



CSL-AS-54 (R)
AS004745



915.44 IND



CSL

INDIA TRACTS;



FOR CONSULTATION ONLY

Rec^d. June 19. 1870.

CSL

INDIA TRACTS:

CONTAINING

A DESCRIPTION

OF THE

JUNGLE TERRY DISTRICTS,

THEIR

REVENUES, TRADE, AND GOVERNMENT:

WITH A PLAN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THEM.

ALSO

AN HISTORY OF THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS

OF THE

S I C ^K 217200-2A

WRITTEN BY MAJOR Y. BROWNE,

AND PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE HONOURABLE COURT
OF DIRECTORS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

Logographic Press, PRINTING-HOUSE SQUARE, BLACK-FRIARS,

1788.



CSL

-544
915.44
Bro. T.

915.44
Bro
L880

✓
915 411
B 91 I

AS-004745

~~8880~~ ✓

~~8880~~



Note.—The BOUNDARY of the JUNGLE
TERRY DISTRICT, within the Government
of *MAJOR BROWNE*, is pointed out by the
red Line in MR. RENNELL'S MAP, here annexed.



(i)

To JOHN MOTTEUX, Esq. *Chairman of the Honourable Court of Directors for the Affairs of the Honourable United East India Company.*

S I R,

WHEN I wrote the following sheets, I was in hopes that they would have appeared before the Honourable Court of Directors with the advantage of Mr. Hastings's recommendation, by whose orders they were written, and to whom they were addressed—Why this advantage was denied them, I cannot pretend to say—The cause to which I should have attributed it, would have been the insignificance of the matter,—but from this conclusion I am forbidden, by observing, that the subject of them, has by that gentleman, been thought so important, that the continuing to pursue the plans which I had laid down and began to execute, so long ago as 1778, has furnished Mr. Hastings with matter for repeated publick encomium on the gentleman who succeeded me in the management of part of the Jungle Terry Districts.

This has determined me, though late, to offer this little Tract to the notice of my Honourable Masters, that they may know from whence those institutions originated, which

B have



(ii)

have been so much applauded in their effects; and I trust that I shall escape all imputation of vanity for making this publication, when it is considered, that I at the same time publish the humiliating proof how very bad a courtier I must have been, when I could not secure to myself the applause that was given to measures of my own contrivance.

At the same time, I implicitly leave the disposal of this Tract, to you Sir, convinced that if it merits, it will receive your recommendation, and if it should not, I shall most cheerfully acquiesce in the judgment of a gentleman, from whose justice and liberality, even when I was an entire stranger to him, my character and interest received that support, which was withheld by those from whom I was most entitled to expect it.

I am,

With respect and gratitude,

Sir,

Your obliged and most obedient Servant,

JAMES BROWNE.

Harley Street, June 20, 1787.



I N T R O D U C T I O N .

IN order to make the subject of the following little Tract as intelligible as possible, I shall beg leave to observe, that the Mountaineers of the Rajahmahl Hills, having, by their repeated depredations, exceedingly distressed the inhabitants of the low country during the years 1771 and 1772, Mr. Hastings and his Council directed a battalion of light infantry to be raised for reducing those countries to subjection and good order.—The corps was raised the latter end of 1772, and commanded by Captain Robert Brooke.

1773. During the first months of 1773, Captain Brooke, by judicious and spirited operations against the Mountaineers, impressed them with a fear of our military force, and they began to submit in different parts. The rest of that year was employed in military operations against Jagernaut Deo, and the other Zemindars of the Jungle Ferry of Curruckpoor, who had rebelled against Government; they were at length expelled, and fled into Curruckdea.

1774. The first part of this year was employed in reducing the Mountaineers, and in establishing certain regulations



for protecting the low country against their incursions—
Also in making a *Kbafs* settlement of the Jungle Terry
Curruckpoor.

In July, Captain Brooke resigned the command of the
light infantry, and the collectorship of the Jungle Terry
of Curruckpoor, Bauglepoor, and Colgong to me—Soon
after this, the Jungle Terry of Birboom and Guidore,
were added to this collectorship.

As I perceived the instability of the *Kbafs* Settlement
in the Jungle Terry of Curruckpoor, I proposed the par-
doning of Jagernaut Deo and his family, and re-admitting
them to the management of their respective districts ; but
I received no reply.—I also made a new settlement of
the Jungle Terry of Guidore.

1775 In January, the Jungle Terry of Curruckdea was ad-
ded to this collectorship. In February, broke out the
great infurrection in favour of Jagernaut Deo and the
other expelled Zemindars ; the whole year passed in un-
interrupted hostilities, though they were soon narrowed
to the limits of the Curruckpoor Jungle Terry, and the
confederacy broken. The Jungle Terry of Birboom was
also settled during this year.

1776. By the beginning of this year, the rebels being re-
duced to great extremity, offered to submit to any terms,
except



except the delivering up of Jagernaut Deo.—I proposed to the Board to publish a general amnesty, and to give Jagernaut Deo's Zemindary to his son Roopnarain Deo, on the father's delivering himself up on promise of personal safety—The Board were at first averse, but at length consented, on my taking upon myself the responsibility of the measure. Jagernaut Deo immediately delivered himself up, his son was invested with the Zemindary; and from that time there never was a disturbance in the country as long as it was under my controul.

1777.

In the beginning of this year, I assembled all the Zemindars of the Jungle Terry of Curruckdea, and made a settlement of that District on such terms as enabled me (without any considerable diminution of the present revenue) to release the Riots from a load of impositions, and thereby induced them to undertake the cultivation of a great quantity of land which had fallen waste for a number of years.

Soon after this, the Board took the Jungle Terry of Birboom from under my management, and restored it to the Rajah of Birboom. No public motive was ever assigned for this step.

During the long interval that I had been compelled to attend, almost exclusively, to the Southern Division of the Jungle Terry, the Mountaineers of Rajahmahl had
again



again got into great disorder. For the plan introduced for their restraint by Captain Brooke in 1774, though very meritorious, when we consider how little intercourse that gentleman had then had with those people, yet had some defects in it, which I am sure that Captain Brooke would have corrected, had he continued in the command, and which prevented its operating as an effectual remedy to the turbulency of the Mountaineers.

Being now quite at leisure to attend to those people, I marched with my battalion to that part of the country, the latter end of this year, and in person examined into the past and present state of every thing respecting the Mountaineers.

1778. My enquiries enabled me, in January, to submit to the Board the plan for the future regulation and government of the Hills of Rajahmahl, which will be found as a Supplement to this Tract—It met with their entire approbation, and I received orders to carry it into immediate execution, as appears from the extracts of the Board's and the Governor General's letters to me. (See Notes A and B at the end of this Introduction.)

Having established the regulations for the Mountaineers, and waited to see the immediate success of their first operations, I marched round to Amar and Sultanabad, which had been placed under my authority, and in the latter



latter of which places, a rebellion had existed for several years—As I had taken particular pains to establish my reputation for public faith among these wild uncivilized people, as soon as Sultanabad was put under my authority, the Chief of the insurgents voluntarily offered to submit, and come into me, on my promise of safety and justice, which he did accordingly, and the country immediately became quiet.

That country being also settled on a plan approved by the Board, I marched back towards my cantonments at Chackye; and on the march I received the Board's orders to deliver over the charge of the Jungle Terry of Bauglepoor, Colgong, and Curruckpoor to the Collector of Bauglepoor, and to send three companies of light infantry to act under his orders.

I immediately obeyed this harsh and unexpected command; but I will confess, that from that time I felt a hearty disgust to the nature of the service I was employed on, and therefore earnestly applied to be removed from that station, and sent up to the army in the field, or any other place where my corps might be useful.

1779. During this year nothing material occurred, the country under my authority being in a state of perfect peace and obedience. At the commencement of this year, I completed



completed and sent to Mr. Hastings, the little Treatise to which this serves as an introduction.

Sultanabad and Amar being completely settled and quiet, were restored to the Ranny of Rajahshy; there then remained, under my management, only the Jungle Terry Guidore and Curruckdea.

1780. It being at length resolved to send the battalion of light infantry up to the assistance of the Ranah of Gohud; Curruckdea and Guidore Jungle Terry were put in charge of the Collector of Ramgur, on whose district they bordered: and in June the light infantry marched out of the Jungle Terry by way of the Curruckdea pass.

On this occasion, I had the satisfaction of knowing how acceptable my conduct had been to these people, by the concern which they shewed at my departure, and the respectful and affectionate attendance of several of the Zemindars as far as Ghyah in Bahar. To which, I beg leave to add a still more recent testimony, so late even as the year 1785, when, upon the Collector of Ramgur visiting Chackye and Curruckdea, the Zemindars of those districts waited upon him, and presenting the Sunnuds which they had received from me, declared that they required nothing further than a confirmation of the settlement which I had made.



In the endeavours which I have here used to rescue my humble labours from oblivion, I solemnly declare that I have no wish to detract from the merit of my successor, Mr. *Cleveland*, for whom I had the sincerest affection. I am truly concerned that his death puts it out of my power to receive the addition of his testimony, which I know he would most cheerfully have given, to what I have said; for his virtues and abilities were as much above requiring the stolen decoration of another's merit, as his honour and liberality were above accepting them.

Note A. *Extract from the Supreme Council's Letter to Captain Browne, dated January 27, 1778.*

“ WE entirely approve of your conduct, and of the plans which you have formed for the government of the Hill people.”

“ We authorize you to use such means as shall appear necessary for establishing the regulations for the Hills.”



(x)

*Extract from the Supreme Council's Letter to Captain
Browne, dated March 10, 1778.*

“ We are much pleased with the plan which you recommended
“ of granting Jaghier lands to the invalid Sepoys, and desire you
“ will carry it into immediate and effectual execution.

“ We approve of the plans which you recommend for the safety
“ and defence of the Dawks passing through the Hills.”

Note B. *Extract of a Letter from the Governor General, to
Captain Browne, dated January 28, 1778.*

“ I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that yesterday the board
“ in their revenue department, directed your several addresses to
“ be read; your plans are acquiesced in, your measures approved,
“ and the public communication will be transmitted to you.

“ The board are sensible of your care and ability in drawing
“ up these proposals, and it is with particular satisfaction I have
“ remarked your attention to the customs and original form of
“ government amongst the inhabitants of the hills, in the new
“ proposed regulations: an indulgence that promises the most
“ salutary effects in my opinion, at the same time that it denotes
“ your assiduity and judicious regard to conciliate their dispositions
“ to dependence.”

To



TO THE HON. WARREN HASTINGS, Esq. &c.

HON. SIR,

CONFORMABLY to your orders long since transmitted to me, to form and send you a description of the country under my authority, with respect to its natural and political state; and also to recommend the most effectual plan for its subjection and future good government—I have employed every leisure hour afforded me from my military and other avocations, in collecting the best materials for enabling me to obey your instructions, and as there are no objects in life which I am more bound to pursue, than those which tend to your satisfaction; I have been particularly nice in admitting the materials for this description and plan, that I might not, at some future period of my life, have the vexation of reflecting, that I had, in any instance, been the cause of misleading you; but though I have much reason to trust in the authenticity of the materials, I feel the greatest diffidence, when I consider myself in the situation of compounding them into a literary form, before so excellent a judge as you are of every literary production. I rest my hope of your exempting me, however, from even the just severity of criticism, in consideration that obedience to



your orders, not the vanity of composing, has given birth to this performance; and that to write with elegance the descriptions of countries, which they have only visited in war, has not been the privilege of any but men of the most exalted capacities: the length of ages, the most laborious researches of men respectively, masters of the several arts and sciences, and the pen of an able compiler of those labours, can alone furnish a compleat description of any country: deprived of all those essentials, this sketch has occasion for the greatest indulgence you can possibly shew it. The novelty of the subject is the only recommendation it has; and all I can urge in my own favour is, that I have been forced to collect every material by my own labour, utterly unassisted from beginning to end.

The instructions you have honoured me with for its arrangement consisted of thirteen articles, but as several of them were immediately relative parts of others, I have reduced the whole under five heads, which include the thirteen compleatly, the order only a little varied.

With sincerest gratitude and highest respect,

I am,

Honourable Sir, &c.

*Camp, March 20th,
1779.*

*JAMES BROWNE,
Capt. Light Infantry.*



CSL

[1]

DESCRIPTION OF THE JUNGLE TERRY DISTRICTS, their *Revenues, Trade and Government*, with a *Plan* for the Improvement of them.

S E C T I O N I.

PART I.
General Geographical Outline.

THE JUNGLE TERRY Districts are bounded by the plains of Bauglepoor and Colgong, and the Ganges on the north.

On the north west by the Currukpoor Hills.

On the west by Guidore, and the plains of Bahar.

On the south and south west by the provinces of Ramgur and Achete.

On the south east by Birboom.

On the east, by the Rajahmahil Hills.

On the north east, by the Ganges, and part of the Rajahmahil Hills.

In



SECTION I.

A R T. II.

Great Divisions
as Provinces.

In those districts are comprehended the undermentioned Provinces, bounded as follows, *viz.*

1. CURRUCKDEA, bounded by Ramgur on the west, by Guidore on the north, by Birboom on the east, by Pachete and Ramgur on the south.
2. BIRBOOM, bounded by Curruckdea on the west, by Curruckpoor on the north, by Sultanabad and Radshi on the east, and by Pachete on the south.
3. CURRUCKPOOR, bounded by Guidore and Sircar Monghyr on the west, by Colgong and Bauglepoor on the north, by the Rajahmahl Hills on the east, and by Birboom on the south.
4. GUIDORE, bounded by the plains of Bahar on the west, by Curruckpoor on the north, by Curruckpoor and Birboom on the east, by Curruckdea on the south.
5. BAUGLEPOOR, bounded by Curruckpoor, and Sircar Monghyr on the west, by the plain country and the Ganges on the north, by Colgong on the east, and by Curruckpoor on the south.
6. COLGONG, bounded by Bauglepoor on the west, by the plains and Ganges on the north, by the Rajahmahl Hills on the east, and by Curruckpoor on the south. Its greatest extent from north to south, is fifty cofs, and from east to west seventy-seven cofs.

These



SECTION I.

ART. III. These Provinces are again subdivided into Talookas, or small Zemindaries, called Gautwallies, of which there are in each respective province as follows.

Small Divisions, Purgunnah's Zillahs, Gautwallies, and Villages.

I.

ZILLA CURRUCKDEA,

Contains Gautwallies, 30

- viz.* Serampour 20 Kismee
- Currurbary Kurkaw
- Paulgunge Doomchauns
- Laidah Paunch Gomah
- 5 Luttakie Masnoodee
- Chuckmungoo 25 Dergong
- Durhettah Kurgaully
- Neckpoorah Pobee
- Utko Gommah
- 10 Ganday Durndah
- Gorongee 30 Suttgomah
- Baireah
- Kifgo
- Jereedee
- 15 Corchuttah
- Nodeah
- Burkuttah
- Birnee
- Jerrea

Also Khalfah villages, cultivated, 121. Uncultivated 63.
Charity villages, 13. Jaghiers 5.



SECTION I.

II.

PURGUNNAH GUIDORE.

Zilla of Chackye, containing

11 Gautwallies, viz.

Neiz Chackye

Chaugurrah

Keajury

Kewal

Sylfery

Nowaddah

Simmiriah

Tillua

5 Butpah

11 Gooteah

Caringur

Also independent, and exclusive of the Zilla of Chackye, nearer to Monghyr, there are under the Jungle Terry Collector.

3 Gautwallies, viz.

Doomaree

Mahaiffery

Kotownah

Khalfah villages, none.

III.



III.

BIERBOOM.

Under the Collector of the Jungle Terry,
3 Purgunnahs, viz. Saurhet, containing 39 Gautwallies.

viz. Bamun Gommah	Gautey
Luckunpoor	Patrole
Cuchrah	Saltore
Saljure	Muftaar
5 Foolchar	10 Saldaha
Bourchundee	Goomroo
Deogur baud	Gurbady
Dubarah	Durrumpoor
Moderjury	Luckneah
15 Burgooneah	30 Kigeah
Boorie	Doley
Nooneaud	Nuggereah
Narainpour	Chitteah
Kurnah	Rowterah
20 Baradee	35 Barruah
Cooljurah	Jickty
Gurfurrah	Bagdaw
Gobindpoor	Biffenpoor
Kujerah	39 Gopalpour
25 Purruah	

Also Khalfah villages, cultivated 3. Uncultivated 1.

Charity villages, 3.



SECTION I.

PURGUNNAH DEOGUR, containing

Gautwallies 15, viz.

Rooney	Belleah
Saltore	Ture
Simmerah	Bonetty
Tiljury	10 Doomarah
5 Poonaffey	Gummurdeah
Surryah	Cockurah
	Surdaha
	Tarabaud
	15 Jaruleah

Also Khalfah villages, cultivated 1. Uncultivated
and Charity villages dependent on the High Priest of Deo Gur, 32.

PURGUNNAH BELPURTAH.

Containing 24 Gautwallies, viz.

Safchellah	Heracuttah
Baradabah	15 Chelfapattah
Pulmah	Kishurady
Singroo	Chuch Tuleram
5 Opubahal	Simmerca
Hautbary	Chuch Jagernaut
	Kajurah



SECTION I.

Kajurah	20	Seteram
Barabauk		Diggey
Doomkah		Farofesimur
10 Affinou		Douchah
Ruffickpoor	24	Choto
Dadkah		
Sikarpoor		

Also Khalfah villages, cultivated 15. Uncultivated 9.

Charity villages, none.

There are also two Jungle Terry Purgunnahs, under Rajah Affud Zumma Cawn, viz.

Koryet and Baharoo

IV.

PURGUNNAH CURRUCKPOOR.

Zilla Jungle Terry, under the Jungle Terry Collector,
3 Gautwallies, viz.

Lutchmipoor

Handway

and

Chandan Cuttoreah

Khalfah villages, cultivated 4. Uncultivated

Charity villages, none.



SECTION I.

Withheld by the Renter of Curruckpoor,

8 Gautwallies, *viz.*

Ufullah	Cockwarrah
Mullipoor	Simmaroon
Diggie	Ludwah
Mungraar	8 Kewfor
Khalfah and Charity villages, none.	

PURGUNNAH BAUGLEPOOR,

Containing 4 Zemindaries, *viz.*

Minniharry.

Pertfundah

Barkope

Mundar

PURGUNNAH COLGONG,

Containing 1 Zemindary, *viz.*

Muddabun

ART. IV. CURRUCKDEA, the Khalfah districts are quite plain, and

General Face of the Country and State of Cultivation. many of the Gautwallies have more plain than jungle in them; but others are extremely covered with it, and have strong and dangerous passes, of which that commonly called the Curruckdea

Pafs



SECTION I.

Pafs (but by the country people the Gommah Gaut, as the hills it paffes through are in that Gautwally) is extremely strong.

The cultivation of the country is fo much decayed, that it does not yield one half of the revenues it did in the time of Comgar Cawn, though collected with much greater harshnefs; but as I have removed many grievous oppreffions under which the inhabitants laboured, by which means Riots from the neighbouring diftricts are frequently fettling there; I hope the country will foon be relieved from its prefent diftreffed fituation, to which it has been reduced, partly by the deftruction of its Riots by the famine of 1770, but ftill more by the oppreffion of its annual farmers, whole poffeffions being morely temporary, they were induced to make the moft of their time, and as they had not force to interfere with the Gautwallies, the burthen fell on the Khalfah diftricts.

Communication with other Countries.

Its communications with other diftricts are, with the diftrict of Mey, by the Gommah and Singher paffes, with Ramgur by the Corrumma pafs, and many other roads not diftinguifhed by any particular names, with Pachete, through Toondy, a high road, and with the Jungle Terry diftricts, by a multitude of roads, moft of them paffable by field artillery.

GUIDORE,—the Zilla of Chackye and Gautwallies of Dumarce, Mahafferey and Kotawna have a good deal of plain country in them, all indeed except the part towards the Chackye and Mahaffery paffes, and part towards the Jungle Terry Cur-ruckpoor, which are nothing but rocks and jungles.—The cultivation is tolerable, but the greater part of the foil too high for

rice;



SECTION I.

rice; here also the want of inhabitants, since 1770, is heavily complained of.

All the communications are with the Jungle Terry districts, and passable for guns, excepting a communication with the Bahar province by the Chackye pafs, which is immensely rocky and difficult to get artillery through, even though not opposed.

The Maiffery pafs is for men and bullocks only, it joins the road from Chackye to Curruckdea, with that from Guidore to Chackye.

BIERBOOM,—the fouthern and fouth western parts of Saurret are tolerably plain, and a small part of the Purgunnah of Deo Gurr, but all the rest of this division of the Jungle Terry, is entirely Jungle, most especially the Purgunnah of Belpurtah, which is bordered on the north by the fouth fide of those hills, the northern fide of which is called the Rajahmahl Chain.

The cultivation is far from being high even in the few plains which there are, and there has been a scarcity of inhabitants ever since the famine of 1770.

The communication of this part with the plain country of Bierboom, is by the high road, which extends from the plains of Bahar to Soory by the Chackye pafs.

There is also a communication with Radshahi by way of Baharoo;—said to be a pretty good road, and a pafs through the hills



SECTION I.

hills from Futtipoor in Belpurtah, to the road called on the maps "Morrison's pass."

All its other roads are to different parts of the Jungle Terry, and passable for artillery in general.

CURRUCKPOOR,—all the Gautwally lands are very jungley, and in particular those of Luchmipoor; the prodigiously thick bamboo jungles which cover most parts of it, and are besides interperfed with small rivers, hills and rocks, render the passing through them where occupied by the enemy, very hazardous, as they fire on you from all sides, without your seeing them, or being able to annoy them in return in any adequate degree.

The northern parts bordering on the Khalfah lands, are in many parts tolerably plain.

The Khalfah lands are plain, but great part of them have never been cultivated, whether from the badness of the soil, or an aboriginal want of the inhabitants, I cannot decide; and in consequence, are grown over with long grass jungles.

The want of cultivation and inhabitants is less visible in the Gautwally of Luchmipoor, than in most other parts of the Jungle Terry; because Jagernaut Deo, and his predecessors, were always powerful enough to keep off the oppressions of Tuffeldars and Farmers; and of course were enabled to shew some indulgence to the Riots, in times of natural calamity.—But the Khalfah lands



SECTION 1.

lands by the incursions of the hill robbers, and also those of the Jungle Chiefs, are almost an entire desert.

All the communications are with the other districts of the Jungle Terry, and passable to field artillery, excepting the one called Morrison's pass, which leads from Jumnee, and enters the south-west angle of the cluster of hills, called the Rajahmahl hills, near a village called Dowdaund, about thirteen cofs, E.N.E. of Luchmipoor; this pass leads to Patchwarrah in Sultanabad, which is twenty-one cofs distant only, and is a road by which the Mahrattahs once entered Bengal.

BAUGLEPOOR and COLGONG,—all the inhabited parts of both these divisions (excepting the cluster of hills called the Rajahmahl Hills) are plain, unless it be a narrow strip extending along the foot of those hills, and possessed by a number of the Chokeydarry Gautwalls, whose business is to keep the hill people from making descent, but they do it to little effect.—The hills themselves have many vallies between them, but the only parts cultivated are the sides of the hills.—It is an error to suppose those hills form a chain, and have any connection with other hills; they are a cluster of hills surrounded by the flat country, as an island is by the sea.

The pass, by which Mr. Holwell says that the Mahrattah Chief Balaje Row, entered Bengal from the plains of Colgong, is situated in the Toppah of Minneharry; it is called Choonteah, and enters the hills near the village of Mowarrah, from hence to Mudguah, which lies in the vally between the Minneharry and
Rajahmahl



SECTION I.

Rajahmahl Hills, is nine cofs : at Mudguah is a lake of water ; from thence after passing the remainder of that valley, you ascend by a very good road the Rajahmahl Hills, and come into the plains west of Nagasabang by the pass called Chowndy ; the nearest village is called Nowgyh.

Mr. Holwell's speaking of this march as a difficult achievement, is matter of surprize to me ; as by the accounts of many people with whom I have conversed, and who were residents on the spot at the time of the passage of Balajee Row's troops, the road was then so well known and frequented, that the Biparries used to drive their loaded bullocks through it, to avoid the duties paid at Tilleagurry.—They further say, that the man who conducted the Mahrattah's from Colgong through the hills, was one of the Chokeydars of Minneharry, and that his name was Durdung.—Mr. Holwell says he was a peasant of Colgong, and that Balajee Row gave him a lack of rupees reward ; this is not confirmed by the people in this quarter, for they say the man died some time after very poor near Oudwa Nullah.

It is with the greatest deference I venture to offer the correction of so respectable an authority as Mr. Holwell ; but the very minute local knowledge I have acquired of those countries, by several years residence in them, and the personal knowledge I have of the people themselves, who have resided here all their lives, makes me think that the information I have proceeded on, is such as Mr. Holwell would have preferred to any other, had the object been of consequence enough to induce him to search for it.



SECTION I.

The cultivation of these two divisions is most wretched; excepting a little towards the high roads, which is thinly inhabited, you see nothing but immense desolate plains; from the same causes as have been before given, respecting the other districts.

The hills do not produce enough for their inhabitants, which is a principal cause of their depredations.

All the communications of these districts both with the plain countries of Bauglepoor and Colgong, and with the Jungle Terry, are good and passable to artillery.



CSL

SECTION 2.

SECTION B.

THE gross revenues of these countries as they stood in the year 1777, are as follows :

CURRUCKDEA	—	—	Son Rupees	15535	14	5
GUIDORE	—	—	—	4583	10	16
BIERBOOM	—	—	about	24000	0	0
CURRUCKPOOR	—	—	—	9998	2	10
BAUGLEPOOR and COLGONG				} 20683 12 5		
Total				<hr/> 74801 7 16		

It appears to me, however, that this revenue is more than the District can well afford to pay, leaving such a decent provision for the Zemindars and their families, as shall make them satisfied with the government they live under, and above the necessity of encouraging and sharing in robberies—Because there is no influx of money to the country from trade, in the least equal to the sum taken in the collections; two-thirds of the traffic being the exchange of such articles as the Jungles produce, for other necessaries of life, which are only to be had by importation, so that the balance of money is constantly increasing against them, and they are often obliged to borrow at a high rate of interest to pay their rents. The most improvable part is the Jungle Terry of Bauglepoor and Colgong, which lying near the Ganges, have the means of disposing of the produce of their country in whatever manner they please. The remedy for this decrease of money will be pointed out in the fifth Section.



SECTION 3.

SECTION III.

A R T. I. **Productions.** WITH respect to the productions which the Jungle Terry has in common with the provinces of Bengal and Bahar, nothing more need be said, than that in general the cultivation of rice, though not very considerable, is the source from whence the greater part of the rents are paid; excepting in the Jungle Terry of Bauglepoor and Colgong, where they have very fine and plentiful crops of wheat and of sugar-cane.—The crops raised for their own consumption, are of different kinds of small grain, of which the following are but little known in the plain countries.

CODO—a small red grain, which fells five maunds for a rupee.
The maund here is very small.

GOONDLEY—a small blackish grain, which fells four maunds for a rupee.

BORAH—a small kind of white bean, which fells two maunds and a half for a rupee.

JENORAH—the grain we call Indian corn, fells four maunds for a rupee.

KAIREE—another small whitish grain like the codo, fells four maunds for a rupee.

MUR-



SECTION 3.

MURRUAH—another small reddish grain, sells four maunds for a rupee.

The other articles which are turned to the purposes of trade, and are peculiar to the Jungles, are the following :

MOWAH—This is the fruit of a large tree, not very unlike the walnut-tree; in the month of March and April the fruit is ripe, and falls off the tree itself; it is white, about the size and shape of a large grape, but covered with a skin much thinner; it is full of a strong, sweet, intoxicating juice, which has also a smell like hartshorn; the natives eat it both ripe, and dried like a raisin; they also distil a very strong spirit from it, and the Biparies who purchase it, carry it into the plain countries for the purpose of distillation. Its common price is five annas per maund.

IRON—Of this they have two kinds, one which is dug out of the earth in small pieces, the other is picked out of the sands at the bottom of the rivers; the quality is so indifferent that it requires upon an average four maunds of the ore to make one maund of iron, and that, after all, is but coarse; it is made by melting in the usual manner, and is then formed into codallies, ploughshares, and small piggs; the codallies, which are the best kind of iron, are five rupees per maund.

DAMMAH—This is a species of rosin produced from the tree called Suckuah, and is procured in the following manner: In July, August, and September, the bark of the old trees is cut off in three or four places all round, and the rosin, which flows spontaneously,



SECTION 3.

taneously, is collected by the natives six or seven days after the incision, and dried, which is the whole of the process; it sells for three annas per maund.

KUTT—This article, which is eaten with betle, is procured in the following manner—There is a small shrub called Kyre, about the size of the babool-tree; the branches and body of this shrub they cut in short pieces, and after paring away the bark and wood, the sap, or pith in the middle, is put into a quantity of water and boiled for a considerable time, till the water is almost consumed; it is then of a brownish colour, and about the consistency of glue; they then pick out the pieces of pith, and again boil the liquor till it is thick enough to form into cakes, after which it is exposed to the sun and wind till it becomes hard. It sells for two rupees eight annas per maund.

TEKOOR—This is made from the root of the Jungle Huldee, or Turmeric-plant; this root being bruised very fine is put into a quantity of water, and left for two or three days, when the part which constitutes the Tekoor subsides to the bottom, the rest swims; the water is then poured off, and the sediment is exposed to the sun till it becomes a fine dry powder. It sells for two rupees, eight annas per maund.

TUSSUR—This is a coarse species of silk, produced by a kind of silk-worm natural to these Jungles, whose food is the leaves of a small tree called Affin; the people who look after the cultivation, about the latter end of June, expose the eggs preserved from the preceding brood upon the leaves of that tree; after this, when the worms



SECTION 3.

worms are grown pretty large, they carry them to other trees of the same species, but which have been previously prepared for shooting out young leaves, by breaking off the old: by the months of October and November the worms have spun their complete quantity, when the natives gather the concons, and sell them without further preparation, taking care to preserve as many as will furnish eggs for the succeeding year. They sell the best kind for two rupees eight annas the cawan, or one thousand two hundred and eighty concons.

It may be a question worth asking, whether, if the growth of the Mulberry-tree could be effected in those parts, this silk might not be improved to as fine a quality as that of Caffimbuzar? at present it is exceedingly coarse.

ABRUCK—This is a species of Isinglass, and is dug out of several of the hills in the Jungle Terry; its use is for making the shining powder thrown by the Hindoos during the Hooly; also the large sheets of it for making the lanthorns used during the Mohrrum, Marriages, &c. It sells for one rupee per maund.

In the District of Palgunge, there grows a tree called Cooffum, the wood of which is used for the upper parts of the sugar-mills; and sells for eight annas per stick, two of which are a load for a small bullock.

Great quantities of very indifferent small cattle are likewise bred by the Jungle Terry chiefs, and the ghee produced from them is
an



SECTION 3.

an article of trade, but to very small amount, the greater part being expended in the country.

These are all the productions peculiar to this country that deserve any remark.—There is also a good deal of wax produced in the Rajahmahl Hills, which the civilization of the Mountaineers may in time render an article of trade; but at present it is destroyed by their eating the combs, honey, and wax all together.

A R T. II.

Trade.

The trade of these countries is after all very inconsiderable, because all the articles are amazingly bulky or heavy in proportion to their value; and there being no navigable river leading from or to this country, the whole is forced to be conveyed upon bullocks, who suffer extremely, and are soon destroyed by the rockiness and badness of the roads; infomuch that I may safely venture to assert, that any merchant of sufficient consequence to employ agents who should undertake this trade, would be a loser of part of his capital; as I could prove, if I thought it would be doubtful after the account I have given of the value of the articles, and when it is considered that the nearest market for any goods is upwards of fifty cofs from the medium places of purchase, which distance the goods must go by land carriage; and that in general the value of a bullock load of goods, will scarcely defray the charges of the bullock and his driver, independent of the impositions of agents, the uncertainty of markets, the damage of goods by keeping, and the death and insolvency of those to whom money may be advanced for the providing of goods.

The



SECTION 3.

The sole trade carried on at present, is by the most inconsiderable Bengallies, who by a complication of small profits, having no expence for agents, and but a small capital to invest, are enabled to continue their traffick to some advantage; the usual method is this,—one of the family fixes his residence at one of the capital villages in the Jungle Terry, and himself inspects the preparation of the goods; the rest live at their proper residence, either in Bengal or Bahar, where they purchase at the first hand the goods wanted by the Jungle people; they drive their own bullocks to the place where the goods are ready prepared by the relation, who acts as factor in the Jungles, where the cargo is by barter sold to great advantage; the cargo of Jungle commodities received, is then carried to Bahar or Bengal in the same manner, and there again bartered for a second investment for the same market, or sold at a considerable profit for ready money. This double profit, unburthened with any charges, and so rapidly completed, accounts for the trade being as advantageous to these small traders, as it would be destructive to one who attempted it on any other terms.

The articles imported, are cloth, oil, salt, tobacco, betle nut and leaf, pepper, garlick, assafætida, opium, and all the common spices, but in small quantities;—turmurick, wheat, dawl, flour, and many other small articles not worth mentioning.



SECTION 4.

SECTION IV.

A R T. I. THE country is at present in a state of tranquillity, partly owing to the ill success of their late military attempts, but still more to an attentive management of the leading men who have submitted to our arms, and reconciling them to their subjection; the country is under the best regulation imaginable, as to the safety of the public roads, hitherto almost totally obstructed; which has been effected by nothing more than enforcing their ancient system, the best calculated for this country of any government whatever, and of which I will now give some account.

Present political
State of the Coun-
try.

**J U N G L E
T E R R Y**

All these Jungle-Terry Gautwalls, were formerly subject to the several Rajahs, to whose territories their Gautwallies belonged; they paid a slight tribute in token of feudal obedience, and were bound to oppose all invasions, (principally from the south) to attend their Rajahs when summoned, with all their followers in arms, and to be responsible for every violence and irregularity committed in their respective boundaries:—their followers are still bound by the same feudal ties to them, and have lands for feudal services; nothing can be conceived more absolute than the authority of these chiefs over their vassals; the fear of death even, when seized on in war, is not sufficient to force from them the discovery of any secret respecting their chief, his family, or property.—In the late war I experienced the greatest difficulties from this stubborn attachment; but I could never avoid admiring the



SECTION 4.

the honour and spirit of some of those who threw them in my way.

When the several Rajahs on whom all these Gautwalls depended, began to decline, the Gautwalls became licentious,—every one was his own master,—they went to war among themselves on family quarrels, or those respecting boundaries: at last utter anarchy ensuing, all those who had the greatest force plundered their neighbours, who reimbursed themselves again, by attacking, like beasts in the state of nature, those who were weaker than them.—The natural consequences of this, were both licentiousness and poverty, starving among themselves; the lower classes of people began plundering the plain country and high roads, in which they were, I believe, not unfrequently encouraged by their chiefs, who also withheld the tribute which government demanded of them, as possessing those territories on which their Gautwallies depended; their outrageous enormities compelled government to send the battalion of light infantry against them, which after a long struggle, has brought them into that state of dependence, which they formerly had on their feudal Lords; at the same time that a much higher tribute is levied on them.—This latter circumstance may be proper enough as a badge of their subjection after rebellion, and to be continued for a time, but not long enough to alienate their affections from the state.

Almost all the Gautwalls of the Jungle Terry, and a great many of the inhabitants, are of a tribe called Buyahs, they are looked upon as but a low cast by the Hindoos of any rank and knowledge, though the chiefs do not scruple to wear the *Zinnar*;



SECTION 4.

from this similitude of cast, all the chiefs throughout the country were connected by marriage, and from this connection, a general union of counsels and arms takes place on all apprehensions from government, or from any foreign enemy.—Their followers are of the character of undisciplined soldiery in all countries, turbulent, rapacious, and idle, and think their time much better employed in plundering cattle, and destroying villages, than in cultivating their lands. Their attachment to their chiefs is extreme, as has been observed before.—They are armed with good matchlocks, swords and targets, very few bows and arrows being used in these Jungles; and their method of fighting is by ambuscades in the woods, where they fire upon their enemy unperceived; but I have heard they sometimes fight pretty closely among themselves.—They have also many forts, but now they know better than to rely on them against our troops. With respect to the administration of justice, there appears to have been none, till the country was put under my inspection, but the Zemindary courts in each Zemindary, something like our ancient courts of Barony: here the Zemindars decided all causes civil and criminal, and proceeded to capital punishments even without appeal; though they seem to have punished capitally only in cases of murder, theft, adultery, fornication and witchcraft; in all which cases when the fact was doubtful, the ordeal trial by fire or water was first undergone, and decided on the guilt or innocence of the party.

As long as these people are armed and possessed of a country in itself as strong as a fortification, as long as the feudal system prevails, so long will the Zemindars and inhabitants of the Jungle Territory possess the means of raising disturbances whenever dissatisfied



SECTION 4.

dissatisfied with government.—The question which must naturally arise upon this is: “Would it not then be proper to disarm them, and break the feudal dependence?” Were I to answer the question it should be with the strongest negative, and my reasons would be,

1. Because their being disarmed is what they would oppose almost at the price of their total extirpation.

2. Because if you did succeed in disarming them, you would thereby uncover your whole frontier towards the Mahrattahs, the natural enemies of this state, who might be opposed to great advantage by these feudal soldiers if attached to our interests; but if disarmed and utterly disgusted, their places must be supplied by regular troops, of whom a prodigious force would be necessary to guard the principal passes, and after all, ineffectual, since none but the natives of that country can exist in those dismal unwholesome mountains and jungles in which the passes are immediately situated; and if they could, they would be eternally liable to surprize and destruction, while the hatred of a whole people attended them; whereas it seems to me, that a proper management of those people, would make them as useful subjects as any belonging to the state.

3. Because the absolute authority given by the feudal system, is indispensably necessary, for the readily assembling and distributing for defence, this armed Peasantry; and the apprehension of all kind of offenders with the greatest expedition, in a country where the usual modes of justice are so easily defied or evaded; and also, that the devoted attachment that they have to their



SECTION 4.

chiefs, enables you by conciliating them to your interest, to secure the whole district.

If I be asked what should then be done, I answer, correct the bad, and improve the good parts of the present system, rather than overturn the whole to erect a new one, which, though perhaps better in speculation, would be attended with more evil in its establishment, than would ever be compensated by all the good it could be capable of producing.

I will in the next Section point out, what to my judgment appears the best mode of effecting this improvement.

A R T. II. It may afford some relief from so dry and unentertaining a detail, to give in this place, the characters of some of the most remarkable chiefs in these jungles, especially as the account is founded on my personal knowledge of them all.

Characters of the principal Chiefs.

It may not be improper here to observe, that the highest title given to the Buyah Zemindars, who are the original heads of families, is that of Tekoit; second sons or younger brothers of Tekoits, (even though they have founded new Zemindaries, or are become ever so powerful) are only stiled Takoors, and all the younger branches, are denominated Baboos.—It is true, their superior lords have sometimes flattered some of them, with the title of Rajah (as those of Serampoor and Palgunge for instance) but their own tribe pay but little regard to it, and think that not being ancient, it conveys no honour to the possessor.—The general characteristic of these chiefs, is a great share of family and



SECTION 4.

and personal pride, a high veneration for military achievements, particularly those, wherein personal skill and bravery have appeared.—In war they fight with the same arms, and almost naked as well as their foldiers, and partake with them of every kind of hardship and danger.—This may suffice for their general characters :—as to the particular ones, I shall arrange them according to the divisions to which they belong, as has been done with all the other articles, and not by the scale of their personal or territorial importance ; the number of those whose characters I shall insert, will bear no proportion to the multitude of petty Zemindars in these districts ; but in the Jungle Terry, as well as in more civilized states, there are but few characters of any great weight or influence, whom the bulk of the society seem to have been merely created to follow.

C U R R U C K D E A.

LOLMUN MAHTOO,—as the Foujdaar of this place, is at the same time a native, and a Zemindar of it : I shall mention him first.

This man's name is *Lolmun* ; to which is added the title, Mahtoo, signifying Dewan, among the Jungle chiefs. He is by birth a Gwallah, and was formerly Mahtoo to Migueling, the Zemindar



SECTION 4.

Zemindar of Gomah, at that time no very considerable family: when Comgar Cawn first attempted the conquest of Curruckdea, he was opposed for two years by Durrumdeo, the Zemindar of Sutgomah, lying west of the Curruckdea Pafs; who had then two thousand men under his authority, whose Zemindary commanded the entrance into the pafs; however, the great military reputation of Comgar Cawn, and the force he commanded, led every one to believe he would certainly make a conquest of Curruckdea at last; on this occasion Lolmun advised his master Migueling, to go over to Comgar Cawn, and conduct him into the country by another road, (the Singher Pafs) which would establish him in his favour for ever; whereas, by joining in the resistance, he must sooner or later share in the general ruin: his master followed his advice, went over to Comgar Cawn, conducted him into the country, which was conquered, and for his services received several Jaghiers, had his Zemindary at a very low rent, and Sunnuds granting him one anna on every rupee collected in the whole Zilla of Curruckdea, which he still holds.—Lolmun had also several Jaghiers granted to him, and was appointed Foujdaar of the Zilla, which office he has held with little interruption for twenty-five years: he is an old man, of considerable abilities, considering his origin, is perfectly versed in the revenues of that Zilla, has a considerable share of personal courage, and some military knowledge acquired under Comgar Cawn; but at the same time he is artful, rapacious, and little to be relied on in point of veracity:—but his local knowledge of the country and revenues, the weight he has among the Zemindars, from the length of time he has held this office, and the confidence placed in him by Comgar Cawn, render him by far the fittest man for collecting



CSL

SECTION 4.

collecting that district, provided he is under the inspection of a person capable of judging for himself, avoiding the influence of his misrepresentations, and preventing the effects of his rapacity, his private piques against particular families, and his partiality towards others, particularly that of Gomah. I believe this man was a principal adviser in the measure of affording Jagernaut Deo shelter, when he fled to Curruckdea in 1773: also in that of uniting the Zemindars of that district in the scheme of assisting him with men, &c. to attempt the expulsion of my battalion in 1775; a consciousness of this made him prepare for flight, when I went to Curruckdea in March 1775; but as I foresaw that a general ruin of the Zilla would follow my then expressing my resentment, I wrote him to return, assured him of my protection and favour, and on his coming in, confirmed him in his office and privileges; whereby that district was kept quiet for that time, and he by his office, retained within my reach, whenever I should chuse to call him to account.

TEKOIT PERMAISHER SING,—the Zemindar of Gomah, is son of Miguel Sing, mentioned above; his family was not originally very considerable, nor are his abilities, but the weight given to him by the favour of Comgar Cawn, the having Lolmun a servant of his family, at the head of the collections, together with his Jaghiers and other privileges, make him now of considerable consequence; his father was related to the uncle of Jagernaut Deo by marriage, and this zealously attached him to his interest; but the great advantages he enjoys from Government, will prevent his ever breaking out in disobedience as long as they are in his possession.

G

TEKOIT



SECTION 4.

TEKOIT BAHADER SING,—next in situation to Gomah, is the Zemindar of Currurbarry, Behader Sing; his district bordering immediately on the east, as Gomah does on the west, of the Khalfah lands of Curruckdea: he is himself a youth of no great parts, but his Dewan is accounted a man of great capacity, and by his means his master's consequence among the Zemindars is pretty considerable, by keeping him closely connected with Lolmun and the Gomah family; his relation to Jagernaut Deo is through the family of Laidah, (the Zemindar of which is a cousin of Bahader Sing's,) whose daughter was married in the year 1775 to Jagernaut Deo; also through the same relation to the house of Serampoor.

TEKOIT DUBRAJ SING,—on the south and east of Currurbarry, is the Zemindary of Laidah, of which the Zemindar is Dubraj Sing.—He is a man of very moderate talents, and his Zemindary but small; however, he is supported by his connections by marriage, with the families of Serampoor and Currurbarry; through the intervention of the former of these, he in October 1773, gave his daughter in marriage to Jagernaut Deo, which has rendered him a firm adherent to him.

RAJAH BISSAN SING,—east and a little to the northward of east from Laidah, is the Zemindary of Serampoor, the Zemindar of which place, whose name is Bissan Sing, is called Rajah; which title was given and rendered hereditary, both to him and to the Zemindar of Palgunge, by some of the Rajahs of Soor, on occasion of those Gautwalls performing some particular services for them.—The character of this man seems of a very extraordinary



SECTION 4.

traordinary nature, for though he has so little capacity as not to be able to transact any business, and his Zemindary is extremely ill regulated, yet he has a pretty considerable political weight in the country, and was the principal man in the late conspiracy in favour of Jagernaut Deo, to whose son the daughter of Bislan Sing is married; yet at the same time, he has not had for many years sufficient authority to enforce the payment of a rupee from Cunshun Sing, for the Talook of Deopoor, which is one-eighth part of the Serampoor Zemindary. The Zemindary of Serampoor is a large one, and tolerably well cultivated.

RAJAH SUBERAN SING,—south and south-west from Serampoor, is the Zemindary of Palgunge, of which Suberan Sing is Zemindar, as I before observed, with the title of Rajah: his character is not much known, but looked on as sacred, being High Priest to the Temples on the Mountain of Parinaut, situated on the south side of Palgunge, which Mountain also enabled his father to evade the arms of Comgar Cawn, by hiding himself and his effects there, and this hold inclines him to be prone to disobedience. He has not any family connection with the house of Serampoor, but they have always been of the same counsel, perhaps, owing to the friendship arising from the reciprocal good offices which their vicinity has enabled them to render to each other in times of calamity; and this connection of friendship led him to join indirectly with the Serampoor Rajah, and his party, in favour of Jagernaut Deo. These five houses have always kept up a good intelligence with Lolmun Mahtoo, and he has often employed them to his own advantage, both in peace and war; sometimes they have differed, but it has soon been adjusted; the whole Government of the



district is left to an uncle of the Rajah's, whose name is Toolfey Sing, a man equally able and turbulent, and by whose advice every thing is done.

TEKOIT JESSMONT DEO,—on the western boundary of Curruckdea, below the pafs, is situated the Zemindary of Sutgomah, of which Jessmont Deo is Zemindar, who is a man of a tolerable share of capacity and courage. This Zemindary was once the most considerable in the whole Zilla. Comgar Cawn, who formed the design of taking the whole Zilla of Curruckdea into his own hands, began by collecting a tribute from the Sutgomah Zemindar; this he refused to submit to, and prepared to oppose Comgar Cawn's entrance into Curruckdea, of which, as I have said, this Zemindary was the western boundary; the strength of the pafses, and the aid given to him by the other Zemindars, enabled him to defeat the designs of Comgar Cawn for near two years; when the Gomah Zemindar joining Comgar Cawn, conducted him into the country by another pafs, it was subjected, and the Zemindar of Sutgomah was obliged to submit, and become tributary. He was however, pardoned, and allowed to hold his Zemindary: sometime after, Comgar Cawn being confined by Rajah Ramnarain at Patna, a Foujdaar was sent on the part of the latter to collect his revenues. The Sutgomah Zemindar from resentment against Comgar Cawn, joined the Foujdaar, and discovered to him the places where Comgar Cawn had secreted his wealth, which was seized on.—But Comgar Cawn soon after escaping from prison, and having already prepared by private letters every thing for driving out the Foujdaar, the very day he arrived, he seized on all the pafses round Curruckdea, and sent the Foujdaar
word,



SECTION 4.

word, that he would suffer him to escape on no other condition, than that of his delivering the Zemindar of Sutgomah and his son into his hands: the Foujdaar to save himself, acquiesced in the proposal; and wrote Comgar Cawn to be near a certain pass called Singhar, and he would then seize on the Sutgomah Zemindar, and deliver him up. He accordingly requested the Sutgomah Zemindar to escort him out of that pass; the other not having any suspicion of treachery from a man to whom he had been so serviceable, consented to the proposal; and when the Foujdaar approached the pass, he seized on the Zemindar and his son, and delivered both into the hands of Comgar Cawn, who thereupon let him pass.— Comgar Cawn kept both father and son in confinement for above two years, and by repeated threats and promises, extorted almost all his wealth from the former, in hopes of saving his life; after which he put both to death, and collected the Zemindary *Khafs*: in this state it remained for near three years, till the present Zemindar Jessimont Deo, second son to the one who was cut off, collecting a number of people together from the several Zemindars in his interest, entered the Zemindary of Sutgomah, drove out the force stationed in the fort by Comgar Cawn, and laid the country waste all round. Comgar Cawn from a sense of his injustice to this family, and to prevent loss and delay in contending with such a kind of enemy, suffered him to make proposals, which he accepted, and established him in his Zemindary; the greatest hatred has ever since subsisted in this family against Lolmun and the Gomah family, both of whom they consider as enriched by their treachery to the Sutgomah house, in joining Comgar Cawn.



SECTION 4.

TEKOIT SHEEPDUT SING,—on the southward boundary of Curruckdea, close to that of Ramgur, is situated the Zemindary of Dumchauns, the Zemindar of which is Sheepdut Sing, who is the first military character of all the Buyah chiefs, having always lived with his neighbours in a state of warfare and plunder, particularly with the borderers of Ramgur, owing to ancient hereditary animosities, which could scarce fail to originate between the savage borderers of two rival Rajahs.—The situation of the country, joined to his disposition, has given a military turn of mind to all his tenants, inasmuch, that on his having any project of plunder in view, every man of his Talooka, capable of bearing arms, takes the field with him, to the number as is said, of five or six hundred, and he has been known to carry his depredations into the very heart of Pachete; this character has made him always be courted by those who wished at any time to raise disturbances, at the same time, that it rendered him an offensive object to the governors of the district, who on their side never missed any opportunity of mortifying and injuring him, particularly Lolmun Mahroo, who piqued at the little respect shewn him by this Gautwall, never failed to point him out as a rebel whenever troops were sent into that Zilla, by which means his Talooka was frequently pillaged, but he never submitted or came in in person.

In 1768, when an insurrection took place in favour of Khader Bucksh Khan, this Zemindar was the principal man who joined him, and animated by his private enmity against Lolmun, proposed as the first hostility, the besieging the fort of Curruckdea,

and was of no use as he was not able to do more of

1768



SECTION 4-

of which Lolmun was then Foujdaar, and at the same time laying waste with fire and sword, the Talooka of Gomah, of which Lolmun's original patron was the Zemindar; the scheme was approved, and Sheepdut Sing, who was the person employed, executed it to the greatest perfection: some time after Lolmun proposed to come in to Khader Bucksh Khan, and to make his people give up the fort of Curruckdea, which they still continued to defend; his offer was accepted, but no sooner was he in the camp of Khader Bucksh Khan, than his old enemy Sheepdut Sing proposed to confine him, and extort from him a sum of money; this was accordingly done, and the sum fixed for his release, was twenty-eight thousand rupees, thirteen thousand of which he paid, and was in confinement for the rest, when Capt. Camac being sent with his battalion to suppress those commotions, Khader Bucksh Khan fled, and during his flight, Lolmun found the means of making his escape; soon after he went and offered his services to Captain Camac, and revenged himself on Sheepdut Sing, by representing him (and for once very justly) as the principal offender in that rebellion, which induced that gentleman to attack him, destroy his fort, and lay his Talooka waste, in which state it remained all the time Captain Camac staid in that Zilla, which was five or six months; yet during that time, Sheepdut Sing would never come in, but carried on some negotiations by his Vakeel, the result of which was, his being soon after permitted to return to his Zemindary on his former footing; but the resentment subsisting between Lolmun and him, has never abated; he on his side refusing ever to come near the Cutcherry, and Lolmun continually representing him as a villain and a rebel; and in the year 1775, on an omission to pay some



SECTION 4.

balances of revenue, Lolmun persuaded Nutty Khan, the then farmer, to collect a number of armed men and plunder his Talooka, as the best way of paying himself, which he did, and this has of course increased this Zemindar's enmity, for Lolmun; his peace was again made with Nutty Khan by Vakeel, and he returned to his Talooka, a short time before the delivery of the Zilla over to my charge; in 1775, Lolmun again made mention of him to me, as a man who had been humbled a little, but whose utter destruction was absolutely requisite for the peace of the country; but as I was cautious of receiving wrong impressions, I deferred taking any steps against him till I could prove his disobedience, and shortly after, on my promise of safety, he came in to me, and has ever since remained peaceable and obedient to government.

TAKOOR CUNSHUN SING,—the Talooka of Deopoor, being one-eighth part of the Zemindary of Serampoor, is possessed by this man; it being the portion allotted about one hundred years ago, to one of his progenitors, who was the younger brother of the then Zemindar, the title of Takoor, implying the issue of the second branch of the family; the present Takoor Cunshun Sing, is a man of less capacity than courage and integrity, of which he gave proofs, first with respect to the family of Jagernaut Deo, and afterwards to Government, on the following occasion: the elder sister of Cunshun Sing being married to the father of Durrum Deo, on the expulsion of Jagernaut Deo and his family in 1773, the women, children, and property of Durrum Deo, were secured at Deopoor, where he also resided himself; and on the general confederacy of the Buyah chiefs,

Cunshun



SECTION 4.

Cunshun Sing supplied his proportion of men and arms for the attacks made on the stations of the battalion. In consequence of intelligence received on all these points in July 1775, finding all my attempts to surprize Jagernaut Deo or his party in vain, I resolved to attack their friends and allies; and as Cunshun Sing had acted with great insolence, in declaring his determination to resist Government, and was in possession of a strong fort, I thought an attack on him would be exemplary, and might be decisive, as the family of Durrum Deo was in the fort; I therefore, by an expeditious march of twenty-three co's, invested the fort the 20th July, and took it the same night; but the garrison escaped by favour of the darkness; and the number of troops being insufficient to surround so large a space, with little loss, after having kept up a constant fire from nine in the morning till twelve at night, I destroyed the fort, and all the villages and grain in the district, after which I delivered it in charge to the Serampoor Rajah; both with design to keep Cunshun Sing out effectually, and also to encrease the enmity already subsisting between him and Bissan Sing, sensible that to subjugate these people, it was first necessary to divide them; Cunshun Sing, thus expelled, and distressed by the enmity of the Rajah, was obliged to submit, and about the middle of August wrote me, that if I would send him Betel, he would deliver himself up; this was done, and on his arrival, being willing to remove all obstacles to the submission of others, I received him with kindness, and only requiring of him to bring in Durrum Deo, on promise of pardon, dismissed him with the distinction of a Khelat, and assurance of future favours on performance of his engagement.



SECTION 4.

In October he brought in Durrum Deo, and immediately restored to him his Talooka, by virtue of the authority given me by Government, to use such means as appeared to me most advisable for the general benefit of the country. It may not be uninteresting here to relate two circumstances characteristic of the honour and resolution of this man; when the news of the destruction of Deopoor, arrived with Jagernaut Deo, Durrum Deo, frightened for the event to his family, went immediately over to the Jungles, whether Cunhun Sing had fled, where he lamented his misfortune, that his only friend should be ruined, while those of Jagernaut Deo had escaped; and proposed immediately to submit at discretion, as a lesser evil, than suffering such persecution; this Cunhun Sing objected to, and insisted on coming in himself; saying, that his death would be a smaller loss than that of Durrum Deo, and if he was pardoned, who was so recent an offender, Durrum Deo might then submit with a confidence of safety, which he accordingly did. The other circumstance is, that on his being so well received by me, his friends advised him to stipulate favourable terms for himself before he undertook the bringing in Durrum Deo; but he rejected their advice, saying, his submission was amply rewarded by the pardon of his life, and he would trust to the generosity of Government for the reward of any future services he might perform.

It is now proper to point out the cause of disagreement between him and the Rajah Bissan Sing. I have before observed, that he possessed by family right one eighth of the Zemindary of Serampoor, for which he paid tribute to the Rajah; about eight years ago, he observed to the Rajah, that when this division was given

to



SECTION 4-

to his forefathers, their families and expences were small; that now his own were very great, and therefore he begged the Rajah to give him a larger Talooka; this the Rajah peremptorily refused, on which Cunshun Sing withheld his rents entirely, and by means of his fort, and the number of his feudal troops, kept himself utterly independent; this has produced an extreme hatred in the Rajah towards him, and the insults offered by him to Cunshun Sing, when the Talooka was given in charge to him by me, have made it reciprocal and mortal. I will now point out the use to which I think the resentments of these Zemindars of Sutgomah, Dumchauns, and Deopoor, may be turned, with respect to keeping the Zilla of Curruckdea in subjection, as also the steps already taken for that end.

It is evident from the preceding recital, that the Zemindar of Sutgomah will readily promote any thing for the humiliating and injuring of the Gomah family, or indeed any of the faction of Lolmun Mahtoo; the same principles, besides a general love for plunder and rapine, actuate the Zemindar of Doomchauns; and Cunshun Sing, it is clear, will give into every measure for injuring the Rajah of Serampoor.

The steps necessary to be taken by Government to avail itself of these dispositions, were to foment their differences, and remove any thing that might promote an union of interests; this I have done, by exempting the two first from the duty of one anna paid to the family of Gomah; supporting the pretensions of Cunshun Sing against the Rajah of Serampoor, and by settling all disputes about boundary, &c. in favour of these Zemindars; and as the



SECTION 4.

only general principle likely to unite them to the other Zemindars, was to oppose any increase of rents, and to Lolmun, for his favour towards them as Foujdaar; to prevent these, their rents are fixed, and I have taken the collection of them immediately into my own hands;—they on their parts swearing fidelity and feudal services to Government, whenever called on: thus I have secured the services of these men, by whose intimate knowledge of the country and haunts of the others, in case of disaffection among the rest of the Zemindars, I can injure them more in a month, than otherwise could be done in an age, by an apprehension of which, they are held in subjection: for they have a proverbial saying in great repute among them, that Zemindars are safe while united, but the defection of one will ruin a thousand; adverting to the intelligence he can give of their holds for secreting their families and property. This is all which need to be said of the Jungle Terry of Curruckdea.

GUIDORE,—the Rajh of Guidore was formerly of great extent, but the conquests made from it by the Rajah of Bierboom, and Comgar Cawn, and the independency which these wars gave the Gautwalls an opportunity of assuming, have reduced the present Rajahs Gopal Sing, and Durrup Sing, to so low an ebb, that they can scarcely recover sufficient consequence to be of any political weight whatever; I shall not therefore say any thing of them, but speak of the only man of any consequence now in the district, which is the principal Zemindar of Chackye.

TEKOIT METNARAIN SING,—is the name of this man; and his Talooka, which includes the town and gaut of Chackye, being



SECTION 4.

being by far the largest of ten which compose the Zilla, his power was proportionably great; and the Rajahs of Guidore having no power of late years, received by his influence such a tribute as he chose to pay for himself and the other Zemindars.— he is an old man, possessed of low cunning, but little wisdom or resolution; on the district being put under my charge in 1774, he fled, and made the rest follow his example; some acts of severity brought the others in, and a settlement was made, but in the beginning of 1775, Metnarain Sing who had fled to Serampoor to Jagernaut Deo and the other malcontents, returned with them; on his advice, all the other Zemindars of Chackye took up arms and joined him, and the whole in conjunction with Jagernaut Deo, laid siege to the redoubt which I built there by the orders of Government; some time after Metnarain Sing offered to submit, and as he was the first of the general confederacy who had done so, I resolved to make his example tempting to others; I therefore gave him possession of his Talooka, and as a punishment to the rest for their infidelity, I put them all under Metnarain Sing's authority, than which nothing could be more offensive to these chiefs, who are as tenacious of their independency as the ancient Barons; at the same time they dared not revolt, as they knew that by Metnarain Sing's intelligence, they would be deprived of a place of retreat.

BIERBOOM,—in this division of the Jungle Terry, there is not a Zemindar of sufficient consequence to produce any considerable disturbance; I shall therefore only speak of two, one remarkable for his former opposition, the other for his constant and inviolable attachment to Government.

BABOO



SECTION 4-

The first is BABOO JESSMONT SING, who possesses the small Talooka of Ture, now collected by him as Zemindar; but formerly only as agent to Jagernaut Deo, to whom the Rajah of Bierboom granted that Talooka; this is the man who held the fort of Ture against Capt. Brooke in 1773. He is a man of courage, capacity and industry, his family have been hereditary servants to that of Jagernaut Deo for many ages, many of them killed in that service, and have always been distinguished for their capacity and fidelity: on the accession of Jagernaut Deo, this man and his elder brother Bissumber Sing, were in great confidence; they had the chief management of his affairs, and always were his advisers to keep on terms with Government, and suppress the licentiousness of his feudatory chiefs, who taking advantage of his youth, each assumed an independency, and committed disorders in the country, which these two men foresaw must end in his ruin; the chiefs, related to Jagernaut Deo, incensed at this, resolved to remove them, and about the year 1760, they assassinated Bissumber Sing, and Jessmont Sing only saved himself by flight, and took shelter in the fort of Ture. Devoted to the service of Jagernaut Deo, he defended this fort against Captain Brooke, and though he afterwards submitted, and was pardoned, yet on the return of Jagernaut Deo in 1775, he again took up arms, but would not suffer Jagernaut Deo to attack the guard of Sepoys, posted in the Talooka of Ture, declaring he would oppose such an attempt by force, as the execution of it would mark him out as a principal in this combination, though he in fact only acted in it as a servant to Jagernaut Deo, and had always advised his soliciting any reasonable terms of peace; for he said he only joined him in consequence



SECTION 4.

quence of his being reduced to this last attempt by necessity, no terms having ever been offered him, Jeffmont Sing's country was in consequence of his revolt entirely laid waste. On the submission of Darrum Deo in Oct. 1773, the whole party of Jagernaut Deo being reduced to the last distress by military execution carried on against them, and also by the desertion of one of the principal members of the confederacy, Jeffmont Sing advised Jagernaut Deo to entreat for terms, and offered to risk the coming in to me himself on receipt of Betel, which I granted, notwithstanding his double revolt; being convinced, that by his means I should be enabled to sift the matter of this insurrection thoroughly, and bring in whatever persons I chose: whereas a rejection of his submission, would have looked like an implacability against the whole party, which was an apprehension I was particularly desirous of removing: the event answered my expectation, for shortly after his pardon, he became the immediate means of bringing in his master and the whole confederacy.

The other character is BABOO ROOP DEO, the Zemindar of the Talooka of Rooney, who for above ten years has given his utmost assistance to every officer acting in this country, especially those who have been employed against Jagernaut Deo, viz. Captain (now Col.) Cummings, Captain Brooke, and myself; this has produced the most inveterate hatred against him from all that party, and what may seem strange, he is equally disliked by the Bierboom Rajah, which appeared in a conspicuous light after Captain Brooke's leaving this quarter; for under a plea of balances due for ten years back, he applied for a detachment, by which he
drove



SECTION 4

Roop Deo out of the country, plundered him of all he had, and set another person, a cousin, in his place; on my getting the charge of the country, Roop Deo came to me begging for justice, and that protection which his many services entitled him to; I granted him the latter in full; but unwilling to disturb the district by a reversal of authority, told Roop Deo he must wait till the close of the year (then six months old) when I would divide the district, which was now put into my charge, between him and the incumbent; this was in September 1774; in February 1775, began the war with Jagernaut Deo, wherein Roop Deo followed me at his own expence, without any dependence but promises; and was the only person who gave true intelligence, in which services several of his people were cut off. In April I made the division of the district; but in July, the other Zemindar, displeas'd at Roop Deo's being restored, though but to a part, concerted as I believe, with Jagernaut Deo, the plundering of Roop Deo's family; for while I was at Deopoor, Roop Deo being with me, Jagernaut Deo with his whole force made an attack upon Rooney, and destroyed every thing belonging to Roop Deo, at the same time that the property of the cousin was left untouched; this appeared so palpable piece of villainous collusion, that I immediately gave possession of the whole Talooka to Roop Deo, setting the other and his family aside for ever; thus the very means used for his destruction, promoted his fortune, and this faithful adherent at length received the reward due to his attachment and integrity.

**CURRUCKPOOR.—TAKOOR JAGERNAUT DEO.**

The noise made in these districts for years past, on account of this man has been so great, that a particular relation of the circumstances of his character and conduct will be expected, which for the sake of perspicuity, and for the proof that the rebellions he has headed, have originated more from others than from him, must commence from the time of his predecessor, whose name was

LUCHMIN DEO.—This man, from whom the town and fort of Luchmipoor take their name, was possessed of extraordinarily great qualities, and in his wild and savage districts, exercised all the duties of a good subject to Government; an able and just ruler to his subjects, and a brave and active leader of his feudal soldiers: it was the capacity of this one man, which formed his troops to a degree of skill and intrepidity, that made him formidable to all his neighbours, and almost entirely independent of Mazaffer Ali, the Rajah of Curruckpoor; who rebelling against Government, and summoning Luchmin Deo as his vassal, to assist him with his troops, was answered, that he was a servant to the Subah, and if Muzaffer Ali forgot his duty, it was no lesson for him to follow; the Rajah attempting to enforce obedience was repulsed, and ever after totally disregarded.

Luchmin Deo died in 1755, and leaving no issue, adopted Jagernaut Deo, son to his brother Kirrum Deo, then about seventeen years of age.—For this boy he entertained a strong affection when he was young, but before his death he repented of the adoption, on observing the unsteady and inconstant con-



SECTION 4-

duct of Jagernaut Deo, which was eternally varying according to the last advice given him; and that far from having any idea of enforcing due obedience from his inferiors, he was sometimes flattered, sometimes intimidated by the very chiefs, who, on Luchmin Deo's death, were to be his vassals: besides which, his extravagance was such as promised to annihilate more than the entire revenue produced in his whole district; of course it required no very great discernment to perceive that he must very soon be involved in disputes with Government on the subject of rents.

The commencement of Jagernaut Deo's government was suitable to this character; engaged in every species of expence and debauchery, he dissipated every rupee he could lay his hands on, which by the way, was not much, for the Baboos of his family perceiving his inattention to every thing but pleasure, very soon refused to pay any thing for their respective divisions of the country; and being at the head of all the feudal soldiery, they had little fear of his ever being able to compel them to obedience, as Luchmin Deo had frequently done, by means of hired troops; since Jagernaut Deo had by means of his own extravagance deprived himself of the sources of wealth to pay them with; they assured him, however, that they were ready to fight for him to the last extremity, and that thus united, they were more than a match for any force that could be sent against them: in this state they continued some time; in 1761 or 1762, the Nabob Mir Coffim, having seized on Rajah Muzaffer Ali by some stratagem, sent one Golab Roy as his Aumil, to collect the district of Cur-ruckpoor on the part of Government; this man who had a large force of the Nabob's regimented Sepoys and other troops under his



his command, determined to make an attempt to subjugate Jagernaut Deo, and impose such a tribute on him as he thought proper: with this view he made a sudden incursion into that country, at the time when all the grain had been cut and laid up for threshing; and as the Buyahs were quite off their guard, he got into the very heart of their country by one march of twenty cofs, and took possession of several of the principal magazines.—The Buyahs were at first ignorant of his force and designs, but when they found what they were, they determined not to submit; however, as they dreaded the force which the Nabob, who then resided at Monghier, might send into the country in case of their assaulting his Aumil, they endeavoured to bring Golab Roy to some agreement, but in vain, as he would not abate from his first demands; they then resolved as a last effort, to address the Nabob himself, and for that end dispatched a Vakeel to represent their case, and to assure his excellency that they were ready to pay the same tribute as his predecessors had always received from Luchmin Deo, and they hoped his excellency would accept that, and not drive them to despair; to this the Nabob replied by a Perwannah, giving them to understand that he had not given orders for any increase of their tribute, and that they were to be guided by the Sunnud he granted Jagernaut Deo about two years before.—With this reply, the Vakeel returned; upon which the Buyahs, who were now relieved from every apprehension on the side of the Nabob, immediately resolved to attack all the posts established by Golab Roy, and cut them off in one night; to effect this, secrecy and silence were necessary, to preserve the latter of which they determined to use no fire arms, and to occupy the roads leading from one post to the other, so that



SECTION 4-

no stragglers might escape to carry intelligence; Golab Roy had posted three hundred Burcundasses at a place called Jumdah, two hundred and fifty at another five cofs distant, called Kudhar, two companies of the Nabob's Sepoys in the fort of Luchmipoor, three cofs from Jumdah; and was himself with about one thousand Burcundasses at Durrumpoor, about four cofs from Luchmipoor, not in the least suspecting an attack, as the Buyahs had made no kind of movement for two or three months.

The Buyahs led on by Jagernaut Deo, began their attack on Kudhar about eight at night, and cut off that party to a man; by about one in the morning they got to Jumdah, and so effectually surpris'd the party there, that of the three hundred not above thirty escap'd: by day-break they furrounded the fort of Luchmipoor, and summon'd the Sepoys to lay down their arms and march out, or that they should share the fate of the other posts, whose story they related, and shew'd their spoils; the Sepoys, however, thought there was less danger in refusing, than complying with their request, and therefore told them they were ready to march out, but would not deliver up their arms, as if they did, his Excellency would dismiss them all from his service; after some debate, Jagernaut Deo inform'd them that they might march out with their arms, but that it behov'd them to be careful how they behaved on the march, for that if any irregularity was committed, he would attack them instantly; this they agreed to, and march'd out accordingly, the Buyahs attending them to Durrumpoor; when they arriv'd there they inform'd Golab Roy that if he would instantly quit the country, they would offer him no injury, but that if he refus'd, they would invest the fort,

and



SECTION 4.

and whenever he was obliged to leave it for want of water or provisions, not a man of his party should escape.—Golab Roy reflecting on, and frightened at the fate of his other posts, agreed to this, and quitted the country, the Buyahs attending him all the way; and some of his followers having been guilty of some irregularities were fired upon, and several of them killed.

In this manner did the Buyahs regain possession of their country, and it is not surprising that a wild and uncivilized people, should form from this the most sanguine opinion of their own military character, and despise all ideas of dependence.—Add to this, that Muzaffer Ali the Rajah of Curruckpoor, having made his escape, owing to the distress and flight of the Nabob Mir Cossim, returned to his district, and threw off all kind of obedience to Government; the Buyah chiefs having now so fair an opportunity of indulging their own spirit of plunder under the sanction of his name, laid aside all thoughts of paying any revenue to him or to Government, and plundered the territories of their neighbours all round; every thing passed for the act of Muzaffer Ali, though he was so far from having any weight with these chiefs, that on being obliged to fly through their district to avoid a detachment of our troops which was sent against him in 1766, they plundered the greatest part of his baggage; at length he being made a prisoner in 1768, and the civilized parts of Curruckpoor being settled, the true state of affairs began to appear; the tribute of the Jungle Terry subject to Jagernaut Deo, was demanded to be paid to the Honourable Company, in the same manner as it had been before paid to Muzaffer Ali; but the Buyah chiefs intoxicated by the former successes and impunity, and imagining they should have



SECTION 4.

as formerly, only Indostany Aumils with their rabble of Peons to deal with, made but little account of the summons, and continued to proceed, as if they were independent masters of their country: unluckily the detachment of Purgunnah Sepoys who were sent in aid of the Foujdaars, did not make any impression on the Buyah chiefs, but usually returned more expeditiously from their incursions than they advanced to them.—In the year 1770, on the appointment of European Gentlemen to superintend the collections of the respective districts, Jagernaut Deo sent his Vakeels into the Collector of the division to which he was subordinate, and as on this occasion, his Agents had an opportunity of acquiring some knowledge of our strength, and mode of supporting the authority of Government, he was on their information convinced of the necessity of his laying aside his ideal independency, and paying his tribute; and he even consented to pay a tribute more considerable than that formerly collected by the Curruckpoor Rajahs; in this, however, he soon found that he had been premature, for all his Baboos refused to contribute any thing towards it; but told him that they were ready, as usual, to support his independence with their lives; this reduced him to the necessity of breaking off his engagement with Government, or paying the whole tribute from his division. In these circumstances, Bussambar Sing, the brother of Jessmont Sing, who has been mentioned before, and who was then his chief counsellor, advised him to lay the true state of the case before Government, and apply for some force to compel the Baboos to pay their proportion. On the first advice of this, they assassinated Bussambar Sing, and endeavoured to do the same to Jessmont Sing, but he found means to escape, and secure himself in the fort of Ture. By the death of Bussambar Sing,



SECTION 4.

Sing, the measure of applying to Government for aid (which was the only one by which the affairs of the Zemindary could have been put upon a footing to answer his engagements) was totally laid aside, the revenues fell every year in arrears, and these balances were always carried on in the name of Jagernaut Deo, he being the Zemindar, in fact, though possessed of as little authority as the ancient kings of Europe had over their potent barons.

In this state things continued till the end of 1772, or commencement of 1773, when the Gentleman who was then Collector of that district, thought that a personal visit to the country would induce Jagernaut Deo to pay off his balances; accordingly he set out, and took with him two companies of Purgunnah Sepoys which were under his authority; he had previously sent a Jematdar's party, to remain at Luchmipoor, till the balances should be paid; but principally, I believe, to discover whether there was any chance of his being opposed when he should attempt entering that country himself.

Neither Jagernaut Deo nor any of his Baboos made any open objection to this; but when afterwards they heard that the Collector himself was approaching with a larger force, they suspected that some hostilities would be attempted, and all the feudatories were ordered to their stations, to be ready in case of emergency: Jagernaut Deo declares, and many of the people of the country confirm the assertion, that he gave the most positive and particular orders to all the people, that no kind of impediment should be given to the Collector, but that they disobeyed his orders.—It is certain



SECTION 4.

certain, that the Collector's road lay unhappily through a strong pass, which was occupied by one of the most turbulent of the Baboos, and one most interested to keep things in confusion: be this as it may, on the Collector's approach to this pass, such a firing commenced as made him think a retreat the wisest movement he could make; nobody was killed, however, which makes it probable, that they only did it by way of trying what sort of enemy they were to expect; but the event was decisive, for the Collector quitted the country immediately, and convinced that these revenues were not to be collected by his Purgannah Sepoys, he applied to government for assistance.

The corps of light infantry was accordingly ordered into Jagernaut Deo's country, to enforce the payment of his balances,—and Captain Brooke did march into that country in April 1773, having previously summoned Jagernaut Deo to settle his revenues; but Bissan Sing, the Zemindar of Mundar, which lays close to the frontiers of Jagernaut Deo's country, who was intrusted with this summons, never sent it; this the Buyahs say, and Bissan Sing makes but a feeble vindication of himself; nor is it probable if this summons had arrived, Jagernaut Deo would have exposed his country to destruction, by fruitless opposition to such a force as the corps of light infantry, co-operated with by three companies of Brigade Sepoys, acting under the collector of Bauglepoor, and two companies of Purgannah Sepoys, acting under the Collector of Monghier; nay, even if he had resolved on opposition, every person acquainted with these people knows very well, that they never will assume a style of insolence or defiance, but will profess unlimited obedience and humility, at
the



the very time they are in arms against you ; I doubt not therefore, that had that summons got to Jagernaut Deo, he would have dispatched a Vakeel instantly, with a most humble representation of his fidelity and obedience, and not (as Biffan Sing told Captain Brooke) have torn the summons, and sent him word that he did not know who he was : the motive which influenced Biffan Sing to this conduct was in all probability, a desire to see the power of that family reduced, which had been so formidable to all its neighbours, and amongst others to himself—be this as it may, on receipt of this answer, Captain Brooke advanced into that country with a determination to lay it waste, till Jagernaut Deo should submit ; and had this plan been persevered in, it would have been by far the best, and indeed the only one of any efficacy against these people ; but, by intelligence he had received, he was led to believe, that Jagernaut Deo, together with his family, and every thing of any value, were all shut up in the fort of Ture, and that the taking of that would be decisive of the fate of the whole country. Though this was very far from being the case in any of these particulars, yet one good arose from it, which was, that the Buyahs (who well knew where their property, &c. was) were disappointed in their expectation of seeing the battalion march for Jumdah and Luchmipoor, where they were prepared to receive them in their full force, having lined the avenues to those places with all the troops of the district.—However, though this danger was avoided, yet the expedition to Ture was not unattended with loss, for when Jessmont Sing saw the progress of the battalion marked with hostility, and that it had advanced in that manner to within about two cofs of his boundary, he dispatched a part of his force into a strong bamboo Jungle, which extends from



SECTION 4.

the boundary to the town and fort of Ture: upon the battalion's entering this Jungle, the Buyahs began firing, and continued till the battalion had got through, but with little execution; the battalion came out of the Jungle very near the fort, where Jeffmont Sing was with his principal force, but not a shot was fired from thence, which joined to other circumstances, made Captain Brooke believe the fort was deserted. A party of Sepoys sent to draw off the fire of the fort in case it should not be deserted, neglecting the orders Captain Brooke gave them, ran up to the very ditch; from which few of them returned, and many others following them to the same place, a great loss ensued, and the battalion unassisted with guns, ladders or any thing else but their firelocks, were obliged to draw off, though headed by an officer whose military reputation is too deservedly great, to require any eulogium of mine, and who, upon this, as upon all other occasions, did every thing that was to be done.—The battalion after this, remained encamped a few cofs from Ture, near two months, waiting for guns to attack the fort, and in the interim the enemy found means to carry off all their property from every part of the country unmolested; when the guns arrived, an attack was designed, but the enemy, who had till then staid in the fort, now left it, and Captain Brooke caused it to be destroyed; after this, Captain Brooke cantoned during the rains, at Chackye, and used all his endeavours to induce Durrum Deo, or Miguel Sing, who were nearest in blood to Jagernaut Deo, to come in and take charge of the country, in order effectually to exclude Jagernaut Deo; after some time Miguel Sing came, upon advice of which, Jagernaut Deo finding that they were likely to make their peace and probably would do it at his expence, he being expressly excluded from pardon, fled from the country, and took

up



SECTION 4.

up his residence at Serampoor with the Rajah Bissan Sing.—The country was given in charge to Miguel Sing.—Whether this man seriously intended to endeavour to keep possession of this Zemindary for himself, or whether (which is most consistent with the prejudices and characters of these people,) he only wanted the handling of the revenues with design to quit his engagements with Captain Brooke, and rejoin his old friends as soon as he had got what he could, is a point impossible now to prove either way, for soon after the time I mention, he failed in payment of his rents, and was thereupon deprived of all trust and confined; from which period we may date all the subsequent confusion, which ended in a general confederacy for restoring Jagernaut Deo,—for upon the confinement of Miguel Sing, confidence ended on both sides; Captain Brooke was afraid to trust any of that family with the country or revenues, and they on their part were as diffident of relying on promises of security and support from him; the effects were correspondent to the causes, they began to lay the basis of a re-union with Jagernaut Deo, and Captain Brooke determined to collect the country Khafs, of course to set aside all the branches of that family, to which measure (of itself sufficiently odious to the whole country) was added another which precipitated the general confederacy to action sooner than otherwise would have happened; this was an attempt to disarm all the feudal soldiery. Upon this occasion, a great quantity of arms were at first got hold of by an unexpected seizure of all the chiefs, who were yet within reach; but as soon as the design was discovered, all the remaining arms which were by far the greatest part, were secreted, and from this instant, there was no reasonable foundation to hope for a continuance of peace.—The Jaghiers of all the



SECTION 4.

chiefs and feudal soldiery were seized on and collected Khafs, and those men had the alternative of starving or turning ploughmen, who had always hitherto lived in ease and idleness.—I leave it to any person to judge of the degree to which they must have detested the present, and regretted the former Government. The universal wish was, that the country should rather lie waste for ever, than be possessed by Government upon terms which seemed to the Zemindars, the very height of oppression, and nothing prevented their instantly flying to arms, and dispersing all the Riots who had settled, but the fear that Miguel Sing, who was still a prisoner, should be made to answer for it with his life.

As this brings me to the period when the Jungle Terry was put under my charge with all these inauspicious circumstances, I must digress from the subject a little, just to observe, that very soon after my appointment to this command, and as soon as I quitted the partial and self-interested informations of the dependents of government, to acquire a real knowledge of the state of the country, from the Zemindars and inhabitants of it; I found that the whole settlement of the Curruckpoor Jungle Terry, was made upon such a footing, that nothing but utter confusion was to be expected, and that in a very short time:—as I knew however, that Jagernaut Deo had been represented to Government in such terms, that nothing could be done in his behalf without express orders from the board; nay, that this very settlement had been considered as solid and durable, I therefore made a proposal for power to endeavour to bring him to come in, as I was sensible a very short time must put an end to all possibility of collecting the country Khafs, of course that it was better to secure the



SECTION 4-

future peace of it, by restoring this Zemindar under proper limitations, than be compelled to disengage it from confusion, by giving it to any one who would take it, which I knew must ultimately be the case, if the enemy (as was probable they would) should avoid running any risk from encountering our troops, and only keep the country in confusion by robbery, and preventing the inhabitants from cultivating their lands; since, when once a Zemindar has been expelled his country, and all hopes of pardon excluded, there is no further injury can be done to him, nor would he be caught in these Jungle countries, if you should pursue him for a century.—The important business in which government was at that time engaged, prevented my letters being answered; soon after, finding that a general confederacy was planning at Serampoor, for invading the Curruckpoor Jungle Terry, at the season when government should expect to reap the benefit of the Khafs collection, and by laying the country waste, and dispersing the Riots, to reduce government to the necessity of restoring the Zemindars to prevent a constant and fruitless expence:—as Curruckdea was not under my authority at the time, I could do nothing against the confederacy while there,—I therefore applied to government, to put that district under my charge, and authorize my proceeding immediately against the abettors of Jagernaut Deo, (if they were determined not to permit his submission) which I knew would produce a diversion of sufficient length, to enable the revenue servants to collect the Jungle Terry of Curruckpoor unmolested,—after which, conciliatory measures might be pursued with the better grace, but the employment of the board prevented the timely answering of this address also.

By



SECTION 4.

By this time, the confederacy was strengthened by the accession of almost every Zemindar who had felt an encrease of tribute, but still they were restrained from action by the confinement of Miguel Sing, and I on my part, could use no means for breaking it, without orders from Calcutta.

At this critical juncture, two circumstances happened, which brought on immediate hostilities, the one was my being compelled for the preservation of my life from a most violent fever, to quit the Jungles and proceed to Burdwan, which the Buyahs imagined, put a stop to all military or political proceedings till I should return; the other was the death of Miguel Sing; this happened early in January 1775.—As soon as I heard of it, I knew what was to be expected, but was at this time rendered by my sickness incapable of rising from my bed, I sent such orders, however, as I thought would best provide against the evil apprehended, and again advised government of the state of affairs.—Every day now teemed with intelligence of the flight of all the former feudatory chiefs, and their partly disarmed followers, who had remained fullen in their respective villages, from the time that the Khafs settlement took place; every instant a general invasion was expected of every one of the Khafs districts;—I had at this time just got strength enough to go about, but sensible of the emergency of the case, I determined to return to my station.—Just at this time, the district of Curruckdea was placed under my authority, upon which I immediately set off, determined to march my battalion to Serampoor, and see if I could not even yet disappoint the intended invasion; for this purpose, I proceeded with all possible dispatch, and to prevent any loss of time, I ordered the
battalion



SECTION 4.

battalion to advance to a place on the way to Serampoor, where I purposed joining it; but all my precautions were of no avail, the enemy had already entered the country in large bodies, under cover of those immense jungles which overspread the district, the Riots of the country, partly from affection, partly from fear, kept the secret of their several places of rendezvous so well, that it was problematical whether they were actually arrived or not, and the first certain advice I had, was the day after I came to the corps; when a general attack was made upon the out-posts, which Captain Brooke had stationed for preserving the peace of the country, and which I had not ventured to withdraw, as I knew that arrangement had met with public approbation: some of these were almost entirely cut off; others were driven from their posts with great loss, and all that were within reach of me, to prevent their misfortune, I immediately called in, and proceeded after the enemy, who constantly avoided coming near the battalion, and continued plundering and laying waste the country; the sequel of this is well known, and most minutely detailed in my correspondence with the Honourable Board: it ended (when every other measure had been tried in vain) in the country being given to Roopnarain Deo, the son of Jagernaut Deo, upon condition of the father's coming in on a promise of personal safety, and residing with me, which he has done, and it is since that, that the true springs of every thing have been known, as also the real character of this chief, which I think is neither so good nor so bad, as it has been described.

As to the noise his name formerly made, it arose more from the depredations of his Baboos, than from any thing very distinguished



CSL

SECTION 4.

tinguished on his part, though he certainly does not want for courage, as has been sometimes thought.—The flatteries of his followers, and his successes against Golab Roy, and the Purgunnah detachments, certainly made him form a very undue opinion of his own and his followers military powers, of which he is now very sensible.

That he was raised to the head of so great a confederacy, was partly owing to his character, partly to extensive family connexions, but more than all, to the persecution he underwent from Government, and the scheme of collecting his country Khafs, which the other Zemindars thought was only prefatory to a similar treatment of their countries also, and that therefore, the cause was as much theirs, as it was his;—a conclusion so natural, that I don't see how any other could have been drawn from these premises, and which might afford a lesson to all Governments, if such were wanting;—never to furnish any general principle, any point of union, which may serve as the standard for a confederacy to fly to, with the external appearance of only being struggling against oppression, and the invasion of their just rights.

As to the rest of his character, he is liberal to his inferiors, even to extravagance, and so affable and polite in his behaviour to them, that they bear him the highest affection: he is expensive and addicted to pleasure; but I cannot conclude without adding to the list of his virtues, sincerity and gratitude, which he has a larger share of than falls to most of his countrymen whom I have seen.

BABOO



BABOO ROOPNARAINDEO,—the son of Jagernaut Deo; he cannot while his father lives, assume the title of Takoor, and though he is at present to every intent Zemindar of that country, yet his youth makes it difficult to say with precision, what his character may turn out to be; much will depend upon the management of him on the part of Government, and if he falls into bad courses, it will probably originate from ignorance on that side.

BABOOS DURRUM DEO, KEIM KURRUN DEO, ADJET SING, SUNKER SING, NYNE SING, TIRBOON SING, MANGUN SING, JEDBUR SING, ADJMIER SING, the first and second of whom, are first cousins to Jagernaut Deo; the third and fourth are sons of Miguel Sing; and the last five, (descendants of five chiefs who were brothers, and therefore are themselves called the five brothers,) are the heads of the feudal soldiery, and I will venture to say from my knowledge of them, that they never will be of any service to Government, or to their Zemindar, for any other end than war and rapine.—These are all the characters I think deserving of notice, for as to the Zemindars of the Bauglepoor and Colgong Jungle Terry, it may be said in every sense of the word, that they possess no character at all.



SECTION V.

Defects in the present Government of the Jungle Terry.

I Will now beg leave to offer my opinion as to what I think the best method of governing these countries, so as to render them a security, instead of a very considerable danger to these provinces, and as the end of my writing this sketch, is to convey truth and information, not to sacrifice to prejudice, I shall proceed to it without any regard to the suggestions of the votaries of professional distinction, who from sympathy may be apt to conclude, that I am influenced to prefer this plan by the necessity it induces for keeping up military command here :—I shall with equal freedom propose a diminution of the present revenue, which will of course be approved, if I shew that upon the whole such a measure will be an advantage to Government, or rejected, if I fail to produce sufficient arguments to that end.

I shall lay it down as the basis of this plan, that the Rajahs of the mountains and jungles extending from the Mahrattah boundary south, to the plain countries of Midnapoor Burdwan, Bierboom, Bauglepoor, Monghier, and Bahar, north, are the natural and proper defenders of the honourable Company's provinces against the Mahrattahs on that side; and that those provinces would be safer through the affections and feudal services of these petty chiefs, supported by a small regular force, than with almost any force that could be spared for protecting this frontier in time of general



general warfare, if those chieftains, instead of attachment, should feel the sentiments of repentment and disaffection towards us.

I shall just beg leave to call to mind, that all the passes leading from the Mahrattah territories into Bengal and Bahar, are within our own boundary, and that they are possessed by the Rajahs of the respective limits through which they pass: behind is a second line of Chokeydary Gautwallies constituting the Jungle Terry.—Almost all the inhabitants are armed, and hold lands of their respective chiefs on the feudal tenure, the chiefs were formerly bound by the same ties to the State, a slight tribute and the protection of the frontier against all invasions from the south.—The Government of Hindostan thought these people were the natural defence of the frontiers, and of course that it was necessary by every means to attach them to the State, and to make their private interests coincide with that of the public; left dissatisfied with a government from which they felt more evil than good, they should invite, rather than oppose, the entrance of an enemy into the provinces.—I doubt not, that this politick reflection had as much weight in preventing the native Governors of Bengal from attempting to levy a heavier tribute from these countries, as any deficiency of troops fit for such a service.—Their conduct was certainly judicious—That an armed peasantry, if attached to the State, may do infinite injury to an invader, however formidable, in a country naturally strong, we need look no farther for a striking proof, than the instance of the opposition given by the peasants of Poland, to a victorious army, led on by Charles the XIIth. of Sweden.—Had those peasants been disgusted with the State, and expected a change for the better in their own situation, from a



SECTION 5.

change of masters, there is scarcely room for a doubt, that they would have conducted the very army, which, in other circumstances they opposed, nor could any body of regular forces stationed there, have compensated for, or counterbalanced their disaffection; for an invading army is seldom deficient of force, but almost always in point of intelligence, and it behoves the State liable to invasion, to take care they do not obtain it from any defection of their own people.—I will not, however, take up your time, Sir, with general reasonings upon principles too clear to be disputed; but proceed at once to apply them to the case for which this is written; I mean the State of this frontier within and without.

Within, we have by military force and operations imposed a tribute much higher than ever had been paid before; but take all these countries throughout, I believe you will find, Sir, this increased tribute does not amount to eight annas per man, of those who have thereby been alienated from the State; and what are these people? not wretched, spiritless, unarmed Bengallies, inhabiting a plain central country, neither formidable by character or situation; but an armed people, martial, proud, and independent, and constituting, by their situation, the only barrier we possess against that enemy, from whom more than from all others, the State may suffer greatest loss in its wealth and population.

This increased tribute has reduced the Zemindars from easy to straitened circumstances, and many of the younger branches of their families, to be without any support; in such circumstances, need I say, that the whole body of the people are dissatisfied.—

Let



SECTION 5.

Let no stress be laid on their paying their revenues ; the presence of your troops, and the great attention of your officers on these services, to render their Government and themselves popular, and agreeable to these savage and martial chiefs, have hitherto effected this : but these people have as yet had no temptations from without ; you have but just begun to be at war with the Mahrattahs, and have as yet experienced no necessity for removing to other places, those bands which hitherto have held together this crazy fabrick ; let but that happen before some measures are taken to prevent the consequences, and I doubt not, that a scene of universal confusion will ensue : nor do I think any addition of force which could be spared, would avail to keep out an invasion from the south, while the whole body of the people are dissatisfied with our Government.—A man, from a superficial view, might suppose every thing very solid and well compounded ; but I have an opportunity of seeing behind the curtain, and can assert, that it is by no means so.

With respect to the outside of this frontier, the Mahrattah districts are divided from ours, generally speaking, by an ideal line ; the Zemindars on both sides are in many places closely connected ; a negotiation through that medium, might be set on foot by the Mahrattah Government in a few days.

If they offered powerful bribes, while our borderers, generally dissatisfied, are also impoverished, and by no ties united to the State, do you think, Sir, they would have virtue enough to resist the temptation, or indeed would it be any virtue to do so ? The answer I fear is plain and negative : a body of Mahrattahs thus



SECTION 5.

introduced into the heart of the Province of Bengal, would in six hours inflict greater loss than the revenues of all these frontier countries put together, amount to in a year; and whenever they should be compelled to fly from your troops, (which would not be very suddenly) their old allies, our borderers, would find means of getting them as safely back as they advanced; for as I said before, an army would not suffice to guard all these passes without the aid and affections of our own borderers; and with them, a very little force would do a great deal.

It has been before observed, in opposition to the idea of substituting regular troops to these feudatories, that none but the natives of these countries could exist in those unwholesome mountains and jungles, through which the passes immediately lead; and I beg leave to call it to mind, as an argument of the utmost importance: for the reality of the fact I appeal to all the surgeons and officers who have been on these services.—In 1774, when Captain James Crawford was employed in reducing the frontier Zemindaries of Pachete, he fixed some posts near the passes leading from the Baugmoory Hills, and though they were weekly relieved, yet such was the devastation made in his battalion by keeping up those posts, that at one time he had near three hundred men sick. The urgent necessity of affairs, compelled him to support this measure, though the consequences were so fatal, in spite of every precaution he could use; which were such indeed, as would not have entered into the imagination of almost any person but him, who was one of the first public and private characters I ever knew; I hope, Sir, you will excuse this small tribute to the merit of one of the dearest friends I ever had, whose
memory



SECTION 5.

memory I shall ever hold sacred, and the loss of whom, both to the publick and myself, as it is irreparable, I shall never cease to lament.

Proposals for the
future Government
of the Jungle Terry

These being the evils attending the present mode of government established in these countries, the remedies I beg leave to offer to your consideration are as follows:

I. That the tribute now levied upon these countries, be reduced to such a sum as the Zemindars shall cheerfully and voluntarily agree to pay; binding themselves by machulkahs, and a most sacred oath to be annually renewed, to fidelity and feodal services; each Zemindar having one of his children or nearest kindred, always residing with the commanding officer of the division to which he belongs, as a further security and mark of obedience.— This plan to be made general throughout the Mountains of Midnapoor, Pachete, Naikpoor, Ramgur, and Palamow; as also throughout the Jungle Terry of Bierboom, Curruckdea, Guidore, and Curruckpoor. I am not well acquainted with the amount of the revenues of any of these districts, excepting those which have been under my authority; but I conjecture, that this deduction (by which many thousands of armed men would be secured to the service of the State, to which they now only want an opportunity to shew their enmity) would not amount to above one lack of rupees per annum; a sum which, I said before, is not equal to the loss which would be suffered in six hours by an incursion of Mahrattahs.

H. That



SECTION 5.

II. That the waste lands in all these countries, which are not hereditary property, be given in jaghier, to worn-out Sepoys in the service, who shall be encouraged and agree to settle there with their families, on the tenure of feudal services.

III. That to remedy the scarcity of money, the Zemindars be allowed to pay in part of their rents in such articles produced in their districts, as are not of a perishable nature (such as iron and dammah) at fixed prices; these goods to be carried at their expence to the Cutcherry of the division, and to be disposed of by contract, for the company, or otherwise as may be directed.— The cultivation of opium may be attempted, where the soil will admit of it, and grain and other provisions, may be received on the same terms, and lodged in magazines for the use of the troops, in these and the neighbouring quarters, the old stock being annually disposed of.

IV. That with respect to the administration of justice, the Zemindary courts be allowed the power of adjusting all little matters either civil or criminal, subject however to appeal, in the former cases to the Commander, and in the latter, to the Foujdary court of the district; but that no considerable case be cognizable by the Zemindars; but referred solely to the Commander of the district, who, in civil cases, will decide according to his instructions from the Board, and in all criminal ones, will lay them before the Foujdaar Adowlat.

V. That as a force on the part of Government is absolutely requisite to support these feudal troops, if attacked from without,
and



SECTION 5.

and by superior authority to controul and keep them from all disputes and violence from within; I beg leave to recommend, that the whole of this frontier be divided into three military commands, *viz.*

One to include all the frontier of Midnapoor, *viz.*

- | | |
|------------|---------------|
| Mohurbunge | Burraboom and |
| Singboom | Mauboom |
| Dolboom | |

The second, all that of Pacheit, *viz.*

Tomar and Patcoom, and the Jungle Terry lying behind it, *viz.*

- | | | |
|--------------------------|----------|------------|
| Of Pacheit | Bierboom | Curruckdea |
| Chackye and Curruckpoor. | | |

The third, all that of Nagpoor, Ramgur and Palamow, *viz.*

- | | | |
|---------|------------|---------|
| Nagpoor | Burwah | Palamow |
| Toory | Sheerganty | Ramgur |

In order to give that degree of weight to the three officers commanding at these stations, and that unity of authority which is absolutely requisite in such countries, for the ends of intelligence and action, without which, nothing essential can be effected by them, I recommend it as absolutely necessary, that each do col-



SECTION 5.

left the tribute from the Zemindars of his division, and appropriate, and account for it, in part of the disbursements of his corps.—There is certainly no necessity for civil servants being employed in such trifling collections, it occasions a division of authority highly detrimental to the service, besides an immense increase of expence; for I believe, we may, on an average, reckon the charges of one civil collector, to be equal to that of three or four military ones put together; and surely as to expediency, an officer, if he has common sense, can manage the account of fifty or sixty thousand rupees, as well as if he had been bred up in a counting house all his life.

These three commands to be independent of each other; but to keep up constant communication and intelligence, and co-operate together for the general good, in case of public emergency, when their forces might be obliged to join, the eldest officer would of course command: I propose this independence, because each must be the best judge of what is proper in his own district; but were those three commands to act under the authority of one person, he would, from the nature of man, be for interfering in every thing, and of course would often do so, where he had but little knowledge of the subject.

Forts and Posts
necessary for De-
fence and Commu-
nication.

As the easy terms of tribute will render all compulsion to pay it unnecessary, the only posts required, will be against foreign enemies; I can on this point only speak of the districts under my authority, which can be entered from the south, by way of Ramgur and Pachait, or from the Bahar province to the west and north-



north-west: the true scene of action is the Jungle and passes, but the troops destined for it should be stationed near them, and secured from insult.

The fort at Chackye, fully answers every such end with respect to that pass.

That of Curruckdea, is too remote from the pass of that name, and I therefore advise the erecting one at a small expence near Gommah. These two will effect every defence and communication requisite towards Bahar.

Towards Ramgur, I would recommend to repair the fort of Doomchaunse, which is within two cofs of Corumma, the grand pass from Ramgur to Curruckdea.

Towards Pacheit, I would propose repairing the fort of Deopoor, (south of Serampoor) which is within four cofs of the Toondey pass, leading from Pacheit to Curruckdea. These two forts would also keep open the communication with Bahar by way of Curruckdea, in case the main body of the Jungle Terry command should march to assist that of Ramgur or Pacheit.

Breastworks of stones and coarse chunam, which could be made here, might at a small expence be erected across the principal passes, with strong gates; and some of the many old cannon lying about in different places, might be mounted, and added to the strength of these breastworks, with little or no expence; which would render the access next to impossible, when we were



SECTION 5.

supported with the grand essentials, the affections and interest of the natives.

This is the plan, I beg permission to offer for consideration, and it is, as I elsewhere said, an improvement, not an abrogation of the ancient Government; the feudal soldiery are not only preserved, but supported by the troops of Government, who at the same time will much more effectually answer the end of controul over these Jungle chiefs, than their former feudal lords possibly could.

A small reduction of revenue takes place, but it is to secure the affections and services, and render yourselves safe from the enmity of thousands of your own armed subjects, situated between you and your most formidable enemy: it is an act worthy of the dignity and wisdom of a great political State as this is, and cannot be combated upon any better grounds than the short fought schemes of ways and means, which never look beyond the present hour.

I know nothing that I can add to this sketch, but my earnest wish, that it may in any degree answer your intention and expectation: as to the successful execution of the plan, I feel an entire confidence, that nothing is requisite for ensuring that, but the sanction and approbation of that State, for whose service it was formed.



S U P P L E M E N T.

A C C O U N T O F T H E H I L L S.

SUPPLEMENT.
Account of the
Hills.

AS the people known by the denomination of the Mountaineers of Rajhmahl, as well as the country they possess, are utterly different from those of the Jungle Terry; I thought it would most effectually keep the accounts of both free from obscurity, if I concluded the sketch of the Jungle Terry first, and gave that of the Hills separately.

It has been already remarked in the first Section, that these Hills are not a chain communicating with any others, but a cluster of small Hills surrounded by the flat countries: the districts skirting them are as follows, beginning at Sacra Gully.

- 1 Gongaperfaud—2 Tilliagurry—3 Colgong—4 Bauglepoor
- 5 Curruckpoor —6 Bierboom —7 Sultanabad—8 Ammar
- 9 Rajhmahl —10 Jumnee, which ends at Sacra Gully, and completes their contour.

These Hills are principally covered with wood, excepting where it has been cleared away by the natives in order to build their villages, and cultivate janaira, plaintains and yams, which,
together



together with some of the small grains mentioned in the account of the Jungle Terry, constitute almost the whole of the productions of those Hills: great numbers of swine are also bred by the Mountaineers.

Every large Hill which has, or ever has had, a village on it, bears a particular name; and over every inhabited Hill, is a chief called a Mangee, who is to every intent a feudal Lord; his Riots called Dungareahs, are also his soldiery, and pay him implicit obedience; the compact between them is, that in all plunder, one half goes to the Mangee and his family, the other half is divided among the Dungareahs; and of their cultivation one sixteenth of all productions is paid to the Mangee in kind; but these chiefs never have paid, nor in fact ever could pay, any thing to Government.

The inhabitants of these Hills are not possessed of any cast, nor do they come within any one of the classes of Hindoos: of all things forbidden to the different tribes of Hindoos, not one is forbidden to them; they have barely an idea of a Supreme Being, whom they worship under the figure of a black stone, and the name of Ruxey Davey: the Priest to this Deity, is chosen upon the faith of supposed inspirations, under the powers of which (but generally in fact, under that of spirituous liquors) he has been agitated by convulsive motions, much in the style of the Delphic Priests, who, perhaps, indeed was inspired by the same means. On his death, another is chosen in the like manner.— Many curious circumstances might be related of these savages, but that it would swell this sketch to an unreasonable size, vastly exceeding its importance: I shall, therefore, conclude this description



SUPPLEMENT.

tion of them by remarking, that they are of a short stature, strong, and active; and the arms they use are bows made of bamboo, and arrows of a strong, thick species of reed, headed with iron, in different shapes; but I think, they are far from very dexterous in the use of them.

It is about fifteen years since the Hill people had any government among themselves, of a general nature; and from the period of its dissolution, they have become dangerous and troublesome to the low country, which they never were before; and their ravages have been the more violent, as they were stimulated by hatred against the Zemindars of the low country, for having cut off several of their chiefs by treachery. Formerly the Hills of each toppah were under one or more chief Mangees, to whom the Mangees of all the separate hills were bound to shew obedience; he was bound by a machulka to the Zemindar of the toppah, and had jaghier lands in the plain country granted for the support of himself and family in a suitable manner. If any robbery happened, he was obliged to trace it, and bring the thief to justice. All the Chokeys within the hills were Hill people, whose business was to prevent any bodies of people from the inner Hills passing through their gauts towards the plain country: while this mode prevailed, no robberies were committed; the Hill people were happy and quiet, and the low country people were safe from depredations. Every year at the festival of the Duffarah, the head Mangee of each toppah, brought the rest of the Mangees with him to his Zemindar, and renewed his oath of allegiance to Government: the other Mangees renewed theirs to him, and each



SUPPLEMENT.

of them having received a turband, and been feasted in their customary manner, returned to their respective districts.

But in time, the Zemindars falling into contempt with these Hill chiefs, they attempted to make themselves independent of them; the former not having force to compel them to obedience, were obliged to have recourse to treachery, and cut off several of them at a public feast. The other Mangees and Hill people left their respective gauts within the hills, and commenced those devastations on the plain country, which have continued with little intermission ever since: the Zemindary Chokeys, however, lying between the hills and the cultivated parts of the country, kept things within some bounds, till the year 1769, when the famine swept away numbers of their Chokeys, and left the plain country entirely exposed to the ravages of the Mountaineers. When Captain Brooke came into this quarter, the only information he could receive was from the people of the low country; they conducted him against the Hills which were most troublesome:— they were reduced, and many of their inhabitants compelled to settle in the low country; they even informed him of the former Chokey Bundy in the low country, part of which he re-established; but they never gave him the least information of there having ever been any government among the Hill people, further than that of a Mangee over each hill; they represented the Hill people in general terms as a set of robbers, who always had been, and always would be, at open war with society in general.

The licentiousness to which the Hill people had arrived, previous to the employment of the Corps of Light Infantry, rendered



SUPPLEMENT.

dered it absolutely necessary by some severity to impress them with a fear of our military force in the first place; this has been done; but this is only a preparatory step towards a solid settlement of them: the obedience shown by the Mountaineers for the three or four last years, has been solely paid to our military force, and not at all derived from any system of government, or any idea of connection with, or dependence on the state; and the low country people taking advantage of the barbarous, and at the same time, subjected state of the Mountaineers, have oppressed them severely; but in future, I am led to believe, their obedience will be voluntary and constant; their fear of our force will be supported by their belief of our justice, and knowing that all the benefits they receive, are in return for their peaceable deportment, they will be very loth on any occasion to risk the loss of them by misbehaviour. At the same time, I beg leave to suggest the necessity of giving me discretionary authority, to compel obedience to this system, in case any opposition should be made to it; as in these wild countries a strong coercive power is absolutely requisite for the support of any Government.

Proposal for the
future Government
of the Hills.

To effect this desirable end, I propose (as I did in the case of the Jungle Terry) an improvement, not an abrogation of their ancient forms of government; and for the most perfect information as to the best means of executing it, I have consulted many of the Mangeses who have come in to me; and they all agree in asserting, that if their ancient form of government is restored, an effectual end will be put to all the present irregularities; that they will pay implicit obedience to the chiefs who shall be established out of the several principal families, and that those chiefs will pay

N

the



the same to Government: I therefore think it my duty to recommend the following method of settling the internal government of the Hills.

That the successors of the several Sirdar Mangees of the different Toppahs, be restored to the authority and possessions held formerly by their predecessors; but instead of holding them from the Zemindars, that they shall hold them by fannuds granted in the name of Government. That they shall give machulkahs to Government, specifying the services they are to perform, and the penalties in case of failure in the performance.

That the inferior Mangees shall give machulkahs, specifying their duties and penalties in the same manner, and moreover binding them to their Sirdar Mangee, for all purposes specified in his fannud.

That all transactions with the hill people shall be carried on through their Sirdar Mangees, whereby every abuse arising from the rapacity of the low country Gautwalls and others, will be prevented.

That the annual oath of allegiance, with the ancient forms and ceremonies attending it, be renewed; as these barbarians seem to have great reverence for that institution. That if the Mangee or Mangees of any of the hills, refuse to acquiesce in this establishment, they shall be treated as enemies.

That



That Hauts be established at proper places, to forward the intercourse of the Hill people with the low country.—These regulations will, I believe, sufficiently ensure the peace of the hills.

As a farther security to the low country, I beg leave to recommend the following plan for re-establishing the Chokeys in the districts at the foot of the hills, the state of which in the several districts surrounding this cluster of hills is as follows.

CURRUCKPOOR } In these districts, the whole of the lands
and } being held on feudal tenure, every Gaut
BIERBOOM, } or pass leading from the hills, and every
village has its respective Chokey; the Mountaineers therefore can
do little or no harm to them.

RADSHAHI } Of the state of that country I am as yet
} uninformed, but I believe no injury is
done to it by the Mountaineers.

RAJHMAHL } The Zemindars of the Jungle Terry dis-
COLGONG } tricts depending on these divisions, extending
and } from Barcope to Furrucabad, along the
skirts of the hills, have very large tracts
of land in Jaghier, for keeping up a number
of Chokeydars at the several passes leading
from the hills.—These are under the autho-
BAUGLEPOOR } rity of the Zemindars, and were formerly
stationed so near each other, that the firing
of



SUPPLEMENT.

of a match lock at one Chokey, alarmed the next, and so on all along, by which means the Mountaineers were never able to come beyond this line of Chokeys; but in time the Zemindars neglecting this establishment, many of the Chokeys became deserted; and the famine of 1769 and 70, falling with extraordinary severity upon those districts, such numbers of the people of all denominations perished, that this Chokey bundy was almost entirely destroyed on the sides of Bauglepoor, Colgong, and Rajmahal; and opened the way for those ravagers into the very heart of the plain country, which they plundered almost with impunity, till Captain Brooke was sent against them; after forcing them to take shelter within their hills, he replaced a considerable number of the Chokeys above described: I have also established a great many, but many more are still vacant, and thereby the grand end of a perfect chain of them, with communication from one to another, for the purpose of general alarm and defence, is destroyed: I would therefore recommend it. That all the vacant Gaunts be immediately manned with a proper force, but as the Jaghier lands formerly applied to the support of those Chokeys, have now been waste for many years, and cannot of course afford any maintenance to them at all, the Chokeydars must be retained in monthly pay, at least for the present, till the aforefaid Jaghiers can be recultivated.—This expence should be defrayed out of the Jaghiers and allowances of the Zemindars, as far as they will go, after making suitable provision for the Zemindars; and this is the more reasonable, since, though they have suffered the Chokeydary Jaghiers to go to ruin, they have taken care to keep their own in a state of cultivation, probably by the very hands which should have guarded the passes from the Hills, and protected the plain country;



SUPPLEMENT.

country; I say only probably, because as yet I have had no opportunity of enquiring on the spot, whether reports which I have heard of that tenor be true or false.

Should these resources, however, prove insufficient to answer the expence of re-establishing the Chokey bundy from Furruckabad to Barcope, I think it an object worthy the attention of Government, to pay the remainder out of the Jungle Terry revenues, till the Chokeydary Jaghiers can be restored to a state of cultivation: I even think it would be strict oeconomy, as the valuable sudder lands of Bauglepoor, Colgong, and Rajhmahl, would be thereby secured from disturbances, and their cultivation and rent increase annually.

As the Zemindars of this part of the Jungle Terry from Barcope to Furruckabad, have shewn themselves so undeserving of trust in the management of the Chokey bundy, I would advise that they be not in future allowed to have any authority over them, but that instead of them, the following officers be appointed on the part of Government.

That to every Dhee of those Jungle Terry Toppahs, there be a Tannadar, who shall be accountable for all the Chokeys stationed at the passses leading from the Hills into his Dhee. He shall be answerable, that the Chokeydars are never absent from their posts, and in case of the Hill people attempting to force their way through any of his Chokeys, it shall not only be his duty to repel them, but to ascertain from what Hill or Hills the attempt was made, that orders being thereupon sent for that purpose to



SUPPLEMENT.

the persons in authority within the Hills, the offenders may be brought to justice.—The Chokeydars at their several Chokeys, shall be obliged to pay him entire obedience for all these ends, and shall report to him all intelligence and occurrences.

Over these Tannadars, I advise that there be two Sezawils appointed, the authority of the one to extend from Barcope to Shahabad, of the other from Sacragully to Furruckabad; there is no occasion for any from Sacragully to Shahabad, as there are posts of Sepoys all the way.

The Tannadars respectively within their limits, to be under the orders of the Sezawils, in the same manner, and for the same ends as the Chokeydars are to the Tannadars; little points of regulation for the better management of the Chokey bundy, shall be at their discretion, but no considerable alteration to be made without previously advising me through the officer commanding at Diggie, and waiting for my orders: the Sezawils shall also receive weekly reports of the state of the Chokeys from the several Tannadars, and make theirs to the officer at Diggie accordingly, but extraordinary occurrences shall be immediately reported.—The officers reports shall be made to me in the same manner: I also recommend, that a sufficient number of Bundwarries be attached to each Sezawil, to keep up the necessary intercourse between him and the Mangeses.

The Bundwarries are a set of people peculiar to this country, and so very useful, that I dare say, the keeping them will meet your approbation; they are people of the low country, who hav-
ing



SUPPLEMENT.

ing learnt the language of the Hill people, are employed in all transactions with them; and so entire is their faith in these Bundwarries, that in time of the greatest hostility, they can go safely into the Hills, and any Mungee who is in arms, will come down and submit on their assurance of his safety.—The use which I propose making of them, is to prevent any abuses towards the Hill people by the officers of the Zemindars, or of Government; for which end, I shall leave them in charge of the Sirdar Mungees, to forward every complaint to me, that it may be immediately attended to, and the evil redressed as soon as it exists; the very nature of their employment shews the necessity of their being entirely free from every authority and dependence but that of Government.

In addition to this general plan, I beg leave to recommend the following improvements.

In one of my letters to the board, I gave it as my opinion, that many robberies were committed by persons residing in the low country, for which the Hill people bore the blame.—Since coming round to this place, I have reason to be confirmed in that belief, both by the testimony of the Hill people, and particular enquiries among the parties themselves, enforced with promises and little presents which induced them to give me this account.

That in the famine of 1769 and 1770, a very considerable number of the inhabitants of the country round this, compelled by want, all the crops of rice, wheat, &c. having failed in the low lands, fled to the Hills, where the hardy grains of Muckye,

Borah



SUPPLEMENT.

Borah, &c. wanting little water, were very plentiful; they remained among the Hill people till the famine was over, and grain cheap in the low country, to which they then returned; but having forfeited their respective casts by their communication with the Hill people, they were held in so abominable a light, that no person would trust or employ them: this necessity, and perhaps some influence from the example of the Hill people, soon made them robbers, and being well acquainted with the low country, they were more dangerous than the Hill people by far.—For the end of robbing with the greater security, they adopted the dress and arms of the Hill people whenever they attacked villages or passengers, and thereby multiplied complaints against the others, for it was impossible for the sufferers to examine further than the general appearance of the persons by whom they were assailed.—These people still reside in the low country, and while this is the case, it is next to impossible to know when robberies are committed by the Hill people or by them; to remedy which evil, I beg leave to recommend the three following regulations.

1st. That the Zemindars of Rajmahal, &c. bordering on the Hills under the collector of Bauglepoor, be ordered by him, to make exact registers of the inhabitants of every village under their authority, and that no person be suffered to reside therein, but such as have a visible method of living by agriculture, or working at some trade.

2d. That no person be permitted to carry bows and arrows, but the Hill people and Chokeydary Pikes, on pain of being confined and delivered over to the Foujdaary Adowlat; for these being the
arms



SUPPLEMENT.

arms of the Hill people, furnish, as I said before, the grand means of robbing in their names;—all other arms they may carry for the safety of their own persons, they not being liable to the same abuses.—This article is of great importance, and I beg leave particularly to recommend it.

3d. Several robberies have formerly been charged upon the Hill people, which have been committed on particular houses in villages, where secreted money and effects have been dug up. As the Hill people have no kind of intercourse with the low country, it amounts to almost a certainty, that such robberies never could have been committed by them; or if they were, it must have arisen from the intelligence and information given them by the inhabitants of the place itself, who were acquainted with the situation of such property; I would therefore recommend, that it be published, that no robberies, excepting such as appear to have been attended with open violence, such as driving off herds of cattle, and plundering and burning villages, or intercepting passengers on the high roads, will ever be considered as the acts of the Hill people, or any enquiry made among them upon the subject; this will compel the principal men in the villages to attend more particularly to the police of their villages, and especially to guard against any persons residing in them, who have some of their relations in the Hills, which is the case at present.—I beg leave to recommend, that these three regulations be immediately ordered.

Most of the Sepoys in the company's service have originally been husbandmen, and their families still follow that method of
O life,



SUPPLEMENT.

life, in and beyond the Company's territories; I beg to submit it to your consideration, whether it would not be for the advantage of Government, to publish through the invalid corps of Sepoys, that whoever among them will settle on the lands between the Hills and the Sudder, shall have small Jaghiers given for that purpose, for the subsistence of themselves and families, who are to be brought thither.—This would afford the prospect of a comfortable maintenance to old soldiers worn out in our service, and would establish a kind of militia, whose possessions being interperfed among those of the Malguzarry tenants, would keep the whole in safety from the Mountaineers; feudal service might also be enjoined from them if approved of.

The safety of the public Dawks being an object of much importance, I have formed the following plan for ensuring it, and I beg your authority for establishing it; at the same time, from my conviction of its great utility, both for the safety of the Dawks, and the civilization of the Mountaineers, I have already begun to put it in execution.—Four principal divisions of the hills upon my new plan, are parallel to the extent of the road on which the Dawks have at any time been insulted or endangered; over each of these divisions, are one of those chiefs mentioned in my plan, to whom all the petty chiefs in the same division pay implicit obedience.

The first of these commences at Furruckabad, and ends at Rajhmahl; the second extends from Rajhmahl to Sacragully; the third from Sacragully to Shahabad; the fourth from Shahabad to three cofs beyond Pealapoor, where the Jungle Terry boundary



SUPPLEMENT.

ends. I proposed to each of these chiefs, that he should be bound to safely conduct the Dawks through his boundary, for which purpose, a proper number of his people should attend at the Dawk stations; that himself should have a monthly allowance from Government, for which he should bind himself by the most forcible machulkah and oath, to protect and forward the Dawks with the greatest expedition; that exclusive of this, the Hill people employed with the Dawk, should have a brass plate fixed on a belt, inscribed with the name of the place at which they are stationed, and signifying their being servants of the company for forwarding the Dawks; and that this would prevent any persons from stopping or pressing them for Coolies; and that besides this, they should once a year receive a turband as a present to each of these Hill people: the chiefs very readily consented, and indeed seemed exceedingly happy at the employment projected for them, and the salary they would get for it.—I beg leave therefore, to recommend its being put in execution immediately for the following reasons:

This salary will strongly attach these four principal chiefs to the State, and no man under their authority will dare by any attempt against the public Dawk, to endanger this valuable possession of his feudal Lord.

It will greatly contribute to civilize the Hill people in general, when they perceive the advantage arising from a dependence on our Government, and will give the strongest idea of safety to all denominations of passengers.—Lastly, the whole expence of this establishment, will be within one thousand rupees per annum,



SUPPLEMENT.

and I do not believe, that any danger whatever will then exist to the public dispatches; whereas very expensive establishments of Burcondalles have been hitherto ineffectual.—The Hircarrahs and every thing will remain with the postmaster's people as at present, the Hill people will only act as escorts to them.—As the Hill people are exceedingly wild and timorous at present, I beg leave to point out the expediency of some very forcible order being issued for preventing any violence being offered to them by troops passing up and down, as otherwise they will never stay at their respective stations, nor perform the services expected from them.

C O N C L U S I O N.

SUCH are the best lights I can possibly throw upon the subject, both with respect to the present and future management of these frontier countries; if it be said, that a military Government is a thing quite foreign to our constitution, I admit it; but it is not so evidently different from our civil Government in England, as this country and its inhabitants, are from those of our own: and surely since we cannot make countries to suit our Government, we should make our Government to suit the countries, which is in our province to rule over; and as I conceive external strength and safety, and internal peace and regularity, are the true ends of Government; and as I am convinced they are in those wild districts, only procurable by the means I have pointed out, I therefore beg leave to recommend them, as the only Government adapted to this frontier throughout.

JAMES BROWNE.



CSL

H I S T O R Y
OF THE
ORIGIN AND PROGRESS
OF THE
S I C K S.



CSL

To JOHN MOTTEUX, Esq. *Chairman of the Honourable Court of Directors, for the Affairs of the Honourable United East India Company.*

S I R,

CONFORMABLY to the wish which you were pleased to express, that I should furnish you with an account of the rise and present state of the tribe of people called Sicks; I now beg leave to submit to your perusal, the following translation which I have made, of a Persian manuscript, written by my desire while I resided at the court of Debly; to which I have added, all the information which I have by other channels acquired, respecting that people; and I have accompanied the whole with a map, specifying the extent of their territories, the names of their chiefs, together with the places of their respective residence, and the number of their forces.—I shall be very happy, if this tract is thought in any degree worthy of your attention, and beg leave to subscribe myself, with great truth and respect,

Your most obliged humble Servant,

JAMES BROWNE.

HARLEY-STREET,

Sept. 17, 1787.



I N T R O D U C T I O N.

DURING the time of my residence as the English Minister, at the Court of his Majesty Shah Alum, I took every opportunity to acquire a knowledge of the strength, resources, disposition, and constitution of the several states bordering on the provinces of Agra and Dehly, by seeking out, and cultivating a personal intimacy with the best informed men on those several subjects.—In the course of these researches, the first and most important object which presented itself, was the great irregular Aristocracy of the *Sicks*; a sect, which from a small beginning in the neighbourhood of Lahore, has established itself in the complete possession of all the country between the Attock and the Sutledge, and levies contributions to the very frontier of the Vizier's dominions.

Having met with two Hindoos of considerable knowledge, who were natives of Lahore, where they had resided the greater part of their lives, and who had in their possession, accounts of the rise and progress of the Sicks, written in the *Nuggary* (or common Hindoo)

P

character,



character, I persuaded them to let me have a translation of one of them in the Persian language, abridging it as much as they could do, without injuring the essential purpose of information.—After all, I found it extremely defective in a regular continuation of dates, and therefore not deserving the name of a history: however, the dates of the principal events are clearly determined; future opportunities and greater leisure than I possessed while at Dehly, may ascertain those which are at present unknown.—This Persian sketch of an history, I have translated into English, and now beg leave to offer it to my honourable masters, as I am persuaded, that the rapid progress of this sect, will hereafter render a knowledge of them, their strength, and government, very important to the administration of Bengal.—But as in the Persian manuscript very little is said of the manners and customs of the Sicks, I shall insert in this introduction, all that I have been able to discover on those heads.

The people known by the name of *Sicks*, were originally the common inhabitants of the provinces of Lahore and Multan, and mostly of the *Jaut* tribe; the doctrine on which their sect is founded, was introduced by *Gooroo Nanuck*, about two hundred and fifty years ago; and appears to bear that kind of relation to the Hindoo religion, which the Protestant does to the Romish, retaining



CSL

(v)

taining all the essential principles, but being abridged of most of its ceremonies, as well as of the subordinate objects of veneration.—At first, the sect was merely speculative, quiet, inoffensive, and unarmed; they were first persecuted by the barbarous bigotry of Amungzebe; and persecution, as will ever be the case, gave strength to that which is meant to destroy; the Sicks from necessity confederated together, and finding that their peaceable deportment did not secure them from oppression, they took up arms to defend themselves against a tyrannical government; and as will always happen where the common rights of humanity are violated, a hero arose, whose courage and ability directed the efforts of his injured followers, to a just, though severe revenge.—As the progress of these events is related in the history, I shall only say at present, that as the Mogul government declined, the Sicks in spite of repeated attempts to suppress them, continued to acquire strength.—They made the distinction of their sect, a political as much as a religious principle, rendering the admission into it easy to all, and the immediate temporal advantages of protection and independence, as great and as evident as possible; while they at the same time levied contributions upon all their neighbours, who refused to come into their fraternity.

P 2

As



As to their government, it is aristocratical, but very irregular and imperfect; for the body of the people is divided under a number of chiefs, who possess portions of country, either by former right as Zemindars, or by usurpation.—These chiefs enjoy distinct authority in their respective districts, uncontrolled by any superior power; and only assemble together on particular occasions for the purposes of depredation, or of defence; when in a tumultuous Diet, they choose by majority of votes, a leader to command their joint forces during the expedition; generally from among those chiefs, whose Zemindaries are most considerable; his authority, is however but ill obeyed by so many other chiefs, who though possessed of smaller territories, yet as leaders of the fraternity of Sicks, think themselves perfectly his equals, and barely allow him, during his temporary elevation, the dignity of *Primus inter Pares*.

About thirty years ago, one Jessa Sing Kelal, a chief of considerable weight and abilities, having been chosen commander of their grand army, when it expelled the Aumils of Ahmed Shah Durrany from the city, and Subah of Lahore, became so popular, that he ventured to strike rupees at the mint of Lahore in his own name, with an inscription in Persian to this effect, “ Jessa Kelal
“ conquered the country of Ahmed, and struck this
“ coin by the grace of God:”—but after they had been
current



current about fifteen years, the grand Diet of the Sick chiefs, (called *Goormutta*) determined to call in all those rupees, and to strike them in the names of *Gooroo Nanuck*, and *Gooroo Gobind Sing*, the first and the last of their *Gooroos*, or religious leaders; the latter of whom directed them to take up arms against the *Muf-fulmans*, and rendered general a kind of feast to be celebrated at the grand Diet, or *Goormutta*, at which feast they use large dishes called in Persian *Daig*, which I mention to explain the Persian inscription used on their coin from that time, which is as follows, “ *Gooroo Gobind Sing*, received from *Nanuck* the *Daig*, the “ *Sword*, and rapid *Victory*.”

The city of *Lahore* is at present divided among the three most powerful chiefs, who share the revenue arising from all imposts and duties, &c. within the city, including the mint; the names of the present possessors are, *Gujer Sing*, *Subah Sing*, and *Laina Sing*.

The Diets of the Sicks are held at the holy *Tank* (basin of water) of *Anrutsur*, about twenty coss north by east from *Lahore*, which was appointed for that purpose by their *Gooroo*.—Here as I said before, the commander for the campaign is chosen, and their expeditions for the season planned.

The



The plunder collected during these expeditions, is divided among the chiefs according to the number of their followers, to whom each chief makes his own distribution.

In the districts not reduced to their absolute subjection, but into which they make occasional incursions, they levy a tribute which they call *Raukey*, and which is about one fifth, (as the Marhatta Chout is one fourth) of the annual rent; whenever a Zemindar has agreed to pay this tribute to any Sick chief, that chief not only himself, refrains from plundering him, but will protect him from all others; and this protection is by general consent held so far sacred, that even if the grand army passes through a Zemindary where the safe guards of the lowest Sick chief are stationed, it will not violate them.

Since the Sicks became powerful, and confederated for the purpose of conquest, they have called their confederacy *Kbalsa Gee*, or the State, and their grand army *Dull Kbalsa Gee*, or the Army of the State.

As the extent of their possessions is clearly expressed in the accompanying map, as well as the names of their chiefs, and the number of their forces from the best authorities; I shall only observe, that the country is said to be in a state of high cultivation, which I believe, because



cause they carry into it all the cattle fit for tillage, which come into their possession by plunder, collect a very moderate rent, and that mostly in kind, and during any intestine disputes, their soldiery never molest the husbandman.

Trade however, is in a low state, owing to the insecurity of merchants going backwards and forwards through the territories of so many independant chiefs.

Of their manufactures, the principal are very fine cloth, which they make at Lahore, as also the best arms in Hindostan.

Their cavalry is remarkably good, the men being very hardy and well armed with sabres and excellent matchlocks, which they use with great dexterity; the horses bred in their country, are of one of the best breeds in the empire, owing to the use formerly made there of Arabian and Persian stallions, and something in the temperature of the air and water of that country. Most of these soldiers have two or three horses each, by which means their incursions are made with great rapidity, their armies marching from fifty to one hundred and twenty miles a day:—their dress is dark blue, as ordered by *Gooroo Gobind*, and gives them, when
collected.



collected in large bodies together, a very dismal appearance.

The chiefs are only distinguishable from their followers, by finer horses and arms.

I have conversed with several Sicks, who were sent to me by different chiefs on complimentary messages; and I perceived a manly boldness in their manner and conversation, very unlike the other inhabitants of Hindostan, owing no doubt to the freedom of their government.

In their camps they use no tents, even the chiefs are sheltered by nothing more than small *Numgberas* (square canopies of coarse cotton cloth) supported on four slender poles—the common soldiers pitch a blanket on two sticks, and fasten the corners down to the ground with wooden pins, so that they encamp or decamp in a few minutes.

Among their customs, the following are remarkable :

They will not use tobacco, though its use is universal to all the inhabitants of Hindostan, yet they drink spirits and smoke *Bang* (the leaves of hemp) to the greatest excess of intoxication.



CSL

In admitting a profelyte, they make him drink Sherbet out of a large cup, with certain ceremonies, as will be seen hereafter, and which are designed to signify, that every distinction is abolished, except that of being a Sick, even a Muffulman may become a Sick on these conditions.—From the time that he is admitted into the fraternity, he wears a steel ring round one of his wrists, lets his hair and beard grow to full length, and calls on the name of the Gooroo in confirmation of all engagements.

These are all the circumstances respecting this Sect, which are not specifically mentioned in the history: to which I will add, that a sect which contained in its original principles so much internal vigour, as sustained it against the bloody persecution of a great government, determined and interested to suppress it, raised it up again with fresh strength on every opportunity which occurred; and at length enabled it so far to subdue all opposition, as to acquire an entire and undisturbed dominion over some of the finest provinces of the empire, from whence it makes incursions into others, holding out protection to all who join, and destruction to all who oppose it; a sect, which makes religion and politics unite in its aggrandizement, and renders the entrance into it so easy to all who desire to become members of

Q it,



it, cannot fail to extend itself very far, and in the end to be exceedingly formidable to all its neighbours.

Respecting the map which accompanies this history, it was laid down from a Persian map of Punjab which I procured at Agra; and was put into its present shape by Lieutenant James Nathaniel Rind, of the Bengal establishment, who commanded the escorte which accompanied me while resident at the Shah's court, and whom I must here beg leave to mention as a very deserving officer.—The map, however, is designed principally as a political chart, to shew the extent of the dominions of the Sicks, and the places where the chiefs reside: on points of Geographical knowledge, I have too just an opinion of Major Rennell's abilities, to attempt an improvement on any work of his; and I therefore give this explanation of the design of the accompanying map, that no other may be imputed to me.



CSL

[2]

HISTORY OF THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS
OF THE
SICKS.

A H. 936. }
A D. 1529. }

IN the latter end of the reign of Sultan Baber, *Nanuck Shab*, a Dervish, by tribe a *Ketteree*, lived in the village of Shoderah, situated about seven crores (or cofs) east of the river Chenab; as he was a man of a most exemplary life, and eminent for his piety, charity, and abstinence, he became famous throughout Hindostan, and wherever he went teaching his doctrine, he made a great number of profelytes; he wrote several books upon the nature and institutions of his order; such as the *Purraun Sunkely*, &c. which he distributed for the regulation of the worship of his followers.—He took the title of *Gooros*, or religious Teacher, and called his followers in general *Sicks*, which signifies followers of a Sect, but his immediate disciples, whom he instructed in the mysteries of his doctrine, he called *Murids*, or Disciples; these terms are often confounded, but they are properly very distinct.

Q 2

After



A H. 926. } After the death of Gooroo Nanuck, his successors were in the
A D. 1529. } following order:

- 1 Gooroo Ankud.
- 2 Gooroo Amerdad.
- 3 Gooroo Ramdas.
- 4 Gooroo Arjun who wrote the *Gurbant*, now generally followed as the rule of discipline.
- 5 Gooroo Ramroy.
- 6 Gooroo Hur Roy.
- 7 Gooroo Hurry Siri Kirshen,

these Gooroos appear upon an average, to have exercised their office about twenty-two years each.

A H. 1073. } In the year of the Hegira, 1073, Aurungzebe being on the
A D. 1662. } throne, a son was born to Gooroo Hurry Siri Kirshen, to whom they gave the name of *Taigh Behader*, when this son came to the age of puberty,—being remarkable for his piety and abstinence,—his followers conceived a superstitious veneration for him, and used among themselves, to call him *the true King*; he on his part, whatever he received in presents, or offerings from his disciples, or the Sicks in general, he laid out in provisions, which he publicly



CSL

A H. 1073. } publicly distributed to all who chose to receive them; this brought
A D. 1662. } great numbers to participate of his bounty.

The news writers of Lahore, soon transmitted an account of these circumstances to Aurungzebe, who was then engaged in the war of the Deckan; and his Majesty being very particular in his examination of all persons who pretended to extraordinary sanctity, he sent some *Yessawils* (or Ushers) to bring *Taigh Behader* to his presence, who on their arrival at the place of his residence, immediately set out with them, and soon arrived at the court.

A H. 1096. } Aurungzebe having called him into his presence, examined him
A D. 1684. } very strictly respecting the revelations and miracles to which he supposed that he pretended; to which *Taigh Behader* replied, "that he was a Dervish; that he subsisted on the alms of the charitable, and passed his life in the contemplation and adoration of God; but that he neither pretended to revelations nor miracles." The Shah again said, "they call you the *true King*, and *Taigh Behader*, (which was a military title) what presumption is this?"—to which *Taigh Behader* replied, "whatever is, is from God; Dervishes have nothing to do with titles or honours."—The Shah perceiving that he could discover nothing of the revelations or miracles attributed to this Dervish, gave orders for putting him to death immediately.—At that time, a Bramin of the name of *Murdaneh*, who stood by, said to *Taigh Behader*, "If you will give me permission, I will imprecate curses on these persecutors, and by the justice of God, you shall see them instantly destroyed." But *Taigh Behader*, according to the counsel given to him at parting by his father,



A H. 1096. } father, to preserve the secret of the fact, though it should cost
A D. 1684. } him his life, replied, " The time is not yet come, God himself
" will punish them, and raise up a hero, who will exact ample
" vengeance for my blood."

He was accordingly put to (A) death, and upon the spot where he suffered Martyrdom, a monument has been erected, which is still in being, and offerings are made at it.

A H. 1116. }
A D. 1704. } Soon after this, the widow of Taigh Behader, having been left with child, was delivered of a son, to whom they gave the name of *Gobind Sing*, who growing up, and being about twenty years of age, conceived an ardent desire to revenge the death of his father; but either finding his party too weak, or wanting resolution in his own mind to attempt so dangerous an enterprize, he, (B) by the advice of the Bramins, performed a number of superstitious rites, in expectation, that some manifestation of the Divine pleasure would appear in his favour; at length a voice was

Note A. Aurungzebe seems on this, as well as on many other occasions, to have made religion a veil to cover his political tyranny; the real motive of this cruelty to Taigh Behader, was most probably, repentment for his having allowed his followers to call him *the true King*; and his having used a military title, which was not granted by Royal Patent, agreeably to the customs of that Government, of all which he was exceeding jealous.

Note B. I have omitted the detail of these superstitions, which would but tire the enlightened European reader; their object was no doubt, to impress the common people with a belief that their cause was supported by divine favor and protection.



A. H. 1116. } was said to have been heard from heaven, declaring the revenge
 A. D. 1704. } he fought for, should not be attained by him, but by his disciples after his death; and that his sect should at last arrive at the highest point of strength and dominion.

The mind of Gooroo Gobind Sing, seems to have become disordered by the influence of these superstitious reveries, and to have remained for some time in that state; but at length having recovered his reason, he put on a dress of dark blue, let his hair and beard grow to their full length, and instructed his sect to follow his example in these points.—He also directed them to arm themselves in expectation of the hour, when the prophecy should be fulfilled.

A. H. 1118. } From this time, the Sicks animated with enthusiasm, began to
 A. D. 1706. } collect together from all parts of the Empire, and multitudes of new profelytes were daily enrolled in the sect, which was rendered important by the martyrdom of Taigh Behader.—Gooroo Gobind Sing, established a ceremony to be used on the reception of new profelytes, which ceremony is called *Poil*, and consists in making them drink Sherbet out of a cup, stirring it round with a dagger, and pronouncing a certain (C) incantation at the same time.

Advice

Note, C. This incantation I could never get the words of, though I took some pains to do so.—It seems to be among the Arcana of this sect.



A H. 1118. }
A D. 1706. }

Advice being conveyed to Aurungzebe of all these particulars, he sent orders to the Navab Vizier Khan, who was then Foujdar of Sirhind, to take the requisite steps for suppressing this threatening insurrection; but before this order was received, Gooroo Gobind, having gone to collect his followers from the eastern provinces, died at the city of Patua; and his wife having died sometime before, two children whom he had, the one about six, the other about five years old, were left under the care of his mother, (the widow of Taigh Behader) who hearing of the Shah's orders to Vizier Khan, attempted to fly with her two grand children from *Amrutsar* to *Macowal*, which was her native place.—Many of Gooroo Gobind's followers accompanied, in order to escort them safe to the place of their destination.—By the time they had got to the village of *Chumkore*, which was seven cofs from Sirhind, the Navab Vizier Khan, according to the Shah's orders, sent a body of troops commanded by Khizzer Khan Malnere, together with the Buckshy of his own army, to take Gooroo Gobind's family prisoners, and bring them to Sirhind.—Khizzer Khan having overtaken them at that place, the Sicks who accompanied the Gooroo's family, defended them with the greatest resolution; many of the Shah's people were killed, as well as of the Sicks; but as the former were vastly superior in number, the two children, together with their grandmother, were taken prisoners, and all their wealth and property, which they were carrying away with them was plundered;—the few Sicks who survived, escaped by flight.—Khizzer Khan brought his prisoners to the Navab Vizier Khan at Sirhind, who put them in confinement, and advised Aurungzebe of it.

They



A. H. 1118. }
A. D. 1706. }

They say, that Vizier Khan, who had been forty years Foujdar of Sirhind, had never oppressed any person under his authority, but was distinguished for his justice and humanity; and from the natural goodness of his disposition, he conceived a regard for these children of Gooroo Gobind, often sent for them, and shewed them kindness.—It happened one day, that he was asking them in a jesting manner, how much they had been plundered of, to which the eldest of the children innocently replied, “ that the wealth of Dervishes was too great to be counted.”—*Suchanund*, a *Kettery*, who was *Dewan* to the Navab Vizier Khan, said to him, “ perhaps these children may give the same kind of answer if they are examined by the Shah; if so, what will become of us all, and who shall satisfy his Majesty? it would be safer to put the children to death, which is the only way of securing ourselves from the Shah's rapacity.”

Vizier Khan being unwilling to destroy these innocent children, hesitated a long time; but at length his dread of the Shah's displeasure, (D) should he suspect him of having secreted the treasure plundered from Gooroo Gobind's family, getting the better of every other consideration, he said to Khizzer Khan, “ Many of your friends and followers were killed by the Sicks, who escorted

R

escorted

Note D.

This is a striking instance of the tyranny of Aurungzebe's Government, and indeed of the horrid effect of despotism, on the characters of those who live under its influence; when we here behold a man naturally mild and compassionate, committing the most atrocious crime, from dread of the consequence which would have attended his acting conformably to his conscience, and the dictates of humanity.



A H. 1118. }
A D. 1706. } “ escorted these children, you ought to retaliate by killing the
“ children, as the cause of the death of so many of the faith-
“ ful.” (E)—Khizzer Khan, however, rejected the proposal with
horror, and nobly replied, “ both I and my followers are soldiers,
“ and whoever oppose us in open war, we either kill them, or
“ are killed ourselves; but what you propose, is the business of
“ an executioner.” However, the destined period of the
childrens lives being come, one Kurruckchy Beg, a Mogul in the
Shah’s service, undertook to perpetrate this barbarous murder,
and went to the prison where the innocent victims were confined:
the children clung round the neck of their grandmother to save
themselves, but the villain tore them away, and cut their throats
with a knife, in the presence of this miserable woman, who, un-
able longer to bear such a load of calamity, her husband, Taigh
Behader, having been murdered before, (as was related) and her
grand children now butchered before her eyes, sunk under the
violence of grief and horror, excited by this last scene, and di-
vine mercy by an immediate death, released her from further
sufferings.(F)

One

Note E. - Retaliation for blood called in *Koran Kaffan*, is considered by the Mussulmans, as
a moral and religious duty to the next in connection.

Note F. Of all the instances of cruelty exercised on the propagators of new doctrines, this is the
most barbarous and outrageous;—Defenceless women and children, have usually escaped,
even from religious fury.—No wonder then, that the vengeance of the Sicks was so
severe.



A H. 1118. }
A D. 1706. } One *Bundah*, a *Biragee Fakeer*, and the native of a village called *Pundory*, in the the *Doab* of *Beit Jalinder*, had been for many years the intimate friend of *Gooroo Gobind*; and hearing of the destruction of his defenceless family, he gave way to the deepest impressions of grief and resentment, which at length settled into a fixed determination to seek revenge; for this purpose, he went to all the most powerful and zealous of the *Sicks*, who had been the followers of *Gooroo Gobind*, and having excited in them the same spirit with which he himself was actuated, and enrolled himself in the fraternity of the *Sicks*, he, with surprising diligence and activity, and aided by uncommon abilities, collected the sect together in arms from all quarters, and inspired them with the most ardent spirit of revenge.

A H. 1119. }
A D. 1707. } Fortunately for the execution of *Bundah's* design, about this time, *Aurangzebe* died in the *Deckan*, and the succession to the throne being disputed between his sons, (as it is well known to those who are conversant in the history of *Hindostan*,) great confusion arose in all parts of the empire.—*Bundah* taking advantage of this opportunity, and having collected together a large, though irregular army of *Sicks*, marched to attack *Navab Vizier Khan*, who was then at *Sirhind*, the seat of his government.—*Vizier Khan* came out to give them battle with all the troops he had, and the armies coming to action near *Alwan Siray*, the *Sicks*, inspired by enthusiasm and revenge, gave the *Muffulmans* a total defeat: *Vizier Khan* was killed upon the spot, and the greater part of his army was cut in pieces. Proceeding to the town of *Sirhind*, the *Sicks* put to death all the family of *Vizier Khan*, and every dependant and servant belonging to him:—*Suchanund* the *Dewan*,



A H. 1119. }
A D. 1707. } by whose advice the children of Gooroo Gobind had been murdered, was torn to pieces, with every circumstance of cruelty which savage revenge could dictate. After which, they destroyed all the mosques and tombs belonging to the Mussulmans; and such was the terror which their severity and fury excited, that neither Hindoos nor Mussulmans found any means of safety, but in acknowledging and submitting to their authority, and professing to belong to their sect; which disposition, Bundah, who was a man of great art and address, encouraged by every means, with a view to encrease his force: treating those with the most flattering kindness who came into the sect, and those who refused with unrelenting severity:—so that in a short time, all the districts from Paniput to near Lahore, acknowledged the authority of the Sicks; and Behader Shah being then in the Deckan, with the Imperial army, there was no force in the provinces of Lahore, Dehly or Agra, able to undertake the reduction of the insurgents.

A H. 1120. }
A D. 1708. } Behader Shah, having defeated his brother Kām Bucksh, was desirous of remaining some time longer in that part of his dominions, in order to make a complete settlement of all the *Soubah's* (or provinces) of the Deckan; but when the advices arrived of Bundah's insurrection, and Vizier Khan's defeat and death, the danger appeared too pressing to admit of delay: he therefore determined to move with his whole force towards Sirhind, sending before him an advanced army of cavalry and artillery, under the command of Sultan Kouly Khan, nephew of Rustum dil Khan; to which he joined all the Mussulmans who had fled from Sirhind and other parts, to avoid the fury of the Sicks. His Majesty ordered Sultan Kouly Khan to march by way of Dehly, and thereby
stop



A H. 1120. }
A D. 1708. }

stop the progress of the Sicks on that side;—protecting the inhabitants as much as possible,—to prevent the infurrection from spreading,—and to put every man to the sword that he should find with his hair and beard at full length;—that being the characteristic external of the Sicks.

Sultan Kouly Khan, with the zeal of a faithful servant, marched as expeditiously as possible, and having passed by way of Dehly, he came to Paniput; resolved to attack the Sicks, though his army was exceedingly weak, when compared with the prodigious force now got together under the enemy's standard. The Sicks on their part, being flushed with victory, and confident in their numbers, were no less willing to come to action. The battle began, in which there was great slaughter on both sides, but especially on that of the Sicks; who being destitute of discipline, and unprovided with artillery, suffered very severely; when Kifury Sing Buckthy, to whom Bundah had given the command of this division of his army, being killed by an arrow, the Sicks began to give way, were at length totally defeated, and the remainder of their army fled to join Bundah, who had remained with the rest of his forces at Sirhind. The next day, Sultan Kouly Khan being joined by a reinforcement sent after him by the Shah, under the command of the Vizier Khan Khanan, marched to Sirhind: Bundah drew up his army, which consisted of between forty and fifty thousand horse and foot, to receive the Muffulmans:—the battle was long and bloody;—but at length, the royal army making a desperate charge upon one part of the enemy's front, broke through, and a general defeat ensued, with terrible slaughter of the Sicks. Bundah being unable to rally his disheartened troops,

1

fled



A H. 1120. } fled with as many as he could collect together, and took refuge
 A D. 1708. } in a strong fort called *Loaghur*, (G) which stood near Macawal;
 whither the royal army pursued them, and surrounding the fort
 began to lay siege to it.

In the mean time the Shah, hearing that *Loaghur* was invested, marched on as expeditiously as possible, and without halting at *Dehly*, joined the camp of the Vizier and Sultan *Kouly Khan*, before *Loaghur*. By the time that the siege had lasted a month, the besieged finding their provisions and ammunition fail them, and being determined to sell their lives as dear as possible, they sallied out of the fort sword in hand.—A desperate, but unequal conflict ensued; the greater part of the *Sicks* were cut in pieces on the spot; many were taken prisoners, in which number was their leader *Bundah*, who was confined in an iron cage, and together with the other prisoners was sent to *Dehly*, where they were all publicly executed, after having been offered their lives on condition of embracing the *Mussulman* faith, which they rejected with contempt. The few remaining *Sicks* fled to the mountains, where they concealed themselves; and the *Zemindars* and *Riots* of the country who had joined them during their insurrection, partly to secure themselves, and partly for the sake of plunder, now cut off their beards and hair, and returned to their original occupations.

From

Note G. This place as well as some others mentioned in the History, having been totally destroyed, are not inserted in the map.



A H. 1120. } From this time, during the reigns of Behader Shah, Jehander
A D. 1708. } Shah, Ferockfir, and the short reigns of Rafi al Dirjat, and his
brother, Abdul Sumud Khan being Subadar of Lahore, none of
this sect ever ventured to appear in arms; but concealed themselves
by every means for near twelve years.

A H. 1131. } In the year of the Hegira 1131, Mahammud Shah being on
A D. 1718. } the throne, and Zekariah Khan being Subadar of Lahore, the
Sicks, though unable to appear in any considerable force, began
to plunder, and carry on a kind of predatory war in the skirts of
the mountains, as if to try the temper of government; and this
practice they continued with little variation for twenty years.

A H. 1151. } In the year of the Hegira 1151, Nadir Shah the King of
A D. 1738. } Persia, invaded Hindostan, and as his army committed dreadful
ravages wherever they went, the inhabitants fled to the hills for
safety; while the Subadars of the Provinces, being unable to
resist, submitted to the invader.

On this occasion, the Sicks collecting together, began to com-
mit depredations on all sides, possessing themselves of the property
of the inhabitants who had fled to avoid the Persians, and plun-
dering every place in their reach.—At the same time they fortified
themselves near a village called *Dullival*, on the banks of the *Ravy*,
where they were joined by many Zemindars, who had secretly
favoured their sect, and now rejoiced to see it once more in a
condition to declare itself.

Some



A H. 1151. }
A D. 1738. }

Some time after this, Nadir Shah returned to Persia, having plundered at Dehly, wealth to an almost incredible amount, and having bestowed the Empire of Hindoostan on Mahummud Shah, as his own free gift,—He left behind him Nafir Khan, to collect the Subah of Cabul, and four Mahls, (districts) belonging to the Subah of Lahore; (being parts of the Empire of Hindoostan, made over to him by the treaty with Mahummud Shah.) The rest of the Subah of Lahore was continued under Zekariah Khan, as Subadar, on the part of Mahummud Shah.—Zekariah Khan appointed Adina Beg Khan to be Foujdar of the *Doab of Bary*, with orders to reduce the Sicks to obedience.

The force he had with him was fully equal to the execution of that service; but Adina Beg, considering that if he should entirely put an end to all disturbances in that district, there would remain no necessity for continuing him in so extensive a command, he carried on intrigues with the Chiefs of the Sicks, and secretly encouraged them to continue their depredations; at the same time, pretending to be very desirous of subduing them. From this management, the Sicks became daily more powerful, and seized upon several places in the distant parts of the Subah of Lahore. They also began again to perform publick pilgrimages to the Holy Tank at *Amrutsur*, without molestation.

About this time, Zekariah Khan died, leaving two sons, the elder of whom was by the Shah appointed to succeed his father, as Subadar of Lahore; but disputes arising between the two brothers, the affairs of the Province became greatly neglected, and the Sicks increased in strength.

Some



A H. 1151. }
A D. 1738. }

Some time before this, Nadir Shah having been affaffinated in Perfia, Almud Khan Durranny, one of his principal officers, established himself at Kandahar, and feized upon that Province, in which he had considerable family connections; at the same time laying claim to the other (H) Provinces of Hindostan, which had been ceded to Nadir Shah by the treaty before mentioned, and assuming the title of Shah or King.

Soon after which, he feized upon Nafir Khan, whom Nadir Shah had left Subadar of Cabul, (as said before) together with the treasure which he had collected from the time of Nadir Shah's return to Perfia, being above a *crore* of rupees. He also demanded his daughter from him in marriage.—Nafir Khan being then entirely in his power, consented, and obtained liberty to go to his followers who were in *Paisbarwir*, under pretence of making the necessary preparations:—he was obliged, however, to leave his son as hostage; but as soon as he was at liberty, he considered the giving his daughter to a man of a different tribe, as a disgrace not to be submitted to, and therefore began to collect forces for his own defence. Yet some time after, Almud Shah Durranny, approaching him, though with a very inferior army, his followers dispersed, and Nafir Khan fled towards Dehly, which furnished Ahmud Shah Durranny with a plea for his first invasion of Hindostan. He accordingly passed the Attock, Jelum, and Chenab, and came to Lahore.

A H. 1159. }
A D. 1746. }

S

Shah

Note H. These were Cabul, Paisbarwar, and Tatta: in a word, every thing west of the Attock, or Indus.



CSL

A H. 1159. }
A D. 1746. }

Shah Nevaz Khan, (one of the sons of Zekariah Khan) who was then Subadar of Lahore, immediately submitted; and the Durranny Shah entering the city of Lahore, seized upon the treasury and the armoury there, and proclaimed himself master of that Province also.

A H. 1160. }
A D. 1747. }

It is foreign from the design of this history, to enter into a detail of these events, which are all related in the general history of the empire; suffice it to say, that the Durranny Shah was at length obliged to return to Kandahar; and that in the year of the Hegira 1160, Mahummud Shah having died, was succeeded by his son Ahmed Shah, who nominated *Mir Munnoo*, called *Moin ul Mullock*, son to the late Vizier *Kummer ul dien Khan*, to the Subadary of Lahore and Multan.

During these troubles, the Sick Chiefs Jessa Sing Kelal, Chirfah Sing, Tokah Sing, and Kirwar Sing, had got together about 5000 horse; to which army they (for the first time) gave the title of *Dul Khalfah Gee*, or the Army of the State, and with which they made themselves masters of the *Doab of Bary*.—*Moin ul Mullock* again appointed Adina Beg Khan to the Foujdary of that Doab; who marching thither, began as formerly to intrigue with the Sicks, and took no effectual means to suppress them. In one action indeed, he defeated them, and killed about 600 Sicks; but as the confusion prevailing in the empire, had reduced thousands of people to distress, they were daily joining the Sicks for the sake of plunder, took the *Poils*, and let their hair grow, upon which they



A H. 1160. }
A D. 1747. } they were inrolled in the *Dul*, which now began to encrease with surprizing rapidity.⁽¹⁾

A H. 1163. }
A D. 1750. } About three years after this, Ahmed Shah Durranny, again invaded Hindoostan, and having defeated Moin ul Mullock, seized on Lahore, levied a very heavy contribution from it, and afterwards appointed Moin ul Mullock to be Subadar on his part of Lahore and Multan, having given the daughter of Moin ul Mullock in marriage to his own son, the Prince Timur Shah: after this, the Durranny Shah returned to Kandahar.

During this war, Adina Beg Khan having joined Moin ul Mullock with all his forces, the Sicks had nothing left to oppose them, and therefore they daily became more formidable. They cut off the royal garrison in the Fort of Tannifer, destroyed the fort, and plundered all the neighbouring districts.

After the departure of the Durranny Shah, Moin ul Mullock again sent Adina Beg Khan against the Sicks, who seemed now to be inclined to discharge his duty with fidelity, for having received intelligence that they were assembled near Macowal, to celebrate the festival of the *Hooly*, he, by a forced march, surprized them, and put so many of them to death, that the remainder were obliged to disperse for a while, but soon began to plunder again in small parties.

S 3

In

Note I. This naturally accounts for the rapid rise of the Sicks, which commenced about this time.



A H. 1165. }
A D. 1752. } In the year of the Hegira 1165, Moin ul Mullock died, and his widow appointed one Beckary Khan, to manage the government of her deceased husband, as Naib (or deputy) on her part; but having detected him in a design to seize on her person, and usurp the government himself, she caused him to be strangled: and appointed *Syed Jumeil ul dien Khan* to the office of her Naib.

A short time after this, the troubles arising at Dehly, which ended in the Vizier Ghazi ul dien Khan's deposing Ahmed Shah, and raising to the throne Alumgire Sani, the reins of government became entirely relaxed, and the Sicks gathered new strength.

A H. 1169. }
A D. 1755. } In the year of the Hegira 1169, Ahmed Shah Durranny again invaded Hindostan, and came to Lahore.—By this time, the Sicks were become very numerous, and their *Dul* was in the neighbourhood of Lahore; but they were afraid to attack the Durranny army: however, they plundered all people who straggled from the camp, and cut off provisions going to it.—But the Durranny Shah being desirous of getting as soon as possible to Dehly, took no notice of these insults.

After plundering Dehly, Muttra, and all the circumjacent towns and villages, and exercising unheard of barbarities, the Durranny Shah marched back to Kandahar; leaving a chief of the name of Ahmed Khan, to command in Sirhind, and his own son, the Prince Timur Shah, with an army under the command of Jehan Khan, one of his best officers, to collect the Subahs of Lahore and Multan.



A H. 1169.]
A D. 1755.]

Jehan Khan from a principle of religious zeal, destroyed the places of worship belonging to the Sicks at *Amrutfur*, and filled up the sacred Tank, which they so highly venerate: upon which the Sicks collected together under their chiefs from all quarters, and blockading the city of Lahore, collected the revenues of the country all round for their own use. Jehan Khan with the Prince, marched out to give them battle; but after several actions, finding the Sicks too numerous for him to contend with, he retreated to Kandahar.

Upon this occasion, Jeffa Sing Kelal, who was at the time commander in chief of the *Dul*, struck rupees in his own name, at the royal mint at Lahore, with the following inscription, “ Jeffa
“ Kelal conquered the country of Ahmed, and struck this coin
“ by the Grace of God.”

After the retreat of Jehan Khan, the Court of Dehly appointed Adina Beg Khan to be Subadar of Lahore; but the force with which he was furnished by so weak a government, was not equal to encountering the Sicks: he was therefore obliged to stop at Sirhind; and finding that he could not obtain any assistance from the administration at Dehly, he applied to the Marhatta chief Rogonaut Row, who at that time commanded a large army in the Province of Agra, and offered to assist him in reducing Punjab; to which the Marhatta chief agreed, and marched to Sirhind; where he was joined by Adina Beg Khan with his own army, and some of the inferior Sick chiefs, whom he had brought over by great promises.



A H. 1169. }
A D. 1755. }

Their first operation was to expel and plunder Ahmed Khan, whom the Durranny Shah had left to command in Sirhind.—On this occasion the Sick chiefs, who had joined Adina Beg Khan, plundered the town of Sirhind; which gave great offence to the Marhatta chiefs, who projected falling upon the Sicks, and plundering them in return: which coming to the knowledge of Adina Beg Khan, by whose influence these Sicks had been induced to join the Marhattas, he gave them immediate notice of the design which was formed against them, upon which, they marched away in the night.

The Sick leaders who were in possession of Lahore, did not think their army a match for the Marhattas, when reinforced by Adina Beg Khan, they therefore drew off to the skirts of the mountains; and the Marhattas established garrisons in Lahore, Multan, &c. But their government was of short duration, for soon after this, attempting to expel the Rohillas from their possessions, *Nujeab ul Doulah*, the principal Rohilla chief, applied to the Durranny Shah for assistance:—alleging, that being his subjects, (^K) they could apply to no one else for redress; and that, therefore, they entreated he would support them against the infidels.

Ahmed Shah Durranny accordingly left Kundahar, with his whole force; and as soon as it was known that he had crossed the Attock, all the Marhatta garrisons in Lahore and Multan, fled without waiting for his nearer approach.

The

Note K. All the Rohilla tribes come from the country belonging to the Durranny Shah, and those settled in Hindostan, still call him their King.



CSL

A H. 1172. }
A D. 1758. }

The Vizier Ghazi ul dien Khan, who kept his Majesty Alumgire Sani as a prisoner in his own palace, expecting that the Durranny Shah would call him to a severe account, if Alumgire Sani should complain to him; in a transport of rage and despair he put him to death: and after placing another of the royal line upon the throne, by the title of Shah Jehan Sani, he left Dehly with all his forces, and joined the Marhatta army, which was then besieging the Rohillas at *Sukertall*.

The events of this campaign are foreign to our subject, it is only necessary to say, that the Durranny Shah having raised the siege of *Sukertall*, and defeated the Marhatta chiefs *Junkoo* and *Mulhar Row* in several actions, in one of which, *Dattea Pateel* (the elder brother of *Mahado Row Sindea*) was killed; and being joined by all the Rohilla chiefs, as also by the Navab *Shuja ul Dowla*, cantoned for the rainy season near *Coel* in the Doab, between the Ganges and the *Jumna*.

A H. 1173. }
A D. 1759. }

While *Abmed Shah Durranny* remained at *Coel*, he received advice, that *Adina Beg Khan*, whom he had once more appointed Subadar of *Lahore*, was dead, and that the Sicks taking advantage of that event, had assembled in great numbers, attacked and defeated *Sumbu das*, the Dewan of *Adina Beg Khan*, who after his master's death had attempted to keep things in order.—On this intelligence, the Durranny Shah appointed *Zien Khan* to be *Foujdar* of *Sirhind*, and *Bullund Khan* to be Subadar of *Lahore*, and dispatched them to their stations with an army of 10,000 horse.

The



A H. 1173. } The conclusion of the rains was followed by that famous
A D. 1759. } campaign, which put to final trial the grand question of EMPIRE
between the Muffulmans, and the Marhattas; and ending by the
fatal battle of *Paniput*, which was fought on the 20th of Jemad ul
Sani 1174, decided it in favour of the Muffulmans, and gave a
blow to the Marhatta power, which it has not entirely recovered
yet.

After this, Ahmed Shah Durranny, having settled the government at Dehly in the hands of Nujeib ul Doula, and placed *Mirza Jewan Bucht* on the throne, as representative of his father *Shah Alum*, who was then in Bengal, he marched back towards Kandahar.

As soon as he had passed the Suttedge, the Sicks began to plunder the stragglers from his camp, which he forebore to resent at that time, his army being loaded with plunder; however, to secure his camp from insult, he every night threw up a flight work round it, and in this manner he continued his march to the Attock, the Sicks following him all the way.

When the Durranny army had passed the Attock, the Sicks returned, and having blockaded Lahore, they compelled Bullund Khan to retreat with his garrison, upon which they took possession of that city, and all the country from the Attock to Sirhind.

However, Zein Khan, whom the Durranny Shah had left as Foujdare of Sirhind, being assisted by Hinghun Khan, a pattan chief,



A H. 1174. } chief, of the district of Malnair (south west from Sirhind) still
A D. 1760. } supported himself against them.

A H. 1175. } The following year, the Sicks to the number of about forty
A D. 1761. } thousand horse, ravaged the whole territory of Malnair, in re-
venge for the assistance given by Hinghun Khan to the Durranny
Aumil; but soon after Ahmed Shah Durranny having marched to
Lahore to punish the Sicks, for having expelled Bullund Khan,
Hinghun Khan contrived in the night to escape, and fled to the
Durranny camp for protection.—The Durranny Shah sent thirty
thousand horse under his conduct, who marching seventy crores
(one hundred and forty miles) almost without (L) intermission, sur-
prized the army of the Sicks, at a place called *Barnala*, and put
great numbers to the sword; the rest as usual, dispersed for a
time; after which, the Shah proceeded to Sirhind, where he was
met by Nujeib ul Dowla, and the other principal *Omrahs*; and
having received their compliments, returned back to Kandahar,
leaving Saudet yab Khan, one of his officers, with a large de-
tachment in the Doab of Beit Jalinder, and Rajah *Cabully Mul*,
as Subadar of Lahore.

A H. 1176. } The beginning of the following year, the Sicks assembling again,
A D. 1762. } drove Rajah Cabully Mul out of Lahore, and Saudet yab Khan,
T from

Note L. The horses used by the Durrannies, are of the breed called *Turki*; they are not large, but the most useful, quiet, and best bottomed horses, that are I believe in the world.—They live to a great age, so that I have seen horses in the use of common troopers, that they have declared to be near forty years old.



A H. 1176. } from the Doab of Beit Jalinder, establishing themselves in both
 A D. 1762. } those places; after which they invaded Malnair, defeated and
 killed Hinghun Khan, a man of great courage and ability, who
 had long been a considerable check to their progress in that
 quarter.

They next attacked Sirhind, and coming to action with Zien Khan, the Durranny Foujdar, near Rajah Seray, defeated and killed him also; after which they plundered and burnt Sirhind, having a particular enthusiastick hatred to that place, on account of the murder of Gooroo Gobind's children, which was perpetrated there. By these successes, the whole country from the Attock to Karnal, acknowledged the authority of the Sicks.

A H. 1177. } The following year, Nujeib ul Dowla being engaged in a war
 A D. 1763. } with *Surujh Mul*, the Rajah of the Jauts, the Sick chiefs, Kosbial Sing, Bugheil Sing, Sahib Sing, Baug Sing, Kurrum Sing, and Roy Sing, crossed the Jumna with their forces, and plundered the district of Saharunpoor belonging to Nujeib ul Dowla; upon which that chief immediately marched to protect his own country, and partly by force, partly by negociation, got the Sicks to repass the Jumna.

A H. 1178. } The next year *Jewar Sing*, the son and successor of *Surujh Mul*,
 A D. 1764. } in order to revenge the death of his father, who had been killed the year before in battle against Nujeib ul Dowla, collected together all his own followers, and being reinforced by thirty thousand Marhattas under Mulhar Row, and twenty-five thousand Sicks under several different chiefs, laid siege to the city of
 Dehly---



A H. 1178. } Dehly.—The siege lasted three months; in which time Nujeib ul
A D. 1764. } Dowla, having written advice of his situation to Almed Shah
Durranny, and solicited his aid, his Majesty immediately marched
from Cabul where he then was, and to avoid any interruption
from the Sicks, he proceeded along the skirts of the mountains,
and had reached as far as *Gurry Kotanab*, when a peace was con-
cluded between Nujeib ul Dowla and Jewar Sing, through the
mediation of Mulhar Row, and the siege of Dehly was raised.
Nujeib ul Dowla immediately sent intelligence of this to the
Durranny Shah, and after expressing his gratitude for the ready
assistance his Majesty had afforded him, he entreated him to return
from the place which he was then at, lest the arrival of his
army in the neighbourhood of Dehly, should renew the cala-
mities of that unhappy city.—The Durranny Shah, according to
this address, repassed the Sutledge, and marched back towards his
own country by the Lahore road.

In the mean time, the Sick chiefs, determined to revenge the
defeat they had suffered at Barnala,—assembled their whole force
at Amrutfur, to the number of sixty thousand horse and foot;
and took an oath to exert every effort to cut off the Shah's army.
Almed Shah Durranny receiving advice of this, sent a person to
the Sick leaders in quality of Ambassador, to negotiate a peace
with them, and prevent that effusion of blood, which their des-
perate determination threatened to produce;—but on the arrival
of this person in the camp of the Sicks, instead of listening to his
proposals, they plundered him and his followers, and drove them
away.—Almed Shah Durranny finding all accommodation impos-
sible, marched immediately to give battle to the Sicks; and com-



A H. 1178. } ing to Amrutfur in the evening, encamped close to the enemy.
A D. 1764. } In the morning the Sicks drew up their army on foot, and immediately proceeded to attack the Durrannies sword in hand; and the Durrannies, with equal resolution, received their attack on foot also. The battle was long and bloody, and the loss so great on both sides, that at length both armies drew off to their respective camps; the next morning neither party was inclined to renew the conflict, and the Shah resumed his march without any further interruption. (M)

Some time after this, Ahmed Shah Durranny died, and was succeeded by his son the Prince Timur Shah, who has been too much employed on the side of Persia in keeping possession of the provinces usurped by his father from that empire, to have leisure for attempting to reduce the power of the Sicks.—Nor has any Potentate yet appeared on the side of Hindostan, equal to such a task:—some feeble attempts have been made, which have only confirmed the strength of the Sicks Government, as a little water thrown on a fire, does but increase its heat: so that for twenty years past, they have employed themselves in completely reducing the whole country from Attock to Karnal, and dividing it among their own sect.

Soon

Note M. It is to be supposed, that in a battle thus disputed, both sides claimed the victory; the Durrannies bring in proof, their having marched on unmolesed; the Sicks, that the Durranny Shah never again returned to Lahore.



A H. 1178. }
A D. 1764. }

Soon after the last expulsion of the Aumils of the Durranny Shah, the Sicks held a general Diet at Amrutsur, in which they determined to call in the rupees which were struck in the name of Jessa Kelal, and to strike them for the future in the name of their *Gooros*, with an inscription to this effect, "*Gooroo Gobind Sing*, received from *Nanuck*, the *Daig*, (N) the sword and rapid victory," which coin is current throughout their dominions to this day.

Thus has the Divine pleasure notified to *Gooroo Gobind*, been at length fulfilled; and thus has Providence raised up this sect in consideration of the piety and charity of *Gooroo Nanuck* its founder, that mankind beholding the reward of virtue, may learn to practise it.

Note N. This has been explained in the Introduction,—I have several of these rupees in my possession.

THUS



THUS far the Persian manuscript extends ; to which I beg leave to add, that the Sicks are the only one of the many powers who have enriched themselves out of the spoils of the Mogul Empire, which fairly and openly avows its independence.—They will not suffer the name of his Majesty Shah Alum to appear upon their coin ; but have substituted that of their Gooroo ; and instead of the year of the King's reign, and of the Hegira, which is the established date on all the coin throughout the empire, they use the era of *Bickermajeet*, called the *Sumbut*.

1779.

After Ahmed Shah Durranny returned to Kandahar in 1764, as has been related, though the Sicks possessed themselves of the town and province of Lahore, and of all the open country of Multan, yet the Duranny garrison of Multan still remained in that fortress till the death of Ahmed Shah Duranny : soon after which, the Sicks compelled them to retire, and placed a garrison of their own there ;—But in the year 1779, Timur Shah (the successor to Ahmed Shah Duranny) came from Cabul, with a large army, and laying siege to Multan, took it, after defeating the army sent by the Sicks to raise the siege : when he returned to Cabul, leaving a garrison in Multan, which has remained there ever since.

1785.

Since the complete settlement of the Sicks in their present possessions, which was not entirely effected till near the year 1770, the chiefs to the westward of the Sutledge, who are the most powerful, have not been engaged in any important expedition, till the year 1785, when they invaded the Rajah of Jumboo, and compelled him to pay them tribute.

The



CSL

The incursions which are made annually into the territories lately belonging to Zabita Khan, are merely effected by a temporary confederacy of the chiefs between the Sutledge and the Jumna.

These incursions are sometimes carried across the Ganges, (°) into the Vizier's territories, as happened in March 1785; when a large body of Sicks passed over, and remained in that country several days, plundering to an immense amount, and burning and destroying the villages without opposition; though repeated advice had been received beforehand of their designs. But these insults may always be prevented, by common attention in the Vizier's administration; and by sending proper detachments to the several fords of the Ganges during the dry season.

In 1785, Mahajee Scindea (having before seized on the Shah's person, and the entire administration of his affairs) entered into an alliance with the leaders of the Sicks, between the Sutledge and the Jumna, both offensive and defensive: one of the articles of which treaty expressly says as follows;—" Besides the royal
" lands, whatever shall be acquired by either party (Scindea or
" the Sicks) with mutual consent, *on either side the Jumna*, from
" Hindoos or Muffulmans, or other part thereof shall belong to the
" *Khalsah Gee*—" (the Sick State.) This clearly points at the Vizier's country.

As

Note O. From the middle of March till June, the Ganges is fordable in several places between the falls at Hurdwar, and the town of Ferockabad.



As soon as this treaty was framed, I obtained a copy of it, which I transmitted to Mr. Macpherson, then acting as Governor General, April the 9th.—What use he made of the information, I cannot tell: but surely a confederacy of two such formidable powers as the Sicks and Marhattas, close to the Vizier's frontier, must afford matter for very serious apprehension, to every person who is anxious for the safety of the Company's possessions in India; which are so intimately connected with those of the Vizier, that prosperity or calamity must be in common to them both.

In this point of view, I beg leave to conclude this sketch, with my earnest recommendation of that circumstance to the attention of the Company's administration:—for even admitting all that the advocates for Scindea can say of his sincerity, he is but mortal; and with him will expire all that security which has been supposed to arise from his personal character.

JAMES BROWNE.

AS-004745

CSL-AS-54 (R)

AS004745



915.44 IND



CSL

CSL-AS-54 (R)
AS004745
915.44 IND

84

Handwritten signature or mark