. They prefer what they are best aceustomed to, however opposed to their real interests. Moreover, it is not possible to work a foreign system by such means as Bussahir can supply. A money assessment, to be popular, must be fairly and evenly distributed, not only between different pergunnahs and villages, but between man and man. We can effect this object with our elaborate machinery, and the people appreciate the advantages of a fixed and definite demand. But when so much depends upon equality of rates, and a careful classification of soils, we cannot trust the loose unscrupulous and uneducated agents of a State like Bussahir. fact is abundantly proved by the disorder that has prevailed, ever since the attempt was made. Add to this. the rude and inaccessible character of the country, the imperfect circulation of coin, the strong attachment of the people to the old system; the opposition of all classes. -and it will be seen that Bussahir is not prepared for a money assessment; or if such a system must be introduced, we must appoint our own officers, and entirely sweep away the native agency. One of two alternatives lies before us. Either we must adopt the ancient system of the

country, and administer it by native officials, or we must be prepared to assume the entire management of affairs, to supersede the Raja and his Wuzeers, and to import our own agents. A mixed system will not be successful, as the result of the last 8 years has proved.

20.—The second and third requests of the insurgents must be taken together. The people Scrutiny of accounts, and surrender of defaulters. had conceived the notion, that, as the Raja's treasury was empty, and themselves reduced to the lowest ebb of poverty, the revenue of the country must have been embezzled by the Kardars, or middle-men. To this class they attributed their own misfortunes, and the anarchy that distracted the country. The petitions addressed to Government, complained loudly of the ven ality and oppression exercised by the Kardars, and one of the most determined objects of the "Doom" was to procure their punishment, and to exact a rigid account. With indiscriminate fury, all subordinates about the Court, as well as provincial officers in the interior, were denounced. Many persons had fled the country in fear of the popular indignation, and others absconded while the enquiry was going on. At first, I thought that, having selected the Wuzeers or Ministers, I might safely make over the petty officials to their charge, requiring each Wuzeer to take the accounts of his circuit, to realize the balance, and then himself to render an account to the treasury. Four or five Kardars were, in this way, delivered over to their custody. But I soon found that I could not trust them with such a duty, or rather so long as the "Doom" was in full strength, the people

themselves were too infuriated to wait for enquiry. was obliged to release the prisoners, and to take them under my own care. The people then became suspicious that they were to be baulked of their prey. thought that I was leagued with the opposition, and suddenly left my kutchery, (in the open air) and went off to a neighbouring knoll. There they consulted together, and I was at a loss what to do. At last I followed them, and explained the reasons why I could not surrender the supposed delinquents to their mercy. one could be punished until he had been found guilty. promised to send a Government Promise to depute a Government scrutineer. officer to Rampoor, for the purpose of taking the accounts of the past three years. process I hoped to secure an impartial scrutiny, as well as to discover the real defaulters. When this enquiry was over, I promised to return to Bussahir, and to exact from each criminal the uttermost farthing. assurances at last pacified them. Not however, till I reminded them, that although I had no troops with me,

- 21. The confusion and anarchy that has prevailed, for the last year and more, will Difficulty of clearing up the accounts. make the taking of the accounts a most arduous, if not an impossible, task. At present many of the chief defaulters are fugitives, and without their presence no accounts can be rendered, as they alone possess the records. Joalla Doss,\* Kayut, the head accountant, is somewhere in the neighbouring state of Komharsein. Ung Doss,\* the treasurer, is in Kooloo. These persons must be sent for, and the accounts themselves being most intricate, not only between the provincial kardars and the Wuzeers, but also between the Wuzeers and the State, I could not spare the time myself to attempt the task. At least three months will be required, and it is exceedingly doubtful if any clear and coherent result will, even then, be attained. For these reasons I determined to appoint a Government Inspector. I have already selected a man called Indur Singh, formerly in the Settlement office, now out of employ at Umritsur. He is a good accountant, and I think he will answer. I propose to give him a salary of 60 rupees a month, and a guard of about ten men of the Police Battalion, if His Honor approves. I shall then return to Rampoor, early in October, and conclude my arrangements for the organization of the Bussahir State.
- 22. The 4th object of the "Doom" was the limitation and appoint tion of the number of Wuzeers, and the selection of three of the best for the management and control of public affairs. The opinion of the people was asked, the Raja was consulted,

<sup>\*</sup> Both these men have come in and consented to return to Bussahir.

and I, also, carefully weighed the claims and qualifications of each candidate. The result was that the following three were chosen:—

- 1. Bishn Doss, Shooa Wuzeer.
- 2. Doorganund, Kool Wuzeer.
- 3. Futteh Ram, Poarce Wuzeer.

Doorganund is quite a boy, about 16 or 17 years old. But his claims were paramount, and he was intelligent. I appointed his uncle, Debhinund,—a quiet, unassuming, yet able man,—as his instructor and guide, until Doorganund attained his majority. The third Wuzeer is Futteh I had great compunction in setting aside Surject, and in appointing Futteh Ram in his place. The appointment is only acting, until I return, next October. Surject is the son of Munsookh Doss, by far the most able, and the most honest Wuzeer that has ruled in Bussahir for the last 30 years. But Munsookh Doss is dead. and the son does not inherit any of his father's administrative ability. He is, indeed, next door to an idiot. He can scarcely get out a word through natural defect of speech. His power was delegated to those who were at once corrupt and irresponsible. I was obliged to set him aside, and to select Futteh Ram for trial in his place. This man is at least intelligent. His capacity to govern, and honesty, remain to be seen. The other Wuzeers excluded from active employ,—viz. Heera Nund, Goburdhun Doss, and Surject, were required to execute recognizances that they would live quietly at their houses, and abstain from intrigue. The three selected Wuzeers were solemnly warned that the fate of Bussahir, their own reputation and means of living, depended upon the result

of their administration. This was the last attempt I could make to maintain the local system of Government in Bussahir. If this failed, the British Government would have no alternative but to assume the management of the country, and to give the net proceeds to the Raja. that case, the local officials would be displaced. Our system would require trained and experienced agents. The Wuzeers would be disgraced in the eyes of neighbouring states, and their occupation gone. The Raja would be a pensioner, instead of an independent Prince—wielding power in the midst of his subjects. I had shewn that there was not the least desire on the part of the British Government to take this step, by the efforts I had made to restore order, and to vivify the effete administration of the country. The result was in their hands, and I hoped they would see their responsibility and the trust confided to them.

The 5th demand of the "Doom" was for the 23. dismissal of Purrus Ram, Vakeel. Purrus Ram, Vakeel. This official was very unwilling indeed to enter Bussahir. He loitered behind, did not accompany me on the route, frequently assured me before I started that his life was in peril, and altogether shewed any thing but the demeanour of an innocent man. eventually came in with Wuzeers Surject, Goburdhun Doss, and others. When he appeared in the open court I held, I shall never forget the yells and execrations with which he was greeted. It was as much as I could do to restrain the populace from laying violent hands on him. appears that he has been the Bussahir Vakeel at the

Simla court for several years past. In 1856, he was appointed by Lord W. Hay to be Superintendent of the State, his son discharging his duties as Vakeel at Simla. The appointment superseded the routine of the country. displaced the Wuzeers, and made them his enemies. anarchy already existing was worse confounded. The country became too hot for him, and he was eventually withdrawn in 1858, reverting to his original position as It appeared, from the evidence of the people. Vakeel. that Purrus Ram, as Vakeel, is entitled to free rations for himself and two servants, whenever he accompanies the district officer in his tours through Bussahir. this pretence, he exacted from every Pergunnah that he passed through, not only his rations, but small sums in money, woollen wrappers—the produce of the country, large supplies of ghee, oil, and flour, besides one sheep or a goat at every stage, which he sent off to his own house. These exactions were repeated on every visit he made, and became annual inflictions. He exacted and appropriated petty fines for alleged want of coolies, or on pretence of an unrepaired bridge, or the bad state of the road. also took contracts on the Hindoostan and Thibet road, for which he was paid by Government, and never paid his work people. Individual instances of bribery were brought forward against him, either as Vakeel, or during his incumbency as Superintendent of Bussahir. In one case it was fully proved that he had first prosecuted a man for default of revenue at Rampore, and then had taken bribes for his release. In another case he had procured a Perwanah from the district officer, giving a debtor three or four years' grace from his creditors, on the score of want

of assets, and for this favor realized goods worth 125 rupees. Purrus Ram admits procuring the order, but denies the receipt of any douceur. In a case of affray between the zemindars of Keonthul and Bussahir, he levied heavy bribes from both sides; the banker attests paying 180 rupees on behalf of the zemindars, but cannot say to what purpose it was devoted. In a fourth case he promised to assist a Lumberdar in getting possession of some land, and received 20 rupees, out of 100 Rupees, the price fixed. Purrus Ram admits the receipt of ten rupees, but declares it was in payment of a debt. Other minor cases I do not mention. But the principal and general complaint against him was, that he misrepresented the real state of affairs to the district officer, always maligning the insurgents, preventing the redress of their wrongs, and backing with all his influence the cause of the corrupt officials. was also stated that, during the cholera visitation of 1857, a wealthy man at Rampoor died, with both There were no heirs left to his property. his sons. which, therefore, should have reverted to Govern-The court officials, however, made away with the whole, and Purrus Ram took a lion's share. When his house was plundered by the insurgents, many of the articles, recognized as the property of the deceased, were found there, and are now in the Government treasury at Rampoor. It is alleged by the people that, when the accounts are scrutinized, he will be found to be one of the principal defaulters. But this charge remains to be proved. I think him a dangerous and artful person. He is thoroughly detested, and he knows that his life would

not be safe for a day in Bussahir. It was impossible to retain such a man as Vakeel. The Raja himself was the first to repudiate him. His house has been destroved by the insurgents, and all property contained therein has been plundered. But he was far too cunning to leave his real wealth at home, during such disturbed times; and with such bitter excitement against him, he knew full well that he would be the first victim. all natives, he had provided against the storm, and though grain and bulky articles were plundered, yet cash, jewels, and valuable property, had long since been removed to secure places of shelter. I cannot take any steps to recover his losses. Those men who went to Allahabad and Lahore have lost their all, in the general disor-They are not yet compensated, although innocent of offence. Purrus Ram has suffered the just penalty of his misconduct. Further punishment would be inexpedient. For although such venality and fraud as he has been guilty of are inexcusable, yet under a native Government, such crimes are not regarded in the same severe light as with ourselves.

24. The last request was, that the Ranee should be Exclusion of Dowager Ranee from State affairs. Interdicted from all concern with public affairs. I had already taken steps to secure her exclusion. The Maharaja of Puttialah, and the Rajas of Nabba and Jheend, recently submitted a paper of requests through me to Government. One of their demands was, that if any of the three Chiefs should die, leaving an infant heir, no Ranee should be admitted to the regency. They particularly begged that

women should be excluded, and it is notorious that women in this country, especially those of high rank, are quite unfit for the conduct of public affairs. They are brought up in seclusion and ignorance, they never mix with the world, know nothing of mankind, much less of State craft, and in fact are the puppets of knaves, who, under cover of the Ranee's name, execute their own designs, without being responsible for the result.

- It is true that the people have, with one exception, viz: the surrender of officials, Results of the enbeen entirely successful. But they had collected under able leaders, and were agitating for their rights, and for such principles of Government as they thought would lead to a restoration of order. regard every concession made to them as reasonable, and I have endeavoured to justify each. The return to the ancient system of revenue, a strict audit of accounts, and punishment of proved defaulters, the appointment of only three Wuzeers, the exclusion of the Ranee, and the dismissal of Purrus Ram, were all legitimate and proper objects for popular agitation, and I would never have yielded, if I had not believed that each and all were necessary for the peace and prosperity of the country.
- 26. On the 23d of April, the "Doom" began to disperse. Every road and path leading from Bagee was crowded with zemindars, with their bedding on their backs, returning to their homes,—homes which they had not seen for ten months. On the 24th, the whole place was deserted, and

the Raja and the Wuzeers took their leave. I was the last person to go, and before the "Doom" dissolved, I had promised to return in October, to complete my arrangements for the organization of the country. The people went away thoroughly content. The Raja expressed himself quite satisfied with the result. The Wuzeers appeared confident of their ability to govern the country, and promised to pay up the arrears of tribute due to the British Government, (about 5,500 rupees) early in May. Meean Futteh Singh started for Surrahun, with all the Government arms, consisting of matchlocks and swords, which had been taken out of the magazine for the purposes of civil war. He was to restore them to their places, and to retire to his own home.

27. Such is the condition of affairs at Bussahir, General Summary and and such the arrangements I have remarks. made. In obedience to the express wishes of the Lieutenant Governor, I have endeavoured to set up the Raja and his effete administration, and to construct the best fabric I could out of the materials around me. I sincerely hope it may stand, at all events till October, when I intend to revise my work, and supply its defects. But I request the Government will just reflect on the elements of discord that exist in this unhappy Look at the Raja! his imbecility, his debauched habits, his fickleness, and indifference to public affairs. What can become of a country with such a ruler? take the Meean Futteh Singh. His debauchery, his influence with the people, his dangerous antecedents, and his violence! As if these were not sufficient calamities for one petty State to endure, there are the rival Wuzeers always plotting and intriguing one against the other, selfish, and regardless of the public good; and to crown all, there is the restless and dissolute Ranee, ambitious of power, surrounded by knaves, who fatten on the disorders of the State. Any one of these evils is sufficient to derange the healthy action of any Government. Where all are combined together, what else but anarchy and confusion can be expected? It may be that, by constant and vigilant attention, the machinery of native Government may be preserved, and no exertions of mine shall be wanting. But against such obstacles, I almost despair of success. Meanwhile, to give my own plans a fair chance of success, I must retain the political supervision of Bussahir in my own hands.

Copy of a letter from the Commissioner and Superintendent Cis Sutlej States, to the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, No. 312, dated 28th November, 1859.

In continuation of my despatch No. 122 dated 30th April last, I have the honor to submit a second, and I hope final, report on the affairs of Bussahir.

2. I trust I may be allowed to recall the circumstances of my last visit. A large body of the peasantry, upwards of three thousand in number, was in active insurrecton. Collisions had taken place, and grave excesses had been committed. The official party, deserted by the Raja, had taken to flight. All government was at an end. Alarm had spread into the neighbouring British territory,

and troops had been collected for precaution's sake. At this crisis, I arrived at Bussahir. I gave the insurgents an audience in the presence of the Raja, and after some discussion, acceded to their reasonable demands, which I here repeat.

- 1.—A return to the ancient system of revenue.
- 2.—A scrutiny and audit of public accounts.
- 3.—A selection and limitation of the hereditary Wuzeers.
- 4.—The exclusion of the Dowager Ranee from State affairs.
- 5.—The dismissal of Purrus Ram, Vakeel, and other obnoxious officials.
- 3. Upon these concessions, the malcontents quietly dispersed. No display of force Present tranquillity. was made, and no expense whatever was incurred. An administration was speedily formed, which has daily progressed in favor and strength. Those rumours and alarms so prevalent before, those excesses so much to be deplored, entirely disappeared. The detachments of Police in British territory were again reduced to their ordinary complement. The Government tribute, nearly two years in arrears, has now been discharged in full. Hundreds of European travellers, including the Chief Justice of Bengal, have visited the country, and experienced uniform civility. In short, Bussahir has, during the last six months, enjoyed a state of repose to which, for many years, it had been a stranger.
- 4. Still it was not to be expected that tranquillity should be restored by a simple wave of the wand. The

country had long been a prey to intestine disorders. The people themselves had become demoralized by the want of a good government, and by the promptings of incessant intrigue. There was still a small but powerful party dissatisfied with the course of events, at the head of which was Purrus Ram, the ex-Vakeel. Dismissed from office, and execrated by the people, he dared not live in Bussa hir, but took up his residence at Simla, from whence he fomented complaints, and did his utmost to obstruct my measures. And here I would gratefully acknowledge the uniform support I received from His Honor the Lieutenant Governor. He knew my difficulties and gave me his confidence, and whatever success I have attained, is due to his generous assistance.

My second visit, the result of which I proceed to record, was paid on the 21st Octo-Circumstances of present visit. ber last. On that day I arrived at Rampoor, and was met, not by an infuriated army of peasants, but by the Raja and his Wuzeers, according to ordinary custom. I stayed nineteen days at Rampoor. had myself informed the people in April last that I would return in October, and news of my arrival had spread over the whole country. Nevertheless, no crowd was collected and no complaints were preferred. The town wore the same quiet aspect as on ordinary occasions. therefore full leisure to examine into every department of the administration, and to correct every anomaly and adjust each embroilment as it came to light. At the same time I was anxious, if possible, to see the people, so I protracted my stay until the winter fair, which takes place

on the 8th November. At this season, traders come up from the plains and lower hills, and exchange their sugar, rice, cotton, &c., for the products of upper Himalaya, which mainly consist of borax, sulphur, wool, opium, churrus, blankets, pushm, &c. This fair is a general rendezvous at which the country people supply their wants, and sell their surplus stock. I had therefore the best opportunities for meeting them and hearing their sentiments. the exception of some complaints about the inequality of the assessed revenue, I found them perfectly contented. They spoke well of the Wuzeers, and of the blessings of I could not avoid contrasting their present demeanour with the excitement that prevailed in April last. Then they thronged round me, and were clamorous in narrating their grievances. From morning to night I could get no respite from them. But now, they only appeared when sent for, and probably I should not have seen them at all, but for the attractions of the fair.

6. At this visit, I gained some insight into the The ancient system of ancient system of Revenue, which the people so decidedly preferred to a consolidated assessment in money, and which they still continue to prefer, as I took the greatest pains to find out. It is true that they have no experience of a better, and therefore adhere to the system they know, rather than fly to remedies of which they are ignorant. Bussahir is indeed a difficult country to bring under more civilized rules. It lies amidst the most elevated ranges of the Himalaya; snowy ridges divide one portion from



another, and the valley of the Sutlej is almost the only route by which to penetrate into the interior. Half of the population belongs to a different type of man, and speak a different language from the other half. Upper Bussahir is beyond the influence of the rains; there the grape abounds, the sheep is famous for its wool, and barley or rye,—the solitary harvest of the year,—ripens in October. An attempt was made in 1851, to measure the cultivated lands, and to apportion the revenue according to the area and the capabilities of the soil. But the result was a heavy and unequal assessment, and ended in failure. The exertions made to uphold this assessment, against the wishes of all classes, was one of the principal causes of the rebellion. The people now shudder at the very name of a "Pymaish," (measurement) and connect the idea with oppression and misrule. At a more opportune time, the experiment should be renewed; and in my opinion, it is the one thing necessary for the complete organization of Bussahir. But the measurements must be made under proper superintendence; the returns must be well tested, and above all, the demand must be distributed with great caution; for the features of the country are so various, that the quantity of land by itself would be an unsafe guide. present labours were directed only to the improvement of the local system.

7. The revenue of Buss ahir is realized by eighteen different imposts or "Kurrads." The State has a direct share in every department of industry, and is not above receiving its income in a little ghee, oil, corn, ho-

ney, wine, (made from the juice of the grape) ingots of iron,—where iron abounds,—wool, as also contributions from the flocks and herds of the people. The British tribute, at its original assessment of 15,000 rupees, is realized in cash, and the cost of such festivals as the Ram-Nowmee, the Dussarâh, and the Holee, is provided for, each by its separate money tax. The Raja's elephant has a cess specially imposed for its maintenance, to which every peasant contributes at the rate of three annas a house. A similar impost exists for furnishing the Raja's magazine.

8. The collections are going on in every month of Its anomalies and imperties the year. The Wuzeers collected fictions. only the cash revenue. There was a separate official who had charge of the grain department, and was his own collector. The oil, wine, and ghee, were in the hands of another minister, called the " Peeree Bisht," who stored the produce, and was responsible for the accounts. The pasturage fees, and the contributions of live stock, such as sheep and goats, were collected and managed by a separate officer, styled the "Muggee Powan." Each of these ministers employed his own staff to collect the dues of his department, and was independent of the other. Each kept separate accounts with the people and with the treasury. A peasant had scarcely got rid of one importunate collector, when another appeared, and his life became a continual worry. Each officer made his own disbursements, and credited only the net revenue to the treasury. If any zemindar emigrated or died childless, his lands were taken up by others, who repudiated his obligations. The excuse for this was, that the revenue was a personal matter, fixed upon the man, and not upon the land. The same rule applied in the case of sales or mortgages. The new owner paid no additional tax, and the seller was still responsible for the revenue.

9. It was easy to see to what abuses this system must give rise, and how vexatious it was Reforms. to the people: so, without interfering with the primitive customs of the country, I set myself to work to make such reforms as were practicable. With the consent of all parties, it was agreed that every zemindar should receive a slip of paper, on which all the various cesses due from him should be endorsed. these cesses, although mostly levied in kind, are not variable with the crop, but of a fixed character. whole of the collections of every kind and sort were placed under the Wuzeers; and the different departments for the receipt of grain, or oil, or live stock, were abolished. The Wuzeers were instructed to use one staff of emissaries, who were to go their rounds at stated The Wuzeers were to keep the entire accounts, times. and to credit the receipts at once into the treasury or the government store-houses, from whence disbursements would be made, according to custom. The accounts were thus centralized and made simple, the expenses of collection were greatly reduced, and the zemindars were freed from the incessant worry to which they were before subject. The liability to revenue was declared inseparable from the land; the new tenant was to pay the obligations thereon, unless a special agreement existed to the contrary; and in that case, although the revenue would be primarily paid by the original owner, yet, in the event of default, the present occupant would also be liable.

The Temple of Bheema-kallee at Surrahun. Its great expenses.

The Temple of Bheema-kallee at Surrahun. Its wine and corn received from the country, is consumed in the daily sacrifices to this deity. A goat

try, is consumed in the daily sacrifices to this deity. A goat is killed on the average every day, and offered upon the Nothing is done by the Raja or the Wuzeers shrine. without consulting the oracle of Surrahun, and whenever any compact is made, the members thereof are sworn to observance at the feet of Bheemakallee. The maintenance of this temple is more expensive than the cost of the Raja's own household. The idol is rich in ornaments and has a full treasury, supposed to contain about 40,000 Rupees, while the Raja's own Exchequer at Rampoor is usually empty. On great occasions, such as the birth of an heir, or the marriage of the Raja, treasure can be obtained from the temple; but for ordinary expenses, even for the discharge of the British tribute, the priests refuse to give up a single rupee.

11. At Rampoor, I appointed a treasury with a responsible officer in charge. Ledgers are in future to be in duplicate, and the accounts are to be balanced at the close of every day, and the signature of one of the Wuzeers is required to authenticate the daily entries. I also appointed receiving houses at Rampoor and Surrahun, for miscellaneous

stores, with a responsible officer in charge of each, subordinate to the Wuzeers. These men were to keep accounts of the quantity in store, and of the daily disbursements. These arrangements were of the most obvious and common place description, and yet, previous to my visit, there was absolutely no system at all. The revenue was spent before it reached the Treasury, and there were so many departments, each making its own disbursements, and crediting the balance just as it pleased, that I was puzzled to begin or how to reduce this chaos to order.

12. Bussahir possesses immense forests of the Kelo, or Cedrus Deodara, conveniently placed The income from Forests on the banks of the Sutlej between Tarunda and Nachar, above Surrahun. From this source alone, under proper management, a considerable revenue could be realized. But up to the present year, speculators could come up and cut at their pleasure, floating the timber down the river to Loodianah and Ferozepoor, without paying any thing to the Raja. I have now placed this department under the Wuzeers. A rate of two rupees a tree has been fixed as a fair average price, and a speculator must now present a written application, specifying the number of trees he requires. A portion of the money will be realized in advance, and an official deputed to see that only the proper quantity is felled, and that the balance is paid before the timber is brought to the river.

13. A paper of instructions on all these various towritten instructions on all points of administration drawn out for the Wuzeers.

The pics was drawn up in the vernacular, and given to the Wuzeers for their guidance. I was hardly prepared

for such ignorance and disorder, but I must give the present Wuzeers the credit of allowing that some of these simple reforms were suggested by themselves. The Wuzeers were also told to make tours through their respective circuits, and, if possible, to visit every village, and to remove by degrees the present inequalities in the burdens of the people. This last, however, is a task I fear beyond their abilities. The immunities are of such long standing as to have grown almost into prescriptive rights. Until the whole financial system is altered, I am afraid it will not be possible to adjust individual taxation with any nicety. At present, however, no man's burden is grievous, although some are much lighter taxed than they should be.

In the 20th and 21st paras. of my despatch of The scrutiny into past the 30th April last, I stated that Public accounts. one of the most urgent requests of the "Doom," or insurgents, was for a scrutiny and audit of the public accounts. For this purpose, I despatched an agent, who was employed for six months in endeavouring to trace the expenditure and receipts. But no accounts had been rendered by any of the Wuzeers or Collectors since 1852. They had received the income, expended what they pleased, and generally managed to evade paying any surplus into the treasury. It was necessary to fix some limit for this scrutiny, so I determined to demand the accounts only of the preceding three years. In the case of remittances made from Bussahir to the Simla treasury, there were better means of comparison, and I extended the limit to six years. The following is the result:-

It was clearly shown by the Bussahir Ledgers that, from 1853 to 1858, both years The defalcations of Purrus Ram, ex-Vakeel. inclusive, there had been remitted the following sums:— Rs. As. P. Sent from Bussahir treasury on account of Government tribute, 30,846-12-6 Received at Simla. 27,833-12-5 Difference not accounted for, 3,013 -0-1 Sent from Bussahir treasury on account of fines for defi-

on account of fines for deficiency in the complement of Coolees required for the Thibet road,

24,261 -9-0

Received at Simla, .. 22,380 -1-6

Difference, 1,881 -7-6

16. On both these accounts, there was a deficiency, His misconduct and interigues.

The semittances made from Bussahir and the receipts at the Simla treasury, of Rs. 4,894-7-7. Explanations were required from Purrus Ram, the Ex-Vakeel, to whom all these remittances were consigned, and he was unable to give any satisfactory answer. These remittances should have been taken straight to the treasury, but it was proved that Purrus Ram detained them at his private house, and made intermediate use of the money. When he did pay the money into the treasury, his payments never corresponded with the

amount he had received from Bussahir. He systematically withheld the receipts obtained from the Simla treasury, and no one but himself knows what has become of them. It is obvious that, if he had forwarded these receipts to Bussahir, his peculations must instantly have been discovered. The local Government at Bussahir never could get an accurate account from the Simla treasury, or rather from the Vakeel, and therefore never exactly knew whether the tribute was in arrears or not. Purrus Ram, however, during six years, managed to embezzle nearly 5,000 rupees from the remittances. and expenses were paid in full, as proved by the Bussahir ledgers, so the appropriation of this sum must be regarded as a downright theft. He allowed the Rajah to incur the displeasure of the British Government for not paying up the tribute, when he knew very well that, if all the remittances had been credited, there would have been no arrears. I now see plainly through this man's designs. His constant aim was to vilify the Raja, and any of his ministers who shewed the least character or capacity. He hoped by such means to bring on annexation, and to clear the way for his own aggrandizement. he had high hopes to become the British Superintendent I took no steps for recovering this sum, for of Bussahir. he had been dismissed from employ, his house had been plundered by the insurgents, in March last, and by the orders of Government he was henceforth to live in exile.

17. The peculations of other officials were trifling,

Accounts of other officials compared with Purrus Ram's. Alexamined. together, I brought a balance of about 9,211 rupees against some twenty persons, inclu-

ding the Wuzeers, the treasurer and many others. These balances appeared, after taking the accounts of the past three years only. I was obliged to depend upon the defaulters themselves for details both of income and expenditure, and the only way I could bring them to book was by scrutinizing the disbursements, and disallowing certain items for which they claimed credit. I could not pursue the scrutiny with any keenness, for I had no means of eliciting the whole truth, and I wished, also, to make allowances for the disordered state of the country. Of this sum, I realized on the spot 3,177 rupees, and took bonds at short dates for 4,112 rupees. The remainder or 1,922 rupees, was due from an official called "Nokcha," and it appears he had lent the money to the Wuzeers Surject and Doorga Nund, for public purposes. They had taken credit for the amount with the Bussahir treasury, but had never repaid the Nokcha; so they were made liable for the full sum, and acknowledged their responsibility.

18. The revenues of Bussahir are exceedingly small for the extent of country and the importance always assigned to this State. I find from the accounts of Sham Lall in 1851 and 1852, that the revenue then rarely exceeded 24,000 rupees. During the last three years, into which my scrutiny extended, I find the cash collections of all kinds credited in the accounts were as follows:—

1856, .. 20,365 rupees 1857, .. 22,324 ,, 1858, .. 17,480 ,,

- 19. During the last year, the collections were made Collections during curpartially in grain, which are not shewn here. Since April 1859, the collections during six months, have already reached a total of 13,000 rupees, and 12,000 rupees more are expected, which will make the income this year as high as 25,000 rupees.
- 20. Many other miscellaneous matters were settled during this visit. One was the Adjustment of the relations of the Bussahir Feet relative position and powers to be enjoyed by certain feudal tributaries of the Raja. The most important of these feudatories was the Thakoor of Kuneitee, whose case has been separately reported to you, in my letter No. 294, dated It will here suffice to say that, in fu-31st October last. ture, this Thakoor will be almost independent; he will exercise sovereign jurisdiction in his territory, but will pay his share of the British tribute through the Bussahir treasury. On great occasions, such as births, deaths, and marriages in the royal house of Bussahir, he will make certain customary presents, as tokens of his feudal tenure, but otherwise he will be entirely exempt from service or money contributions. The other Thakoor of Deylutt holds a more dependent position. His villages lie in the midst of Bussahir proper. He will enjoy the reveues, and ordinarily decide all cases among the people; but he is bound to give half the fines and confiscations to the Raja of Bussahir, and to pay his share of the British tribute. On special occasions, the people of Deylutt will contribute to the Bussahir exchequer, at the

same rates as the people of Bussahir proper. The Wuszeers of Bussahir were constantly intriguing within the jurisdiction of these feudal Thakoors, and endeavouring to excite the people against them, in the hope, probably, of annexing their domains; but I have now clearly defined their tenure and its conditions, and I trust there will be no more disputes.

21. Another question that pressed for adjustment, was compensation for losses sus-Compensation for losses during insurrection. tained during the height of the insurrection in Bussahir. On a calculation of the claims preferred by both sides, I found that they were nearly equal sufferers. The insurgents declared they had lost property to the aggregate value of 55,225 rupees, and in this amount is included the village where lived Joalla Dass, the agent of the insurgents, deputed to the Governor-General's Court at Allahabad. This village was totally destroyed by fire, and the property of the inhabitants given up to plunder. The official party, headed by Purrus Ram, (whose house and property were also totally destroyed) estimate their losses at 46,685 rupees. total is over a lakh of rupees, and is more than four times the yearly revenue of the country. The exchequer could not pay the money, and it was not possible to levy the amount, or any portion of it, from the people. So I dismissed every claim, and declared that no compensation could be given for excesses, of which both sides had been guilty. Purrus Ram was not entitled to any sympathy. His ambition and venality had been the main cause of past disorders. Jooalla Dass had received promotion, and now enjoyed an honorable appointment as Vakeel. The losses of others were trivial, and there was nothing for the sufferers but to submit.

22. It now only remains to record the circumstan-Coes of the banishment of Meean Futteh Singh and Purrus Futteh Singh, the Raja's brother, and Purrus Ram Vakeel, to Kan-

gra. Authority for this measure was given by your letter No. 1,187 dated 20th October last, which fully sets forth the reasons. Futteh Sing was certainly a dangerous character, and his removal was a relief to all parties. From the date of the departure of these two individuals, the organization of Bussahir may be said to have com-I had some difficulty in getting Futteh Singh menced. to attend. He seemed to have suspicions of his fate. At last, however, he arrived, and the next morning I quietly made him a prisoner, together with Purrus Ram, and immediately took them across the Sutlej, into British territory. A guard had been previousy provided, who took charge of the prisoners, and marched that evening for Kangra, where the whole party safely arrived, about the middle of November. Appropriate allowances have been assigned for the support of these men, and their families should follow them. But on no account should either be allowed to return to Bussahir, or even to recross the Sutlej.

23. I left Rampoor on the 9th November. Tranquillity is now permanently restored, and the administration is popular and effective. I shall continue to watch over the affairs of the country, and to give the Wuzeers my advice and support, until the organization is complete. I propose to keep the management entirely in my own hands.



## No. 240.

From G. C. Barnes, Esquire, C. B., Commissioner and Superintendent Cis-Sutlej States, to R. H. Davies, Esquire, Secretary to the Government, Punjab, dated Amballa 19th November, 1860.

SIR,

I have the honor to submit an account of my recent visit to the hill principality of Bussahir.

- the Raja of Bussahir had the honor The Simla Durbar. of being presented to the Viceroy and Governor General. His Excellency, addressing the Raja, expressed a hope that the next accounts he should receive of the Bussahir State, would be more favorable then the last; and, after perusal of this report, I trust His Excellency and His Honor the Lieutenant Governor will consider that these expectations have not been belied.
- 3. My last despatch, No. 312, dated 29th November 1859, detailed the various reforms which I wished to introduce in regard to the collection of the revenue and the keeping of the accounts. Nothing could be more primitive and rude than the former system. Twenty Collectors, each supreme in his own department, harassed the peasant at irregular times for his instalments of oil, corn, honey, fruit, cash, &c., the produce of his fields, his flocks, and his industry. The stores so collected were never brought to the general credit of the State, but expended at the discretion of each

agent, to feed the State elephant, to maintain the Raja's stables, to furnish his magazine, to purvey for his household, and to provide daily sacrifices for the national goddess Bheema-Kalee. The waste and abuses of such a system need not be dwelt upon. My efforts last year were devoted to institute such reforms as were practicable. In so wild and secluded a tract as Bussahir, no commodity is so generally scarce as cash. It was impossible to convert these miscellaneous items into one money payment, however desirable in theory such a change might be. The attempt to establish a money assessment had once already created a rebellion, and when it is considered that there is but one line of traffic—along the valley of the Sutlej-by which money could penetrate, and that the rest of the country consists of lofty hills, impassable at certain seasons of the year, it will be conceded that the existing system of revenue is the best adapted to the present development of the country.

A.—The first step (which I am happy to announce has already been completed) was to inform each man of his obligations. To every cultivator in the territory of Bussahir has been given a paper memorandum called a "Poorzee," on which is entered a detail of every item of revenue which he has to furnish. For it must be remembered that although the revenue is taken partly in kind, yet the amounts are all fixed, and do not fluctuate with the crops. Opposite each item of corn, oil, &c., &c., &c., for which the cultivator was liable, was written also the money equivalent, for in those remote

regions, the relative value of commodities seldom or ne-It was optional with each person to pay ver varies. either in cash or in produce. Those who could command cash, from living near the line of trade, or on the route of English travellers to the snowy passes, were glad to Those again in wilder avail themselves of the choice. parts of the country found it more convenient to pay in kind. Every man has now his title deeds; and, instead of being harassed by innumerable messengers at all times and hours, he knows exactly what he has to pay, and the time and mode of payment. There are prescribed for him three appointed dates during the year, upon which his instalments are to be paid. These dates and the proportions of revenue due on each are inscribed on his "Poorzee" or memorandum. I satisfied myself by full enquiries that these "Poorzees" had been distributed in the whole region of lower Bussahir, and at the time of my visit one of the hereditary Wuzeers, Futteh Ram, was absent on the mountains above Chini in the Upper course of the Sutlej, distributing "Poorzees" to the Tartar population of Kunawur.

5.—The second reform was to sweep away the multiplied agency by which these items were formerly collected, and to entrust the duty of realizing the State revenue to the three hereditary Wuzeers, each in his own circle. The order was issued last year, and its necessity fully acquiesced in. Still, I scarcely expected to carry the measure without opposition. It was natural to apprehend that self-interest and disappointed greed would raise obstacles. But

on the occasion of this visit I was happy to find this reform thoroughly established. The keeper of the Raja's elephant no longer visited each cabin in the hills to collect the cess specially imposed for the benefit of his charge. The master of the stables, the purveyor of the magazine, and the priests of Bheema-Kallee were prevented from exercising the same vexatious privilege. On the other hand, their wants were not forgotten. They were fully supplied, only in a more legitimate way, and to the great relief of the people. The Raja's cattle were all fed from the public store-houses, where regular officers presided, responsible for the receipts, and unable to make disbursements without written authority; and in the same manner the rites of the Temple of Bheema-Kallee were continued without interruption, although the priests were no longer their own purveyors. The Wuzeers now are the only persons under the Raja who possess executive authority. They superintend the entire collections of their respective circles. All cash realized is carried straight to the treasury, and placed under the custody of an independent officer. He, the Treasurer, is responsible for all monies received, and he cannot make any disbursement without a voucher, which must be signed by the Raja and at least one of his Wuzeers. The Ledgers are kept and balanced daily, one in Persian by a separate Accountant, and the other by the Treasurer in Vernacular. grain and other field produce are stored in granaries, from whence the daily rations required for the Raja's household and the State establishments are served out, and an account kept of the income and out-goings.

The successful results of these reforms.

6.—These two reforms, which were only suggested in November 1859, have this year been effectually carried out. Thev were simple, and grafted on the cus-

toms of the country, and to these qualities I attribute The taxation of the people has been stricttheir success. ly defined and recorded. Each individual knows exactly what he has to pay, and it is his own fault if he is overcharged. Periods have been fixed, at intervals of four months each for the payment of instalments. One establishment has been organized for the collection of the revenue, and the entire income and expenditure have been brought under account. It was the want of these simple measures which encouraged fraud, emptied the exchequer, and drove the people into rebellion. This was the only talisman employed, which has converted a discontented peasantry into happy and peaceful subjects. At this moment, there is no tract in these hills more prosperous or better governed than Bussahir. administration now scarcely gives me a thought, and eighteen months ago I almost gave up the task as desperate.

7.—That the new system has been as advantageous to the revenue as beneficial to the people, the following comparison will Increase of revenue. shew. In my last report, paras: 18 and 19, I quoted the cash collections in Bussahir during the four preceding years, as follows, and to them I will add the cash revenue received during 1859-60. These figures do not include the value of grain and other agricultural produce which are separately accounted for :—

1855-56	• •	• •	20,365	Rs.
1856-57	• •		22,324	,,
1857-58	• •	• •	17,480	" (The year of rebel-
1858-59		• •	24,600	,, lion)
1859-60	•••	•••	33,821	,,

A separate detail of the income and expenditure during the past year, (always excluding the grain and such like receipts) is given as an appendix to this report, and in part explanation of the large increase of revenue during the past year, I beg to state that 6731 Rs. were realized on account of the sale of deodar timber on the banks of the upper Sultej. Even without this item, about which and the forests generally I have a good deal to say, the cash collections in Bussahir during 1859-60 amounted to 27,090 rupees, which is a great improvement upon any of its predecessors. Even in 1850 and 1851, when a British Superintendent, Moonshee Sham Lall, now an Extra Assistant Commissioner in the Punjab, administered the affairs of Bussahir on the spot, the cash revenue never exceeded 25,000 rupees.

8.—I need not dilate on the great value of timber in the Punjab. Owing to the general scarcity of trees in the plains, the wants of the Punjab have been chiefly supplied from the forests in the hills, and advantage has been taken of the water carriage afforded by the great rivers of this region, to float down splendid logs of the deodar, (Cedrus Deo-

dara) by the route of the Jhelum, the Chenab, and the Ravee. The ruler of Cashmere and the Rajah of Chumba Trans-Ravee, have realized large sums of money by the sale of their forests to contractors, and our public buildings in the Punjab, as well as private residences, have been mainly constructed of hill timber. The demand, however, rather increases than slackens, and the supply is getting scarcer every year. It is found that the deodar timber is admirably adapted for railway sleepers, and every region in the hills, from the Indus to the Sutlej, is ransacked to provide the requisite supply. The resources of the Jhelum and Chenab are almost exhausted, and hitherto the forests on the Sutlej have been entirely neglected. Speculators have come up to Bussahir, where the deodar\* abounds, and have cut timber in the state of the sta

\* I use the term deodar as better known, but in the Cis-Sutlej, the tree is called Keloo. The deodar is another species known as the "Cupressus Tomlosa."

ber just as they pleased, without let or hindrance from the Raja, the real proprietor of the forests, and without any demand for revenue.

9.—These forests have been much wasted, and even

Measures for realizing revenue therefrom.

now I regret to state that great havoc prevails. Unfortunately they are situtated a long way up the valley of the Sutlej, beyond the termimination of the Hindoostan and Tibet road, and beyond the ordinary limits of my tour.\* But I have heard from travellers, and especially from Captain Houchen, of the immense waste that goes on, partly from the recklessness of traders, and partly also from the want of any

organized system on the part of the Raja. In 1859, the only step I took was to point out this source of revenue, and to lay dawn a tariff, by which speculators should be bound, who sought the privilege of cutting timber in the Bussahir forests. This measure alone has brought in 6,731 Rs., at the rate of about one rupee per tree, and further instalments are due, before the trader can float the timber and carry it out of the Raja's dominions. It is hardly conceivable that the Raja and his ministers should so long have neglected their own interests. Much valuable timber has been irrevocably lost to the State, for the trade has been going on for the last Accustomed to see the whole country fifteen years. clothed with primeval forests, and to hold them cheap on account of their abundance, the ministers of Bussahir appeared to have no idea of the value set upon wood in other parts less bountifully supplied by nature. impossible to calculate the absolute loss sustained, but if a tenth part were recoverable, the money would make the Raja the richest chief in the hills.

10.—The principal traders this year was Mr. Ter

Devastation of forests.

Arratoon, an Armenian, and contractor for providing sleepers for the Punjab railway. Another speculator was Mr. Walker, a house agent at Simla, besides several natives. The sums realized are advances paid by them into the Bussahir treasury, on filing their applications to cut timber. The only rules I prescribed in 1859, were that no men should be allowed to cut without authority. He must first present a written

application stating the number of trees he wanted to cut, upon which the Raja would pass his orders. Half the revenue was to be paid in advance. This was an improvement upon previous practice, but it was by no means a complete measure. Each speculator, armed with the Raja's order, proceeded to the forests, and cut where and what he liked. The number of trees to which he was restricted was indeed specified in his warrant, but there was no one on the spot to enforce obedience, and the consequence has been only partial success. Some revenue has been realized, but economy and system have still to be initiated. Travellers have informed me that the most reckless waste prevails. The mountains on each side of the Sutlej in that remote part of the Himalaya, present some of the grandest scenery in the world. Precipices overhang the river, with a sheer descent of 1,000 feet, and the torrents on either side rush over rocks, in cascades and water-falls, until they are lost in the river. The forests close to the water edge have long since been cleared away, and it is only at a distance of a mile or more from the river bank that trees are found. These are felled, without any thought whether they will reach the river or not, and then they are hurled down in the most reckless way, some to be shattered to pieces by collision with rocks, and others to be suspended in clefts, where no hand can reach them. been informed by Captain Houchen, who yearly visits these localities, in his capacity of Superintendent roads, that not more than one-tenth of the wood cut, ultimately reaches the river. The log has then to run all

the risks and perils of a long voyage, through rapids and amidst boulders, to the open river. It is left entirely to chance. A mark is set on it to identify the property, and then it is cast upon the waters. Captain Houchen in-, forms me that, if one log out of five is saved out of those committed to the river, the speculator finds his profit.

11.—I was not only impelled by my desire to improve

Measures to economize the supply of wood.

the revenues of Bussahir, but also by anxiety for the general interests of Government, to devise some means of enforcing greater economy in future. With this design I drew up certain rules, the gist of which I will place briefly on record. In the first place, it was obvious that the Rajah should have a well paid Agent on the spot, with an adequate establishment to look after his interests, and also to keep the traders in check. The best man available was a native of Bussahir, who had been

educated at the Simla School. He knew English and Persian, and was reputed honest. Under him was placed a staff of peons, principally drawn from other parts of the hills, provided with badges. This Darogha or "Forest Ranger" was to reside on the spot. The trader was to carry his warrant to him, and was strictly interdicted from cutting wood independently. The Darogha was bound to point out the locality where the cuttings were to be made, and even to mark the trees assigned to He was to inform his Government if any the trader. intraction of these rules was attempted, and to put in

force the punitive means at his disposal.

12.—The rest of the rules relate chiefly to the measurement of the timber, the collec-Ditto, ditto. tion of the balance due, and to the penalties of default. No timber could be floated until all demands were satisfied. A form of registry was prescribed for the Darogha's use, and it was specially inculcated on him, that the account of each year should be adjusted, before more cuttings were allowed. Although the same destruction will not again happen, yet it will be some time before a good system can be organized. I am not without fear that these traders, emboldened by the remoteness of the position, may be inclined to take the law into their own hands. But I intend to explain the rules myself to Mr. Ter Arratoon, and while assuring him and others of every assistance, if they deal honestly, I will state my resolution to enforce these measures, and to exclude any speculator who fails to conform to them.

13.—In former years, speculators came up, and not being troubled with any demands for revenue, cut wood as they pleased. Then failing capital, they left

their cuttings in the forests. All such unclaimed wood, not bearing any specific mark, I have ordered to be reserved as State property. It will be sold by auction, for the benefit of the Raja. I have also directed the Wuzeers to appropriate wood thrown up on the banks of the river, and not identified as the property of any particular owner. This practice is followed by other chiefs, whose territories border on the Sutlej, lower down the river, and yields sometimes a handsome sum.

instructions at first, but I did not conservancy of forests.

Conservancy of forests.

omit to point out to him the necessity for sparing the young trees, and next year, if possible, I should like to visit these forests, and devise some simple plan for renewing them. Deodâr forests, under ordinary circumstances, renew themselves, if protected from the incursions of cattle and jungle fires. Where the old tree stood, the ground, when opened out to the sun and the breeze, is soon covered with innumerable seedlings.

15.—My attention this year was attracted, by an Civil justice in Bussa-hir. unfortunate event to the system of civil justice as administered in Bussahir. One of the principal zemidars of a pergunnah had been summoned to Rampoor, to defend an action for debt, brought against him by a wealthy Gooshaeen, called Sookh Nund Gir. The claim was very old; the greater part was made up of interest, and had been contracted by defendant's father, more than twenty years ago. There was no proof, except the entries contained in the creditor's ledgers, wherein of course he could write what The case was given against the zemidar for the full amount claimed, and finding his remonstrances unheeded, he walked down to the Sutlej, which there was a foaming torrent, and taking off his clothes, he ascended a rock by the river side, and plunged into the water. never rose again, nor was his body ever discovered. But his suicide was the common talk of the people, and I was desired by them and by the Raja, to prescribe some plain rules for their future guidance.

ers never resorted to the Raja's Court at all. They kept their own messengers, sent for their constituents, impounded their effects, or put them under duress at their pleasure. There was practically no limit within which suits might be heard, and no legal rate of interest. The Raja and some of his Wuzeers were themselves indebted to usurers, especially to the Gooshâeen above mentioned. He possessed consequently much influence, which he sometimes abused.

17.—It was ruled for the future, that no money-lender was to be judge in his own cause.

He might settle his accounts amicably with his constituents, but in
the event of dispute, he was bound to submit his case to

the event of dispute, he was bound to submit his case to the arbitration of the Raja and his Wuzeers. Twelve years were fixed as the ordinary period within which claims could be heard. The rate of interest was to be whatever the parties might mutually agree upon, but where no special rate had been fixed, fifteen per cent. was declared to be the maximum. Five per cent. upon the amount decreed was fixed upon as costs, to be paid by the losing party to the State. The ordinary Courts would be the Raja and his Wuzeers at the Capital, but power was given to the Wuzeers, on their tours, to decide all cases arising in their respective jurisdictions.

18.—It will be remembered that, last year, I arrested,

The political prisoners at Kangra.

and sent to Kangra, Meean Futteh Singh, the illegitimate brother of the

Raja, and the ex-Vakeel, Purrus Ram. This salutary measure has had the best effect in Bussahir. It has removed the principal inciters of disturbance, and deterred others. Although the Raja and his minister fully appreciate the immunity they now enjoy, yet they are always preferring requests for the pardon and release of Futteh Singh. They are partly moved to this course, by the female relatives of the Meean, who have remained behind, and keep up a constant agitation. The Raja made no request in favor of Purrus Ram, but the one could not be excepted from any measure of indulgence granted to the other. The people also came forward with a general petition, praying for the release of Futteh Singh. I informed them that I would submit their requests to Government.

- Proposals for their future release.

  Proposals for their future from Kangra, and taken up with me into Bussahir. He will then have been two years in confinement, and I should hope thoroughly subdued. On the route I should have opportunities of conversing with him; and on reaching Bussahir, I could arrange measures for keeping a watch over him, and take securities for his good behaviour. I think the punishment he will then have undergone, will make him more circumspect for the future.
- 20.—Purrus Ram is a more subtle and dangerous character. Yet exile will have sobered his spirit, and taught him also the necessity for amendment. He will not probably desire to live in Bussahir, nor indeed would

the people tolerate his return. But he might have his liberty, on giving security for good conduct. His reputation for cleverness, would soon gain him employment, in one of the neighbouring hill States. But it would be premature to release either prisoner at once. The earliest and most appropriate date would be, I think, the occasion of the Commissioner's next visit to Bussahir.

tory. The administration of Bussaconcluding remarks. hir, in all departments, is now on an
excellent footing. The Raja has
exerted himself zealously to carry out all my measures,
and I beg that he may receive the approbation of Government, for the hearty assistance he has afforded to me. His
Wuzeers have proved themselves all energetic and popular.
It would encourage them also, if the Government would
express through me, some acknowledgment of the reforms
they have so willingly carried out during the past two
years.

\*See Russell's Diary. any territory in the Himalaya. Two years ago, Dr. Russell of the Times, with the Deputy Commissioner of the district, were obliged to retrace their steps, being unable to get either supplies or coolees, owing to the civil disturbances. A few months later, the Raja and his ministers were driven out of the country, and fire and rapine were carried into every pergunnah. These commotions have now subsided.

When the roads are free from snow, travellers crowd into Bussahir, and meet with nothing but civility. The aspect of the country is one of ordinary repose, and last May, the Countess Canning, with a large suite, travelled throughout the length and breadth of Bussahir, without the smallest inconvenience.

I have &c.,

## G. C. BARNES,

Agent to the Lieutenant Governor, of the Punjab.

ACCOUNT of the Rampoor State, from beginning of Katick, 1916 Sumbut, to end of Assouj 1917 Sumbut—twelve months.

INCOME	<b>2</b> .	EXPENDITURE.					
	Rs.	Α.	Ρ.		Rs.	A.	Ρ.
Balance of past years,	56	3	4	* Private expenses of			
Revenue land,	21,096	10	6	Raja &c.,	7,421	10	0
Sale of timber,	9,731	6		State expenses,	9,114	5	6
Fines,	758	6	6	" Dhurmurth " or Re-	-		
Abkaree of Rampoor,	331	اا		ligious & charitable			
Realized from various	1			expenditure,	2,481	14	3
ministerial officers				Allowances to Ranees.	, -		
in arrears,	1,129	8			5,016	7	5
Offerings on birth of	-,-			Salaries of officers,	2,208	12	9
an heir,	221	10		Government tribute	_,		ľ
Presented by the new	1			including arrears,	5,100	4	ำด
Raja of Gurhwal,	20			Yearly compensation	-,	-	1
Realized from traders				to Syree Ranee,	428	10	9
in wool, &c.,	307	9					
Realized from Moosa		Ĭ			31,872	1	6
Shah intestate	524	13	9	Expended during cur-	0.,5,2	-	"
Grazing tolls,	87	2		rent month Assoui.		1	
Borrowed,	143	8		to make up the year,	1,565	12	' a
Returned by Govern-		Ĭ		oo make up the year,	1,500		_
ment the fine for the				Grand total,-	33 437	15	2
Chini bungalow,	600			Grand botal,—	05,107		_
Miscellaneous,	329	<u></u>		Balance in treasury,	383	11	9
miscenaneous,	020	ľ°		Dalance in Greasury,	900		3
		<b> </b> _	<u> _</u>		<u>'                                    </u>	<u>'                                    </u>	<u></u>
	32,337	5	i	* This includes sum	s receiv	red	br
	<u> </u>	- -	-	the Raja and deposite	ed in a	Tr	ea-
Collected during cur-	!	1	1	sure hoard, kept at the			
rent month Assouj,		1	1	Bheema Kallee, no			
making up the year.		1	1	The Raja or his office			
Land revenue,	1,42	3 15	6	us account of these	hoards.	Ť	t i
Miscellaneous,	6		3	reported that three	or four	lac	
<u> </u>	-	- -	- -	treasure are there stor			
	1,48	4 5	5 6			, •	
		- -	- _				
Grand total,	33,82	1/10	) 6				
314114 00041, 1	1 33,32	-1-,	Τ,	1			

G. C. BARNES,

Agent to Lieut. Governor, Punjab.

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