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Sahu Dharmanarayan Newar

The business house of Dharmanarayan Harshanarayan seems to have become prominent during the time of Prime Minister Jung Bahadur.

During 1856-57, Sahu Dharmanarayan held separate ijaras for the following:- (1) Collection of Chaudhari levies and other payments in Gorkha and other areas in the hill region. (2) Duties on exports from Kathmandu (Nikasi Rakam).

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 81, pp. 510-11.

1859: At the end of the Nepal-Tibet war, Sahu Dharmanarayan was assigned the responsibility of finalising arrangements for the collection of customs duties on Nepal-Tibet trade at different points on the border. Previously, such duties were collected at the Tibetan town of Kuti.

Falgun Sudi 2, 1915 (February 1859)
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 81, pp. 603-5.

1861: According to regulations promulgated on Marga Badi 11, 1918 (November 1861), Dharmanarayan was granted a monopoly in the opium trade in the eastern Terai and Chitwan.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 10, pp. 273-85.

In 1864, the British Resident in Kathmandu, G. Ramsay, reported to his government: "The trade in tobacco has for some time past suffered by its having been put into the hands of that grasping but ingenious individual, Soobah Dhumnarain, who is permitted by the darbar to control, in the most mischievous manner, nearly the whole of the internal trade of the country... The entire profits of the trade are vested in himself, instead of being available to all who choose to embark on it."

(Cited in: Satish Kumar, Rana Polity in Nepal, Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1967, pp. 136-37n).

1865: On Ashadh Badi 3, 1922, (June 1865) Sahu Dharmanarayan Newar was granted a contract for the transportation of ammunition, and iron sheets, from a military godown at Hetauda to the Kathmandu Munitions Factory (Jangi Megjin). The godown was under the jurisdiction of Major Captain Maharudra khatri Chhetri. Dharmanarayan was paid 7 paise per dharni of supplies transported from Hetauda to Kathmandu under the contract.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 32, pp. 368-69.

1865: Prime Minister Jung Bahadur's order to Sahu Dharmanarayan: "We have sent an order to Captain Jitman Singh Khatri Chhetri at Lhasa to receive the monthly salaries of his staff, as well as of himself, through your establishment (kothi) at Lhasa. You are directed to make disbursements accordingly. The amounts so disbursed will be refunded to you from the Kausi Tosakhana."

Ashadh Badi 7, 1922

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 32, pp. 384-85.

In his book Indo-Nepal-Trade in the Nineteenth Century (Calcutta: Firma KIM Private Ltd., 1977, p. 99), Jahar Sen reports:

Currency notes were not in much demand on the border. In and around Kathmandu they were prized as a means of remittance and fetched a premium according to the state of the market from 3 to 5 per cent. Till 1873 the bills of the trading firm of Dhurm Narain Hurk Narain, who acted as the State Bankers of Nepal and who had Corresponding Houses at Patna, Benaras, Kanpur and Calcutta were purchased at higher prices than the above.

The Dolalghat Bridge

In October 1901, Prime Minister Chandra Shumshere procured materials from India for the construction of an iron bridge at Dolalghata.

Village functionaries were ordered to supply rice, pulses, salt, oil, and vegetables at current rates to the civil and military personnel deputed for the construction of the bridge. Such orders were issued because "there is no market in the village."

Kartik Sudi 9, 1958 (October 1901)

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 87, pp. 200-206.

Colonel Rana Jung Rana Bahadur's

Birta Villages

The wife of Colonel Rana Jung Rana Bahadur (a son of Prime Minister Jung Bahadur) owned the village of Ghimiregaun in the Bihabar area of kabhrepalanchok district under birta tenures.

(1) In the year 1957 Vikrama, Bani Bilas Sapkota, a resident of Bhiralichaur village in Bihabar, obtained a thek-ijara for collection of revenues from this birta village for the sum of Rs. 253. His surety was Captain Krishna Dhvaj Khatri of the Rifle Battalion. The thek-ijara was renewed for the year 1958 Vikrama for the same amount.

Bhadra Sudi 3, 1958

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 87, pp. 26-40.

The thek-ijara was renewed in favor of Bani Bilas Sapkota on the same terms and conditions for the year 1959 Vikrama also.

Baisakh Badi 9, 1959

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 87, pp. 699-705.

(2) Colonel Rana Jung Rana Bahadur similarly owned Agra village in the Chisapani-Gadhi area under birta tenure. A thek-ijara for that birta yielded Rs 600 a year in 1957 and 1958 Vikrama. The thek-ijara was held by Gajendra Thapa Chhetri of Sainbu in Lalitpur.

Aswin Badi 9, 1958

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 87, pp. 81-92.

Drabya Shah's Successors

By

Dinesh Raj Panta

(Gorkhako Itihasa, Pt. 1, pp. 65-81. condensed).

Drabya Shah was succeeded on the throne of Gorkha by his son, Purna Shah. Since the exact date of Drabya Shah's death is not known, it is also not possible to determine the date of Purna Shah's accession to the throne.

Most Vamshawalis have given the name of Purandara Shah to Drabya Shah's son and successor. However, the following sources, which may be regarded as more authentic, give the name as Purna Shah:-

- (1) Raja-Vamshawali, compiled by Chetnavilasa during the reign of Ram Shah.
- (2) The manuscript of Devadasa-Prakash, transcribed in the Vikrama year 1689 during the reign of Ram Shah.
- (3) Goraksha-Raja Vamshawali, which contains an account of the royal dynasty of Gorkha till the reign of Ram Shah.
- (4) Prashasti - Ratnavali and Vagvati-Stambha - Lekh composed by Pandit Vanivilasa Pande in 1841 and 1868 Vikrama respectively.
- (5) Jayaratnakara, a drama composed by the Royal Priest, Shaktiballabh Arjyal, in 1849 Vikrama.
- (6) Rajakalpadruma, compiled in the name of King Rajendra.

According to the Vamshawalis, Gorkha had to fight incessantly with Lamjung during the time of Purna Shah also. Lamjung occupied Liglig, which was one of Drabya Shah's first conquests, and Purna Shah then regained it. This is corroborated by a fragmentary (unpublished) Vamshawali in the possession of the Foreign Ministry.

The Vamshawalis also describe how Purna Shah made an unsuccessful attempt to subdue Warpak, and how the latter stopped the movement of salt and woollen blankets to Gorkha. According to this account: "Lamjung frequently harassed Tanahu also. The King of Tanahu, therefore, sent an elephant as a gift to Gorkha in the belief that an alliance with Gorkha would make it easy for him to resist Lamjung. Purna then made an offer of friendship to Warpak, which was accepted. The King of Warpak allowed the elephant gifted to Gorkha by Tanahu to proceed to Gorkha at the latter's request. He even went to Gorkha and stayed there with his retinue for eight or ten days. He came to know that elephants need salt, so he lifted the embargo on the movement of salt and woollen blankets to Gorkha."

Tanahu, although a hill state like Gorkha, obtained elephants from its Tarai territories in Ramnagar, as well as from its inner Tarai territories in Chitwan.

According to a fragmentary Vamshawali in the possession of the Foreign Ministry, Gorkha proposed that the two sides (Gorkha and Warpak) meet at Baluwa-besi without arms in order to negotiate a treaty. The Warpakis agreed to that proposal. But the Gorkhalis concealed arms there before the meeting was held. On the stipulated date, both King Purna Shah and the King of Warpak went to Baluwa-besi. The Gorkhalis proposed that the Warpakis retain Warpak, but leave other territories to Gorkha. The Warpakis did not accept that proposal. The Gorkhalis then took out the concealed arms and overpowered the unarmed Warpakis. The King of Warpak was killed, and Warpak was brought under Gorkhali rule.

According to the Gorkha-Raja Vamshawali, Gorkha annexed Salyan, Khari, Maidhi, and Dhading during King Purna Shah's rule. Documents in the possession of Jagannath Timsina of Tilakur in Salyan Kot, an order sent by Jung Bahadur to the Tharis of Salyan in the year 1906 Vikrama, and a communication sent by the Koteling Adalat to Dharanidhar Timsina in the year 1914 Vikrama, confirm that Purna Shah had conquered Salyan. He thus extended the territories of Gorkha to the Trishuli river.

Different sources have given different dates for the death of Purna Shah. In the absence of authentic evidence, it is not possible to give a precise opinion on this subject.

For the same reason, it is not known when Chhatra Shah, Purna Shah's son, ascended the throne of Gorkha.

According to the Gorkha-Rajavamshawali, Chhatra Shah occupied Simjung-Gadhi, which had belonged to Warpak. He even contemplated an invasion of Nepal valley, but died before he could do anything. There are still two drums at the Royal Palace in Gorkha, one of which contains an inscription of Chhatra Shah. According to the Vamshawalis, he had had these drums made in preparation for an invasion of Nepal valley, but died soon thereafter. The inscription bears the date 1531 Shaka or 1666 Vikrama.

Although different sources have given different dates for Chhatra Shah's death, the inscription mentioned above shows that he was alive at least until 1666 Vikrama. An inscription of 1671 Vikrama is available for his brother and successor, Ram Shah, so Chhatra Shah must have died some time between 1666 and 1671 Vikrama.

The Danuwars of Satgaun

A Study in Nepali Economic History, 1768-1846 (New Delhi: Manjusri Publishing House, 1971, p. 120), contains the following statement:-

In 1773, Prithvi Narayan Shah issued an order prohibiting Danuwar moneylenders in Satgaun village of Salyan district from bonding or enslaving the children of their debtors in settlement of loans.

The statement was based on a royal order issued in the name of King Rajendra Bikram on kartik Badi 8, 1887 (November 1830) which makes a reference to the A.D. 1773 edict. The royal order has been published in: Chittaranjan Nepali, Janaral Bhimsen Thapa ra Tatkalin Nepal (General Bhimsen Thapa and Contemporary Nepal), Kathmandu, Nepal Samskritik Sangh, 2013 (1956), p. 187.

A full translation of this document is given in "Documents on Slavery", Regmi Research Series, Year 1, No. 2, December 1, 1980, p. 45.

There has been an error in identifying the geographical location of Satgaun. The term does not refer to a thum of that name situated in Salyan. (Government of Nepal, Nepalako Janaganana (Population Census of Nepal), Kathmandu: Sankhya Vibhag, 2014 (1957), Table 7, p. 44). Indeed, Salyan did not form a part of the territories of Gorkha in A.D. 1773. (Triratna Manandhar, "Salyani Raja Ranabhima Shahko Padachyuti" (Ouster of King Ranabhima Shah of Salyan), Contributions to Nepalese Studies, Vol. 11, No. 2, April 1984 (Baisakh 2041), pp. 85-92. Trans. in Regmi Research Series, Year 18, No. 7, July 1986, pp. 102-109).

The term Satgaun mentioned in King Rajendra Bikram's order of A.D. 1830 actually seems to refer to an area now located in the district of Kabhrepalanchok adjoining Kathmandu Valley. It

was used during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to denote a group of seven villages (sat = seven; gaun = village) in that area. These villages were as follows:-

1. Banepa.
2. Dhulikhel.
3. Khadpu.
4. Chaukot.
5. Panauti.
6. Sanga.
7. Nala.

(Nayaraj Panta, et. al., Shri 5 Prithvinarayana Shahko Upadesha (Teachings of King Prithvi Narayan Shah), Lalitpur, Jagadamba Prakashan, no date, pp. 1040-41).

An additional point is that there were probably no Danuwars in Salyan at that time. Dor Bahadur Bista (People of Nepal, Kathmandu: Department of Publicity, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, His Majesty's Government of Nepal, 1967, p. 117) writes:

Danuwars (are scattered) throughout the low hills of eastern Nepal and in the Tarai, besides those found in Kathmandu Valley. Very few are found in the areas west of Kathmandu.

Bandha Land Grants

I

On Thursday, Chaitra Sudi 9, 1802 (March 1746), King Prithvi Narayan Shah made a bandha land grant to Sadashiva Upadhyaya at Kamditar in Chyangli, Gorkha on payment of a sum of Rs 134. The grant was made subject to the condition that "the lands shall be returned on the day when the money is paid back."

(Pant, Dineshraj, "Sri 5 Prithvinarayan Shahako Aprakashita Patra" (An unpublished letter of King Prithvi Narayan Shah), Purnima, no. Bhadra 2038 (August - September 1981), pp. 41-43).

II

On Sunday, Jestha Sudi 4, 1817 (May 1760), Prithvi Narayan Shah reconfirmed on bandha-betalab tenure rice-lands and homesteads occupied by Indramani Jaisi on payment of Rs 2,950. "The lands shall be returned when the money is paid back."

(Nayaraj Pant, et. al., Shri 5 Prithvinarayana Shahako Upadesha (Teachings of King Prithvi Narayan Shah), Lalitpur: Jagadamba Prakashan, n.d., pp. 983-85).

III

In his Gorakhako Itihasa (History of Gorkha), Kathmandu: the author, Marga 2043 (November 1986), pt. 2, pp. 451-52, Dinesh Raj Panta has listed the following bandha land grants made by Prithvi Narayan Shah's predecessors in Gorkha:

(1) On Magh, 8, 1759 Vikrama, King Prithvipati Shah granted lands in Ludi and Nibuwachaur on bandha tenure to Shivahari Jaisi on payment of Rs 800. Of this amount, Rs 600 was paid back to Shivahari Jaisi on Magh Sudi 9, 1769.

(2) On Jestha 9, 1783 Vikrama, King Narabhupala Shah granted bandha lands to Hari Dhanwal at Nibharchok on payment of Rs 530.

IV

Baburam Acharya has given the following list of bandha land grants made by King Prithvi Narayan Shah:-

<u>Vikrama Year</u>	<u>Beneficiary</u>	<u>Amount</u>
1805	Balabhadra Naharki	Rs 1165 and 8 annas
1809,	Vidyadhar Upadhyaya	Rs 240
1811	Bhavadev Jaisi	Rs 325
1812	Sheikh Zorawar	Rs 1801
1817	Lichhuman Thauni	Rs 4001
1817	Jayapati Jaisi	Rs 187
1820	Rajivalochan Pandit	Rs 1801
1821	Tularam Pande	Rs 1101
1821	Chhotu Upadhyaya	Rs 2258
1825	Damodar Pande	Rs 501

(Baburam Acharya, Shri 5 Badamaharajadhiraja Prithvi Narayana Shah. Kathmandu: His Majesty's Press Secretariat, Royal Palace, 2026 (1969), pt. 4, pp. 671-72).

V

From Regmi Research Collections

A list of bandha land grants made by King Prithvi Narayan Shah and his successors compiled from the Regmi Research Collection is given below. Some of the entries are mentioned in Baburam Acharya's list as well.

- (1) 1760 Vikrama: Jagyadhar Iohani was granted the Thansing area as bandha on payment of Rs 51.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 191.

(The grant seems to have been made during the reign of King Prithvipat Shah).

- (2) 1805 Vikrama: 80 muris of rice lands and the attached homesteads at different places were granted on bandha tenure to Balabhadra Naharki on payment of Rs 1165 and 8 annas. The lands included those occupied by Balabhadra Naharki himself, as well as by Hridaya Tiwari.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 197.

- (3) 1809 Vikrama: 60 muris of rice lands, and the attached lands and homesteads, at Luti (Balaju), being occupied by Vidyadhar Upadhyaya, were granted as bandha to him on payment of Rs 241.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 189.

- (4) 1811 Vikrama: Bhavadev Jaisi was granted lands and homesteads at Chaynglitar, occupied by Ramachandra Upreti and Hridayaram Upreti, as bandha on payment of Rs 325.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 191.

- (5) 1812 Vikrama: 120 muris of rice-lands, occupied by Lalou Katarya, were granted as bandha to Himananda Padhya on payment of Rs 405 and 8 annas.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 197.

- (6) 1812 Vikrama: The following rice-lands, along with a homestead, were granted to Sheikh Zorawar on bandha tenure on payment of Rs 1801:-

(a) 120 muris of rice lands owned as birta by Laxminarayan and occupied by Zorawar Shahi.

(b) 100 muries of rice lands owned as birta by Dharmanarayan and occupied by Abhi Shahi.

(c) 120 muris of rice-lands occupied by Ain Dhaduwati.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 196.

- (7) 1814 Vikrama: 443 muris of rice-lands at three places (location not mentioned) were granted as bandha to Ramaram Pandit on payment of Rs 2507 and 8 annas.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 195.

- (8) 1817 Vikrama: 100 muris of rice lands at Liglig (Gorkha), found surplus in the holding of Benudhar Pandit, along with the attached homestead, were granted as bandha to Ripukhandan Malla on payment of Rs 500.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 195.

- (9) 1817 Vikrama: 180 muris of rice lands, and the attached homestead, occupied by Laxmiballabh Pande, were granted to him on bandha tenure on payment of Rs 981.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 195.

- (10) 1817 Vikrama: Archali Chaur and Silchaur, occupied by Ratan Padhya and Sudarshan Padhya, were granted as bandha to Jayapati Jaisi on payment of Rs 187.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 191.

- (11) 1817 Vikrama: 800 muris of rice lands at Serabesi and elsewhere, along with the attached villages, occupied by Lichhuman Thauniya, were granted to him as bandha on payment of Rs 4001.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, 192.

- (12) 1817 Vikrama: Devarishi was granted 127 muris of rice lands at Dukhantar, in exchange for his lands in Lalyong as well as homesteads occupied by Birabhadra Ale, as bandha on payment of Rs 641 and 8 annasa.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 193.

- (13) 1817 Vikrama: 420 muris of rice-lands in Mirkot as well as the attached homesteads and village, occupied by Prithidhar Padhya, were granted to him as bandha-bitalar on payment of Rs 2420.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 196.

- (14) 1817 Vikrama: Birabahu Shah and Jiva Shah were granted 3 khets of rice-lands in their possession at Lakuwa (Dhad) along with Pakho lands, pastures, and homesteads, as bandha-bitalar on payment of Rs 1540 and 8 annasa.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 194a

- (15) 1817 Vikrama: Nathu Giri was granted 350 muris of rice lands, homesteads occupied by Bahadur Ale, Khasram Thapa, and others, and Swanro lands in the Salyan area (of Dhad) on bandha tenure on payment of Rs 1,734.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, pps. 187-88a

- (16) 1818 Vikrama: 220 muris of rice-lands occupied by Kesho Bhatta, and a homestead occupied by Ram Thapa, were granted to Rana Simha Khatri on bandha tenure on payment of Rs 500.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 196.

- (17) Chaitra Sudi 3, 1819: Gnyanakar Banda was granted 180 muris of rice-lands, along with homesteads, on bandha tenure on payment of Rs 901.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 187.

- (18) In the Vikrama year 1820, a total of 360 muris of rice-lands on the banks of the Gerkhu river and elsewhere in Nuwakot, as well as the attached lands and homesteads which were being occupied by Rajivalochan Pandit, were granted to him as bandha on payment of Rs 1801. In the Vikrama year 1834, a part of these rice lands, amounting to 140 muris, were resumed by the government, but the proportionate amount, Rs 700, was not paid back. The total value of rents for 12 intervening years, along with that amount, was calculated at Rs 1400. The total payment on the remaining bandha lands thus amounted to Rs. 2,500.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 190.

- (19) In the Vikrama year 1820, Sura Pratapa Shah was granted rice-lands and homesteads in Darbung, Gorkha, on bandha tenure on payment of Rs 404. The lands had previously been held on bandha tenure by Dhaneshwar Newar.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 36, p. 431.

- (20) 1821 Vikrama: 360 muris of rice lands, as well as villages and pastures occupied by Chhotu Padhya were granted to him as bandha-bitalap on payment of Rs 2,258.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 192.

- (21) On Baisakh Badi 1821, a total area of 160 muris of rice lands, along with the attached homesteads, was granted on bandha tenure to Rana Simha Shah in Phirkap (Dhading) on payment of Rs 789.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 36, p. 430.

- (22) Ashadh Sudi 2, 1821: Rana Simha Shah was granted 160 muris of rice lands and the attached homesteads in Khinchet, Nuwakot, on bandha tenure on payment of Rs 601 and 6 annas.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 188.

- (23) 1821 Vikrama: 120 muris of rice-lands, along with the attached lands and homesteads, were granted as bandha to Mamu Pande on payment of Rs 601. (The location is not mentioned).

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 190.

- (24) 1825 Vikrama: Rice lands at Balang Besi, along with the attached lands and homesteads, which had been found to be surplus from the land grant made to Nathu Simkhada, were granted as bandha to ... on payment of Rs 501.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, 189.

- (25) 1828 Vikrama: The following rice lands and homesteads were granted as bandha-bitlap to Bale Padhya Rijal and Ratnamani Dharyal: 350 muris of rice lands, and the attached homesteads at Ratomate and elsewhere, occupied by Hiramani Dharyal, Jagye Pokhariya, Bishwamitra Jaisi, and Ram Dharyal, and homesteads occupied by Sumanta Jaisi and Bali Ghale, Total payment: Rs 2329 and 12 annas.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 193.

- (26) Ashadh 1830: Bandha land grant to Mukunda Pantha in Phujal, Gorkha (160 muris of rice lands and homesteads on payment of Rs 1732 and 10 annas.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, 188.

- (27) Kartik Badi 14, 1831: 65 muris of rice lands at Maidhi (Dhading district), previously occupied by Chandramani Tewari and Tikaram Khadal, were granted as bandha to Narad Pandit on payment of Rs 325.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 189.

- (28) 1832 Vikrama: Shaktiballabh Pandit was granted 70 muris of rice lands, forming part of the holding of the Devkota family in Phujal, along with Pakho lands and homesteads, as bandha-bitlap on payment of Rs 657.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 194.

- (29) 1833 Vikrama: 160 muris of rice lands along with the attached lands and homesteads at Taruka, occupied by Jamar Katuwal and Ramachandra Jaisi, were granted as bandha-bitlap to Jethabudha Bishweshwar Padhya.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 191.

- (30) 1834 Vikrama: 100 muris of rice-lands at Gauribesi in Phirkep, occupied by Vaneshwar Padhya Rimal, were reconfirmed on bandha tenure on payment of Rs 501.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 192.

- (31) 1834 Vikrama: Damodar Pande received a bandha grant of 240 muris of rice-lands at khanchok (Gorkha) on payment of Rs 1201. The lands were occupied by Benudhar Pandit.

Regmi Research Collection, Vols 5, p. 189.

- (32) 1834 Vikrama: King Simha Pratap Shah had granted 120 muris of rice-lands at kabilas as bandha to Kusi Karki on payment of Rs 601. Arjun Karki subsequently transferred the grant in favor of Jasram.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 194.

- (33) 1843 Vikrama: 100 muris of rice-lands in Naubise, (Dhadin) along with the attached homestead, were granted as bandha to Ranajung Baniya on payment of Rs 600.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 195.

Miscellaneous Documents of 1862 Vikrama

1. An Assignment for Bhimsen Thapa's Brothers.
2. Gurungs and Lamas.
3. Procurement of Goods.
4. The Buffalo Tax.
5. Emoluments of Kaji Jaspau Thapa.
6. Subba Torandhwaj Shahi.
7. The Pota Tax.

1. An Assignment for Bhimsen Thapa's Brothers

On Ashadh Sudi 1, 1862, Kaji Randhoj Thapa and Kaji Amrit Thapa were granted overall authority to supervise revenue, judicial, and other affairs in the districts of the eastern Tarai region. Local administrators in the region were instructed to obey only those orders that were issued to them through these two Kajis.

Amrit (Simha) Thapa (A.D. 1785 - 1808) was a brother of Bhimsen Thapa, and Randhoj Thapa, a half-brother.

(Shumshere Bahadur Thapa, Ranbir Simha Thapa (A biography of Ranbir Simha Thapa, a brother of Bhimsen Thapa), Lalitpur: Jagadamba Prakashan, 2023 (A.D. 1966), p. 10 .

The order mentioned above was sent to the following local administrators on Ashadh Sudi 8, 1862 (June 1805).

- (1) Subba Sarup Puri, Ijaradar of Morang.
- (2) Umanidhi Pantha and Jayanta Khatri of the Morang Adalat.
- (3) Dasharath Khatri and Bhotu Khawas, who had been sent to Morang for collecting the Salami levy.
- (4) Nain Simha (Khawas), Ijaradar of Saptari and Mahottari.
- (5) Laxmi Narayan Pandit of the Saptari-Mahottari Adalat.
- (6) Shaktiballabh Padhya, Ijaradar of Bara and Parsa.
- (7) Mana Ojha and Tularam Bista of the Bara - Parsa Adalat.
- (8) Jalim Simha Khawas, Ijaradar of Rautahat.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 282-83.

2. Gurungs and Lamas

I

Royal order to Bishram Khatri: "We had sent men to the region situated west of the Chape and Marsyangdi rivers with powers to collect fines from Gurungs and Lamas. We now remit these fines. If you have already collected the fines from any one, refund the amount. Instruct the collectors that the fines need no longer be collected."

"Orders have been sent for recruiting one man from each household to accompany Nayan Simha Thapa to Garhwal for action on the western front. Those who have not received orders to this effect from Rudravir Shahi shall not be exempted from the fines."

Thursday, Aswin Badi 11, 1862

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 477-78.

II

Royal order to Ballabh Pande, Vishnu Sharma Pantha, Ramachandra Khadka, Bali Basnyat, Dharmaraj Rawal, and others who have been deputed to the region west of the Trishuli - Ganga river to collect fines from Gurungs and Lamas:

"Because action has started on the western front, we have sent Gurungs and Lamas there. Refund fines which may have already been collected from those who proceed to the front, and do not make any collections from them if you have not already done so. Those who go to Garh shall obtain passes signed by Rudravir. Those who obtain such passes but do not proceed to Garh shall be punished with double the amount of the fine. Prepare a statement

of the Gurungs who have already left for the front. If it is proved that they have actually done so, do not collect fines from their households. Collect fines according to the regulations from those who have not gone to Garh, and transmit the income to us."

Aswin Sudi 4, 1862

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 528-29.

III

Letter to Rudravir Shahi: "We have issued orders under the royal seal remitting the fines imposed on Gurungs and Lamas and instructing them to send one man from each household to the western front. Issue orders under your signature to all those who proceed to the western front accordingly. Exemption from the fines shall be granted on that basis."

Thursday, Aswin Badi 11, 1862

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, p. 478.

IV

Royal order to troops (tilanga) sent to impress Jhara labor for the construction of irrigation channels in Kaski and the Chisapani fort:

"We have ordered Gurungs and Lamas in the region west of the Chape and Marsyangdi rivers to join Kaji Nayan Simha Thapa on the western front on Jhara basis from each household. Do not seek to exact Jhara labor from those who proceed to the western front according to that order."

Aswin Badi 11, 1862

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, p. 476.

3. Procurement of Goods

Royal order to Ijaradar Sarup Puri of Morang: "You are hereby ordered to make a disbursement of Rs 1000 for the purchase of goods required by (third concubine of Ran Bahadur Shah) Sri Sahinla Bhitirini Mumaju from Ijara revenues due for the Vikrama year 1862. You shall be severely punished if you held up this disbursement on the plea that many such disbursement orders are pending."

Thursday, Aswin Badi 5, 1862

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, p. 443.

On the same date, similar orders were sent to the following persons for disbursement of the following amounts to purchase goods required by the following:

- (1) Ijaradar Sarup Puri of Morang: Rs 1500 for goods required by the junior concubine (Shri Kanchha Bhitrani Mumaju) of Ran Bahadur.
- (2) Ijaradar Nain Simha Khawas of Saptari and Mahottari: Rs 1000 for goods required by the second concubine (Shri Mahila Bhetrani Mumaju) of Ran Bahadur.
- (3) Ijaradar Jitaram Newar of Kagbeni-Barhagaun and the Beni Mint: Rs 1700 required by the Palpa Queen (i.e. Princess of Palpa married to Ran Bahadur).

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 444-45.

4. The Buffalo Tax

A public notification was issued on Aswin Badi 5, 1862, according to which an ijara had been issued to Rajman Singh Newar for the collection of the Bhainsi-Puchhahi (tax on buffalo-tails) from Bhadra Sudi 3, 1862. The tax had been collected under the amanat system until then. The rates were as follows:-

<u>Description</u>	<u>Rate per head</u>
1. Milk buffalo	2 annas.
2. Dry buffalo	1 anna.
3. Buffalo calves (male or female)	2 paisa.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 458-59.

5. Emoluments of Kaji Jaspau Thapa

Royal order to Kaji Ritudhwaj Khawas, Sardar Angad Khawas, and Haradatta Jha: "From the general revenues of the district of Kumaun, other than the stipulated land tax revenue, you are hereby ordered to make a disbursement of Rs 2500 to Kaji Jaspau Thapa in part payment of his emoluments. The amount shall be debitted from the accounts of revenue collection in the course of audit."

Thursday, Aswin Badi 11, 1862.

On the same day, Jitaram Newar, Ijaradar of Kagbeni-Barhagaun and the Beni Mint, was similarly ordered to make a disbursement of Rs 2500 to Kaji Jaspau Thapa.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, p. 477.

6. Subba Torandhwaj Shahi

Royal order to Rudravir Shahi: "We have appointed Torandhwaj Shahi as Subba and deputed him to the western front. We have granted him 3 khets on manachamal tenure as due to a Subba. Assign suitable lands in Pyuthan from lands (confiscated) in the course of survey."

Thursday, Aswin Badi 11, 1862.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 478-79.

7. The Pota Tax

On Bhadra Badi 14, 1862, Subedar Hindu was granted 2 khets of rice-lands out of unclaimed (Ukas) lands detected by him in Patan, Bhadgaun, and Thimi. The grant was made under Manachamal tenure.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, p. 360.

The same day, Subedar Hindu was permitted to appropriate a sum of Rs 675 as his emoluments from the proceeds of the newly-imposed pota tax in Patan, Bhadgaun, and Thimi.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, p. 361.

II

On Bhadra Badi 14, 1862, Subedar Hindu was informed that in Patan, Bhadgaun, and Thimi, the Pota Tax had been remitted for eleven years out of the 20-year period from 1843 to 1862 Vikrama. He was, therefore, instructed to collect the tax in these areas for the remaining nine years only. In consideration of this gesture, a Salami levy was collected from the concerned landowners at the same rate as in Kathmandu.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, p. 356.

Ferry-Points (Ghats) in Western Nepal

A.D. 1805

During the campaign on the western front in A.D. 1805, ferry services were organized at the following points on the following rivers:-

<u>Ghat</u>	<u>River</u>
1. Devighat	Trishuli
2. Tarukaghat	"
3. Budhasingghat	"
4. Kallerighat	"

5. Adamghat	"
6. Pipalghat	"
7. Gojurighat	"
8. Parewaghat	"
9. Arughat	Gandi
10. Borlangghat	"
11. Bumkotghat	"
12. Benighat	"
13. Jyamiraghat	"
14. Kurringhat	"
15. Tarkughat	Marsyangdi
16. Chepeghat	"
17. Satighat	"
18. Kholaghat	"
19. Majhuwaghat	"
20. Gopsing-Ghat	"
21. Sarang-Ghat	Seti Nadi
22. Damaulighat	"
23. Wairenighat	"
24. Patharghat	"
25. Shilaghat	"
26. Khaniyaghat	Kali-Gandaki
27. Purtighat	"
28. Ridighat	"
29. Darpughat	"
30. Andhighat	"
31. Kaladighat	"
32. Gargabighat	"

Aswin Badi 12, 1862a(September 1805)a
 Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, ppa 473-74.

References to ghats on the Bheri and Karnali rivers are also available (Ibid, pp. 474-75)a but the names and locations are not knowna

Rights and Privileges of Kipatowners in
Majhkirat

The Rais, Majhiyas, Jimiders, and other inhabitants of Majhkirat, situated east of the Dudhkosi and Bahadura, and west of the Arun river, submitted the following petition to His Majesty through the Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief, General Jung Bahadur Kunwar:-

"In the year 1877 Vikrama, a royal order specifying our rights and privileges (thiti-ko-lalmohar) had been issued to us. However, that royal order was withdrawn in the course of the revenue settlement of the year 1893 samvat. Newly-reclaimed lands (birhauta-birhauti) in our kipat holdings were resumed, and taxes were assessed on homesteads which we had constructed on Pakho lands which had already been taxed at the rate of four rupees on each homestead. Moreover, taxes are increased every year. How then are we to fulfill our labor obligations (doko-boko) and maintain local functionaries (Janchhari, Pagari)? We shall be able to do so only if the previous arrangements (riti-thiti) are restored."

A new royal order was then issued on Monday, Jestha Badi 3, 1904 (May 1847), which entitled kipat-owners (kipatiya Praja) who provided doko-boko services to retain occupation of the following categories of lands:-

(a) Lands reconfirmed in their names after making deductions in the course of the revenue settlement conducted in the year 1893 Vikrama by Akal Singh and Ishwari Khatri

(b) Lands reconfirmed in the same year by Ditttha Ramnath Upadhyas

(c) Lands reconfirmed in the course of the revenue settlement conducted in the year 1901 Samvat by Subedar Shiyadal Khadka and Jamaadar Aiman Khatri.

The following categories were required to be registered with the Sader D. fdarkhana:-

(a) Lands reclaimed by people belonging to non-kirati communities such as Murmi and Dhakre.

(b) Lands reclaimed through Jhara labor.

The royal order of Monday, Jestha Badi 3, 1904 contained the following additional provisions. (Numbers and paragraphs supplied by translator).

1. Provisions (manachamal) shall not be supplied to visiting revenue-collection functionaries (rakami, tah sildar) from each household. They shall only be provided with food so long as they remain in the thun or village. Such functionaries, on their part, shall not take unnecessary people along and demand food for them, nor shall the people (rait) make food available for such unnecessary people.

2. Amali-Jagirdars shall collect only such payments, as are customary. If they make unauthorized collections, the local people shall submit complaints to us.
3. According to the custom traditionally followed in your caste (jat), a fine of Rs 15 is collected from a person guilty of sexual relations with another man's wife (chak). Of this amount, Rs 5 shall be given to the aggrieved husband (khaduk), while the balance of Rs 10, along with the fine of Rs 12 collected from the woman guilty of adultery (chakui) shall accrue to the Amali.
4. If any person (prais) wants to make payment for the woman (chakui) after he has wounded or killed the adulterer with a weapon (jar hanyako), the Amali shall collect a sum of Rs 35 from him.
5. If any person has caused physical injury to another, resulting in the shedding of blood, without using weapons, he shall be punished with a fine of Rs 5.
6. Crimes (birau) committed by a child who has not yet shed its milk teeth shall be pardoned.
7. Hunters shall provide one leg of venison to the Amali for each day of hunting, irrespective of the number of deer actually killed, as Sisphar. No such obligation shall be due for birds or animals captured in traps or snares.
8. The pasturage tax (kharchari) on kipat pastures (kharka) shall be paid at the customary rate.
9. Transactions in mahabhir (hillside areas where wild bees have made honey-combs), cardamom -farms, and agricultural lands under kipat tenure, conducted with the Jimidar, shall not be regarded as an offense.
10. The Jimidar shall permit dhakres to settle on kipat lands on payment of the theiki levy. Dhakres shall not forcibly occupy kipat lands.
11. The Kipat-owning Jimidar shall appropriate buffaloes that die a natural death on his kipat holding.
12. Porterage services for coins and other government supplies shall be provided up to the next village. No such services shall be provided for the personal or commercial goods of government employees and functionaries (rakami).
13. Advance notice shall be given while installing traps or snares in forests. If any person inadvertently falls into such traps or snares and dies, the person who has installed them shall make a payment of five rupees to the Amali. If such person merely sustains an injury, and does not die, a sum of two rupees and a half shall be paid.

14. A praja widow who wishes to remain chaste shall be allowed to do so. She shall not be forcibly given off to another man. In case such widow voluntarily takes up another husband in consultation with her relatives, the relatives of the deceased husband shall be entitled to realize the expenses incurred in the wedding, and the man shall be allowed to keep her. If she takes up another husband without consulting her relatives, and pays the amount spent by the latter, the man shall be allowed to keep her. If, however, she cannot pay the amount spent by her relatives, she shall not be allowed to take up the new husband. The Amali shall impose a fine of 7½ rupees, pay 2½ rupees as the share of the aggrieved party (khaduk), and appropriate the balance of five rupees, as well as a Chakui fee of two rupees.
15. The Rai or Majhiya of the village shall be entitled to the services of five laborers from each household (during the year).
16. So far, atonement for the death of cows and bulls inadvertent or by falling into snares has been observed according to riti (customary) rites by some, and according to smriti (official) rites by others. In the future, everyone involved in such inadvertent death shall obtain pativa (expiation). The matter shall not be kept secret. If it is kept secret, the Amali shall impose a fine.
17. A Doke villager shall not obtain appointment as Rai (Rai-Pagari) from the Amali or Dware of the village. Anyone who wants a new appointment as Rai shall approach the royal palace. If it is held, in consultation with the incumbent Rai, that a new office of Rai should be created, a fee (dastur) of fifty rupees shall be paid to us through the Dafdarkhane and the appointment obtained.

"Any person who acts in contravention of these regulations (thiti-riti) shall be punished according to the nature of his offenses.

"Do not engage in rebellions. Do not slaughter cows and bulls. Remain faithful to us, provide the prescribed payments and services (doko-boko), and occupy your kipat lands with full assurance.

Monday, Jestha Badi 3, 1904 (May 1847).

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 35, pp. 315-18.

Revenue Settlement in Jumla and Humla

On Wednesday, Chaitra Badi 8, 1886 (March 1830), a survey team headed by Tul Simha Karki was appointed to conduct a revenue settlement in the Jumla-Humla region. The team included Tharghar Meghanath Pande, Tharghar Mardan Simha Rana, and khardar Prajapati Prasai. (Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 34, pp. 52-53).

The survey team was ordered to perform the following functions:-

- (1) Inspect rice-lands and homesteads, make appropriate arrangements for revenue assessment on thekbandi basis; set aside rice lands and homesteads assigned to the army and resume the surplus, if any; measure raikar as well as jafati (confiscated) rice-lands in the hill (pahad) and mountainous (Bhot) areas of Jumla and Humla, and prescribe taxes on kut-theek basis according to productivity.
- (2) In case owners of guthi or marwat lands have encroached upon raikar lands, determine the area so encroached upon on the basis of available documentary evidence and in the presence of prominent local persons, measure the area if any one so requests, resume such area, and impose fines accordingly.
- (3) Inspect rice-lands and homesteads being used on chhap or mana-chamal tenure. If the owners are those that may be useful, reconfirm such lands, or make deductions, as appropriate, and submit drafts of reconfirmation orders for our endorsement. In case it is found that lands are being used as chhap or mana-chamal without any documentary title, or by persons who are of no use, confiscate their lands.
- (4) If any person represents his grievances, summon the defendant and dispose of the matter in a kachahari. If the defendant does not appear when summoned, arrest him and produce him for the hearing. The Bicharis shall inflict punishment according to the nature of the offense if there is a confession. Withdraw all previous royal and other orders, and submit drafts of new orders in such a way that the people remain satisfied and our interests are not harmed. We shall affix the royal seal on such drafts.
- (5) Inspect records of Kuriya (tenants) prepared by the local Thani, Thari, or Hitan in each dara. Assess Sirto tax on such kuriyas at the same rate as in the case of other landholders (raiti).
- (6) Inspect khet and pakho lands throughout Jumla and Humla, compile separate records for raikar and jafati (confiscated) lands, and assess kut-theek and sirto taxes at the same rates as on raikar lands. In case any person is found to have suppressed information about homesteads, khet or pakho lands, or any tax or other payments, since 1862 Samvat (A.D. 1805), collect the amount due for three years, assess kut-theek and sirto taxes, and assign them to the military.
- (7) Locate copper, iron, lead, cinnabar, or other deposits in different daras, whether old or new, and assess kachho-sirto payments. Scrutinize such sources of revenue as the puchhai tax on falcons, the 20 percent (pachawat) tax on musk, the Chhapai tax on cloth, nikasi and dalali duties on horses and falcons, the Sundhuwai tax on gold-mining, the wax monopoly, duties on falcons, duties on salt, borax, sheep and chyangra goats, blankets, yaks, and jagat duties, and determine the amount of thek payments.

- (8) Assess thek and sirto payments on the inhabitants of Jumla, Humla, Mugu, Karan, Tibrikot, and other Himalayan (Bhotanta) areas on the basis of their income (paidabar) from trade.

In Mugu, Karan, Tibrikot, and Humla, record assessments from the following customary sources in such a manner that the current amount of revenue does not decline:

Saunefagu, blankets, sheep and chyangra goats, yaks, yak-milk, walak, dzoba and sheep wool, copper paid as sirto, levies on gold and falcons, etc.,

- (9) On Dum households cultivating khet and pakho lands in Jumla and Humla, assess kut-thek rents on the khet lands, and sirto and saunefagu on the pakho lands, according to the size of the holding.

- (10) The following salaries are sanctioned for the employees deputed to conduct the settlement:-

2 Dhakre Majors	... Rs 250
2 Bahidars	... Rs 200
	<u>Rs 450</u>

This amount, as well as stationery and other expenses, shall be disbursed from income collected in the course of the survey.

- (11) Inspect water-operated mills (ghatta) throughout Humla and Jumla and assess thek tax on them on the basis of their income (paidabar).

Take nine surveyors (dangol) along with you for measuring khet lands.

- (12) Submit accounts of income and expenses and deposit the surplus at the Tosekhana (treasury).

Chaitra Badi 8, 1886. (March 1830)

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 34, pp. 54-58.

Gorkhali Rule in Garhwal

By

Dr. Shiva Prasad Dabral "Charan"

(Continued)

Amar Simha Thapa had arrested Kunwar Pritam Shah and sent him to Nepal, while Parakrama Shah fled to Hindur (Nalagarh). Sudarshan Shah fled from Khudbuda and took shelter with the priest Kriparam at Kanakhal. Pradyumna Shah's chief chamberlain, Kishan Singh, assumed charge of his protection. He had been with Pradyumna Shah in the battle of Khudbuda. A Gorkhali soldier had caused him a deep wound from the left ear to the right through his nose. He had somehow managed to bandage the wound and accompanied the royal family to Kanakhal. Amar Simha Thapa did nothing for the maintenance of the royal family. Even those Garhwali officials and others who extended their support to the Gorkhalis did not like this policy of Amar Simha Thapa.

Meanwhile, the displaced ruler of Sirmur, Karmaprakash, requested Ranjor Thapa, Amar Simha Thapa's son, for assistance in regaining his kingdom. Amar Simha Thapa took immediate advantage of this situation to make a success of the Gorkhali campaign of territorial expansion in the region west of the Jamuna river. He placed Ranjor Thapa in the military command of Kumaun and Garhwal and marched toward Sirmur accompanied by Bhaktibir Thapa, Hastadal Chautariya, Randhir Simha Basnyat, and other military officers.

Amar Simha Thapa remained engaged in the military campaign on the western front from that time till 1868 Vikrama (A.D. 1811). He had, consequently, no time to attend to the administration of Garhwal. However, from 1869 to 1872 Vikrama (A.D. 1812-15), we find both Amar Simha Thapa and his son, Ranjor Simha Thapa, taking special interest in the administration of Garhwal. Both the father and the son issued orders making numerous jagir assignments during this period.

The Gorkhalis had arrested Jayanarayan, Harshadeva Joshi's son, in Johar, and sent him to Nepal. After the death of Pradyumna Shah, Harshadeva Joshi had left for Kanakhal out of frustration. It now became difficult for him to take an active part in politics. Direct opposition to the Gorkhalis would have been dangerous for his son, who was being kept as a captive in Nepal. Harshadeva Joshi was seeing the hardships of the Gorkhalis sold as slaves by the Gorkhalis at Hardwar near Kanakhal. He had himself invited the Gorkhalis to invade Kumaun, his motherland, and rendered them all possible help in subjugating Kumaun and Garhwal. He now repented his misdeeds. He sent several letters to the East India Company's representative in Delhi, Frazer, describing the atrocities perpetrated by the Gorkhalis on the people of the hills. On the other hand, he very much desired that the situation in Nepal should be favorable to Ran Bahadur Shah, with whom he had regular correspondence. His hopes collapsed when Ran Bahadur Shah was assassinated in Baisakh 1863 (April 1805). Harshadeva Joshi then maintained contacts with Sudarshan Shah.

Ranjan Simha's Administration, A.D. 1804-5

Ranjan Simha has been described as a man of excellent character. He was not as severe and cruel as other Gorkhali administrators. He wanted the subjects to be treated with justice. The Garh-Rajavamsa - Kavya does not describe Ranjan Simha's administration in Srinagar. It is possible that such a description was contained in Bakhtwar-Yasha-Chandrikat. The Garh-Rajavamsa-Kavya highly praises Ranjan Simha's administration in Sirmur. According to Maularam, towns and villages which had become depopulated revived under his administration. The Bicharis and Acharis appointed by Ranjan Simha were polite and just. He had also set up an advisory council consisting of top-ranking officials. Ranjan Simha was a patron of men of arts and letters, such as Maularam, who has described him as a very generous person. People used to say that the son (Ranjan Simha) excelled the father (Amar Simha). Maularam's account may be exaggerated, but Fraser's account shows that Ranjan Simha was a benevolent administrator who wanted to maintain order and tranquillity.

However, Ranjan Simha's subordinate officials were very harsh and cruel. As conquerors, they looked upon the subjects with contempt. They freely plundered villages situated near the capital, insulted respectable people, and raped women. The Gorkhali civil and military officials abducted the wives and daughters of the people or paid a few rupees for them, and kept them as concubines for as long as they liked. Instead of winning over the hearts of the subjects, these officials believed that severity and cruelty were the only means to subdue them. The tradition of oppression and plunder that began in Garhwal during the time of Ranjan Simha continued till the end of Gorkhali rule.

Changes were introduced in Garhwal's traditional systems of taxation and the administration of justice. New taxes were imposed in addition to the land tax, such as taxes on tithes, looms, salami, and saunefagu, for the sake of revenue. New methods of trial by ordeal were introduced. Fines and penalties began to be collected according to the financial capacity of the guilty person. Revenue from taxation was deposited at the state treasury, while fines and penalties were appropriated by the officials. Those who were unable to pay their taxes in time were auctioned as slaves along with their families.

Panic spread in the Doon Valley as soon as the news spread that Pradyumna Shah had been killed. The Gorkhals plundered the villages and towns thoroughly. The Gorkhali authorities deprived Mahant Harasevakarama of the Gura-Mandir of his positions because they believed that he was a supporter of Pradyumna Shah. He was also accused of murder. Since the Mahant refused to confess, and since no witness could be found, the Amil of the Doon Valley, Sisaram Sakanyani, took resort to trial by the ordeal of boiling oil according to Gorkhali custom. The Mahant's hand was put in a cauldron of boiling oil and was badly burnt. This was taken to mean that Mahant Harasevakaram was guilty, so he was punished with a heavy fine. The Mahant's jagir villages in the Doon Valley were ruined. Other villages too remained uninhabited.

It was Kaji Amrit who, for the first time, took steps to check the plunder and prevent the Doon Valley from being completely ruined. Hastidal, Ranjor's successor, also did praiseworthy work in this regard.

After their conquest of Kumaun, the Gorkhalis had constructed a track from Kathmandu to Almora. After the conquest of Srinagar, it was considered necessary to extend that track to Srinagar, and then to Dehradun. According to Traill ("Sketch of Kumaun", Asiatic Researches, Vol. 16, p. 142) kos-stones had also been installed on that track. It is not known when construction of the track started and when it was completed. It is possible that the project was begun during the time of Ranjor Simha. Gorkhali officials and troops travelled to Kangra through Almora and Srinagar along this track.

Like the inhabitants of Juhar in the Himalayan region of Kumaun, the inhabitants of Niti in the Himalayan region of Garhwal did not voluntarily accept Gorkha's sovereignty. The rulers of Garh had offered the village of Managram to the temple of Badrinath. It was therefore contrary to the policy of the Gorkhalis to collect revenue from that village. There were many exaggerated stories about the wealth of the inhabitants of Niti valley, and the Gorkhalis were eager to make large revenue collect^{on} there. A Gorkhali force proceeded to Niti valley, but the local inhabitants checked their advance by destroying the suspension bridge on the Rini (Rishiganga) river. But the winter trade between Niti valley and the lower valley, was also dislocated as a result. The inhabitants of Niti valley had, therefore, no alternative but to accept Gorkhali rule. A Gorkhali force was stationed in the valley, and the cost of its maintenance was raised from the local inhabitants. (Traill: "Report on the Bhotiya Mahals of Kumaun," Asiatic Researches, Vol. 16, p. 30). Gorkhali military personnel collected the revenue themselves, and their treatment of the local inhabitants was oppressive. The Gorkhalis soon raised the amount of the revenue to such a figure that many people were forced to leave their villages.

Ranjor Thapa had to leave for the western front after about one year. Even when he was in Srinagar, he had to pay special attention to the supply of men and materials for the western front. The date when Ranjor Thapa left Srinagar is not known. His name is not found in the list of Gorkhali officials in Srinagar in the Vikrama year 1862. The list mentions the names of Chandrabhan Kunwar, Vijayananda Padhya, and Gaja Simha only. They were probably responsible for revenue collection in different divisions. It was during those days that Maularam composed Rana Bahadur Chandrika. Rana Bahadur had not yet been assassinated, so he received a reward from the royal court of Nepal.

Hastidal Chautariya's Administration, A.D. 1805-8

The Thapa faction, which controlled the government of Nepal as well as the army on the western front, regarded the Chautariya Sardars with suspicion. When ruthless officials severely oppressed the people of Garhwal, and compelled them to leave their villages,

it was felt necessary to appoint an administrator of moderate temperament such as Hastidal Chautariya. Meanwhile, Ritudhwaj Thapa, Vijaya Simha Shahi, and Hardatta Simha Ojha had been sent to kumaun to revise the revenue settlement and redress the hardships of the people. In the Vikrama year 1862 (A.D. 1805), the royal court of Nepal sent Hastidal's brother, Rudravir Shah, to relieve him in the siege of Kangra fort. Hastidal was then appointed administrator of Garh.

Hastidal Chautariya was 43 or 44 years of age at that time and of medium height and stout build. He was of polite temperament and his appearance was imposing. He gave much importance to agriculture and tried to improve the condition of the peasantry. He was a generous man who usually forgave minor mistakes. He tried to keep the people satisfied.

Immediately after assuming charge of the administration of Garh, Hastidal Chautariya took up the problems of the Doon valley, which had been ruined as a result of oppression by the army and revenue collectors. (Williams, *Memoirs of Dehradun*, pp. 118-20). Most of the people of the valley had gone to other areas, and the cultivated area was diminishing rapidly. Hastidal Chautariya reinstated Mahant Harasevakaram in his post and also restored his privileges and perquisites. The Mahant was the only Jagirdar in the Doon Valley who had some influence among the people. He used his influence to bring back people to their villages and made every possible effort to develop agriculture. Thanks to these efforts, the condition of the Doon Valley began to improve. Its revenue had declined from Rs 100,000 a year during the rule of the kings of Garh to only Rs 9,000, but increased to Rs 16,000, and then to Rs 18,000, within two or three years. (State Papers, Judicial Series, p. 52; English Pre-Mutiny Records, Saharanpur, Vol. 23, pp. 117-126).

During the rule of the kings of Garh, the Doon Valley was frequently plundered by the Ranghads, Jats, Gujars and Rohillas of Saharanpur, and the Sikhs of Punjab. Their depredations continued during the Gorkhali rule. It was at this time that the East India Company stationed a native cavalry regiment and an infantry battalion to protect Saharanpur from the marauding Sikhs. This step checked the Sikhs in the region west of Saharanpur district, but had no effect on the Doon Valley. The Gorkhali administrator of the Doon Valley, therefore, announced that as many villages of the marauders would be set on fire as the number of their bands raiding the Doon Valley. In defiance of this announcement, a band of Sikhs raided the Doon Valley and carried away a large number of women and cattle. The Gorkhali administrator sent 200 troops in pursuit. These troops reached the villages of the bandits and set them on fire. Anyone who tried to escape was killed. Only a few women were able to save their lives because of their beauty. This method of checking the banditry, although barbarous, was effective, and the number of raids on the Doon Valley declined.

Amrit kaji and Harasevarkaram did commendable work in resettling villages and promoting agriculture in the Doon Valley. Hastidal Chautariya took several steps with these objectives. He gave liberal taccavi loans to peasants in the newly-settled villages and fixed the land tax on entire villages at a figure which was as low as five rupees a year in the name of Sayanasr. He made land allotments subject to the payment of one-twelfth or even one-sixteenth of the produce as tax. These measures made it possible for the paraganna of kalyanpur, in particular, to attain a level of prosperity which remained unmatched even during the period of British ruler

Bam Shah in kumaun

In the Vikrama year 1862 (A.D. 1805), Ritudhwaj Thapa, Vijaya Simha Shahi, and Haradatta Simha Ojha were revising the land settlement in kumaun. Ritudhwaj Thapa was recalled from kumaun the following year and sentenced to death for some crime in Dotir. He was replaced by Bam Shah, Hastidal Shah's brother, as Subha of kumaun. Bam Shah remained in that post until 1815. Like Hastidal Shah, Bam Shah was a liberal ruler. He initiated administrative reforms in kumaun and succeeded in enlisting the cooperation of several Brahmans and other influential people. As a result, he was able to thwart the feeble attempts of Lal Simha and his associates to spread intranquillity in kumaun. Bam Shah also took steps to protect the property of the people. Jagir grants made by former rulers were restored. Efforts were also made to reform the judicial system. The practice of selling the families of people who were unable to pay their taxes as slaves was stopped.

As before, Garh remained divided into three tahasils and 84 pattis for purposes of revenue administration as before during the time of Hastidal Chautariya. His chief assistants were Ashtadal Thapa, kaji Ram Bahadur, and Parashuram Thapa. Hastidal's brother, Rudravir Shah, was in command of the siege of Kangra on his behalf. According to a document dated Chaitra 14, 1804 (March 1808) of the time of Hastidal Chautariya, revenue from Dangu was appropriated for the emoluments of 25 Gorkhali troops. The area had been placed under the jurisdiction of Sardar Bhaktibir Thapa.

The success that Bam Shah attained in improving the condition of the people of kumaun eluded Hastidal in Garhwal. In Garhwal, any person who was unable to pay his tax or fine was deprived of his moveable and immovable property, and both he and other members of his family were sold as slaves. If any other person made such payments, he was entitled to appropriate them as slaves. Otherwise, the slaves were sent to the Gorkhali post near Bhimgoda on the road leading to Har-ki-pairi in Hardwar. At that place, slaves from all over Garhwal, ranging in age between three years and thirty years, were auctioned. In those days, a Punjabi camel fetched 75 rupees in Hardwar, and an ordinary horse 250 to 350 rupees, but the unfortunate Garhwalis were sold by the Gorkhali officials for no more than 10 to 150 rupees each (Asiatic Researches, Vol. 11, p. 459).

In addition to those auctioned in the slave market, Gorkhali military men kept Garhwali women as concubines, and Garhwali children as slaves. Their officers did not object to such practices. The soldiers were accompanied by their slaves and concubines wherever they went. No provision was made for pack-animals to transport food and military supplies, so this work was done by the slaves and concubines. The Gorkhals took along with them thousands of Garhwali women and children on their march to the western front. They also took many of them to Nepal when the war was over.

The Nepal-Almora-Srinagar track was of great importance for the movement of civil and military employees, as well as for the transportation of military supplies. The Hardwar-Badrinath track was also important for pilgrimage, as well as for the slave traffic. Hastidal Chautariya repaired the track from Devaprayag to Srinagar. This was the easiest track in the whole of Garhwal, which was kept in repair through the compulsory labor (begar) of the inhabitants of the adjoining villages. (Traill, "Sketch of Kumaun", Asiatic Researches, Vol. 16, p. 142).

In 1795, Maulvi Abdul Kadir, who had been sent to Nepal by the East India Company, reported that direct trade with Tibet would be much more profitable than through Nepal. In 1803, Captain Knox had suggested that the East India Company acquire Almora (Kumaun) from the Gorkhals anyhow, so that direct trade with Tibet through the Himalayan passes might be possible. Thereafter, several employees of the East India Company, as well as other persons, began to collect geographical and other information about Kumaun, Garhwal, Doon, and Sirmur. They included Crawford, Buchanan, Colebrooke, Hearsey, Richards, and Rutherford, Chief of the East India Company's factory at Kashipur.

In A.D. 1808, the East India Company sent Captain Raper along with Lt. Webb and Captain Hearsey to Garhwal with the permission of the government of Nepal. Their formal objective was to identify the source of the Ganges. In April 1808, Raper reached Hardwar. He saw the Gorkhali post at Bhimgoda where Garhwals were auctioned as slaves. With a Brahman from Kumaun, named Harabalam, as his guide, Raper reached the village of Khadkhadi on April 20, where he met Hastidal Chautariya. It is said that Hearsey had once saved Hastidal's life by treating him of injuries inflicted by a bear, so Hastidal felt grateful to him. Hastidal informed the Englishmen that he had been replaced by Bhairav Thapa as Chief administrator of Garhwal. For that reason, Hastidal was unable to give much help to Raper.

Maularam obtained a reward from the royal court of Nepal for his work Ranabahadur-Chandrika. He also composed poems eulogizing Ran Bahadur's son, Girban Yuddha Bikrama Shah. Pleased at this, the royal court of Nepal reconfirmed his jagir villages in 1865 Vikrama (A.D. 1808). It also restored his daily allowance which had been stopped by the bhardars of Srinagar.

Rudravir Chautariya, a brother of Hastidal and Bam Shah, had been deputed to the Kangra front in 1863 Vikrama (A.D. 1806) along with Dalabhanjan Pande. These two Gorkhali bhardars were persuaded by Sansar Chand to leave the fort along with his family and property. But Sansar Chand did not hand over the fort to the Gorkhalis. At this, Amar Simha Thapa complained to the royal court of Nepal that Rudravir Chautariya and Dalabhanjan Pande had lifted the siege because they had been bribed by Sansar Chand. The court then recalled the two Gorkhali bhardars. Hastidal too became a victim of the royal anger. He was removed from Garhwal in A.D. 1808. Bhairava Thapa was then appointed as his successor.

Bhairav Thapa's Administration, A.D. 1808-11

Bhairav Thapa was not a liberal administrator like Hastidal Chautariya. In fact, his behavior was harsh and cruel toward the subjects. He looked upon foreigners with suspicion and raised all sorts of obstacles before Raper and his colleagues, who had been granted permission by the royal court of Nepal to tour Garh. Bhairav Thapa's subordinate bhardars, namely, Chhannu Bhandari, Buddhi Thapa, Parashuram Thapa, and Jamadar Inti Rana Gurung, were also harsh and cruel.

Soon, however, the Nepal Court deputed Bhairav Thapa, Buddhi Thapa, and Parashuram Thapa to the siege of Kangra fort. Bhairav Thapa's duties were taken over by his son, Shishta (Shrestha) Thapa, who had already worked in Kumaun. The kamin records of Dhangu contain the names of several Gorkhali officials who drew their emoluments from revenues collected in that area.

These Gorkhali officials, not content with their emoluments, extorted extra taxes and other payments from the subjects. For instance, they collected fines and penalties according to the financial status of the offender. Every kamin was required to provide three buffaloes and two goats during the month of Chaitra, and four buffaloes and two goats in the month of Aswin, for sacrificial purposes during the Dashain festival. Payments had to be made to the Subedar and the Fouzdar when they were on tour. These officials also exacted a 3-anna silver coin called timasi from each family along with taxes. People had also to supply ghee to each bhardar or military officer.

As a result of such oppression and exploitation, villages became depopulated and lands went out of cultivation. According to Hearsey, the Gorkhalis sold more than 30,000 Garhwali men, women, and children in the slave market for their failure to pay taxes, fines, and penalties. About 80,000 other Garhwalis fled to the plains to escape the Gorkhali terror. These figures may be exaggerated, but are not wholly baseless.

Maularam sent a letter to Bhimsen Thapa through a trustworthy person recounting Garhwal's sufferings. When Bhairav Thapa came to know about that complaint, he confiscated Maularam's jagirs and stopped his daily allowance. (1866 Vikrama/A.D. 1809). Maularam appeared before the royal court of Nepal with a poem eulogizing the King. Bhimsen Thapa then restored his jagirs and allowance. However, nothing was done to improve the condition of Garhwal.

In 1866 Vikrama/A.D. 1809, Bhimsen Thapa sent Kunwar Birabhadra to the Kangra front. Birabhadra was the son of Kunwar Chandrabir. His mother was a daughter of Amar Simha Thapa. Birabhadra reached Srinagar in the month of Falgun. He carried a royal order restoring Maularam's houses, orchards, and jagirs; and his daily allowance of one rupee. One month later, Amar Simha Thapa sent him to occupy the fort of Morani along with Ranjor Thapa.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, the East India Company government made repeated efforts to send its commercial products to Tibet through Kumaun and Garhwal and also deal in the products of the mountainous region. With that objective, it had established a factory at Kashipur. In 1804, duties on goods sold in the fairs and markets of the mountainous region were abolished. Rutherford, manager of the Kashipur factory, started supplying advances to the farmers of Kumaun and Garhwal for the supply of hemp. This step encouraged the khas peasantry to grow hemp in large quantities in the Chaugarkha area of Kumaun, particularly in Lakhanpur, Deon, Rongad, Salam, Badaro, Assi, Chaubisi, Achhyurur, Mehrur, Gumes, Dhyrnirau, and Talla-Chaukot. Peasants of the Pabila community in the Bachan, Lobha, Chandkot, Chandpur, Dhanpur, and Dewalgarh in Garhwal were similarly encouraged to grow hemp. This helped them to mitigate to some extent the heavy tax burden imposed by the Gorkhali rulers. Not only the peasantry, but kamins, sayans, and other influential people of Kumaun and Garhwal as well, and even Gorkhali bhardars, started making profits from the trade in hemp fiber and cloth, hemp seeds, and charesh.

Rutherford also obtained permission from the royal Court of Nepal to extract and collect resin from the abundant chir trees found in Kumaun, Garhwal, and Dotir. The Governor-General had written to Nepal on April 10, 1809 requesting such permission. The resin was used to manufacture pith and turpentine, which were of better quality than those procured from Britain. Trade in hemp and resin was so important for the East India Company that it made no protest when a Gorkhali bhardar constructed a fort at Kheri in the East India Company's territory and stationed troops there in 1811, when relations between Nepal and the East India Company had begun to deteriorate.

(To be Continued).