

REPORT

ON THE

*Insurrection in Mysore.*

---

DECEMBER 1833.

BANGALORE, *December 12th, 1833.*

HIS EXCELLENCY, GENERAL

THE RIGHT HONORABLE,

LORD WILLIAM CAVENTISH BENTINCK, G.C.B.G.C.H.

*Governor General in Council, &c., &c., &c.*

MY LORD,

1. Having concluded the inquiries which have appeared to us to be necessary, for the purpose of enabling us to accomplish the object of our appointment as a Committee, we have now the honor to report, in obedience to your Lordship's orders, the conclusions at which we have arrived, respecting "The Origin, Progress, and Suppression of the Recent Disturbances in Mysore," and "the consequences by which they have been attended, as affecting the lives and property of the people and the general prosperity of the Country."

2. We beg leave to premise that our inquiries have included an examination of all the documents we could obtain, likely to afford light on the subject, embracing a very voluminous correspondence contained in the records of the Residency; and that they have also extended to the taking of a large body of evidence from witnesses whom we called before us. The evidence of the witnesses is recorded in the Minutes of our Proceedings; and a large portion of the documentary evidence is added in an appendix.

3. Our subject naturally divides itself into three parts, corresponding with the three heads of inquiry, pointed out by your Lordship's instructions; namely, the origin, the progress and suppression, and the consequences, of the insurrection. We shall treat of these different topics in that natural order in which we have stated them; but we do not propose to adhere to it more rigidly than may be consistent with convenience. The events which took place during the insurrection throw light, as might be expected, on its causes. Some of the observations and reflections which we have to offer on

this head will therefore be deferred with advantage until we have given an account of its progress and suppression. That account too must of necessity comprise some mention of consequences affecting lives and property, although this topic generally, will be reserved for separate consideration.

4. We proceed in the first place to treat of the origin of the disturbances.

5. In order to explain even their immediate causes, it is obviously requisite to show what the condition of the country was at the time when they broke out. And that a correct view may be formed of the state of the country, as well as that the remoter causes of the disturbances may be traced, it is necessary to advert briefly to the formation and composition, and the political relations to the British Government, of the Mysore State; and to take a retrospect of the manner in which its government had been conducted from the time of its establishment in 1799.

6. The present boundaries of Mysore do not nearly coincide with those of any power, as far as our information goes, that existed in any former period. The whole of this territory was indeed included in the provinces over which Hyder Ally acquired sway by usurpation and conquest, and which he transmitted to his son Tippoo Sultan. But it formed only a part of the extensive dominions of those Princes, and was not itself completely brought under their direct government in all its parts, at least not for any considerable period. As to the authority possessed in former times by the Hindoo family, a member of which, on the subversion of that Musulman dynasty, was placed on the Musnud by the Government of British India, it had not extended over nearly the whole of the present territory of Mysore, although it had stretched to a considerable extent beyond its limits in one direction. This country was divided in those periods into a number of separate Hindoo principalities, and the feelings and habits which hence arose among the inhabitants, of a nature adverse to the authority of a new Government comprising the whole, were far from being extinguished by the rule of the Mahomedan sovereigns.

7 It would be superfluous to enter into any detail of the provisions of the subsidiary treaty of Seringapatam, which fixed the political relations of the Mysore state to the British Government.— But we think it necessary to observe that those provisions appear to us not only to have committed the defence and security of the country to the Honorable Company, who engaged to maintain the requisite military force for that purpose, but also to have placed the civil administration of its affairs completely under the controul and direction of the Company's Government. It seems certain that this was intended by the Marquess Wellesley. It was not only in the event of such a state of affairs as might render it necessary to assume the immediate management, that the Company was authorized to interfere. The power was also secured, to use the words of the memorial explanatory of the treaty, of introducing any improvement into any or each branch of the Rajah's administration, which the Governor General in Council might deem advisable; and it was *therefore* hoped that it would "not be necessary to resort to the extreme measure of resuming the Rajah's country."

8. The Rajah being a child of between four and five years of age at the settlement of Mysore in 1799, the administration was entrusted, under the supervision of the British Resident, to the Dewan Poorniah, who was appointed by the Company's Government to fill that office; his capacity for such employment having been shewn by his distinguished services under the former sovereigns of the country. The circumstances of his position virtually conjoined in his person the functions of a Regent, or, if we may use the term, Vice-Rajah, with those of Prime Minister. His administration, in that double capacity, continued till towards the close of 1810, and has afforded a theme of praise to the highest authorities. It certainly was in some respects eminently successful. With the exception of an insurrection, which broke out in 1800, in the province of Bullum or Munjerabad, headed by the representative of the family of Poligars by whom that part of the country was formerly governed, and which was subdued not until the year 1802, by a Military force under the command of the Duke of Wellington, then the Honorable Colonel

Wellesley, tranquillity was maintained throughout this period. Vigour and energy appear to have been the distinguishing qualities of the government. Complaints against the public officers were promptly inquired into; abuses were discovered and corrected, and crimes met with their just punishment. The revenues of the state were greatly increased; and treasure was amassed to the very large amount of upwards of two crores of rupees.

9. But, notwithstanding this public tranquillity and financial prosperity, it does not appear that the wealth of the country was increased; under the administration of Poorniah. One witness, whose testimony is of much weight; the present Dewan, states that the circumstances of the Ryots greatly deteriorated during that period. To quote his own strong expression; "the great body of the ryots were in easy circumstances at the beginning of it, and half of them were reduced to poverty at its close."

10. That the mere preservation of tranquillity was regarded in those days as an object of difficult accomplishment, and when attained a subject of congratulation, is strongly shown by the following passage in a despatch addressed by the Supreme Government to the Government of Madras, dated the 15th December 1806; which we take the liberty of quoting, not only for that reason, but also on account of the view it exhibits of the condition of the country at the period when it was written, and for the opinion expressed in it concerning the future course of proceeding necessary for the maintenance of subordination and order. "The extraordinary state of tranquillity," the Supreme Government observe in that despatch, "which has prevailed in that country" (Mysore) "can alone be referred to the wisdom of the system prescribed for its Government, to the distinguished vigour, energy, and ability with which that system has been conducted, and especially to the judicious positions of the British Military force. That our troops have not hitherto been actively engaged in the preservation of order within the territories of Mysore, is the strongest proof of the justice of this conclusion. The very object originally proposed, and hitherto successfully accomplished, has been to establish and maintain such a disposition

“of that force as should preclude the necessity of its active employment. Mysore is a kingdom formed by a combination of numerous turbulent principalities; and that spirit of insurrection which must be considered to be inherent in a state so composed, although greatly subdued, is by no means extinguished. Any relaxation therefore of that vigilance and vigor which have hitherto suppressed the activity of this latent spirit, would be in the highest degree dangerous. Experience has demonstrated the efficacy of the present arrangement; and it would be highly imprudent to depend for our security on the supposed disposition of the inhabitants in favor of the existing order of things, and on any grounds short of great Political emergency, to make any material alteration in a system which has hitherto proved so amply sufficient for the preservation of the internal tranquillity of Mysore.”

11. The interference of the Company's Government in the internal affairs of Mysore during the administration of Poorniah did not extend beyond the aid which was afforded by the Resident in the form of advice; and it seems probable that even this kind of interposition was less frequently employed in the latter than in the earlier part of that period. According to one of the distinguished public servants who successively filled the office of resident, “the knowledge of the right of interposing (we may add of controlling and directing) by advice, had proved sufficient of itself to prevent any frequent or urgent necessity for its exercise, and to secure in a respectable degree, the protection of the people in the enjoyment of their most important rights.”

12. In the month of November 1810, a serious difference arose between Poorniah and the Rajah, which led to the immediate assumption of the Government by His Highness, then about sixteen years of age, and ultimately to the final retirement of the Dewan from office in the month of December 1811, after much warm contention, and many unavailing endeavours on the part of the Resident to promote a cordial reconciliation between them.

13. The Rajah had on a previous occasion advanced a claim to participate in the management of affairs, and his impatience to

assume the reins of Government naturally increased with his age. But the change which now took place appears to have been precipitated by the refusal of a public officer, to comply with a requisition of the Rajah on an occasion in itself of no importance, and by an apprehension in His Highness's mind that it was Poorniah's design to keep him in a state of perpetual tutelage, and to exercise over his person and country that unlimited authority which the Dewans of former times had usurped from his ancestors.

14. For this apprehension the conduct of Poorniah was unquestionably calculated to afford some grounds, not only in his having neglected to initiate the Rajah into a knowledge of public affairs, and in having solicited the Supreme Government to make the office of Dewan hereditary in his own family; but in having in the course of these very discussions both asserted that he held the office of Dewan by contract, with the right of transmitting it to his son or nephew, and expressed an apprehension that he should incur the displeasure of the British Government for having admitted the Rajah to a share in the administration of the country, and that he could not with propriety deliver the public treasure up to His Highness, as "the English Government might make a demand for it to satisfy the public exigencies, and he alone was answerable to them for the amount."

15. It is worthy of notice that on this last point the sentiments of the Madras Government were expressed to the Resident in these words:—"the Governor in Council cannot for a moment suppose that Poorniah really believed that the British Government would ever claim the Rajah's surplus treasure to satisfy their public exigencies." It is not improbable that a knowledge by the Rajah that the Government had given this opinion, may have raised or confirmed in his mind a notion that the treasure in question was his private and personal property, and that he was at liberty to make whatever use of it he pleased.

16. The struggle made by Poorniah to retain his supremacy over the Rajah, and the irritation which attended it, may reasonably be supposed to have operated with considerable influence in the

formation of His Highness' character, and to have confirmed that jealous fear of supercession in power, of which he had already given indications; and which he is stated to have ever afterwards evinced, by withholding from his ministers, even those of his own choice, the degree of authority necessary to make them useful instruments of Government, and by resisting and resenting the counsel of the Resident as an encroachment upon his sovereignty.

17. The Rajah's education having been neglected, and his youth passed in low and profligate society, the defects of his character were not long in unfolding themselves. High expectations were indeed entertained at first, from indications which he gave both of those natural talents which he is universally allowed to possess, though they seem to be more quick than solid, and also of goodness of disposition. But in a despatch from the Resident to the Madras Government dated so early as the 18th of December 1813, and again in his letters of the 28th of January, and 10th of February 1814, His Highness is described as utterly incapable of managing his own affairs, and too jealous to delegate the necessary authority to the Dewan. It is stated in those papers, that he had fallen into habits of extravagance and sensuality, wasting his treasures upon the wretches who pandered to his pleasures even by the prostitution of their wives and daughters, while the pay of his troops remained five or six months in arrears, that he was sunk in superstition, and much under the influence of brahmins; that he encouraged peculation on the part of the public servants; that he treated with disregard the advice of the Resident, and shewed an anxiety to conceal from him the acts of his government; that he had no steadiness of purpose or attachment, no regard for truth or good faith; that he was prone to dissimulation and intrigue; that low and improper persons had been introduced into the district offices, and the old and efficient servants removed at the caprice or enmity of a menial or a mistress; that the public servants had no confidence in him, and were led by the instability of their tenure of office to commit every sort of abuse; that he was not accessible to the complaints of his people; that he threatened with punishment those who should pre-



sume to complain to the Resident, and used every artifice of falsehood and intrigue to support the very persons who defrauded his government, rather than submit to the right of interference vested by the Treaty in the British representative; that however his habits of debauchery might be corrected by time, yet from his utter want of principle, and of power of application, he never could be converted into an upright, ingenuous, or steady man; that while the public expenditure had greatly increased through his extravagance, the revenues had greatly declined, from the corruption, oppression and extortion of the Amildars, most of whom had bought their appointments; that he had been known himself to receive presents from newly appointed Amildars, at the same time telling them to reimburse themselves; that the Amildars thus encouraged had embezzled the revenue, and plundered the Ryots, that the Ryots despairing of redress elsewhere, had crowded around the Resident crying for justice; but that the interposition of the Resident, however delicately exercised had produced nothing but irritation in His Highness' mind, and had induced him to send an agent to Madras for the express purpose of complaining of that interference, and obtaining the abolition of the obligation imposed upon him by the treaty, of attending to the counsel of the British representative. The Resident in the same dispatches, after enumerating the most prominent abuses which had crept into the administration of the Country, subsequently to Poorniah's retirement, suggested that a new code of instructions might be furnished for his own guidance, adapted to the character of the Rajah, and calculated to avert the evils likely to result from it in future.

18. These dispatches were followed by another dated the 19th of February 1814, wherein the Resident states that it was with the greatest difficulty he could procure a true account of any receipt or expenditure, as the Rajah did not scruple to prepare a false account when the true one was such as it was not convenient to produce.

19. The sentiments of Government on the subject of the Resident's letter of the 10th of February 1814, were communicated to him in a dispatch from the Chief Secretary dated the 3rd July

following, together with corresponding instructions for his guidance. In this despatch a review is taken of the principles on which the alliance was formed, and their practical application to the actual administration of affairs during the period of the Rajah's minority, which required, it was observed, "the utmost degree of delicacy, caution, and prudence, in order on the one hand to maintain unimpaired the due and wholesome control of the British Government over the affairs of Mysore, and oppose and counteract the natural tendency to corruption and abuse inherent in all the native states of India; and on the other hand to uphold in the eyes of its subjects and of other powers the dignity, weight, and authority of the local Government; which the peculiar circumstances of its establishment and its necessary dependence on the British power, rendered an attempt of singular difficulty." It was also observed that "the local administration should be rendered the ostensible and immediate mover of every important measure of Government, while the advice and counsel of the British Government, exercised with caution, delicacy, respect and secrecy, should only be apparent to the public eye when coming directly in aid and support of the native authorities;" "that these rules were, if possible, applicable in a still greater degree to the condition of affairs implied by the personal exercise by the Rajah of the powers of government, than to the provisional administration of the late Dewan;" "that a clear distinction was to be drawn between the capacity in which the British Government acted during the Rajah's minority, and that in which it was called upon to act under the present circumstances. In the former period the British Government was in fact the guarantee on the part of the Minor Rajah for the conduct of his minister, who was accountable to the British Government in that capacity; *that* relation having ceased, the right of interference was to be exercised only in the more delicate form of counsel and advice." In conformity with these principles the Resident was directed to "abstain from the public reception of complaints from the subjects of Mysore, and from the avowed support of the cause of those whose grievances might become known to him, to endeavour to guide the Rajah by means of advice and admonition

delivered in a private and conciliatory form, to remedy the evils which the misconduct of his officers and his own weakness had produced."

20. This despatch to the Resident was followed by a letter from the Government of Madras to the Rajah dated the 30th of August 1814, which adverts to the alarming defalcation in the revenues from the manifold abuses existing in the Government, reminds His Highness of the flourishing state of his affairs when made over to him by Poorniah, and of the negligence, corruption, and embezzlement, which had compelled him prematurely to have recourse to the fund left by that minister; and concludes with an impressive exhortation to banish from his presence all evil counselors, profligate companions, and low minded parasites, to exert the admirable talents with which he was naturally endowed, to apply himself with steadiness to the weighty business of the state, and thereby to avert the dangers by which he was surrounded, and save the Government from the painful necessity of enforcing that article of the Treaty which provided for the fulfilment of the Subsidiary engagement, to which "degrading measure" they would not have recourse without feelings of extreme regret.

21. Although this letter conveys the remonstrance and exhortation which we have now recited, it is written in a tone which does not seem to us to have been calculated to check the Rajah's notions of his own greatness and independence. It does not hint at the possibility of authoritative interference with his government, except in the event of a crisis which should render it necessary to have recourse to the extreme, and, as it terms it, degrading measure of resuming the direct management of the country. Until that crisis should arrive, and it was of course to be hoped that it never would, nothing is indicated to be in contemplation, beyond the offer of friendly advice, for His Highness to follow if he should deem it fit to do so. No allusion is made to those powers of control and regulation, the exercise of which was expected by the Marquess Wellesley to prove the means of preventing any necessity for a resort to the measure of resumption, and to be productive in other respects of

consequences the most beneficial to the interests of the Mysore State.

22. In the Rajah's answer to this despatch he maintains that "the Officers of his Government had not been appointed to their situations before the integrity of their character, and their abilities and qualifications, had been duly investigated, and as nearly as possible ascertained;" that "the revenues of the country had fluctuated with good and bad seasons as they had done in Poorniah's time;" that he had never wilfully been guilty of carelessness in the administration of affairs, but considered the prosperity of his country, including a system of economy and the happiness of his people, as the most important of all his pursuits; that he had laboured to encourage agriculture, and to better the condition of his people, and never had recourse to any measure without the counsel and consent of the Resident; that Poorniah, whose talents lay only in the collection of the revenues, had directed his attention to the accumulation of money, merely for the purpose of displaying his industry and zeal in this branch of the administration, and in the course of twelve years had accumulated a separate fund; but that he was inattentive to the interests of the people, and the inhabitants of these provinces were consequently reduced to great straits and difficulties; that the whole of his own attention was now earnestly employed in bettering the condition of his subjects, by which means the public finances are improved and secured, and in promoting the general prosperity of the country, which is the first object of good Government; that it was requisite therefore to show indulgence to the people, and to be moderate in exacting the revenues. Hence had arisen the necessity of having recourse to the separate fund, which in times of greater affluence might be reimbursed." His Highness concluded with an expression of his deep sense of his obligations to the British Government, for having raised him from a state of insignificance to the throne, and an assurance that no evil counsellors, profligate companions, or parasites, should ever receive countenance from him, but that he would devote all his prudence and ability to a steady administration of the affairs of his Government.

23. A reply from the Madras Government to this letter of the Rajah, was transmitted to him on the 30th May 1815, expressive of complete satisfaction with His Highness' explanations; which the dispatches of the Resident, however, show to have been anything but satisfactory in his opinion.

24. After this period the records of the Residency contain constant and reiterated complaints of the Rajah's dissipation of his treasure upon unworthy favorites, while the pay of the troops and establishments was sometimes about a year in arrear, and of the growing abuses and confusion which pervaded every branch of his government, from the influence of evil counsellors, his own inattention to business, and his distrust and underhand opposition to every Dewan in succession; all of which evils are ascribed to His Highness's belief that it was the desire of the British Government that he should be relieved from all control, and left to manage his affairs as he thought fit. It appears from a private letter from the Resident to Sir Thomas Munro, dated 28th October 1822, that "the Public servants and Troops were again in arrears to the amount of eight Lacs of Pagodas, and that in the preceding month there was even trouble about the payment of the Company's Kist;" that the Dewan was annoyed and circumvented by the Rajah, and rendered perfectly useless, that the advice of the Resident was of no avail, and that no hope of reform remained but from the personal interposition of the Governor. The same complaint was repeated on several occasions, and on the 26th of July and 30th of August 1825, the Resident again addressed Sir Thomas Munro, dwelling at considerable length upon the entire failure of the course of policy prescribed by the Instructions of 1814, and urging in the most earnest manner that the right of interference in the management of the Rajah's affairs might be exercised, as the only means of correcting the existing abuses, and averting the necessity of assuming the country.

25. In the year 1825, Sir Thomas Munro visited Mysore. The circumstances which induced him to make the journey are thus stated by himself. "It was evident from the Rajah's letter to Government of the 20th of May, that there was a misunderstanding between

him and the Resident, and from the communications of the Resident under date the 30th of May and the 20th of June, it appeared that the Revenue was declining rapidly, that the expenditure had increased, and that, though in fifteen years almost the whole of the Treasure amassed by the late Dewan Poorniah, amounting to above seventy three Lacs of Canteroy Pagodas had been dissipated, every Department was in arrear. It was necessary to ascertain and remove if possible the causes of irritation. It was still more important, especially when so many of our own Troops were on foreign service, to see that those of the Rajah did not become discontented or mutinous for want of pay, which with an arrear of six months there was too much cause to apprehend. Such a state of things could not be suffered to continue without its leading in a very short time to the measure which it is so desirable to avert, of assuming the direct management of the Rajah's country in order to ensure the fulfilment of the terms of the Treaty.

26. Sir Thomas Munro appears to have satisfied himself that the dissatisfaction of the Rajah with the Resident, to whom he is stated to have been much attached personally, was caused by jealousy of interference, excited or inflamed in his breast by low favorites. "These men," he says, "urge the Rajah to get rid of all control in the administration of his country beyond the payment of the subsidy, and the Rajah himself would be glad to be free from all check whatever, and while he pays his subsidy, to reduce useful establishments without which the peace of his country cannot be maintained, to keep others in arrear, and to dissipate his treasure in idle expenses."

27. Sir Thomas Munro describes in strong terms the powerful obstacles which he saw to the success of the system under which the affairs of Mysore were administered, obstacles arising out of the nature of the system itself, but greatly heightened by the personal character of the Rajah. He observes that if the Rajah should persevere in neglecting the advice of the British Government, on any point which might materially affect the security of the terms of the Treaty, the effectual remedy was, to establish rules for the occasion, or to assume the direct management of a part, or the whole of the

country, as stipulated by the fourth and fourteenth Articles. "But as one of these courses would lower the authority, and the other entirely disorganize the government of the Rajah, they ought both to be avoided as long as possible." He adverts to the Orders of the Supreme Government under date the 15th September 1806, which required that the superintending influence of the British authorities should be exercised with caution, delicacy, and moderation; and he states his reasons for thinking that advice so offered might not always be sufficient, as it had been supposed it would, "to prevent the occurrence of any flagrant abuses."

28. "It would be easier, he remarked, to give a right direction to the conduct of the Mysore Government under almost any other Prince than the present one; a weaker one would be more easily guided, an abler one would act more prudently for his own sake." But still Sir Thomas Munro thought that such an improvement might be effected in the Rajah's government, as would prevent a necessity for taking it out of his hands. The measure on which he chiefly relied for working out that improvement, was to make the Rajah furnish accounts regularly of his revenue and expenditure.

29. The advice and admonitions personally given by Sir Thomas Munro seem to have made some impression on the Rajah's mind, and to have given rise to some efforts for the better conduct of his affairs, and sanguine expectations of a successful result were expressed in despatches of the Resident. But no decisive or effectual reform was effected; and the amendment which took place, such as it was, does not appear to have lasted longer than about two years. With perhaps some imperfect interruption during that period, the authority of the Government and the condition of the country went on declining and growing worse. The requisition of accounts not being followed up, on the part of the Company's Government, by any more active remedial measures, proved to be of no avail; the pay of the troops and other establishments was again allowed to be long in arrear; no efficient control was exercised over the proceedings of the Amildars; no adequate security afforded to persons or property; and the people, a considerable part of whom in some districts were,

from circumstances already alluded to, of a turbulent and unruly character, became more and more discontented, and at length ripe for revolt.

30. Before entering into an account of the disturbances which ensued, it is proper that we should advert more particularly to the state of affairs in the Province of Nuggur, and as a topic much connected with this part of our subject, to certain individuals and parties who exerted a powerful influence in the conduct of the Rajah's Government.

31. One of the earliest counsellors of the Rajah was a brahmin named Ram Rao, an officer of experience and distinction, who had served under both the Mahomedan sovereigns of Mysore as a Commander of Cavalry, and under Poorniah, during the first part of his administration, in a Civil office, and afterwards as Buckshee of the Sowar Cutcherry, or Commander of the Cavalry, which latter office he continued to hold under the Rajah, while he was also one of the "Hoozoor Moosahibs," or persons habitually consulted by the Rajah on public affairs. He is spoken of by Sir Thomas Munro as having held (virtually it would seem) the office of Dewan during the three years next after the administration of Poorniah, and as having adhered to the plans of his predecessor, and maintained his system in full force.

32. Ram Rao is said to have come originally from an obscure town in the Southern Mahratta Country, and to have been accompanied by two dependents, Bheem Rao of Anagerry, and Kishen Rao of Haneegul.

33. Ram Rao was appointed Foujdar of Nuggur by Poorniah in 1799, and held that office until 1805. By his influence the public situations next in importance to his own in that Foujdary became filled with his relations, and the members of the Anagerry and Haneegul families, his dependents. A powerful party entirely in his interest was thus formed in that rich province; and that party maintained itself there in strength till the commencement of the late insurrection. His successors in the office of Foujdar from 1805 to 1825, with only an interruption of six months, were persons nearly



allied to him by blood or marriage, namely, Survattum Rao, twice Foudjar, whose son married Ram Rao's niece, Pompiah, Ram Rao's nephew, Balakishen Rao, his grand nephew, and Kishen Rao, another nephew. The last named individual was removed from office twice, in the year 1827, and 1830, once on a charge of embezzling public money, and the second time for alleged inactivity in the execution of his duty, but by the influence of his uncle at the Durbar he was reinstated on both occasions.

34. The other associates of the Rajah were men of low extraction, who courted his favor by subserviency to the gratification of his passions. Foremost among these was Vencatasoobiah, commonly known by the appellations of Beenee Vencatasoobiah, and the Beenee Buckshee, from the name of a musical instrument on which he was by profession a performer; a brahmin of the worst character, whose influence, however, became paramount at the Durbar, and contributed most powerfully to the misguidance of the prince, and the misgovernment of the country.

35. But it is to the consequences which were produced by the engrossing power of Ram Rao's family in the Province of Nuggur that we would now particularly advert. The members of that family and of the families of Haneegul Kishen Rao, and Arnagery Gopal Rao, the dependants and early associates of the Buckshee Ram Rao, occupied, as has already been stated, every office of any importance in the Nuggur Territory from the year 1799, with but little interruption, to the year 1825; and their power in the province was firmly and strongly supported at the Durbar by the Buckshee himself and his party there.

36. Though many of the members of these families were not only suspected but accused of flagrant frauds and embezzlements, (a part of which charges appears to have been subsequently established) and some of them even of giving encouragement to a notorious leader of marauding banditti, and partaking of the plunder, the influence of their patron, and the brahminical party at Court which clung to him, maintained them in their places, and shielded them from scrutiny into their conduct. They were thus left to pursue unchecked their career of corruption and misrule.

37. The facilities afforded to the operations of robbers by the nature of the country, covered as it is in great part with dense forests, and abounding with mountain fastnesses, must have been augmented by this state of the local Government, even without the alliance of public officers with the robbers. These accordingly at length became so formidable and daring as to infest the province beyond endurance, being organized into armed banditti under the leader already alluded to, a man named Goonda, concerning whom some remarkable incidents are related.

38. It has been stated to us by two of the Rajah's relations, and by other witnesses, that Survottum Rao, one of the Foujdars of Nuggur already mentioned, countenanced this leader in his depredations, for the sake of sharing in the plunder. Survottum Rao is represented by one of the witnesses as having himself given corroboration to this charge, if not as having tacitly admitted it, by his behaviour when questioned on the point, during an investigation into his conduct, which took place at the Durbar, in the Rajah's presence. The records of the Residency show, that, in the year 1825, this imputation was made against Survottum Rao in the Rajah's court; though the Resident, Mr. Cole, it appears gave it no credit. The same records also allude to an allegation that this individual (Goonda) was confidentially employed in robbery by another Foujdar of Nuggur, Kishen Rao, also a relative of the Buckshee Ram Rao.

39. On the other hand, according to the statement given before us by Survottum Rao himself, while he did all in his power to repress the depredations of Goonda and his banditti, by apprehending and confining them at different times, his efforts were frustrated by the encouragement and protection given to that marauder, by certain persons in high public situations at the Durbar; among others the Buckshee Ram Rao himself; and through their means, Goonda was twice released from jail in Nuggur, and sent for to the Hoozoor, where an asylum was afforded to him, and subsequently a turban and a dress of honor presented to him in the name of the Rajah, who also gave his sanction to the employment of this person in the work of suppressing the very system of robbery of which he was well known to have been himself the chief director.

40. We are not prepared to decide between the conflicting statements which we have now alluded to, nor do we consider it of any importance to do so. We have taken notice of them, because they seem to warrant a strong suspicion that encouragement in his career of depredation was afforded by the one party or the other, possibly by both, to the notorious leader of an organized band of robbers and even murderers; and because the countenance which it is at all events certain he at length received at the Durbar, and the honor with which he was there treated, must, we think, have been productive of such an impression on the mind of the people to the disadvantage of the Government, as no benefit that could have been derived from his services would have been sufficient to compensate.

41. By way of illustration and example of the enormous extent to which depredation and murder were carried with impunity in the province of Nuggur, we shall here briefly advert to the particulars of one remarkable robbery, though it took place at a later period than some events which remain to be mentioned.

42. In the month of January 1827, a Banking House in the Town of Yalahully was broken open, several persons were killed, and property was carried off to the amount of about three lacs and a half of Rupees. It appears to have been the prevailing belief throughout the District, that the gang of robbers employed on this occasion was directed by Arnegerry Venket Rao, Amildar of Chennagerry, a Talook of Nuggur, supported by his relative Kishen Rao, then Foudjar of the Province, both of whom participated in the plunder, the Foudjar being in his turn supported at the Rajah's Durbar by the influence of his uncle Buckshee Bam Rao. Application was for a long time made in vain for an inquiry into this affair, and when at length one was ordered by the Rajah, and actually in progress, such was the influence of the powerful family implicated in the transaction, that the officer sent to conduct it was suddenly recalled to Mysore, and the investigation allowed to drop.

43. It is worthy of remark that the intimate connexion subsisting between the highest public functionaries and the robbers in Nuggur, was, as we are informed, circumstantially related in evidence

upon oath, before the Commission of which Colonel Robert Scott was President, at Bangalore, so far back as the year 1823, when a person named Venketyghery Iyah who had served as a Seristadar in Nuggur, and been specially employed in catching thieves, deposed as follows :

“ I got orders to take two paraahs of sepoyah and two paraahs of peonah  
 “ from Survottum Rao the Foujdar of Nuggur. After I had got these  
 “ guards I went to the different Talookah and caught the thieves, and  
 “ brought them to the Fouj Cutcherry, where an enquiry took place,  
 “ and in the presence of the Foujdar I questioned them to give a  
 “ statement of all they had stolen, from whom, and from what period,  
 “ when they said that since the Foujdar had arrived at that place,  
 “ they had plundered 73 houses. I then asked them what they had  
 “ done with the property and to whom they had distributed it, to  
 “ which they replied they went to such houses, as they received  
 “ directions from the Foujdar to go to, and that they had not gone  
 “ of their own accord, and delivered the whole of the property to him,  
 “ and what he was pleased to give they received, and afterwards I asked  
 “ them to tell me in what other things they had been engaged, then  
 “ they told me to send their statement to the Hoozoor, and to get  
 “ permission for them to go to the Hoozoor when they would disclose  
 “ every thing. I wrote to the Hoozoor what they said and in reply  
 “ I was told, that an order had been sent to the Foujdar to bring the  
 “ thieves to the Hoozoor, and that I was to make haste and come to  
 “ the Hoozoor also, with all the statements which I had got in my  
 “ possession on this subject. Agreeably to the orders, I went to  
 “ Mysore, where the Foujdar also came. The Foujdar was questioned  
 “ where the thieves were and he replied that they were all there in con-  
 “ finement. Then the Foujdar received orders to send for them. He  
 “ delayed sending for them for about fifteen days; on account of this  
 “ the Foujdar incurred much displeasure from the Rajah, and the  
 “ Dewan, Linga Raj, upon which the Foujdar sent for seven principal  
 “ persons among the thieves, and after their arrival at Mysore he  
 “ kept them concealed, of which I having become acquainted I com-  
 “ municated the circumstance to the Dewan Linga Raj. Then Linga  
 “ Raj gave me some servants, and told me to bring the thieves to

"him, which I did, and Linga Raj took them to the Hoozoor, and  
 "afterwards sent for me to come there also; when I went there,  
 "the Dewan told me to prove the delivery of the stolen property  
 "to the Foujdar as I formerly stated, upon this I asked the thieves  
 "whether the statement given by them in the Foujdar's Cutcherry,  
 "was true, or not, to which they replied, It is true, and if you  
 "like, we will give you another similar statement now. They  
 "were then desired to give a similar statement in the presence of  
 "the Rajah, and the Dewan, which they accordingly did; they were  
 "also desired to state how much they had given in cash to Survottum  
 "Rao, and how much in things? They replied in ready cash 60,000  
 "Rupees, and they gave a particular statement which was taken  
 "down in writing, of the gold and silver articles, clothes, &c. which  
 "had been given to him; which statement was delivered to the  
 "Rajah, by the person who wrote it. The Rajah then said he would  
 "enquire into the business on the following morning, and ordered  
 "every person to go away. But for five or six months no enquiry  
 "took place, therefore the thieves frequently wrote Urzees on the  
 "subject, afterwards the thieves told me, in presence of four people,  
 "that they had not inquired into the business of the statement which  
 "they gave, and besides that they had something to state respecting  
 "their bringing some money from the camp. They added that they  
 "heard some inquiry was making at Bangalore, and probably they  
 "will enquire into the case."

44. It was further deposed before that Commission, by Ram-  
 Rao of Mr. Elliot's (Marhatta translator to Government) establish-  
 ment, that the former witness, Venkatagerry Iyah, had informed him  
 "that he was formerly a Seristadar, and the Foujdar of Nuggur  
 "was directed to supply him with two parahs of peons and two  
 "parahs of sepoy's for his assistance, that he made enquiries in the  
 "talook and apprehended a few robbers, and having delivered them  
 "over to the Foujdar reported the circumstance to the Dewan  
 "Cutcherry; some time afterwards he apprehended a few more with  
 "the property stolen by them, and brought them to Mysore. He  
 "represented the circumstance to the Rajah, he told the Rajah that

"the present Foujdar of Nuggur had received from the robbers  
 "about 50,000 Rupees, and that the late Foujdar of Nuggur, Kishen  
 "Rao, had received from the thieves 50,000 Bahadry Pagodas, but  
 "this matter was not enquired into for some time. He then wrote  
 "an Urzee to Mr. Cole, and delivered to him 22 documents regard-  
 "ing this matter. Mr. Cole then enquired into the particulars, and  
 "directed one Kishen Rao to go to the Rajah and request him to  
 "enquire into it. There were then present the people who had lost  
 "their property, both belonging to the Company's country and to  
 "Mysore. Kishen Rao accordingly went to the Rajah and spoke  
 "to him, when he (Venkatagerry Iyah) was standing at some  
 "distance from them, Kishen Rao then told him, that he had better  
 "make up the matter between the parties, that he then replied he  
 "had lost no property of his own, that he had made the enquiry and  
 "had apprehended them agreeably to orders; that he then came  
 "out from the Cutcherry; a few days after this he went to the Rajah  
 "and told him that the thieves were present, and requested that an  
 "enquiry might be made into the matter. This happened about  
 "15 days before he arrived at Bangalore. The Rajah then sent for  
 "the thieves, and presently enquired into the matter, and they (the  
 "thieves) gave in their depositions, according to the information he  
 "had at first given to the Rajah. The thieves afterwards told him  
 "(Venkatagerry) that this was not all the information they had to  
 "give, but that forty of them were directed by Kishen Rao at pre-  
 "sent at Chittledrog, who was formerly at Nuggur, to go to  
 "Buckshee Ram Rao's camp to bring some money; that they had  
 "accordingly gone, in conjunction with some of his own people, and  
 "brought several bags of Bahadry Pagodas and delivered them to  
 "Kishen Rao."

45. In the year 1825, the Rajah removed Survottum Rao  
 from the situation of Foujdar of Nuggur, and appointed one of his  
 own relations to that office. The new Foujdar retained the place  
 only for nine months, when he retired from it, as stated by himself,  
 in consequence of ill health, and was succeeded by his brother, who  
 within four months also quitted the situation from the same cause.

46. The Buckshee Ram Rao's nephew, Krishen Rao, was then appointed Foujdar; and the Buckshee himself was at the same time deputed to the Province to make inquiries into and settle the outstanding balances of revenue, which had accumulated to upwards of thirteen lacs of rupees.

47. The Buckshee made large remissions in those balances, amounting, according to a statement which has been laid before us, to nearly seven lacs and a half of rupees. He also prepared a list, with which he furnished the new Foujdar, of balances to be recovered; and he then returned to the Durbar. The Rajah received information from which it would appear he was led to believe that the remissions made by the Buckshee were unnecessary and improper. He removed Kishen Rao from the office of Foujdar, on a charge of inactivity in the collection of the recoverable balances, and, again setting aside the Buckshee's party, appointed another relation of his own, Veera Raj Arus, a younger brother of the two already mentioned, to fill that situation. Veera Raj Arus immediately entered on the duty assigned to him, and, it is said by himself and other witnesses, discovered that much fraud had been practised in the remissions made by the Buckshee, that balances had been written off on the pretext of the insolvency of persons who were possessed of property, and on that of the desertion of persons who were present.

48. Veera Raj Arus, had held the office of Foujdar nearly two years, and was prosecuting his inquiries into the alleged frauds of the Buckshee, and the abuses of the preceding Foudjars, as well as of the Amildars of that party, when he was suddenly recalled to the Durbar.

49. It is said that the relatives and dependents of the Buckshee, fearful of the consequences to themselves if the corruption and malversation which they had practised during so many years, should be fully disclosed by the inquiries of Veera Raj Arus, were desirous of putting a stop to them by any means in their power, and for this purpose, with the aid of their patron, contrived to bring about his recall.

50. Whether the remissions made by the Buckshee were or

were not proper, there can be no doubt that the attempt to enforce payment of the balances, which on the part of the Government he had relinquished, was calculated to excite strong dissatisfaction in the minds of those whose interests it immediately affected, and indeed of the people generally. It of course powerfully tended to render Veera Raj Arus unpopular as a Foujdar, and thus to afford his enemies a ground for urging his removal.

51. This object was further promoted by the excitement which began to show itself, from the pretensions which were made to the hereditary sovereignty of the Nuggur country, by a person generally known by the appellation of "Boody Buswappah," the Nuggur khavind, lord or sovereign, of whom it is here proper to introduce a brief account, as he subsequently took a prominent part in the rebellion.

52. This man, whose real name appears to have been "Sádara Mulla," was the son of a common Ryot of the Talook of Coomsee. It is said that from the first he evinced a disposition insubordinate and prone to crime, and that at an early age he abandoned his home, in the words of his mother, "bent on mischief." Before he attained his twentieth year he perpetrated several robberies, and was thrown into jail for two years. He was afterwards taken into the service of an old Jungum (a description of religious mendicant) who had been the spiritual guide of the last Rajah or Poligar of Nuggur, and was possessed of his seal rings. On the death of this Jungum, Sadara Mulla, (whom we shall henceforth call by his assumed and better known name, Boody Buswappah) got possession of those signets, and assuming the guise of a religious mendicant, wandered about the country, secretly giving it out that he was a descendant of the Nuggur family, and sometimes joining the gangs of thieves which infested that country.

53. About the year 1812 Boody Buswappah was apprehended in the Province of Canara, on a charge of robbery; and it would appear that he was confined in the jail of that Zillah for a considerable length of time. It is said that when examined on that occasion he stated himself to be the son of a person named Doda Buswappah,



who was the adopted son of Veerasiajee, last Ranee of Nuggur; and that on his release from imprisonment he applied for a passport and was furnished with one, bearing the seal of the Zillah Court, and describing him by the designation which he gave himself, of Boody Buswappah, Nuggur khavind. It is in evidence, and we have no doubt of it, extraordinary as it may seem, that, practising on the ignorance and credulity of the people, he successfully exhibited this passport, on the occasion of the late insurrection, as a sunnud of the Company's Government, recognizing and sanctioning his hereditary pretensions to the sovereignty of Nuggur.

54. It is, however, a remarkable fact, that, previously to the breaking out of the disturbances, the then Amildar of Anawutty, Luchmun Rao, a relation of the Buckshee Ram Rao, and a man who, it is certain, was not among the dupes, afforded his aid towards celebrating the marriage of the impostor, and in an official document styled him the "Rajah of Nuggur." This document was an order to the Potal of the village in which the marriage was to take place, directing him to supply every thing that was requisite for the suitable celebration of that ceremony. This event took place in April 1830; and it was followed by another ceremony, in its nature still more worthy of remark, a formal instalment of Boody Buswappah in the office of Sovereign of Nuggur, which is said to have been performed in the presence of several Potails.

55. To what extent the party of the Buckshee Ram Rao, with the view of bringing about the removal of Veer Raj Arus, may have encouraged these proceedings, we do not feel ourselves able to say. It is certain, however, that in the instance above stated encouragement was given to them by one member of that party; and it cannot be doubted that they never could have taken place, and passed as they did without notice, if other public officers, besides that one, had not been at least guilty of gross neglect of their duty, and disregard of the interests of the government they served.

56. Soon after those events, Boody Buswappah, by means of secret emissaries, and of writings privately circulated, made known to the Ryots of many of the Nuggur Talooks the fact of his having

assumed the station of sovereign of that country, and taking advantage of their discontent with the Mysore Government, promised them the full remission of all balances, and a reduction of the Government demand on their lands to only one rupee for each Pagoda they then paid, if they would espouse his cause, and assist him to accomplish the object of his ambition.

57. While these measures were in progress, the Ryots of Chinnagerry, a district in a different quarter of the Nuggur Province, there is reason to believe, were excited by one of the dependants of the Buckshee, a member of the Anagerry family, whose name was Gopal Rao, to rise against their Amildar. This plot took effect on the 3rd of September 1830, by the Ryots assembling in what is termed "Cootum," a word which simply signifies an assembly or convention, and moving off to the neighbouring zillah of Bellary. There is appended to our proceedings a translation of a document, said to be in the hand writing of Gopal Rao, in which the Ryots are cautioned "not to return to their villages, on the invitation of their sovereign," the Rajah of Mysore. This document, the genuineness of which there seems no reason to doubt, and the one before mentioned, which has been admitted to be genuine by its author Luchmun Rao himself, in our opinion strongly tend to prove, that at least there were some among the members of the Buckshee Ram Rao's party, who instigated the people to sedition, for the purpose, we may reasonably conclude, of effecting the removal of the Foujdar Veera Raj Arus, and of thereby securing themselves in the enjoyment of place and power, and escaping the disgrace and punishment which his inquiries would probably have brought down upon them.

58. Their object, if the removal of Veera Raj Arus was a part of it, was so far attained; for he was recalled in November 1830, in consequence of the disturbed state into which it was alleged he had thrown the Province; and the Buckshee Ram Rao's party triumphed in the re-appointment of his nephew Kishen Rao, who had been removed only two years before, for neglect and supineness.

59. As we have now brought down our narrative or sketch, as well of the affairs of the Province of Nuggur, as of the course of

government throughout Mysore in general, to the commencement of the disturbances, we here enter on the second head of our Report, namely, the Progress and Suppression of the Insurrection, requesting that it may be remembered that, as before stated, we reserve, until we have gone through this part, some further remarks that we have to offer with respect to its causes.

60. It has been shown that the pretender Boody Buswappah, shortly after the ceremony of his inauguration as sovereign of Nuggur, the date of which is not precisely known, but it is believed to have occurred in April 1830, was actively employed in exciting the ryots, already disaffected towards their government, to declare in his favour and espouse his cause.

61. How far it may have been in consequence of his instigations, and how far owing to the mere discontent of the people with their condition and their rulers, it is not easy to determine; but a letter dated the 23rd of August, and signed by a great number of persons, was addressed in the name of the ryots of the Province of Nuggur, to those of the other parts of Mysore, and circulated among them, calling on them to join in a general revolt against the government, in consequence of the unchecked oppressions of the District officers to which they had been so long subjected, and to send one individual of each house or family into the Nuggur Province, where the first Cootum or Meeting had assembled; to refuse to pay their rents; to cease to cultivate the land, or to carry on trade; and to place the Public servants under restraint, and bring them with them.

62. It would appear that about this time, if not previously, Boody Buswappah, must have commenced the levying of armed men to support his pretensions; for in the month of August, one of his principal leaders (Monnapah) with 200 men, attempted to surprize the Fort of Anuntapoor, from which however they were repelled by the activity of the Killedar and garrison. This was the first act of overt hostility to the government; and it was followed by a series of others, on the part of the Pretender's adherents; but as the ryots did not openly combine with them till a much later date, the com-

mittee will return to trace the proceedings of the ryots previously to that coalition.

63. The seditious letter before mentioned was rapidly circulated throughout the Nuggur, Chittledroog and Bangalore Provinces, and appears to have generally excited and spread the same spirit of revolt, by which it was dictated.

64. The ryots of the Chennagerry Talook seem to have been the first, who acted on the impulse of that insurrectionary spirit, encouraged in it, as has been already stated by the intrigues of Ar-nagerry Gopaul Rao. That assemblage, however, is not said to have committed any act of violence; but in the hope that they would gain some favorable concessions from the Amildar or the Government by quitting their villages, they retired in a body early in September 1830, as has been already stated, to a neighbouring District in the Company's country.

65. An officer of rank was detached from the Hoozoor, for the purpose of assisting Veera Raj Arus to conciliate the ryots; but this attempt was frustrated by the letter which, as already stated, was addressed to the Potails at the head of them by Gopaul Rao. They persisted in demanding such concessions from the Sircar as it was deemed inexpedient to comply with.

66. The example thus set by the Chennagerry ryots, of assembling in Cootum, and resisting the authority of the Government, was followed by those of Buswencottah, Simogah, Holy-Hoonoor, Anuntapoor, Terrickerry, Sorub and Anawutty, in rapid succession.

67. The Foujdar Veera Raj employed officers commanding detachments of the Mysore troops, both cavalry and infantry, in endeavouring to suppress the insurrection, but only by persuasive and conciliatory means. These efforts, however, proved ineffectual. It was while matters were in this state, that he was suddenly recalled in the month of November, and Kishen Rao, the nephew of the Buckshee Ram Rao, appointed to succeed him. Kishen Rao reached Holy-Hoonoor on the 16th November, where he found a very large assemblage of the Ryots, which rapidly increased, as those who had

migrated into the Company's Territory now returned, and demanded from the new Foujdar the concessions which they had been persuaded by Gopaul Rao to claim, and to entertain a hope of attaining from him on his arrival.

68. The number collected at Holy-Honour at length reached to between two and three thousand men, many of whom are stated in evidence to have been furnished with arms.

69. While the evidence before the Committee as to the cause of this numerous assemblage at Holy-Honour is conflicting, some attributing it solely to a desire and expectation of obtaining just redress for their grievances, and others imputing to the ryots a determined spirit of hostility with no such definite object; it is certain that the conduct of the ryots was violent, and that demonstrations were made by them of an intention to assault the Fort. To check their violence and suppress the tumult, the Foujdar at length judged it necessary, on the 7th December 1830, to employ the troops against the mob, and disperse it; on which occasion ten of the ryots were killed and more than a hundred were wounded.

70. In the mean time the spirit of revolt had spread through the Chittledroog and Bangalore Divisions.

71. On the 22nd November the Resident addressed a forcible representation on the subject, to the Rajah. He pointed out the alarming progress of the disturbances, and the violence which the district officers had suffered from the ryots, adding his opinion that the ryots of Mysore would not have committed such excesses without cause. He observed that no inquiries had been made into the conduct of the public servants who had oppressed the people, nor had their mal-practices received any check from the government, and he concluded with urging His Highness to take some prompt steps with a view to remedy the growing evil.

72. It appears that early in the same month the Dewan Venkata Raj Arus had been deputed by the Rajah to visit certain districts within the Bangalore Division, for the purpose of inquiring into the causes of the disturbances, and of conciliating the people by promises of redress in such cases as might require it; and that another mission

with a similar object was sent into the Chittledroog Division, where the ryots had already proceeded to such lengths, as to seize and place under personal restraint the Foujdar Seshagerry Rao, and many of the Amildars and Serishtadars of the districts; forcibly extorting from some of them large sums of money which it was alleged they had unjustly levied.

73. While these efforts were made to conciliate the Ryots, the Rajah had also had recourse to measures of coercion towards them. Of this character was a very peremptory order issued by him on the 10th November, to the Foujdar of Bangalore, enjoining that if any ryot in any of the Talooks of that Foujdary, setting at nought the authority of the government, should act rebelliously against the Amildar or any other district officers, or levy any money due to the Government, the Foujdar should repair in person to the spot, and seize and hang the offender. Orders of the like tenour were again addressed by the Rajah to the same Foujdar on the 21st of November; and it is stated in the letter conveying them that similar orders were issued to the Foujdars of Chittledroog and Nuggur.

74. The intelligence from the districts became daily more unfavourable. The dispersion of the mob at Holy-Hoonoof was only temporary, for it soon rallied; and having been joined by ryots from almost every district in Nuggur, who now openly confederated with the Poligar against the government, they formed a body, computed variously by different witnesses at from six or seven thousand to twenty thousand, in the vicinity of Honelly. The Foujdar Kishen Rao, with a Regiment of Mysore Horse, attacked this body, and wounding several of them, made 25 prisoners, who, after having had small pieces cut off from their noses and ears, were released.

75. About this period (the middle of December) the head of the Terrickerry Poligar's family, Rungappah Naik, who had many years lived at Mysore, on a small pension from the Government, suddenly quitted that place, and with his son Hanoomuppah Naik, and nephew Surjappah Naik, joined the main body of the Nuggur insurgents. That this had been a preconcerted project, there seems little reason to doubt, from the general tenour of the evidence.

Though the Terrickerry family had long been deprived of power, they still possessed a dormant influence, recognized in some degree by the ryots, who it would appear had continued the practice of making occasional small presents to the members of that family up to the period of the insurrection.

76. Rungappah Naik availed himself of the disaffection of the ryots towards the government to improve this influence, and call it into exercise, by pressing on them the claims of his family, their ancient sovereigns, and reminding them of former days when the assessments on the land were lighter, and by promising to restore that happy state of affairs, if they would now publicly recognize and support his pretensions. The ryots generally declared in his favor, and reciprocally solicited his aid to enable them to throw off the Mysore yoke.

77. It was subsequently ascertained that Rungappah Naik, during a temporary leave of absence from Mysore, which had been granted to him previously to the period of his absconding, paid a visit to the former possessions of his family; on which occasion it was supposed, these schemes were projected. This statement derives corroboration both from the readiness with which the insurgents placed themselves under the general control of this Poligar and his relatives, during the rebellion; and from the shelter which was afforded them, when closely pursued by the British and Mysore Troops, and when the offer of large rewards had been proclaimed for their apprehension.

78. It was considered necessary early in this month to send a strong reinforcement of Mysore troops, both cavalry and infantry, to the Dewan; who found that his efforts to conciliate the people in the North Western Talooks of the Bangalore Division, were unavailing, and that he had not the means of suppressing the disturbances by force.

79. About the same time a letter was received by the Rajah from the Foudjar of Bangalore, reporting that a great part of his Division was in a state of insurrection; and that the insurgents disregarded all attempts at conciliation, and committed the most daring

outrages, impeding the cultivation, preventing the collection of the revenue, and plundering on the high roads.

80. The Rajah set out from Mysore on the 13th December, with a considerable force of cavalry and infantry, and almost every member of his family and of the Durbar. On the same day a letter was addressed by His Highness to the Dewan, apprising him that it was his intention to proceed to Chennaroyapatam, and desiring that a general notice should be given to the Ryots, that if they had any complaints to prefer, he would properly inquire into and settle them, but that if they did not come, but manifested a spirit of disaffection, the requisite measures would be taken to check it. We find that the Dewan, on the 16th of the same month, in consequence it would appear, of these instructions, sent the following notice to the Potails and Ryots of the Yeggetty Talook.

EXTRACT FROM THE HOOZOR SHAH AMIL, DECEMBER 16TH, 1830.

*Copy of a Notice sent by the Dewan to the Potails and Ryots of Yeggetty Talook.*

“The message you have sent by the Rissaldar Kishna Doss Lallah, we have received and understood.

“You are required to take notice that His Highness is coming to Chennaroyapatam in person, and you are invited to bring all your grievances to the Presence, when a minute investigation will be made into them and justice done to you, and measures will be taken to prevent your suffering any oppression in future.”

81. On the 6th of this month, the Resident, addressing the Chief Secretary to Government, stated, that a spirit of insubordination had been lately manifested among the ryots of the Northern Talooks of Mysore, in consequence of the undecided and dilatory manner in which the Rajah had met their complaints, and of his continuing in their offices Foujdars who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the people by abuses and acts of oppression. He expressed a hope that the Dewan would be able to restore order, and that the presence of any other military force than the troops of the



Rajah would not be requisite. But if the efforts of the Dewan should prove unsuccessful, the Resident stated his intention to advise the Rajah to proceed in person to the discontented districts. In this case, Mr. Casamajor says, the Rajah had pressed on him the expediency of obtaining the presence of a portion of the British force for the sake of example. The Resident had discouraged this idea as long as the ryots refrained from acts of open violence; but the height to which their discontents had at length arisen, induced him to suggest that a regiment of Native Infantry and two squadrons of Cavalry, should be held in readiness to move from Bangalore in the event of his requiring them to do so. He did not purpose to call on them to march except in the case of such an emergency as he did not expect, though he thought it right to provide against it; and he reckoned on a great and immediate effect from the movement of a small body of our troops.

82. It appears that it was soon afterwards recommended to the Rajah by the Resident to proceed in person into the districts, to make those investigations which the state of the country, and especially the embarrassing condition of the Finances, occasioned by the withholding by the ryots of payment of the revenue, and by other circumstances, were now thought imperatively to call for. The Resident further expressed his intention of accompanying the Rajah.

83. The Resident preceded the Rajah one day on his journey, and wherever he met an assemblage of the ryots, he encouraged them to await His Highness's arrival, with the assurance that every proper and reasonable concession would be made to their solicitations, while he discouraged them from entertaining those unreasonable expectations, which it was said they had been heard to express with regard to the reduction of taxes.

84. During the first three stages, after quitting Mysore, we learn that His Highness was personally occupied in investigating complaints against Amildars and other district officers, preferred by the people of the Talooks through which his route lay, and of those which bordered on it, whence they had flocked in large numbers on the invitation of their sovereign.

85. The general purport of their complaints was, that they had suffered galling oppression at the hands of the Talpook officers in a variety of ways, that the women of their families were subjected to indignities by the custom farmers and their servants, that the Amildars and Serishtadars were corrupt and venal; and that the assessment of public revenue on their lands was excessive.

86. Several of the District officers having been convicted of the matters imputed to them, the Rajah is stated not only to have dismissed them from their offices, but to have caused corporal punishment to be inflicted on one or two of them. New officers were appointed on the spot, and agreeably to the usages of Indian Princes, a distribution of presents was made to the principal Potails, and of beetil to the Ryots, after which they were all dismissed to their respective Talooks.

87. While the Rajah thus summarily dispensed justice in these instances, he firmly resisted the application of the Ryots for a reduction of land rent or other public dues, which had been long established.

88. We find that on the 16th and 17th December, written communications were made by the Resident to the Rajah, conveying observations on the progress of the disturbances, and offering advice as to the line of conduct to be observed by His Highness. Mr. Casamajor imputed great blame to the public officers and the principal gowdahs, or headmen among the Ryots, and the general tenour of his advice was that the Rajah should act with firmness, punishing those public servants whose misconduct should be proved, and redressing the real grievances of the Ryots, but steadfastly resisting such demands on their part as were unreasonable, and repressing insubordination and revolt.

89. His Highness reached Chenroyapatam on the 18th December, where, instead of being received with those usual demonstrations of respect which were due to his station, and are seldom withheld even from officers in subordinate situations, he found the shops shut up, and the necessary supplies for his retinue refused, and a body of Ryots, amounting to several thousands, standing on a neighbouring eminence, but showing no disposition to come forward and prefer their complaints.

90. An increased spirit of insubordination and disrespect to the Rajah was manifested by these ryots on the following day. Instead of complying with his invitation to come forward and represent their grievances, they remained in mass within sight of his tent, beating their drums and blowing their horns,—acts indicative of gross disrespect to their sovereign, if not of open defiance of his authority. Orders were in consequence given and executed, it is said by some witnesses on the advice of the Resident, to seize the drums and horns, and to place some of the leaders of the ryots under restraint.

91. It would appear that one of the Rajah's relatives, and four or five other persons of his Durbar, were directed to enquire into the complaints and conduct of the ryots, and to punish such as might be found to deserve punishment; but it was found that the ryots would not come in of their own accord, and it was therefore deemed necessary to detach messengers and parties of troops to bring them in.

92. Our inquiries have been particularly directed to the cause of the reluctance which the ryots then manifested to come forward with their complaints, though they were expressly invited to do so, and had actually collected together at Chenroyapatam in considerable numbers.

93. One cause which has been assigned is, that they were alarmed at seeing a large body of troops in the Rajah's camp, and were led thence to apprehend that it was intended to employ towards them measures of coercion rather than of conciliation. But the conduct of the Rajah hitherto, since the commencement of his march, had been marked by lenity and kindness towards the ryots; and the disrespectful and insolent reception which, as already stated, they gave him at this place, does not argue either timidity or a loyal and conciliatory disposition on their part.

94. It has also been stated that the ryots had been so often disappointed, in their expectations of fair inquiry into their complaints, and just redress of their grievances, that they were backward to trust in the terms held out to them by the Rajah. We have no doubt that this was the case in a great degree. One witness has stated that

“when the Resident intimated to them that His Highness was at hand and would satisfy them in every way in his power, they remarked that there was no enquiry (into grievances) in the Mysore country; that though they had been three or four times to Mysore, neither His Highness nor himself (Mr. C.) had made any inquiry, but that they had been sent back under a guard to their Talooks.” With respect to so much of this statement as regards the Resident, it is to be remembered that he was prohibited by his instructions not only “from the public reception of complaints from the subjects of Mysore, but from the avowed support of the cause of those whose grievances might become known to him.”

95. The unwillingness, however, of the ryots at this time to repair to the Durbar, we are inclined to think, may with probability be ascribed also in a considerable measure to their excited and disaffected feelings, and to an opinion on their part, or rather on that of their leaders, that they were likely to obtain greater concessions by holding out in opposition to the authority of the Government, than by submitting themselves at once to the Rajah's justice. Their irritation may have been increased, and their fears, it is possible, in some degree excited, by hearing of the affair that took place at Holy Hoonoor on the 7th December; which must have become generally known through the country at the time of the Rajah's arrival at Chenroyapatam. And it is natural to suppose, independently of all mistrust on their part of the Rajah's word or of his justice, that such of the ryots as had actually committed any great excesses would be unwilling to come forward, and incur the hazard of having their conduct inquired into, as well as their complaints, and of meeting with punishment in consequence.

96. The Dewan reached Chenroyapatam the next day after the Rajah; and orders were immediately given him to inquire into the circumstances of the ryots, while however the measure which has been already mentioned as taken for the same purpose was not recalled. It is not indeed clear whether that measure was taken before the Dewan's arrival or after it; nor are we certain that the orders given to the Dewan on his arrival, did not in fact merely constitute a

part of it. The Resident, as we learn from his Memorandum of that date, the 20th December, disapproved of the employment of a number of persons, not under the Dewan's control, in making, in conjunction with him, the inquiries which were judged necessary, and suggested that the Dewan should be left to perform that duty, assisted by his regular official establishment. He also expressed a wish that all orders which might be given by the Rajah, in consequence of the results of the Dewan's inquiries, should be made known to himself by that functionary.

97. The Resident's suggestion was adopted; and the Dewan was employed for some days, how many does not exactly appear, on the duty thus confided to him. But from the absence of any record of his proceedings on the occasion, we have been unable to obtain any very clear view of them.

98. We have learned, however, from the evidence given by witnesses, that five persons were sentenced to suffer death; and were executed, two of them at Chenroyapatam, and the remaining three in neighbouring talooks, whither they were sent for that purpose. We have also learned that corporal punishment was inflicted on many persons.

99. In the translation of the evidence, a copy of which has been already transmitted to your Lordship in council, some witnesses are represented as stating that the infliction of corporal punishment, which was executed with the usual instrument, a sort of whip called a Cordah, continued during several successive hours both by day and night. It is only just, however, to state that this is an error in the translation; the Dewan did not hold his Cutcherry or Court only by day light, but laboured also for some hours of the early part of the night; and it has been ascertained that all which the witnesses meant to say was, that during his sittings, each of which occupied many hours, floggings were occasionally inflicted by his order, some of them in the day time and some at night, the punishment in each instance taking place immediately after the inquiry, the result of which was considered to demand it.

100. As a number of witnesses have given testimony, the

tenour of which imputes the executions ordered by the Rajah at Chenroyapatam, not to the opinion and advice of the Dewan, or the free judgment of the Rajah himself, but to the influence of the Resident, we think it proper to go into some detail on this point.

Arapoor Bussappájee  
 Arua.  
 Mullaráj Arua.  
 Toshakhána Nunjappah.  
 Modeekhána Nursing  
 Rao.  
 Anoo Ram Rao.  
 Seebiah.  
 Vyas Rao.  
 Sumoo Rao.  
 Mádappah.  
 Rámappah.  
 Sham Rao.

101. The witnesses to whom we allude are those whose names are noted in the margin. Their evidence is generally to the effect, that after the Dewan had been engaged for a day or two on the inquiries, he waited upon the Resident with the result; that he afterwards attended the Rajah, accompanied by the Resident's Head Serishtadar Chowdiah; that several of these witnesses were present at the audience then given by His Highness to the Dewan; that the latter stated that having waited on the Resident with the result of his investigations, that gentleman had given it as his opinion that certain individuals, whose names were then given in, should be hanged, as a measure indispensably necessary in order to the putting down of the rebellion; that His Highness on this expressed a disinclination to the exercise of such severity towards any of his subjects, whom he regarded as his children; and that before he gave his assent, he sought counsel from Ram Rao, the Buckshee, who after hearing what had taken place in the conference between the Resident and the Dewan, gave his opinion that His Highness ought to act agreeably to the Resident's suggestion, and order the executions: that the Rajah then returned to his Durbar Tent, where he called upon the Dewan to recapitulate in open Durbar the substance of his conference with the Resident; that when about to give his final instructions to the Dewan, one of the persons who was present at the Durbar, namely Modeekhána Nursing Rao, threw himself at the Rajah's feet, beseeching him "not to order the executions, as the people were his children, but to commute the sentences to imprisonment;" that the Resident's Serishtadar, Chowdiah, seeing this, rebuked this individual for his interference and thus addressed

the Rajah, "Your Highness is a tender hearted man; if you will give orders to the Dewan, he will carry the capital sentences into effect;" and that His Highness having reproved Nursing Rao for his interference, finally gave to the Dewan his authority for the executions.

102. Some of the same witnesses have stated that His Highness, on different occasions after the events just narrated, affirmed that in ordering the executions he did not act of his own accord, but in compliance with the advice of the Resident.

103. It is worthy of remark however, that according to one of these witnesses, Sunnoo Rao, the Dewan made his first visit not to the Resident, but to the Rajah, and then strongly urged the adoption of more decided measures than those which had been hitherto employed; and that the Rajah desired him to wait upon the Resident, explain his views to him, and solicit his opinion and advice. This statement is supported by the evidence of another of the same set of witnesses, namely Seebiah; who moreover gives further evidence relative to this subject, of so remarkable a purport that we shall here quote it at length. Having been asked whether circular orders were sent to the Taloóks empowering the Amildars to hang individuals at their own discretion, he replied; "I know that such were circulated." He was then asked by whose advice those orders were circulated; and he replied; "Mr. Casamaijor visited the Rajah at Chenroyapatam, but I do not know what subject they conversed upon, as it was not usual for any one to be present at their interviews. Moreover I believe Beenee Venkatasoobiah, Buckshee Ram Rao, Dewan Venkata-Raj Arus, and his Brother Dassapajee, with Anoo Ram Rao, recommended His Highness to circulate these orders; but I *know* that of these, the Dewan Venkata Arus was the most vehement in urging the adoption of this measure." After this he was asked, What object had these people in giving this advice to the Rajah? His answer was, The reasons to which I attribute their conduct were that the ryots had treated with great disrespect and violence, Buckshee Ram Rao's people, and had disregarded the cowl offered to them by the Dewan, and every effort made to conciliate them.

Venkata Raj Arus.  
Chowdiah.

104. The foregoing is the substance of the evidence given by the witnesses whose names have been stated. Evidence of an opposite purport is given by other witnesses, whose names are here noted in the margin, the first of whom is a relative of the Rajah, and filled the office of Dewan at the period of the transactions in question; and the other is the Head Serishtadar of the Resident's Cutcherry.

105. They testify, that after the investigation held by the Dewan, the result was in the first instance made known to the Rajah, who had for many days seen the necessity of pursuing more decided measures, to punish the outrages committed by the insurgents, and to put down the rebellion; accounts of which, of a most alarming nature, were daily arriving from almost every district in the Territory; and that having consulted with those members of his court who had been employed under the preceding governments, and on whose experience and wisdom he reposed much confidence, having learned from them that such crimes as these now committed by the insurgents, were, under those governments, punished with death, imprisonment, and other inflictions, according to the degrees of guilt in the several cases, the Rajah came to the decision, that it was now expedient to resort to such measures. That he deputed the Dewan to wait upon the Resident, to intimate this his opinion to him, and to solicit his advice on the subject. That the Dewan accordingly submitted these particulars to the Resident, whose reply was, that, "His Highness had many able and experienced persons in his Durbar, with whom he might consult; some of the Pottails and Ryots were committing great outrages and His Highness therefore should lose no time in adopting such measures as might seem the most suitable for suppressing these disorders." That on this message being conveyed to the Rajah, he gave immediate orders for the execution of the five persons already mentioned.

106. In reference to the contradictory evidence which has been noticed, we feel ourselves called upon to observe, that the witnesses first named are all of them either relatives and immediate dependants, or corrupt associates of His Highness the Rajah, that



much of their evidence is merely hearsay ; and that it is known that a belief generally prevailed in this country, that the assumption of it by the British authority was mainly owing to the acts of rigour understood by your Lordship to have been committed by the Rajah's Government during the disturbances ; and that His Highness's lost power could only be regained by making it appear to us, and through us to your Lordship, that those acts were forced upon him by the representative of the Company's Government. We consider it our duty to remark, that a month previous to the occurrences at Chenroyapatam, the Rajah gave peremptory orders to subordinate officers to execute measures of no less severity, and did so not only when it is not pretended that he was influenced by advice from the Resident, but without his knowledge ; and that on a subsequent occasion another order, which we deem worthy of especial notice, from the Rajah to Annappah, Commanding his Troops in the Province of Nuggur, dated 27th of January, enjoining that officer to put to death his prisoners rather than be troubled with the custody of them, was issued while the Resident was absent at Madras. These orders, the last of which in particular could not with any appearance of probability be ascribed to the counsel of the Resident, were never once adverted to by the witnesses in question, on their examination before us, and we think it not improbable that all knowledge of their existence would have been concealed from us had not the original documents been in our possession.

107. Even at the very time of these transactions at Chenroyapatam, as well as both at previous and subsequent periods, the Rajah took other measures of severity, of which it appears to us there can be no doubt that the Resident was not informed. In his orders, for example, to Mahomed Ashroof, an officer of the Mysore horse, dated the 19th and 30th December 1830, he invests him with a discretionary authority to inflict the punishments both of death and of mutilation ; and enjoins him not to hesitate to exercise it. Now it appears, that the fact of the Rajah's having given authority to his officers to punish by mutilation, became known to the Resident on the 4th of January 1831, by his reading a letter from Annappah, in which

he acknowledged the receipt of orders from the Rajah directing him to exercise that power; and that the Resident immediately, by a written communication of the same date, expressed his decided disapprobation of the measure, and called on the Rajah to cancel it; which was accordingly done.

108. The crimes for which the above mentioned five individuals were sentenced to suffer death, the Committee find thus registered in a document a translation of which will be found appended to the Proceedings.

"1st. Gundesee Gowdah, hanged to a tree near the fort gate at Chenroyapatam, for having tumultuously assembled the ryots, and prohibited them from passing to or from the mob (Cootum) without his stamp (pass)."

"2d. Sumbōo Gowdah, hanged to the said tree for styling himself the "Chief" or "Nad Gowda," head of the assembly; and exacting from the people the honorary compliments, of "Dewuttee salam."

"The above two persons were hanged on the 21st December 1830."

"3rd. Chelway Gowdah of Soondahully, for having entered the villages with horns and drums, and compelled the ryots to join the mob, flogging such as refused to come."

"4th. Mullay Gowda of Chalay. For having wrested from a Cundachar Peon a letter addressed to the Hoozoor by Amildar Seevah Nunjah, and broken it open. The said letter was sent for and delivered while Mr. Casamaijor was holding a private conference with the Rajah. The crime was proved against him."

"The above two persons were hanged at Kickerry on the 22nd December."

"5th. Chinna Gowda of Wooleewal. For having assembled the Ryots of the Nursipoor Talook and beaten such as refused to come."

"Also for disrespectful treatment of the Amildar."

"The above person was reported to have been hanged near the town of Nursipoor on the 23rd December 1830."

"Camp Chenroyapatam."

109. Letters from the Rajah of the 18th, 19th, and 20th December, addressed to the commandants of troops, contain the most

positive injunctions, enforced by a threat of his displeasure if they should not be acted upon, to attack and cut down without hesitation the congregated ryots, if they would not abandon their rebellious course of conduct and retire to their villages, and orders are given at the same time to hang a Mussulman who was concerned in the riot at Dodairy.

110. On the 21st December a Circular Notice or Proclamation was issued, directing that all persons who should thenceforward be found carrying about bones and Margosa leaves (the usual symbols of insurrection in Mysore) should be seized, tried on the spot, and, if convicted, hanged; and on the following day pointed instructions were addressed to the Foujdar of Bangalore, to cause some of the leaders of the insurrectionary assemblages to be caught, and one or two of them hanged in each Talook; to fire upon those assemblages without hesitation, if any resistance should be offered by them; and generally to take rigorous measures against the evil disposed, "shooting such as deserved to be shot, and hanging such as deserved to be hanged." This letter of instructions, which bears date the 22nd December, is concluded with a sentence in His Highness's own hand writing, to this effect, "The gentleman strongly recommends the adoption of these measures for putting down the insurrection, and has given the same orders."

111. The Rajah quitted Chenroyapatam about the 27th December, in prosecution of his tour; and the Appendix to the Proceedings exhibits accounts of further executions ordered by him at almost every stage, but we have been unable to obtain any official record giving further information respecting the cases of the persons executed, than what is afforded by a mere Register of their crimes and sentences.

112. On the 5th of January, the Dewan with a body of troops, both cavalry and infantry, was sent off from the Rajah's Camp, then at the village of Hebboor, to endeavour to suppress the disturbances in the Chittledroog and Nuggur Divisions; the Resident set out for Madras; and the Rajah himself returned to Mysore, which place he reached on the 10th of the same month.

113. In consequence as it would appear, of a suggestion offered by the Resident, in a Memorandum dated the 28th of December, in which he states that the proceedings at Chenroyapatam had been productive of very beneficial effects as far as their influence extended, but remarks on the prevalence of great disorder in some parts of the country, a proclamation was issued by the Rajah on the following day, referring to the punishments which had been inflicted; exhorting all persons to return peaceably to their homes, cultivate their lands and pay the revenue; and enjoining them to refrain from acts of insurrection and depredation, or they should be punished in a similar manner. "In a letter from the Resident to the Madras Government, dated 2nd January, it is stated that fifteen persons had been executed by the Rajah's order in various districts, but that this severity had not been exercised, except in cases of "extreme guilt and audacious resistance to his authority by insurgents." The same letter states that the Rajah's troops had attacked the people, but with less loss of life than might have been expected.

114. About the end of December accounts were received at the Rajah's Court, that in the Chittledroog Division a body of several thousand ryots, who had offered violent resistance to the troops, had been charged by a party of the Mysore Horse; when 200 of them were killed and many wounded; and that in the Bangalore Division likewise, an attack had been made by a party of infantry and Mysore peons on an assemblage of people, in which it was stated 50 ryots were killed and 200 wounded; similar intelligence was also received from the Nuggur Districts, where the Foujdar moreover had resorted to the measure of punishing and marking eighteen individuals, by the excision of pieces from their noses or ears, several of the persons thus disfigured had already been severely wounded by the troops.

115. We here deem it our duty to state that there are many instances mentioned in the records, of resort to this mode of punishment, and that we find it not only met the approval of the Rajah, but several of his officers in command of troops were expressly directed by him to practice it; and in one particular instance a person was sentenced by him to have both his hands cut off. The practice

however having come to the knowledge of the Resident, as we before stated, he addressed a forcible remonstrance on the subject to the Rajah, reminding him that he had repeatedly informed him how much it was discountenanced by the British Government, and earnestly pressing upon him the immediate abandonment of it. Whereupon orders were issued, countermanding those before given, and positively forbidding the practice for the future.

116. While we reprobate this mode of punishment in every degree of it, justice to the Mysore authorities requires us to state, that we have satisfied ourselves both by inquiry and by the actual inspection of examples, that, for the most part, the cuttings inflicted on ears and noses were slight, and by no means amounted to what could with correctness of language be called mutilation, the term which, however, is usually employed to designate all punishments of this kind.

117. We would here observe that the Rajah's orders, from about the end of December, to the officers in command of troops and in charge of districts, vest them with the most unlimited authority to hang any and every individual, whom they might apprehend and consider deserving of death, remarking to one of them "that he is not to impose fines upon such great criminals (persons guilty of rebellion) but to inflict punishment according to the orders given to him," and again, "if you collect together the rebels who are taken prisoners and place guards over them, how will they (the guards) be able to render service at the time of action. Those who are deserving of death should be hanged immediately."

118. It appears from Mr. Casamajor's letter to our secretary of the 17th April 1833, and its enclosure, that this discretionary authority had been vested by the Rajah in his officers, without the Resident's knowledge; and that when the fact was suspected by him, he strongly remonstrated against the measure with His Highness.

119. The Poligar of Terrickery, Rungappah Naik, and his nephew, had before this openly taken part with the insurgents; and possessed themselves of two strong hill forts, in the eastern part of the Nuggur District, Culdroog, and Camundroog.

120. The Dewan received orders to move on the former place, and a large body of Troops was concentrated there, for the purpose of dislodging the rebel Poligars. Liberal rewards had some time before been offered by proclamation for the apprehension of their persons.

121. The Foujdar of Nuggur, Kishen Rao, was superseded in that office, early in January, by an officer of rank in the Mysore Horse, named Annappah, who was invested with both military and civil authority in the Nuggur Districts, and was detached from Chenroyapatam with a body of troops, to endeavour to put down the rebellion in those districts; in which duty his predecessor was considered to have culpably failed. The insurrection had now put on a more organized and formidable appearance, the assemblages of ryots having been joined by Boodee Buswappah's levies of armed men from the Southern Mahratta country.

122. Annappah and his force found themselves opposed on all sides; and he seems to have maintained, with much bravery and fortitude, an arduous and unequal conflict for more than six weeks.

123. Finding himself too weak to cope with the insurgents, in a country abounding with jungles, where his cavalry was disadvantageously exposed to the concealed fire of the rebels, he threw himself into the fortress of Anuntapoor, and remained there till the enemy had so succeeded in cutting off his supplies, that to save his troops from famine, he was obliged to quit it at any risk.

124. After being harassed by the rebels for many miles, and losing many of his men, he succeeded in reaching the town of Masoor, whence he afterwards retreated to Hurryhur, with his ammunition expended, his men dispirited, and their means of subsistence nearly exhausted.

125. Of the proceedings of Annappah the following account is given by an eye witness of the transactions which he describes.

“Kishen Rao having, about this time, been dismissed from his situation as Foujdar, orders came to Annappah, at Shickarpoor, to take upon him his duties, and so Kishen Rao retired. Annappah now went forth chastising the rebels in every direction, and restor-

“ing things to order, and again returned to Anuntapoor, where he  
 “took up his station for a time, tracing out the rebels that were about  
 “there, and arranging in due order the public affairs.”

“The Dewan Vencata Arsoo, wishing to dispossess the enemy  
 “of the two hill forts, Culdroog and Camundroog, sent to Annappah  
 “for a battalion of the infantry, out of the troops under his com-  
 “mand, and also for the great guns belonging to the Bareegat Cut-  
 “cherry. In consequence of this arrangement the force under Annap-  
 “pah became less than that which the enemy could muster. The  
 “Poligars and rebels became aware of this circumstance, and did not  
 “omit to avail themselves of such an advantage. Having collected  
 “an immense mass of people, they laid a siege around Anuntapoor,  
 “by taking up their lodgement in the clumps of trees by which it is  
 “environed, and to prevent any of the servants of Government from  
 “making an egress, they stopped up the roads, and when any did try  
 “to make their way, they shot them. In the same way they stopped  
 “up the roads at the Wookudu Pass. Therefore the troops under  
 “Annappah being without grain, and for a month and a half without  
 “salt, acid and rice, and the horses without gram and straw, they  
 “were reduced to great extremities. The Foudjar wrote accounts of  
 “these things both to the Dewan and to the Government, assistance  
 “came from no quarter. The army became greatly spent, the rebels  
 “had augmented themselves into a formidable host. In this situa-  
 “tion Annappah called his troops and inspired them with confidence  
 “by the following address, *You see, says he, we are closely besieged  
 “by a hostile army. No help is come to us. The troops we had here  
 “the Dewan has taken away, those which remain are few in number,  
 “and for them there are not the necessaries of life remaining, there-  
 “fore rather than die in this way by starvation, let us go and fight,  
 “and die like soldiers.* This address had the desired effect. All  
 “were pleased with it. Therefore they sallied forth on the Shickar-  
 “poor road, and fought their way stoutly for fifteen miles till they  
 “reached Masoor, in the Company’s territory.”

126. The attack of the body of Mysore Troops, mentioned in  
 a preceding paragraph, on the fort of Camundroog, took place about

the 18th February, but failed, though they shortly after succeeded in taking Culdroog. This reverse seems to have led to the employment of Lieutenant Rochfort, the officer in command of the Resident's escort, with the troops of the Rajah. At the same time, a regiment of native infantry stationed at Hurryhur, and a brigade of light guns from Bangalore, were ordered to move on Camundroog, which, however, was taken on the 3d March, by the Mysore troops, acting now with the benefit of Lieutenant Rochfort's directions.

127. The rebel Poligars effected their escape from the fort during the assault. But many prisoners were taken, twelve of whom were subsequently put to death by order of the Dewan, to whom full powers had been delegated when he was detached from Hebboor. Lieutenant Rochfort's report of the casualties, at the assault of Camundroog, shews that there were twenty three of the Rajah's troops killed and wounded, and that fifty of the rebel garrison were killed by precipitating themselves from the heights of the fort.

128. From this place Lieutenant Rochfort, with the troops, proceeded to Shemogah in the Nuggur Province, where in a few days he received information that a large body of insurgents had taken the fort of Honelly in the vicinity. With much promptitude he marched on Honelly, where he found not only the fort, but a large pagoda within two miles of it, occupied by the rebels. After making an overture of conciliation, without success, and having his flag of truce fired upon, he made arrangements to storm the pagoda. The assault was made with success on the 12th March; of the Rajah's troops four men were killed and thirty-seven wounded on this occasion. On the part of the insurgents forty-two men, it is said, were killed, twelve wounded, and nearly one hundred and eighty made prisoners. Some of these were released, but ninety-nine were hanged on the 15th and 16th March, fifty-one of them at Honelly, and the remainder at different places on the road leading from Honelly to Shickarpoor.

129. The report made of these executions by the commander of infantry, Syed Salar, to whom the office had been entrusted of causing the sentences to be carried into effect, to the Dewan, who



had moved after the action, from Honelly to Shemogah, stated that the executions had been ordered by Lieutenant Rochfort. In a report, however, of the same date, and on the same subject, made to the Rajah, by Annappah, the principal officer of the Mysore Government, who was present after the departure of the Dewan, no allusion is made to Lieutenant Rochfort as having had any part in the business; and in a subsequent letter, written after he had been called on to state by whose authority the executions had taken place, Annappah affirms that the Dewan had ordered them. Testimony to the same effect has been given by him before us. He states that the Dewan, previously to quitting Honelly for Shemogah, personally gave him orders for those executions. With respect to Lieutenant Rochfort, he says, that he apprized that officer of the instructions he had received on this subject; who replied that he must act according to the orders of the Dewan.

130. The Dewan in his evidence before us denies having given any such authority, and endeavours to throw the whole responsibility for the executions on Annappah. He states, that, when required by the Rajah to furnish explanation on the subject, he wrote to His Highness that Annappah was alone accountable for them.

131. We requested a copy of his letter to the Rajah; but he could produce none. Application was then made to the Rajah for the original, but His Highness denied having ever received any such letter, and stated that he had frequently called on the Dewan for explanation on the subject, but could never obtain a reply.

132. The commander of infantry, Syed Salar, when examined on this point, first stated that the orders for the execution had been given to him by Annappah. When reminded of the mention made of Lieutenant Rochfort, in his letter to the Dewan, he ascribed to failure of recollection his not having named that officer as well as Annappah, to us. His further examination however, tends to show, that, while he at the time believed the orders to have emanated from or been sanctioned by Lieutenant Rochfort, they were received by him from Annappah, his proper and immediate superior in office.

133. As the allegation respecting Lieutenant (now Captain) Rochfort was on record, we deemed it only an act of justice to that gentleman to give him an opportunity of replying to it in his examination before us; which he has done by denying that he either had authority to give or did in fact give any such orders, and by stating that he acted on the occasion agreeably to the instructions given to him by the Resident, to deliver over all prisoners to the chief Mysore civil authority in camp, with whom he did not presume to interfere in such matters. The subsequent evidence of Cuddapah Sreenewass Rao seems to us to confirm Annappah's statement that the orders were given by the Dewan.

134. When the intelligence of these numerous executions reached the Rajah, he communicated on the subject with the Resident, who, as will be seen by his letter of the 17th April 1833, before quoted, lost not a moment in repairing to the Durbar and pointedly condemning such an act of unnecessary severity. "Mr. Casamajor adds that when he interrogated His Highness as to the fact of his having sanctioned them, "he warmly denied that either the Dewan or Annappah had received authority from him to inflict the punishment of death on persons apprehended." And further, that His Highness dictated in the Resident's presence a Neroop to Annappah reproving him, and said he had himself written to the Dewan on the same subject.

135. The letters so addressed are on record. They contain a reprehension of the severity exercised in executing so many "poor persons," and ask for explanations of the reasons and the authority for that measure, concluding with an order to await the sanction of His Highness in future, before carrying any capital sentences into effect; but we observe a considerable discrepancy, both in their dates and their tenour, between these letters and what were furnished to the Resident, as true copies of them.

136. It is stated, in the evidence, that none of the persons executed at Honelly were ryots, or indeed natives of the Mysore country. They are said to have been strangers, from the Southern Mahratta country, who joined the standard of the Poligars for the sake of pay and plunder.

137. To continue the narrative of the insurrection. After the events which have been related took place at Honelly, Lieutenant Rochfort, with the Mysore force, proceeded through the Western Districts of Nuggur, meeting with considerable opposition from the insurgents, and having to dislodge them from stockades, which had been formed in several places on his route, and were defended with much obstinacy. He at length reached the town and fortress of Nuggur or Bidnoor; which had a second time fallen into the hands of the insurgents, having been retaken from them once before and garrisoned with Mysore troops by Annappah.

138. Little resistance was here offered. The place was taken possession of on the morning of the 26th March by the Rajah's troops, having been evacuated by the insurgents the preceding night. But they had first put to death more than twenty persons, most of them Bramins, and public servants of the Mysore Government, whom they had seized on various occasions. Some of these were found hanging on trees, and others lying across the road with their throats cut.

139. Having placed a garrison in Nuggur, Lieutenant Rochfort moved with his troops towards Chendergooty, a strong fortified Hill occupied by the insurgents on the North Western boundary of the Nuggur province, which he took without much opposition on the 6th April. After this, his force was distributed in small parties, to give protection to the principal towns, and confidence to such of the people as had not joined in the insurrection.

140. About this period another regiment of the Company's Native Infantry was detached from Bangalore, on the requisition of the Resident, who in a letter to the Madras Government of the 4th April, after announcing the several successful operations of Captain Rochfort's force, and expressing hopes of an early restoration of tranquillity, observed that the ryots might now be expected to co-operate in the apprehension of the Poligars, provided they had protection against the violence of the latter, to which end it would be necessary to disperse the Mysore troops in small parties, and to move a regiment from Bangalore to Shemogah.

141. The Resident in a letter to the Madras Government

dated 19th April, stated that "the greatest embarrassment had arisen from the weakness and supineness of the Dewan and his inattention to orders; and that he was in consequence to be recalled to the Hoozoor, and another officer better qualified for this particular duty employed instead of him in the Province of Nuggur; accordingly an officer of the Cavalry establishment, named Baloojee Rao was nominated to perform this duty; of whom, however, the Rajah in notifying his appointment to the Resident, remarks that though orders had been given to him to conduct the requisite investigations with impartiality, there were doubts of his doing so, as he was related to Ram Rao (the Buckshee). "But," adds His Highness, "if it should come to my knowledge that he shows partiality, the necessary steps shall be taken."

142. About the middle of April, information was brought to Chendergooty, to the Officer Commanding the 24th Regiment, which up to that period had been moving through the several Nuggur Districts, for the purpose of giving confidence to the better disposed among the inhabitants, that a body of marauding horse was moving into the Mysore Territory from the Southern Marhatta country, invited thither, if not expressly levied for service, by the pretender Boody Buswappah. Immediate steps were taken to oppose their approach, and with success; they were encountered by a body of Mysore Horse under the command of Annappah, many of them taken prisoners, and the rest dispersed.

143. The resources which the pretender Boody Buswappah, and his coadjutors of the Terrickery family, obtained by the plunder of district treasuries and by other depredations, added to the ordinary allurements of congenial occupation and the hope of booty, which never fail to draw idle men of the military class to any province that presents a scene of confusion and disorder, are quite sufficient, we think, to account for the foreign levies, both of horse and foot, by which the rebellion was aided. One of the witnesses, Bamiah, has stated in his evidence before us, that he had himself been robbed by Boody Buswappah of property to the value of 20,000 Rupees; and another witness, Chender Rao Ranoray, has adverted to a robbery,

committed by the Terrickery Poligar Surjappa Naik, upon the house of Dowlut Rao Guickwar a Jemadar of Sillahdars, on which occasion property to the estimated amount of one lac of Pagodas was carried off, which the latter individual had himself acquired by plunder at the battle of Mahidpoor.

144. In a communication to the Rajah dated the 22nd of April, the Resident points out to His Highness some proceedings by which the investigation, entrusted first to the Dewan and afterwards to Balojee Rao, into the abuses committed by the Amildars in Nuggur, was obstructed, and requests that the necessary orders should be issued to remove every impediment, and satisfy the people that their complaints would be inquired into. He observes that it was the wish and endeavour of the Amildars that the enquiries should take place at Mysore, but that justice to the people required that their complaints should be investigated in their own districts. The Rajah in reply states that the Amildars complained of should be sent back to their districts to have their conduct inquired into there; and that he would never show any favor or partiality, in matters connected with the public interests, which were entitled to preference over all other considerations.

145. The Resident, in letters of the 28th and 29th April 1831, to the Madras Government, alludes to the defection of a great number, he says about 1500, of the armed peons of Mysore, called Candachar, who had gone over to the rebel Poligars; and to whom he attributes a great part of the outrages stated to have been committed against that portion of the population which was well disposed towards the Government.

146. Some of the witnesses whom we have examined state that this defection was owing to the pay of those peons having been long in arrear, which led them, it is said, to join in the insurrection, and resort to plunder for the means of subsistence. This does not, however, appear to be, by itself, an entirely satisfactory explanation; for the pay of the more regular troops of the Mysore state, who adhered to their allegiance, was equally in arrear; from six to eighteen months pay having been due to all before the end of the insur-

rection. The Candachar Peons indeed seem to have had the least reason for dissatisfaction on this account, as a great part of the remuneration of their services arises from lands assigned to them for that purpose.

147. The Candachar Peons employed in the Nuggur Districts at that period were chiefly natives of that part of the country; of the class termed "Beyder." This is a warlike tribe, from which the armies of the ancient Poligars were principally formed. Their habits and their religion differ materially from those of the other Hindu classes in Mysore; and when unchecked by authority or discipline, they are predatory and untractable.

148. From these traits of their character it may be easily imagined that little difficulty would be experienced in drawing them from their allegiance; and it therefore is not surprising that the distress, whatever the degree of it may have been, and the disaffection towards their own government, which were occasioned by the failure to pay them with regularity, should have laid them open, as is stated in the evidence of the Ex-Dewan Venkut Raj Arus, to the seditious intrigues of the Poligars, who if they could not insure to them any stated pay, were able to hold out to them the lure of plunder, as a recompense for throwing off their allegiance to the Mysore Rajah, and joining their faction. The family influence too of the Terrickerry Poligars, and the pretensions of Boody Buswappah, may have lent no inconsiderable aid towards the seduction of these Peons from their allegiance to the Mysore Government. They were not separated from the mass of the people, like the more regular soldiery, by professional habits and feelings and some degree of military discipline. There was nothing in their situation to preserve them from popular influences, and to hinder the contagion of sedition from spreading among them. After all, even assuming, what seems somewhat doubtful, that the number of them which joined in the insurrection was so large as 1500; it scarcely exceeded one-tenth of the whole number of Candachar peons in the service of the Mysore Government; and when we consider the state of the country in general, and their own situation in particular, we do not think it

wonderful that a defection should have taken place among them to that extent.

149. The increasing strength of the insurgents, however, in the Foujdarry of Nuggur, now rendered it necessary that some more efficient means than had yet been resorted to should be employed to suppress them; and accordingly the Resident, in his letter of the 29th April, states his opinion that "the period had now arrived for calling for the full aid of the subsidiary force to put down the rebellion previously to the monsoon."

150. Two regiments of native infantry and a Brigade of light guns were already employed on this service, as we have before shewn, and there were now added a third regiment of infantry, a squadron of native cavalry; two companies of H. M. 62d Regiment, and a brigade of 12 pounders.

151. Before these reinforcements had moved from Bangalore, intelligence was received that the 15th Regiment, under Colonel Evans, C. B. had been obliged to retreat from Fettehpet, a fortified barrier in the jungle, which, as it lies on the road to the town of Nuggur, was occupied by a large body of the insurgents, and mounted with some heavy ordnance.

152. The march of this regiment from Anuntapoor to Fettehpet, had been impeded by stockades thrown across their line of march, from behind which a concealed fire was opened on their advanced guard, whereby one man was killed and two wounded. During the subsequent retreat of the regiment, the insurgents harassed their rear by a fire of musketry, and succeeded in carrying off a part of their baggage, and killing some of the followers.

153. This appears to have been the first occasion on which the insurgents fired on the troops of the Company's Government; towards which they had hitherto maintained an outward show of respect, reserving their fire from the jungles, whenever British and Mysore troops were combined, until the former had passed, and then discharging it on the latter.

154. In adverting to this fact, and to the confirmation which it derives from the evidence of Major Clemons, we consider it proper

to record our opinion, that, whatever departure took place from the respect thus manifested for the British authority, was the act of the rebel poligars, and of the levies of foreign peons which had been drawn into the insurrection, and not of the Mysore insurgent ryots, who, wherever they had an opportunity of personal conference with British Officers, appear to have uniformly expressed their respect for the British Government, and their earnest desire to be taken under its rule and protection.

155. The Resident, accompanied by the Dewan, set out for the Nuggur districts about the middle of May, as proposed in his letter to Government already noticed, under the sanction of the Right Honorable the Governor of Madras conveyed to him in the Chief Secretary's letter of the 27th April. At the end of May, a British Force, consisting of the two companies of H. M. 62nd Regiment, a squadron of 7th light cavalry, three regiments of native infantry and two brigades of guns, with a large body of Mysore troops, both cavalry and infantry, was concentrated at Shemogah.

156. At this period, in the Bangalore, Chittledroog and Astagram Divisions, tranquillity had been so far restored that the people had returned to their villages, no acts of open opposition to the government were committed, and the civil administration was again carried on with very slight interruption.

157. We also find that the Resident, in his letter to Government of 20th May, states that from communications which he had had with the Head potails and Gowdahs of the Talooks of Terrickerry, Benkipore and Holy Honnoor, in the province of Nuggur, he was satisfied that the general feeling of the inhabitants of those districts was hostile to the insurgents. "Their entreaties to me," he continues, "have been to afford them protection from the daily violence committed upon their property by the insurgents; they express a strong wish to accept the terms of cowl offered them by the Mysore Sircar, and agree to pay the balances by reasonable instalments; but they dread the enmity of the insurgents on their coming to terms."

158. Notwithstanding these favorable appearances, a petition was soon after received by the Resident, dated the 29th May, and



purporting to be from "the distressed ryots of Ikairee Saugur," in which are expressed sentiments of the strongest dislike to the Rajah's Government. The petitioners state, that when Tippoo Sultan was sovereign of the country, they all lived in peace and prosperity. That the Honorable Company having conquered the country placed the Rajah on the throne, which he had now occupied for thirty-two years. That the oppressions and cruelties unceasingly practiced by the officers of his government were such that they had become unable to endure them any longer. The exactions of those officers they represent to have been so excessive as to have obliged them in many cases to sell their children." From September to December last, every Talook, they add, "has sent a hundred petitions. No inquiry "has been made into our complaints, but the Foujdar Kishen Rao, "sent for the people to Holy Honnoor, and having given them cause "to repose some confidence in him, he drew them into the Fort, and "there without any investigation, destroyed between four and five "hundred of them. The wounded men, though they entreated pity in "the most humble manner, were tied up in cumbles and thrown into "a river. In consequence of this the ryots of the country left their "villages, and were about to pass into the Company's territory for "security and protection, when the Killadee Padshah of Nuggur, the "descendant of Sevappah Naik, having heard of it, collected a body "of troops, and placed garrisons in the different towns and forts, "keeping posts also at the several passages of the jungles, and has "taken from us the money due to the Government. An order has "been circulated to us to go to Shemogah, should we attempt to come "they would not permit us to pass. Should we now desire to go to "any of the Mysore authorities, they have threatened to punish us, "and have encouraged us to remain under their protection, on this "account we are afraid to quit our villages. They have collected "a force of eight or ten thousand men, and have taken military "possession of the jungle passes. We ryots are like children, and are "obliged to obey any that exercise a violent authority over us."

159. After this representation of their case, the petitioners conclude with an expression of their hope and desire, that the Com-

pany's Government, which "they observe, is a good Government," would sanction their transferring themselves from the authority of the Rajah of Mysore to that of the Killadee Padshah (that is, Boody Buswappah, the Nuggur Pretender) by whom they would be peaceably protected, and their interests secured.

160. Having narrated the substance of this address, we think it right to state our conviction, that, great as were the abuses of power under the Rajah's Government, the description here given of them is exaggerated, and in particular that the statement of the tying up of wounded men in cumbles, and throwing them into the river at Holyhonoor, is, as far as we have been able to learn, wholly unfounded.

161. The Resident in reply to the Petition, reproved the Petitioners for the manner in which they had spoken of the pretender to the sovereignty of Nuggur, a person "not recognized either by the British or the Mysore Government." He reminded them that the Nuggur country formed a part of the territory which the British had conferred on the Rajah of Mysore, and that the Company's Government had sent him assistance to support his authority there. He invited them to prefer their complaints to himself, and promised inquiry and redress. He especially held out to them the hope of a remission of the balances of revenue due from them; and of favorable regulations for the assessment and collection of the revenue in future. In regard to their allegation that they were prevented from coming to him by the jungle passes being closed, he observed that the difficulties, if there were any, were all on their own part. No obstacle to their coming was offered by others.

162. On the 30th May the Resident wrote to the Madras Government that the measures he had adopted since his arrival at Shemogah, in communication with the Dewan, for the restoration of tranquillity, promised the most favorable result, and that he trusted that the subsidiary force would be enabled to return to quarters before the beginning of the monsoon.

163. On the 31st May 1831, the combined British and Mysore force moved from Shemogah, by a circuitous route to Nuggur,

which had a third time fallen into the hands of the insurgents. This route is said to have been adopted in consequence of information that the direct road, which lay through Anuntapoor and Futtehpel, had been strongly barricaded both by abattis formed by trees felled and laid across the road, and by stockades or fenced breast works.

164. The Resident with a body of Mysore troops, part of a Regiment of native infantry and two guns, preceded the remainder of the force by one march. He had previously dispatched conciliatory proclamations, inviting the people to meet him on his march, and promising redress of grievances, adding however a caution that he was accompanied by a large British force, which, though designed for the subjugation of the Poligars, would be employed to put down any violence or spirit of disaffection among the ryots, should they manifest such, instead of accepting the offers of reconciliation now again made to them.

165. Stockades which had been formed and occupied by the rebels on this route also, were evacuated as the force approached, and with the exception of a slight skirmish between the troops and a small body of the insurgents, within one stage of Nuggur, no opposition was offered to the detachment, until it arrived at the latter place.

166. An incident however occurred which merits observation here. The bodies of two of the messengers employed by the Resident in circulating the conciliatory proclamations, were found murdered, and lying close to the road traversed by this force, with the proclamations placed open by their side, as if to express disregard and defiance of the authority which issued them. Two accomplices in their murder were shortly after apprehended and hanged at Nuggur, by order of the Dewan.

167. By the evidence of two of the European officers examined by the Committee, the ryots are represented as having on several occasions within their knowledge, received with great distrust the cowls circulated among them from time to time by the Mysore authorities, and as having been frequently heard anxiously to solicit promises of protection and redress from the British Government. But

in a letter addressed by the Resident to the Madras Government on the 12th June, which announces the capture of the town and fortress of Nuggur, it is stated that the Potails, &c. had very generally accepted the terms of cowl offered and circulated by him on the occasions here referred to.

168. After the capture of Nuggur, which was taken without opposition, it was considered unnecessary to detain the British force any longer; and accordingly, with the exception of a small detachment, that force received orders to return to quarters viâ Shemogah, though it would appear from the correspondence on record that tranquillity was far from being fully restored.

169. The Mysore troops which had been distributed through the several talooks, to give confidence to the people and to keep the insurgents in check, had frequent encounters with the latter; and the Resident writes to the Rajah, in the latter end of June, that Potails and others were committing great outrages, in total disregard of the proclamations which had been circulated, and that but very few of them had accepted the terms offered to them.

170. The Resident and the Dewan are stated to have been indefatigable at this period, in investigating the numerous complaints daily brought to their Cutcheries by such of the people as were induced to come in, and the several arrangements which they made for correcting abuses in the collection of the revenue, and redressing grievances, are enumerated at length in a memorandum from the Resident for the information of the Rajah, dated the 24th June, and are adverted to in a letter which he wrote to the Madras Government on the 6th July. The measures adopted on this occasion are described as embracing amongst other concessions, remissions of outstanding balances of revenue to the amount of two Lacs of Canteroy Pagodas, the removal of many abuses in the Revenue administration, and the adoption of certain new regulations. All of these the Resident details in his letter to Government, and adds "they have been gratefully received by all the maganies (Purgunnahs) of Nuggur and Anuntapoor, and the ryots have in my presence expressed their cheerful acquiescence in the changes that have been made in their favor."

171. The Dewan having been left for a short time at Nuggur to complete these arrangements, the Resident proceeded to the North and North Western Talooks.

172. We learn that the letters of cowl which were now generally issued to all the talooks in Nuggur, were successful in inducing the ryots to return to their villages, and many of them to flock to the Resident's camp, to which the Dewan had (in July 1831) again returned.

173. The evidence of Major Clemons shows that while no fresh acts of aggression or outrage were heard of during the Resident's last tour to the Talooks of Soorub, Sagur, Shickarpoor, and Anawutty, a strong spirit of exasperation and distrust against the troops of the Rajah was still evinced by the people generally; and on the other hand the most marked respect, confidence, and willing subjection, shown towards the British Officers sent to parley with and conciliate them.

174. The Resident and Dewan, about the middle of July, returned to Mysore, judging that tranquillity had been sufficiently restored to enable them to do so, although His Highness the Rajah in a written communication to the Resident, dated 1st July, seems to express a fear that his return, and that of the Company's troops, would prove the signal for the rebels to break out afresh and to renew their outrages. Small bands of insurgents, under the direction of the rebel Poligars Rungappah and Surjuppah Naik, were indeed still committing outrages and molesting the well disposed inhabitants of the country. From the general tenour of the evidence, however, we are of opinion that the disaffection of the ryots had so much subsided at this period that, with few exceptions, none but the immediate adherents of the refractory chiefs just named, and the levies they had raised in the Southern Marhatta Country, took part in the subsequent disturbances.

175. The Rajah's troops continued to be stationed in larger or smaller bodies over the whole of the Nuggur Districts, under the general direction of that active and enterprising officer Annappah, whose name has been so frequently mentioned during the course of

this narrative. The effect of this was in some degree to restore confidence to the people, and give them protection against the vengeance and lawless violence of the marauders.

176. While the state of the Nuggur districts was thus gradually improving, a disturbance was raised in the Boodeehaul and Chicknaikenhully Talooks, about the end of July, which was however speedily suppressed, though not till after the Amildar of the Holiar Talook, and his brother, had been murdered by the adherents of a relative of the Terrikerry Poligar, named Kenga Hanoomuppa Naik. After this event tranquillity seems to have been re-established in every part of the country, with the exception of the Nuggur districts, which from their nature afforded so many facilities to the Poligars to carry on their outrages and depredations.

177. Annappah succeeded about the same period in apprehending a party of the insurgents who had posted and fortified themselves within a Mutt, or Hindu convent, at Maninceiry in the Kudoor Talook. Of twenty prisoners who were taken in arms at that place, ten were hanged in the month of August by the Rajah's order, after undergoing a trial by Punchayet.

178. In the months of August and September, the insurgents (by whom are here meant the Poligars and their adherents,) were on several occasions attacked and defeated by parties of the Mysore troops, but still continued to commit outrages on the inhabitants of the villages, burning their houses and plundering their property.

179. Though every exertion seems to have been made by the Rajah's officers, more especially by Annappah, and by Cuddapah Streenevass Rao, who commanded a separate division of the troops, to apprehend the rebel Poligars, respecting whom the Rajah had given an order that if seized they should be beheaded, and their heads transmitted to the presence, the latter were enabled to elude all their efforts, and matters continued in this unsatisfactory state up to the period when the country was assumed by the British Government in October 1831.

180. The duty with which we are charged does not appear to us to require that we should continue our narrative any farther. At

the period to which we have brought it down, the insurrection, understanding by that term the revolt which had taken place, of a large part of the population of the Mysore country, was at an end. The rebel Poligars indeed were still at the head of bands of marauders, and continued to commit deprivations; the pretended Nuggur Khawind was also at large, and subsequently made an unsuccessful attempt to stir the people of that province again into insurrection; but it does not, we conceive, come within the scope of our duties, to review the events to which we now allude, or the proceedings connected with them on the part of the Mysore Government, now vested in a Commission of British Officers.

181. Reverting now, as we stated to be our intention, to the first division of our subject, we shall submit a few reflections relative to the origin and causes of the disturbances, concerning which it has been our business to inquire.

182. Although there were circumstances, as we have shown, in the composition of the Mysore Territories, unfavourable to the easy maintenance of the Rajah's authority over them, and although the efforts and influence of the Nuggur pretender and the Terrikerry Poligars, together with the belief which at first prevailed that the Company's Government would not support the authority of the Rajah, must be regarded as having greatly conduced to the disturbances, yet we think there can be no doubt that their origin is mainly to be ascribed to misrule on the part of that prince. With respect to the nature and extent of that misrule, we beg to offer some observations.

183. The great faults of the Rajah's Government appear to have been, that it was throughout venal and corrupt; that no efficient control was exercised over the district officers; that the people were vexed and fretted by the unjust and arbitrary acts of those officers, and could obtain no redress; that there was no security for property, and nothing that was fit to be called the administration of justice. These evils seem to have been felt more than any where else in the province of Nuggur, which became the principal seat of the disturbances.

184. We do not, however, think, that the decline of the revenue since the time of Poorniah has been caused entirely by misgovernment. It appears to us to be partly attributable to causes which were beyond the controul of the Rajah's Government. We allude to the general fall which has taken place, within the period referred to, in the prices of agricultural produce, and also to changes which have occurred peculiarly affecting the state of Mysore.

185. In the Madras districts of Bellary and Cuddapah, which border on Mysore, and in many circumstances resemble it more than any other part of the Company's territories does, the revenue has also fallen off greatly during the same period. And we cannot believe that in either case the declension can justly be ascribed altogether to change in the management. In both cases much, we think, has been owing to that general fall of prices to which we have already alluded, and which probably has been occasioned, partly by an extension of cultivation in some quarters, in consequence of the general peace maintained by the ascendancy of the British power; partly by a decrease of effective demand, from the want of occupation to the same extent as formerly, for classes of people not agricultural; and partly by a diminution in the quantity of the precious metals in India, or at least a diminished supply of them, accompanied by an *increase* in the transactions in which they are made use of.

186. Among the changes which have occurred, specially affecting the condition of Mysore, we would particularly instance the reduction which has taken place both in the number of posts at which British troops are stationed, and in the strength of the whole British force in Mysore. This reduction has caused a diminution of the demand for produce, and the expenditure of money, in some parts of the country; and must have thus contributed to the declension of the revenue. It has also had other effects, worthy of remark, in relation to the late disturbances. It has removed a restraint which in the time of Poorniah kept the turbulent in awe; and there can be no doubt that it has afforded a facility to the instigators of the disturbances in leading the people to believe that the Company's Government would not support the authority of the Rajah. We



by no means intend to condemn this reduction in stating these opinions respecting its consequences; which we do, because we conceive it to be our duty to point out, as fully as we can, all events or circumstances which directly or indirectly conduced in any material degree to the disturbances.

187. To look farther back; it is worthy of being recollected, that before the conquest, Mysore was the seat of a completely independent Government, which, not to speak of the vast quantities of plunder its troops brought in, gave by its expenditure profitable employment to vast numbers of the people; not only in the immediate service of the state, but in meeting its demands for stores of every kind, and all the materials of war, and which in this and other ways afforded considerable encouragement to manufactures. The change which then took place in this respect was during Poorniah's government little felt, partly because there had not been time for the full development of its effects, but chiefly because they were in a great measure counterbalanced by the consequences already adverted to, as attending the presence of a very large British force in the country, distributed among a great number of stations; but there can be no doubt that when there had been time for its full operation, and the British force had been reduced, it must have worked to the detriment of the wealth of Mysore.

188. Even that collecting and accumulating of a great treasure, by which Poorniah has obtained so much credit, must we think have been in some degree obstructive of the prosperity of the people. It must have operated as if Mysore, during his administration, besides paying the subsidy, had exported annually seven lacs of Canteroy Pagodas (upwards of twenty lacs of Rupees) to a foreign country whence no part of it returned. And though that treasure has since been dissipated by the Rajah, and is no longer in the public coffers, yet such was the manner in which he expended it, that very little of it, there is reason to believe, ever found its way back into the circulation of Mysore. By far the greatest part of it was disbursed in payments for jewels and shawls, to foreign merchants, who, not dealing in any produce of Mysore, carried it out of the country; or was bestowed in

gifts on Brahmins, by whom, agreeably to their habits, it has for the most part been hoarded.

189. The administration of Poorniah, as we have already hinted, though it was conducted with energy and vigour, and filled the coffers of the state with treasure, does not appear to us to have been attended with an augmentation of the wealth of the people, but indeed with an opposite result; and we will add that we doubt whether, even if that minister had continued to conduct the affairs of the country, the revenue could have been maintained many years longer at the height to which it had been raised.

190. It is worthy of remark that in some of the complaints of the people, of the grievances they have been subjected to under the Rajah's government, the period of Poorniah's administration is included in the general censure, without distinction from that of the Rajah's personal rule.

191. There was one feature in the method of government pursued by the Rajah which we have not hitherto remarked on, but which is of too great importance to be passed over without notice. The period of its introduction is so undefined that we could hardly give it an appropriate place in the narrative sketch we have attempted of the principal events connected with our subject. We allude to what is called the "Shurtee," or contract system of dealing with the Amildars, the officers entrusted with the collection of the revenue of districts, as well as with the general civil charge of them. The principle of this system was, to take an engagement from the Amildar, that he would realize for the state a certain amount of revenue; if his collections should fall short of that amount he was to be responsible for that deficiency, if they should exceed it the surplus was to go the state. Nothing seems more natural than that a weak, vicious, and ignorant government, finding its revenues annually decrease, should ascribe the decline entirely (whether with justice or not) to the mismanagement and corruption of its officers, and conscious of its own inaptitude for vigorous efforts to correct those sources of the evil, should seek to check it by resorting to an expedient like this. Accordingly, though we cannot assign any precise period

to the commencement of this practice, and have learned that it was not entirely unknown even in the time of Poorniah, it appears certain that it first began to be generally followed, after the revenues had considerably declined under the rule of the Rajah.

192. The amount of annual revenue which the Amildar engaged to realize was generally, if not universally, an increase on what had been obtained the year immediately preceding.

193. It is proper to state that in the written engagement which was taken from the Shurtee Amildars, they bound themselves that they would not in any way oppress the Ryots, and especially that they would not impose on them any arbitrary or unauthorized tax, or compel them to purchase the grain which became the property of Government by division of crops, or exact labour from them without payment of hire, or demand more than the fixed rent, in cases where a money rent was assessed on lands.

194. This precaution however did not prevent the system, according to the evidence of all the witnesses who have been examined regarding it, from operating to the decided disadvantage of all the parties concerned; of the Government, even with respect to the amount of the revenue; of the people, and generally of the Amildars themselves. Some of these officers indeed, finding that their predecessors had embezzled a considerable part of the revenue they had collected, or that through remissness they had omitted to procure payment of sums due to the state, were able to collect more than they had engaged for, and appropriating the surplus to themselves, notwithstanding the reserved right of the state to it, made a considerable profit by their undertaking, either without making undue exactions from the people, or besides the gain of such exactions.

195. But for the most part it would appear the case was different. The new Amildars, it is stated, unable to obtain, by means of the authorized rents and taxes, the revenue they had engaged to realize, had recourse to the imposition of arbitrary assessments, to over-rating the produce of the lands, to forced sales of the government grain at prices above the market rates, and to other means of exacting money from the people. The ryots in consequence became

further impoverished, the revenue more embarrassed; and the Amildars themselves frequently sustained loss. If they were men of property, and without great influence at Court, they were rigidly compelled to make up the deficiencies; but it frequently happened that they either were without the means of doing so, or had interest to save themselves from the necessity.

196. The shurtee system proved in this way exceedingly injurious to the interests both of the government and the people; and its pernicious operation was farther aggravated by a practice which it soon drew after it, that of removing Amildars as often as other persons came forward with offers to realize a larger revenue. This is stated to have been carried to such a length, that if any person made a higher offer even within the year in which the Amildar in possession had entered into his engagement and obtained his appointment, the latter was removed and the office given to the former. The system now evidently involved in its operation all the evils attendant on the letting out the collection of the whole revenues of districts, together with the general civil authority over them, to the highest bidder, exceedingly aggravated by the total uncertainty of the officer how soon he might be stripped of his charge. It was not to be expected from men placed in such circumstances, that they would make any exertions to promote the prosperity of their districts, or practise any caution to avoid trenching on the sources of production. Their leading object naturally was to obtain by every method in their power all the money they could, during their precarious continuance in office; and they were not likely to sacrifice the smallest present gain for the sake of any benefit in prospect how great soever it might be.

197. When public affairs were conducted in this manner, it is not to be wondered at that great discontent with the Government should have arisen among the people. Yet it is necessary, in our opinion, to be cautious in drawing a conclusion with respect to the degree in which the collections actually made by the Tahsildars were oppressive in their amount. The fact of the assembling of the ryots in *cootum*, and their complaining that the taxes were too burthen-

some to be borne, of itself really proves little or nothing upon this point. At the very same time the ryots assembled in the same manner, and made similar complaints, in the Province of Canara, where we understand the public demands have since been found, on full enquiry, to be decidedly moderate, lighter indeed, as they had always been considered, than in any other district subject to the Presidency of Madras. We also understand, and it is a curious coincidence, that those proceedings of the ryots in Canara were instigated by intrigues on the part of public servants, as has been already shown to have been the case in Mysore. We have no doubt that the people of Mysore are generally in far less easy circumstances than they were thirty years ago. But we have strong doubts whether the demands made and enforced on them of late years, for, or in the name of the Government, have been such, in their amount, compared with the means of the people to pay them, as would be considered particularly heavy in the Madras territories. And though many witnesses have stated their belief that the population has greatly decreased, we are very far from being convinced that this is really the case. All indeed that has been said by the witnesses respecting the decay of the country, though we doubt not that there is too much ground for it, ought in our opinion to be received with great caution, as likely to be exaggerated even where it is founded in fact. Besides particular biases which may probably have influenced their evidence, it was liable to be swayed by that general prejudice, natural to all mankind, which tends to make men believe that the world degenerates and decays as themselves grow old, and which requires for its counteraction a greater enlightenment of mind than those persons could be expected to possess.

198. Although we impute the origin of the disturbances to the mis-government of the Rajah, and consider the vices of his rule as of a very aggravated character, it is plain that his case is not an instance of a prince, who, being precluded by a subsidiary treaty from indulging views of political ambition, has addicted himself to the gratification of avarice, and mercilessly oppressed his people by exorbitant exactions of revenue in order to heap up riches for himself.

The faults of his character and his government were of a different kind; and though the ills which they caused to the people were great and grievous, a regard to truth requires us to state, that we doubt whether the disturbances would have broken out when they did, but for the prevalence of the belief to which we have already adverted, of his not being supported by the British Government; and that we think they would have been speedily quelled, had not the family of the Terrikerry Poligars joined in the revolt, and kept them up by means of their personal energy and hereditary influence, and perhaps, most of all, the employment of foreigners (to Mysore) of the military class, who flocked to their standard, chiefly from the Southern Mahratta country, for the sake of pay and plunder, and of occupation congenial to their habits and qualifications. Another circumstance also both encouraged the breaking out of the disturbances in Nugur, and retarded the quelling of them; but it was one which at any juncture would have existed; we allude to the peculiar strength of the country in a military point of view.

199. In illustration of the extent to which the belief prevailed that the Rajah's Government would not be supported by the British troops, we may state the fact that a body of insurgent ryots which had been joined by some Candachar peons, having failed in an attempt to seize the Amildar of Doda Balapoor, and hearing that he had fled to Bangalore, advanced to Yellavunkum, a place within 10 miles of that cantonment; which it can scarcely be imagined they would have presumed to do, had they regarded the British Government as disposed to aid that of the Rajah.

200. But while we profess our belief that a correct understanding on the part of the people, of the engagements into which the British Government had entered by the subsidiary treaty, together with a knowledge that it would fulfil them, might have retained them for a farther period in submission to the Rajah's rule, we by no means wish it to be thought that we consider their misapprehension to be regretted, if the maladministration would in that case have been allowed to go on until the sufferings of the people became more intolerable; as most assuredly it would have done, unless some

authoritative and effective interference would have taken place on the part of the British Government.

201. As some of the witnesses have stated that complaints of the malpractices of the district officers, when due attention could not be obtained to them from the Rajah's Government, were received and inquired into by a former Resident, but that the present Resident would not receive such representations; we think it only an act of justice to Mr. Casamaijor to observe, that in the line of conduct which he pursued in this respect, he seems to have been guided by positive instructions from the superior authority. We cannot, however, here refrain from taking the liberty to remark, that a system which expressly enjoined that "the advice and counsel of the British Government should only be apparent to the public eye when coming directly in aid and support of the Native authorities," and that the representative of that Government should "abstain from the public reception of complaints from the subjects of Mysore, and from the avowed support of those whose grievances might become known to him," appears to us, whatever reasons of policy there might be for adopting it, to have been any thing but calculated to promote the popularity of the British name.

202. We would add that, besides the direct effect of the orders to which we have now alluded, in preventing the interference of the Resident to correct abuses, they must have indirectly influenced the course of public affairs in a very powerful manner. For the Rajah, finding himself in possession of uncontrolled power, would of course be swayed in his conduct by the knowledge of that fact. This would have been the consequence, even if he had acquired that knowledge only by experience; much more when, as we have no doubt was the case, he was informed by some secret means of the orders actually given to the Resident by the Government. It may be true that he also knew the British Government was empowered by treaty to control his acts. But, flattered and left really uncontrolled, as he was, that knowledge was only calculated to make him the less disposed to follow the advice of one who might have been, but was not, invested with authority to make use of that power.

203. Indeed, though it is not stated in evidence, our information leads us to believe, that the present Resident was restrained from interceding for the redress of grievances not only by the tenor of his instructions, but by having observed that the benevolent exertions of his predecessor with that view, though they gained him the affection of the people, often operated to the injury rather than the benefit of the persons in whose behalf they were made, by exciting jealousy and ill will against them, on the part of those who were in power. One of the witnesses has described a case in which persons who complained without avail at the Dewan's Cutcherry, were menaced by being told that they would be imprisoned in irons if they should dare to carry their complaints to the Resident.

204. The dislike to the Brahmins expressed by some of the witnesses, and known to be strongly felt by the greater part of the people in the North-Western part of Mysore, as well as to prevail in a less degree throughout the country, is a fact which we have not overlooked. We regard it as a circumstance which had a considerable influence on the disturbances, but at the same time think that it is itself mainly referrible to that mis-government of which we have already said so much. This caste having engrossed almost all offices of any importance, naturally drew upon themselves that odium which the mal-practises of the public servants was calculated to excite. It is, however, worthy of remark, that in that particular part of the country where this feeling was strongest, it may have been heightened not only by that greater degree of mis-government which, as we before remarked, had place there than elsewhere, but also by an entire difference of religion between this dominant caste and the mass of the inhabitants, who are of the sect denominated lingayets.

205. It only remains for us to advert to the third head of inquiry to which our attention was directed by your Lordship's orders, namely, the consequences by which the insurrection has been attended, as affecting the lives and property of the people, and the general prosperity of the country. The loss of life which took place on several particular occasions has been already taken notice of; but we have not been able to obtain such information as to feel that



we can speak with any degree of precision or certainty respecting the total number of lives that were destroyed; and with regard to the extent of loss of property, our means of judging are still more vague and inconclusive.

206. The only official record of the capital executions which we have obtained is a statement entered in the Dewan's Diary, which exhibits a return of one hundred and sixty-four persons hanged by order of the Rajah, the Dewan, or other functionaries, between the beginning of December 1830, and the end of August 1831. This statement includes the ninety-nine men hanged at Honelly or in its neighbourhood, as well at the other executions which have been mentioned in this report. If, however, credit be given to all the information respecting capital punishments contained in the evidence, oral as well as documentary, to which we have had access, it would seem that the number amounted in that period to upwards of two hundred and forty.

207. With respect to the loss of life in the conflicts between the insurgents and the forces of the Mysore Government, one witness of respectability, Annappah, who was actively employed against the insurgents during the whole continuance of the insurrection, has stated his opinion that they "had seven hundred men killed in the several actions he fought with them." He adds that "he thinks about one hundred and forty of them were hanged." Another witness, Sreenewass Rao, the Commander of a Regiment of Cavalry, has computed "the whole loss of lives on both sides at between five and six hundred men, inclusive of one hundred and twenty or thirty who were hanged."

208. These statements however relate exclusively to what took place in the Province of Nuggur. According to the evidence of two witnesses, there were about two hundred men killed and wounded in an action fought in the Chittledroog Division. One of those witnesses, in an official report of this affair, estimated the killed alone at above two hundred; but in his evidence given before us he includes the wounded in that number. In the Bangalore Division a report was made by Ram Raz, an officer of the Candachars, to the Foujdar,

stating that in an action which his party had fought with four or five thousand rebels, fifty of the latter were killed and two hundred wounded. In his evidence given before us he states that he does not remember how many were killed or wounded on that occasion, and he refers us to his official report. According to the evidence of two of the ryots who were wounded on the occasion, the numbers of killed and wounded were twenty-five of the former and forty-five of the latter. Other skirmishes took place in different parts of the country, in which lives were lost; but our information regarding the particulars is defective.

209. According to Returns from the Sowar and Barr Cutcherries, there were, of the Rajah's Cavalry, thirteen men killed and thirty-four wounded; and of his Infantry [Barr,] (exclusive of an extra corps, expressly raised for this service, but of which no return of casualties has been furnished) twenty-five killed and fifty-nine wounded, in their several conflicts with the insurgents; and the principal officer of the department of the Candachar peons estimates that there were, of them, about fifty killed and about one hundred and thirty wounded.

210. Of the number of persons put to death by the insurgents, besides those whom they killed in action, we have not obtained such information as to be enabled to form any definite opinion, though we have reason to believe that it was considerable. We have already noticed the fact of their having on one occasion hanged twenty Brahmins. Several witnesses have given evidence of their having committed the most shocking atrocities, especially towards the women of those families which were the objects of their enmity or resentment.

211. We will not hazard any opinion as to the amount of the loss sustained in property, having no information from which we could form a judgment on that point. We observe that on the 1st March 1831, the Resident requested the Rajah to furnish him with a statement of the loss of property which had been sustained in Nuggur, from the acts of the insurgent Poligars and their adherents, and that the Rajah in reply stated his intention of calling for the

information requisite for the preparation of such a statement. But it has never been obtained.

212. We find ourselves unable to speak, except in very general terms, of the extent to which the insurrection, besides causing the immediate losses of lives and property which have been adverted to, has affected the prosperity of the country. But when we reflect on the great interruption it occasioned to the pursuits of agriculture and trade; and the diminution it must have caused in the means of carrying them on, and when we further consider that one part of the country, owing chiefly to the continued lawless conduct of some of the members of the Terrikerry family, who bore so important a part in that revolt, is still in a very unsettled state, we cannot but estimate its consequences with respect to the prosperity of the country, (viewed without advertance to any effects which may ensue from the change of government it has led to) as very considerable and very pernicious.

We have the honor to be,

With the greatest respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most obedient

Humble Servants,

(Signed) THOS. HAWKER, MAJOR GENL.

„ W. MORISON.

„ J. M. MACLEOD.

„ M. CUBBON, LIEUT. COL.