

9844

STORY OF SATARA

BY

MAJOR B. D. BASU, I.M.S. (*Retired*).

EDITED BY

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To
THE PEOPLE OF THE DECCAN
in whose midst
I spent some of the happiest days
of my life.

PREFACE.

"It is easy for Englishmen to boast magniloquently that the sun never sets on the dominions of Her Majesty; it is easy for them to turn to the East, and point complacently, as the Directors are in the habit of doing, to their magnificent Empire in India. But Englishmen, whatever they may think, are not the whole world; there are nations of civilized men besides them, and upright men of those many nations who are not Englishmen, will ask, in reply to this boast, how much more of that magnificent Empire has been acquired by the same means as Satara?"

So wrote Rungo Bapoojee in his letter dated July 26, 1852 to the Right Hon. J. C. Herries, M. P., President of the Board of Control, East India Company. The British connection with Satara from the time that Elphinstone intrigued with its Raja when the British went to war with Baji Rao, the last Peishwa, down to its annexation, teems with incidents which would furnish materials for a gifted novelist like Scott or a dramatist like Shakespeare for historical works of art.

Truly did Rungo Bapoojee observe in another part of the letter from which an extract has been made above :

"It has been the fate of this melancholy drama, that every successive Act has been more monstrous than the one preceding; and Englishmen dwelling in England, familiar only with the exercise of power possible in their own country, turn revolted away from the mention of these, declaring their commission impossible; although the literal and authentic proofs of their perpetration in India are officially furnished by the actors themselves and are authenticated by the seal of the E. I. Company."

The policy which led to the annexation of Satara on the ground of so-called failure of lawful heirs, was perhaps the chief cause which brought on the Indian Mutiny of 1857. "The confidence of our Native Allies was a good deal shaken by the annexation of Satara," so said Sir John Low, a member of the Council of the Governor-General of India during the regime of Lord Dalhousie.* Sir Frederick Currie, another member of the Council also said :—

* "When I went to Malwa, in 1850, where I met many old acquaintances, whom I had known when a very young man, and over whom I held no authority, I found these old acquaintances speak out much more distinctly

"The decision in the Satara case, whatever its merits may be, undoubtedly caused surprise and alarm throughout the length and breadth of India."

For nearly two decades the public mind in India as well as England was agitated over the Satara question or rather questions—for the Satara controversy was not confined to one but two distinct questions.

The first question related to the deposal of Raja Pratap Singh on charges which he had never been given any opportunity to answer. He was condemned unheard. It was this illegal deposal which set on foot that strong agitation in England for 8 years which was only closed on his death.

It was the practice with the British servants of the East India Company in India, to pull down and set up "kings" (or rather puppets) in order to fill their pockets with money. They were, therefore, quite unscrupulous in their dealings with the Indian princes and never cared to inquire whether the step they took was just and fair. This perhaps explains why Sir J. R. Carnac who had been expressly commanded by the authorities of the East India Company at home to bury in oblivion all the proceedings against Raja Pratap Singh, did not do so, but tried to force on him a new treaty and grant him conditional pardon. The Raja, very properly, refused his proposal and hence he was dethroned. The new Governor, without consulting the higher authorities, set up another Raja, who, on the very day of his accession, granted *sunnads* of *Jâgirs* to Balaji Punt Natoo and his son-in-law.

The Governor had promised Raja Pratap Singh the restoration of his private property, but this promise was never fulfilled.

as to their opinion of the Satara case ; so much so, that I was, on several occasions, obliged to check them. It is remarkable that every native who ever spoke to me respecting the annexation of Satara, asked precisely the same question : 'What crime did the late Rajah commit that his country should be seized by the Company?' Thus clearly indicating their notion, that if any crime had been committed our act would have been justifiable, and not otherwise." Minute of Colonel Low, Feb. 10, 1854.

Is it not quite apparent from the above facts that it was not only Balaji Punt Natoo who benefited from the deposal of Raja Pratap Singh, but also the British officers, from the Governor downwards, connected with this transaction?

After his death as well as the death of his brother, Appa Saheb, arose that second question, the question of adoption. The echo of the controversy which raged over this question is heard even to this day. The partisans of Lord Dalhousie, especially Scotchmen and Scotch publicists, support the annexation policy of that Governor-General, maintaining that a principality cannot be transferred to an adopted heir, while all sound lawyers and conscientious statesmen are of opinion that adoptions being valid according to Hindoo Law, an adopted heir has every right to inherit the throne of a State.

The history of the Satara Raj, then, is interesting from several points of view. It is the only State of which we possess all the necessary papers and documents from its first alliance with, till its absorption by the British Government. The official "papers respecting the case of the Raja of Sattara" were first "printed in conformity with a resolution of the general Court of Proprietors of East India Stock of the 17th June 1840, By J. L. Cox and Sons, 75, Great Queen Street" London, 1840. *The British Indian Advocate*—which had for its motto "Justice to India—Prosperity to England—Freedom to the Slave"—in noticing the publication, in its issue of June 1, 1841 (p. 42), wrote :—

"It is, in the first place, wholly *ex parte*, presenting only the case of the Indian Government against the Raja of Sattara, with all the array of circumstances, allegations, inferences, and suspicions, tending to his conviction, without any information being afforded how the Raja or his friends explained those circumstances, met those allegations, rebutted those inferences, or attempted to remove those suspicions. In the second place, it is not only *ex parte*, but even the case of the Indian Government against the Raja is not wholly given..... It is sufficient for us to observe that, whatever the explanation that may be offered, the Directors have left to us no other inference than this—that they were not only afraid to present a view of the circumstances and considerations favourable to the Raja's innocence, but even to exhibit the whole of their own case against him, and thus to expose the absurd and contradictory, the insufficient and

tainted evidence, on which it has been made to rest..... It is not the Raja of Sattara who has been placed on his trial by the publication of these papers, but it is the Governors of Bombay, the Governor-General of India, and the Court of Directors of the East India Company, whom we now arraign at the bar of public opinion, on the evidence of their own despatches and minutes, for having violated and trampled under foot every principle and practice of justice and fair dealing in the mode in which the case was investigated and determined, in the nature of the evidence admitted against the Raja, in the proceedings leading to his deposition, in the elevation of the Raja's brother to the throne, in the advantages which the Indian Government has taken care to secure to itself by the change, and in the approval by the controlling authorities in India and in England of all these unjust and disgraceful proceedings and arrangements. This is the real case brought before the public by the Sattara papers, and we deem it morally impossible for any fair-minded man to examine them without arriving at the conclusion we have expressed."

Thanks to the persevering agitation of Rungo Bapoojee, Mr. Joseph Hume, and Mr. George Thompson, all the papers relating to the Satara Raj were ordered to be printed by the Parliament of Great Britain. It is thus that we are in a position to become thoroughly acquainted with the Satara affairs, which unfortunately is denied to us regarding other States. The voluminous Parliamentary papers relating to the Satara Raj throw a curious light on the political transactions of the British with that State which enable us to understand the State policy of the East India Company in a manner that we cannot learn from any history of India written by any Englishman.

But unfortunately the Parliamentary and other papers relating to the Satara Raj are becoming scarcer and scarcer every day and are not easily accessible to the educated public of India. No English historian, on the other hand, has so far treated the Satara affairs in that spirit of impartiality and historical accuracy which their importance demands. We have only to refer to Thomson's History of India and see how he perverted facts, and misrepresented the true state of affairs in order to white-wash the evil deeds of the Indian authorities.

No surprise then need be expressed at the ignorance which prevails almost everywhere regarding the affairs of Satara. It is to remove this ignorance that the present attempt has been made. As the Parliamentary and other documents regarding

the Satara case are not easily accessible, copious extracts have been made from them in the body of the book, instead of merely referring to them in footnotes.

The story of the Satara Raj centres round Pratap Singh and his brother Appa Saheb, who ruled Satara till April, 1848. But this story would not have been so widely known but for the "laborious, untiring conscientiousness" with which Rungo Bapoojee had pushed the suit of his deposed sovereign before the Indian authorities in England. Hence the story of the Satara Raj would not have been complete without mentioning the part which Rungo Bapoojee played in it. It has been thought necessary, therefore, to include him also in this narrative.

How assiduously he worked there for his master is evident from the large number of the publications brought out by him from time to time in vindication of the innocence of the injured Raja Pratap Singh. He availed himself of the best legal advice available in that country and with the help of competent writers published works to interest English politicians, journalists and leaders of public opinion, in the cause of that unfortunate prince. In March 1845, he published "A statement of the case of the deposed Raja of Sattara, taken from the official papers printed by Parliament, and by the Court of Directors of the East India Company, with remarks upon the evidence adduced against him, by W. N. Nicholson, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law." That eminent lawyer wrote to Rungo Bapoojee, as follows:—

"My dear Sir, I have carefully gone through the papers published by Parliament in relation to the case of the ex-Raja of Sattara, and I have no hesitation in expressing my opinion that the evidence contained in those papers is altogether insufficient to justify the conclusion at which the Indian authorities have arrived, namely, that his Highness was guilty of the crimes of which he was accused.

"It is almost unnecessary to add, that whether the Raja be in fact innocent or guilty, his alleged treason can never be considered as proved

until he has had an opportunity of meeting the case raised against him, and has failed in disproving the facts upon which that case rests.

44, Chancery Lane,
February 19th, 1845.

"I am, My dear Sir,
(Signed) W. N. Nicholson."

Rungo Bapoojee addressed the readers of his publication as follows :—

"The following pages have been written at my request, for the purpose of calling attention to the injustice of those proceedings of the Indian authorities which have terminated in the deposal of my sovereign, the ex-Raja of Sattara, and of pointing out some of the numerous contradictions and inconsistencies which exist in the evidence brought forward against him. From the great length of the papers published by Parliament in relation to this case, filling four folio volumes, and the large proportion of irrelevant matter which they contain, it is impossible, without a great expense of time and labour, to become acquainted with the real facts; but it is hoped that a perusal of the following remarks will suffice to convince the reader, that the ex-Raja has not only never been proved guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, but that the very weakness of the case against him affords strong ground for believing him innocent; and that his deposal was an act of the most flagrant injustice and oppression.

"A fair and open investigation of the charges against his Highness, not conducted, as the proceedings have hitherto been, in his absence, and without his knowledge, but allowing him those advantages in preparing his defence which the first principles of justice require that every accused party should enjoy, cannot, I am satisfied, fail in proving his entire innocence of all participation in the alleged treasonable conspiracies against the British Government.

RUNGO BAPOJEE,
Vakeel to H. H. the deposed Raja of Sattara."

9 Blandford Place,
Regents' Park.
February, 1845.

I have before me an original letter written over his signature in Mahrathi (Modi characters) which runs as follows :—

"9, Blandford Place,
Regents' Park,
March 22nd. 1845.

To The Rt. Hon'ble
The Earl of Clare

My Lord,

I beg most respectfully to hand your Lordship an abstract statement of the case of His Highness the deposed Raja of Sattara, my sovereign, and beg to solicit your Lordship's attentive perusal of the same, and that His Highness may receive your aid and support in Parliament, in obtaining an inquiry into his conduct, in order that justice may be awarded him. I shall be glad to hear from your Lordship what day would be most convenient to your Lordship to grant me an interview for a short period.

I have the honour to remain
My Lord,
Your obedient servt.
(Here follows signature in Mahrathi)
Rungo Bapojee,
Vakeel to H. H. The Raja of
Sattara, now at Benares."

There is no record to show that the Earl of Clare acceded to Rango Bapojee's request.

A great deal of important matter has been placed in the Appendices, the perusal of which will convince any unprejudiced person of the innocence of Raja Pratap Singh. It is a significant fact that all those persons who possessed a first hand knowledge of the Raja—the three successive Residents at his Court, viz., Generals Briggs, Robertson and Lodwick, and the Chief Secretary of the Bombay Government, Mr. Charles Norris, bore testimony to the high character of that Prince and considered him incapable of dissimulation or concocting such conspiracies and plots as were imputed to him.

The printed official papers, pamphlets, and magazine and newspaper articles referring to the question of Satara affairs are voluminous and numerous. A few selections from these have been given in the appendices to throw light on the transaction of political affairs in India in the days of John Company. A great deal more of useful materials of historical interest might

have been extracted from those publications, but this would have considerably increased the bulk of the present work. Those who are interested in this question are commended to consult the works mentioned in the Bibliography.

Although I have consulted some of the Marathi records, such as the *Mahârâshtra Kokil* (now defunct), edited by Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis of Satara, whose library was of great help to me in preparing this work, I have not referred to any publication in that language in the Bibliography, for the present work is meant principally for the English-knowing reading public of India. Moreover, a work similar in scope to the present one is in preparation in Marathi by Mr. Keshab Sitaram Thâckeray, the well-known journalist of Bombay.

THE AUTHOR.

CONTENTS.

RAJA PRATAP SINGH OF SATARA.

CHAPTER I.

Col. Tod made the English-knowing world acquainted with the name of Pratap Singh of Mewar, but in the absence of an historian like Col. Tod the name of Pratap Singh of Satara is left in obscurity. Sumbajee and Raja Ram, two sons of Shivaji, founded the houses of Satara and Kolhapur. The wrecking of the Maratha Empire through the incapacity and lunacy of Shahoo prevented only by wresting of sovereign power by the Peishwa. The accusation against the Peishwas of depriving the sovereigns of their power and dignity is baseless. There was no one among the descendants of Shivaji who could have preserved the Maratha Empire. The Peishwas were really the saviours of Shivaji's Kingdom. The Peishwas compare favourably with Cromwell, who is so much praised by the English historians for the part he played at a critical time in English History. The Peishwas exercised delegated powers and did not murder or imprison their sovereigns. The decline of Maratha Empire only began when Raghoonath Rao commenced his intrigues with the English. The Satara line was carried on by adoption till Abba Sahib ascended the throne, who had three sons, including the hero of this book. The English supremacy in the Maratha Empire was established during Baji Rao's time. The Peishwa was actually made a prisoner in the hands of the English. He at last revolted against the systematic ill treatment of the English. The real cause of war between the Peishwa and the English is to be found in a Maratha chronicle called *bukhar* or "historical sketch," translated into English by Dr. Milne. The statements contained in this "Historical Sketch" were never refuted, but

its author Bulwant Rao Chitnavis was cruelly treated by the Bombay Government. Baji Rao, the Peishwa, was goaded to violate the Treaty of Bassin and thus furnished a cause of war. Balaji Punt Natoo acted as Elphinstone's informant. Elphinstone only followed in the footsteps of Marquess Wellesley in whose school of Machiavellian diplomacy and politics he was brought up. Pp. 1—9.

CHAPTER II.

Mr. De Woolmar's statement of the Raja of Satara's case as printed in the Parliamentary Papers goes to reveal the promises made by Mr. Elphinstone to the Raja of which not one was kept. Sir R. Grant's minute also shows the treachery of Mr. Elphinstone to the Satara Raja. It is significant that Mr. Elphinstone never refuted the accusations made against him in the "Historical Sketch", though in a position to do so. Sir R. Grant's defence by citing Balaji Punt Natoo in evidence is nothing, as he was Elphinstone's tool in this affair. Bulwant Rao Mulhar Chitnavis wrote his Historical Sketch from personal knowledge. The British only made a show of conquering Satara. Pp. 10—19.

CHAPTER III.

The account of capture of Satara as given in "Fifteen years in India" shows that the *Killedar* did not make any resolute defence of the fort, or he might have laughed at the efforts of General Smith for its reduction. The queen mother was an intelligent, sprightly and fair woman. Her sons, the Raja of Satara and his brother, were of small stature, dark complexion and vulgar aspect. Marquess of Hastings's Journal also discloses that the Fort of Satara was taken after two hours' bombardment. It also professes that the taking of the Fort was undertaken to free the Raja of Satara from the clutches of the Peishwa. Pp. 20—23.

CHAPTER IV.

The distance of time between the reduction of Fort of Satara in February 1818 and the conclusion of treaty in September 1819 is a proof of Elphinstone's treachery. Though there is no mention in the official documents as to how the Raja was duped by Mr. Elphinstone yet some of the letters of Elphinstone leave very little room for doubt that the Raja and his mother were made to believe that whole of the Peishwa's territory would be handed over to them. Mr. Elphinstone's letter of instruction to Captain James Grant-Duff of 8th April 1818 discloses the duplicity practised towards the Raja. Balajee Punt Natoo was engaged to settle those points with the Raja and his mother which Grant Duff could not settle himself. After a probation of a year and a half, when Baji Rao was no longer in the field, when the Raja was quite helpless and at the mercy of the English, a treaty was dictated by the English on their own terms. The Raja had no other alternative than to submit to the dictation of the stronger party. Pp. 24—31.

CHAPTER V.

The treaty between the Raja and the British Government. The treaty of 1819 put certain Jagirdars under the sovereignty of the Raja. Dispute between the Raja and the Bombay Government on the interpretation of the Treaty on Raja's appeal to the Court of Directors. The Raja's rights were recognised but unfortunately this decision was not communicated to him. Pp. 32—45.

CHAPTER VI.

The Raja's administration of his dominion extorted praise of even the most fastidious critics. Mr. Elphinstone's letters of 1822 and 1826 to his friends testify to the able administration

of his state by the Raja of Satara. Col. Pringle Taylor spoke highly of the Raja, whom he knew very intimately ; even the close-fisted directors of the East India Company purchased a costly jewelled sword for presenting to the Raja as a tribute to his good Government. The Raja who was a bit of a reformer brought trouble on himself by his interference with certain vested rights of the Brahmins. In these rights the Brahmins were challenged by the Prabhu Kayasthas, the caste to which Pratap Singh's hereditary secretary belonged. The Raja encouraged his Prabhu Secretary and the Brahmins, it is said, were persecuted. The Raja considered himself a Kshatriya and as such he offended the Brahmins by arrogating to himself and his favourite Balwant Rao Chitnavees the duties and functions of twice-born persons. The origin of the conspiracy against the Raja of Satara is well described by a correspondent signing himself as "Zeta" in the *British Friend of India Magazine* for December 1845. It gives in chronological sequence how the conspiracy of the Brahmins led by Balaji Punt Natoo developed from 1813 to 1828. Pp. 46—56.

CHAPTER VII.

The Raja's troubles begin with the departure of Lord Clare and the appointment of Sir Robert Grant as Governor of Bombay. He was the younger son of Mr. Charles Grant whom a Christian publicist, the late Dr. John Murdoch of Madras, called "the Christian Director of the East India Company." Sir Robert Grant as a pious Christian considered it a meritorious act to deceive the Raja by falsehoods and specious promises by keeping the decision of the Court of Directors in his pocket and making a false promise that the Raja's claims would be submitted to that Court. The Raja's visit not returned by him. The Raja's intention to send an agent to England to represent his case seemed to have alarmed the Governor and his colleagues, who were determined to ruin him and to effect this, the services of Balaji Punt Natoo were requisitioned. General Briggs' opinion quoted. Pp. 57—63.

CHAPTER VIII.

Colonel Lodwick was the Resident at Satara when Natoo informed him of the Raja's alleged treasonable proceedings in tampering with the fidelity of certain native officers and men of the 23rd Bombay Native Infantry. Without himself inquiring into the matter he communicated to the Bombay Government the above information in a letter dated Satara, 20th June, 1836. On the 15th September 1836, that Government wrote to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company a letter calculated to prejudice the minds of the Directors against the Raja. A reign of terror was established in Satara and a Secret Commission was appointed to investigate the so-called conspiracy on the part of the Raja. The members of the Commission were Colonel Lodwick, Mr. Willoughby and Lieut.-Col. Ovans. A general outline of the case against the Raja. None of the Commissioners had any legal training or knew even the elements of law. The manner in which the Commissioners conducted their proceedings was highly reprehensible. The witnesses were not subjected to any searching cross-examination. The Raja was denied the right of having an agent present during the examination of the witnesses against him and was also refused copies of their depositions. The Commission sat for twenty-one days from 12th October to 4th November 1836. The causes of the decline of Colonel Lodwick's influence over the Raja. Sir Robert Grant determined to remove him from the Residency at Satara, because he did not act on the proposal of that Governor to decoy and entrap the Raja. Colonel Lodwick removed and Lieut.-Colonel Ovans appointed as his successor at the Satara Presidency. Pp. 64—84.

CHAPTER IX.

The appointment of Col. Ovans was most objectionable from every point of view. What Col. Lodwick wrote to Mr. J. C. Melvill, in his letter of December 1837, on the subject.

Sir Robert Grant was a perfect hypocrite and in appointing Colonel Ovans he had ulterior designs on the Satara Raj. The first act of Col. Ovans at Satara was to instruct his staff officer, Captain Durack, to suborn an obscure individual by name of Bhow Leley whom he had never seen and actually authorized the payment of money to him in advance and gave him a written promise of future reward to obtain evidence for the purpose of incriminating the Raja. Pp. 85—90.

CHAPTER X.

The Raja's Dewan Govind Row whom Colonel Lodwick had imprisoned was removed without trial, from Satara to Poona. Col. Ovans proposed that he should be removed from Poona to Ahmednagar, where he was kept in solitary confinement. The brutal manner in which he was treated by the Bombay Government was thoroughly exposed by Mr. George Thompson in a speech which has been given *in extenso* in Appendix D. Pp. 91—92.

CHAPTER XI.

Although the Secret Commission had promised to furnish the Raja with copies of the evidence, yet Col. Ovans withheld these documents from the Raja, his excuse being that the Commission was a secret one! After his appointment as Resident, he trumped up two other charges against the Raja, *viz.*, that he had conspired with the Portugese Viceroy of Goa ; and that he had also intrigued with the ex-Raja of Nagpore and tried to call in the aid of the Russians and the Turks for the expulsion of the English from India. What Col. Ovans did in obtaining information to criminate the Raja. Pp. 93—95.

CHAPTER XII.

The Raja knowing that there was no prospect and hope of his obtaining any justice at the hands of the authorities at Bombay, tried to represent his case to the Governor-General at Calcutta and the Directors of the East India Company in England. In Bombay, Dr. Milne, Captain Cogan and Mr. Macdonald were convinced of his innocence. Dr. Milne wrote several letters to the Governments of Bombay and India, but no attention was paid to them. The duly accredited agents of the Raja sent to England were four. Of these, Syed Meer was sent in 1838 and arrived in England in December of that year. His deputation gave great offence to the Indian authorities both in England and in India, who justified the ill-treatment of the Raja on the appointment of Syed Meer as his agent. Syed Meer's explanation of his failure to do anything for the Raja in England. The agents sent by the Raja to England were very cruelly treated by the Bombay authorities. This was exposed by Rungo Bapoji in a statement printed among the Parliamentary Papers relating to the Raja of Satara. Pp. 96—107.

CHAPTER XIII.

The minutes of Sir Robert Grant consisting of some 560 paragraphs throw curious sidelight on the Satara conspiracy and bring to view the hidden motives which prompted the British officials to get the Raja into trouble and thus effect his ruin. Reasons for connecting Sir Robert Grant and Colonel Ovens in forging the documents in the alleged Goa Conspiracy case. The Raja was to be punished, because his agents used to style him *Hindoo-pud-padshaha* or King of the Hindoos. His offence was somewhat similar to that of Christ, who was called the King of the Jews. Sir Robert Grant was ambitious to be raised to the peerage under the title of "Earl of Satara." He died at Dapuri on 9th July 1838. The "Dapuri Ghost" believed to be his. Pp. 108—122.

CHAPTER XIV.

Sir James Rivett-Carnac succeeded Sir Robert Grant. His antecedents. He was charged by the Court of Directors to assure the Raja of their anxious wish that matters should be restored to their ancient state of amity and good-will and was instructed to bury in oblivion all that had passed. But he did not do so. He was not a strong-minded or honest man. He went to Satara and had three interviews with the Raja and asked him to plead guilty to the charges preferred against him, which the Raja indignantly refused to do. Hence Raja Pratap Singh was dethroned on the 15th September 1839, and his brother placed on the Satara throne. Sir J. Rivett Carnac was guilty of an illegal act in deposing the Raja. Pp. 123—132.

CHAPTER XV.

Raja Pratap Singh was made captive by Colonel Ovens with the assistance of Appa Sahib in the dead of night: described by a British officer who took part in this affair in a letter to Sir Charles Forbes who read it at a meeting of the special court of Proprietors held on the 12th February 1840. Carried in a palanquin in which was also placed the Senaputty, who jumped out of it and walked bare-footed seven miles up to Neemb. Appendix N. p. 525.

Appa Sahib was elevated to the throne of Satara because he was a man of low morals and weak character and was a mere puppet in the hands of the unprincipled and unscrupulous Resident. Regarding his conduct, and character, the intrigues of the Christian Resident and Balaji Punt Natoo with him, and his coronation, see Appendix M.

After deposal, Raja Pratap Singh was kept at Neemb, a village seven miles from Satara and then exiled and kept a prisoner at Benares with a monthly allowance of Rupees ten thousand for his maintenance. His private property was not restored to him although he was assured of this at the time of his deposal. He set out with his family under the political

charge of Lieutenant Christall on the 7th of December 1839 and arrived at Benares on the 25th March 1840. Lieut. Christall's brutal conduct towards the Senapati, which killed him, and towards the latter's wife, who was *enciante*. The Court of Directors censured his conduct. The Raja was unable to remit money regularly to his agents in England ; hence they were reduced to great straits and borrowed money from their English acquaintances. They appealed to the Court of Directors for help, which was refused. They appealed again to the Court for assistance, saying at the same time that they would be reluctantly compelled to throw themselves upon the chief magistrate of London, should they not before that time be arrested for debt. This threat had the desired effect ; they were provided with money and they left England on 1st July 1841. But Rungo Bapoji proceeded as far as Malta and returned to England towards the beginning of 1842. The agents in England secured the services of Mr. George Thompson to expose the wrongs inflicted on the Raja by the Indian Government ; and also the sympathy of *The British Indian Advocate*. Pp. 133-142.

CHAPTER XVI.

On his return to England, Rungo Bapojee wrote on 24th January 1842, a letter to the Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, which is reproduced *in extenso*. But the Secretary of the Company, Mr. James C. Melvill, brother-in-law of the notorious Resident, Colonel Ovens, was commanded to write that the Court could not "in any way recognise" Rungo Bapojee "as an agent of the ex-Raja of Satara." In a rejoinder, Rungo Bapojee thoroughly exposed the hypocrisy of the Court of Directors. Rungo Bapojee was untiring in his exertions for getting justice done to the Raja. It was principally at the Raja's expense that Mr. George Thompson came out to India in 1843. His visit to India described in Appendix E. Rungo Bapojee made Mr. Joseph Hume take interest in the Raja's case, by whose

exertions, the papers relating to the Raja were published. On the strength of these papers, the Raja wrote his celebrated letter to Sir Henry Hardinge, the then Governor-General of India. Pp. 143—150.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Raja's letter to the Governor-General of India is a master-piece of defence. The concluding paragraphs of this letter reproduced. The Governor-General finding it impossible to reply to the Raja's letter without acknowledging the discreditable and dishonest part played by his co-religionists and compatriots towards that heathen prince adopted the policy of conspiracy of silence. The letter dated 12th December, 1844 was not forwarded to the authorities in England till the 8th December 1847, that is, two months after the death of the Raja and after the letter having been especially called for by the Court of Directors. About September 1845, when Lord Hardinge visited Benares, the Raja urged his keeper, Major Carpenter, solicit an audience with the Governor-General. Lord Hardinge instructed his agent to sound the Raja if he would accept certain terms, which of course he did not. At a meeting of the Court of Directors, Mr. Thompson read a document which created great sensation and which was forwarded to Lord Hardinge for explanation. He passed it on to Major Carpenter for report. That officer had the courage and honesty to declare his opinion as to the absolute innocence of the Raja. For the declaration of his honest opinion, Major Carpenter was reprimanded. Pp. 151—159.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The publication of the Satara papers showed the vile deeds of the notorious Col. Ovens. Mr. George Thompson framed charges against that officer and appeared at the India

House to impeach him. He demanded that inquiries should be made into the charges brought against Col. Ovans and his adviser Balajee Punt Nattoo. On the 17th December 1845, before the General Quarterly Court of East India Proprietors, Mr. Thompson preferred his grave charges against Col. Ovans. His speech is given in full in Appendix D. It was to be expected that Col. Ovans would prosecute Mr. George Thompson for defamation. But he did not do anything of the sort. Some of the poems which appeared in certain periodicals regarding Col. Ovans reproduced. Pp. 160-167.

CHAPTER XIX.

On 23rd September 1846, Mr. George Thompson impeached the Directors of the East India Company in a powerful speech at the India House. This speech is reproduced in Appendix F. Pp. 168-169.

CHAPTER XX.

Mr. George Thompson and Rungo Bapojee decided on appealing to the British public. A series of meetings were commenced after the prorogation of the British Parliament in August 1846.

The case of the ex-Raja of Satara had been several times brought before Parliament; but absorbing topics of domestic interest prevented the full discussion of the question. In a letter dated 11th November 1847 addressed to the President of the India Board, Rungo Bapojee narrated the ill-treatment he had systematically received at the hands of the Indian authorities, and also the fact of their not recognizing him as the Raja's agent. Pp. 170-179.

CHAPTER XXI.

Raja Pratap Singh died at Benares on the 14th October 1847. His last letter to the Governor-General a day previous to his death protesting his innocence. His death was hailed with delight by all his persecutors. The name and memory of that Raja should be widely known and revered by all Indians, for the idea of constitutional agitation was imparted to the people of this country at his expense. Again it was at his expense that the agitation was set on foot which had for its object to bring to the notice of the British people the manner in which the princes and people of India were governed. Rungo Bapojee was the first Indian agitator in England. But the greatest of all services he rendered to India was the full and thorough exposure of the mis-government of India by the Company, to which should be ascribed the final abolition of the Company. Pp. 180-188.

THE LAST DAYS OF THE SATARA RAJ.

CHAPTER I.

Raja Appa Saheb ruled at Satara for nearly nine years. The administration of the affairs of the State were left to the Resident Col. Ovens and Balaji Punt Natoo. A new treaty forced on him which in all respects was exactly the same as that of 1819 except that the Jaghirs were now placed directly under the Bombay Government. The so-called improvements and reforms in the Satara State are detailed in the Parliamentary Paper relating to Satara for the year 1849. An abstract from these is reproduced from the Memorial of Her Highness Rani Saguna Bai Saheb to Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, submitted in 1874. Pp. 189-216.

CHAPTER II.

Although under the administration of Col. Ovans and Balaji Punt Natoo, Satara presented the aspects of prosperity which outsiders easily mistook as indicating its good government, yet the people were oppressed and harrassed in a manner which they had no experience of before. This was exposed in the petition of Krishnaji Sadashiva Bhiday who demanded an enquiry into the grave charges he had preferred against Col. Ovans and Balajipunt Natoo. But no inquiry was instituted. The Raja, however, dismissed Balaji Punt Natoo from his service. Pp. 217-226.

CHAPTER III.

Raja Appa Sahib died on the 5th April 1848. But a few hours before his death, he had adopted a son. The Resident was not present, but the Civil Surgeon, Dr. Murray, was present at the ceremony of adoption. The Raja died under the belief that all his wishes and intentions would be given effect to by the British Government, but that Government decided on the annexation of Satara. The President of the Board of Control, Sir John Hobhouse, wrote to the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, to annex Satara. Sir William Lee-Warner in his life of Dalhousie has published Hobhouse's letter. The annexation of Satara forms an important land mark in the History of British India, as it was the principal cause of the Indian Mutiny. Pp. 227-235.

RUNGO BAPOJI.

CHAPTER I.

Inseparably connected with the dynasty of Sivaji stood the family of Rungo Bapoji. The circumstances under which he was chosen the agent of the Raja, to represent his case

before the authorities of the East India Company in England. He sailed for England on the 12th September 1839 and arrived there towards the end of that year. The Company did not recognize him and his colleagues as the Raja's agents. The agents were reduced to great straits and solicited the help of the Company, which the Company refused. Sir Charles Forbes advanced money to the Muhammadan agent of the Raja which enabled him to secure a passage to India. The Company, however, thought it expedient to grant money to the Raja's agents to enable them to leave England, as they were making scathing exposure of the misdeeds of the Indian governments. The agents left England in the beginning of July 1841. But Rungo Bapojee broke his journey at Malta and waited there for further instructions from the Raja Pratap Singh. He was ordered to return to England, and the Raja to maintain him there borrowed money from some one of his old bankers. Rungo Bapojee returned to England early in 1842 and brought with him a letter which the ex-Raja had addressed to the Court of Directors and commanded him to deliver it to them. The Court did not recognize him as the Raja's agent. But Rungo Bapojee did not cease to ventilate the wrongs inflicted on the Raja. His exposure was not palatable to the despots then ruling India. The Bombay Government in their letter of 30th September 1842 referred to the "prejudicial effects, in unsettling the minds of the native population, and creating a distrust of the justice and consistency of our measures." If anything brought the East India Company into disgrace and precipitated its downfall, it was the ignominious part they played throughout in the case of the Raja of Satara. Pp. 236-261.

CHAPTER II.

Rungo Bapojee's stay in England was not a bed of roses for him. His statement at a Special General Court of Proprietors of East India Stock, on the 26th May 1847.

The ex-Raja's death did not damp or cool the ardour with which Rungo Bapoojee was advocating his cause in England. Pp. 262-267.

CHAPTER III.

During the life-time of the Raja, Rungo Bapojee was paid a salary of 2,000 Rupees a month to carry on agitation in England. After the Raja's death, this allowance was reduced to one thousand, and then altogether stopped, and he was desired to return to India. But he remained in England for about six years after the Raja's death. Both Raja Pratap Singh and his brother Appa Saheb had adopted a son each, but the Indian Government did not recognize the adoptions. The State of Satara was annexed under the pretext that an adopted heir had no right of succession—a policy which was secretly laid down by a conclave of whig ministers and magnates at Lord Lansdowne's place, Bowood, during the time of Lord Auckland's tenure of office as Governor-General of India. The Governor of Bombay was fully acquainted with the policy when he was dethroning Raja Pratap Singh and setting up his brother in his place. So Sir J. R. Carnac was guilty of hypocrisy, dishonesty, and perfidy when he was solemnly assuring the new Raja of "perpetual alliance," "heirs" and "successors." The explanation of no protest being made by the widows of Appa Sahib against the annexation of Satara, or no effort to get the adopted boy recognized, is given in the Memorial to Her Majesty the Queen Victoria from Her Highness Saguna Bai Saheb Rani of Satara. Raja Pratap Singh had adopted the son of his cousin, the Senaputtee, in 1845 and informed the authorities of the adoption he had made. He also delivered his will into the hands of Major Carpenter who forwarded it to the higher authorities who raised no objection against the adoption or the will. So Raja Pratap Singh died under the belief that after his death his adopted son would be recognized by the British Government. But after his death, his adopted son and widow received most disgraceful treatment at the hands of that Government. Stipends allowed to the Rani and the adopted son of the ex-Raja, which they refused to accept. The evil genius of the Satara State, that scoundrel Balajee Punt Natoo, made his appearance in Benares and induced the Rani to employ him as her agent to negotiate terms

with the Indian Government. She was made to renounce all rights to the raj of Satara and abandon the use of the designation and all marks of sovereignty. The widowed Rani had to submit to the harsh terms dictated to her by the unfeeling Governor-General. Thus ended in India the Satara Raj controversy. But in England, Rungo Bapojee did not cease urging the claims of his late master and his rightful heir. The services of Mr. George Thompson had to be dispensed with, as there were no means to remunerate him for the same. But other English friends of the late ex-Raja, such as Messrs. John Sullivan and Joseph Hume, did not desert his cause. Pp. 268-298.

CHAPTER IV.

What Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Hume wrote on the annexation of Satara. Rungo Bapojee's letter to the Chairman and Court of Directors of the East India Company under the heading "Treatment of the Ranee, captive widow, and infant son of the ex-Raja of Satara by the Government of India and the Directors of the East India Company". Rungo Bapojee petitioned every conceivable person in power against the monstrous injustice perpetrated by the authorities of the East India Company by annexing Satara. But all in vain. Pp. 299-336.

CHAPTER V.

Rungo Bapojee's stay in England for fourteen years was of no personal advantage to him, for he suffered both in health and wealth. From want of funds, he could no longer prolong his stay there. He applied several times to the India House for advancing him a loan to liquidate his debts and pay his passage to India. At length the East India Company gave him £2,500 and a free passage. On the eve of his departure from England, he was presented with a silver plate by his English friends and admirers. Pp. 337-340.

CHAPTER VI.

The end of Rungo Bapojee as described in the Satara Gazetteer. Reasons why it is difficult to place implicit faith in the official account. There were many British officers who were thirsting for his blood. He was not to be found, and so his son and another near relative were executed. Pp. 341-346.

APPENDIX A.

DR. MILNE'S LETTER TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

Historical sketch of Balla Sahib Chitnees, of the Satara Government. Pp. 347-374.

APPENDIX B.

Dr. Milne's letter to Lord Auckland. Pp. 375-380.

APPENDIX C.

General John Briggs on the Satara Raja's case. Pp. 381-408.

APPENDIX D.

Impeachment of Col. Ovans by Mr. George Thompson on the 17th December 1845 before the General Quarterly Court of East India Proprietors. Pp. 409-442.

APPENDIX E.

Mr. George Thompson's visit to India in 1843, as described by *The British Friend of India Magazine* for May 1844 and Dr. Bholana'h Chunder in the *Calcutta University Magazine* for November, 1895. Pp. 443-456.

APPENDIX F.

Mr. George Thompson's condemnation of the conduct of the Court of Directors in a speech delivered at a General Quarterly Court of Proprietors of India Stock held in the Company's house, Leadenhall Street, on Wednesday, September 23, 1846. Pp. 457-483.

APPENDIX G.

Mr. T. H. Baber, who was Commissioner in the Southern Mahratta Country, Bombay establishment, wrote a letter on the 26th March 1843 to Rungo Bapojee in which he referred to the correspondence he had with the Board of Control and the Court of Directors of the East India Company showing the wicked attempt made by the Bombay Government to implicate him in the supposed intrigues carrying on at Satara. Pp. 484-489.

APPENDIX H.

The *Calcutta Review* on the Satara Raja's case. Revd. Dr. Mitchell was a Christian missionary in the Bombay Presidency. He was a native of Scotland and naturally bent towards those of his compatriots who caused the ruin of Raja Pratap Singh. Pp. 490-495.

APPENDIX I.

Lord Dalhousie's Minute dated 30th August 1848 ordering the annexation of Satara to the Government of the East India Company. Pp. 496-505.

APPENDIX J.

THE SEALS OF THE SATARA KINGDOM.

This important paper by Dr. Codrington appeared in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1883. The value of this paper will be appreciated when it is

remembered that Colonel Ovans and other enemies of Raja Pratap Singh carried on their conspiracy against him with forged seals. Pp. 506-512.

APPENDIX K.

THE FORGED SEALS OF THE SATARA KINGDOM.

The impressions of original and forged seals are given in the Appendix to show how the latter differ from the former. This Appendix is based on "A Statement of the case of the deposed Raja of Sattara taken from the official papers printed by Parliament, and by the Court of Directors of the East India Company, with remarks upon the evidence adduced against him by W. N. Nicholson, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law. London: Printed by G. Norman, Maiden Lane, Covent Garden, March, 1845." Pp. 513-514.

APPENDIX L.

MR. CHARLES NORRIS ON THE DEPOSED RAJA OF SATARA.

Mr. Charles Norris was Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay. His speech on the deposed Raja of Sattara in the General Court of Proprietors of East India Stock, on the 29th July, 1842 was an able defence of the Raja. He died shortly after the delivery of his speech. It was published in pamphlet form by Fisher, Son & Co., Newgate Street, London. In this speech, Mr. Norris mentioned the enemies of the Raja, and exposed the worthless nature of evidence brought against him. Pp. 515-518.

APPENDIX M.

APPA SAHIB.

In this Appendix are given an account of the conduct and character of Appa Sahib, the intrigues of Colonel Ovans, Balaji Punt Natoo and others with him ; and his coronation. Extracts are given from books noted in it. Pp. 519-523.

APPENDIX N.

THE CHRISTIAN ENEMIES OF RAJA
PRATAP SINGH.

Mr. Charles Norris mentioned the Raja's brother Appa Sahib, Balajee Punt Natoo and the Brahmins generally as the Raja's enemies. He should have included in that category, his Christian countrymen as well, like Sir Robert Grant, Willoughby, Colonel Ovans and the majority of the Directors of the East India Company. The Raja was deposed in the beginning of September 1839. He was taken a prisoner to Benares, which he reached on the 25th March 1840. February 1840. The Court of Proprietors of the East India Company met on the urgent requisition of twelve Proprietors to consider the case of the deposed Raja. But it was evident from the voting that the Directors were his enemies. Pp. 524—540.

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* From "A statement of the case of the deposed Raja of Sattara taken from the official papers printed by Parliament, and by the Court of Directors of the East India Company, with remarks upon the evidence adduced against him, by W. N. Nicholson, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law."

APPENDIX A.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

To *J. P. Willoughby, Esq.* Secretary to Government,
Bombay.

Bombay, 15 January 1838.

Sir,

In continuation of the case of the Sattara authorities, and in explanation of the course pursued towards them, I have the honour of enclosing another communication to the address of the Secretary of the Right honourable the Governor-general of India, which I request may be forwarded, as directed, to its destination through the channel of this Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) *J. Milne, M.D.*, late President M. B.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

To *W. H. Macnaghten, Esq.* Secretary to the Right honourable the Governor-general of India, on route to Simlah.

Bombay, 15 January 1838.

Sir,

1. In the letters of the 4th and 20th November last, which I had the honour of addressing to you, relative to the affairs of the Sattara state, for the information of the Right honourable the Governor-general of India, reference was made to the circumstances of the case of the Chitnees, still in confinement at Poonah, an officer of the highest merit, and a man universally respected, and the accompaniments respectively transmitted with these letters have, I trust, afforded ample testimony to the fidelity, zeal, judgment, and intelligence of that able public servant.

2. But the former arduous exertions of the Chitnees, which seem to be now unknown to, or forgotten by this Government, are marked with a peculiarly important and prominent

character, inasmuch as he greatly contributed to lay the foundation of the future tranquility of this country, and acted a very prominent part at a most delicate and confidential crisis, which, while it exposed him to great danger, established at once the ascendancy of the British Government in the Deccan, and enabled that Government to pursue, in its subsequent conduct, that course of policy which at once reconciled a large and influential body of turbulent chiefs to a change which they saw materially affected their condition and their future prospects.

3. It is therefore to be inferred, and as already shown, that the present Government of Bombay, and the agent they have employed at Sattara, possessed (as explained in my letter of 20th November, pars. 2, 3, 4, and 5, here quoted in the margin),* no information that could enable them to appreciate

* Extract of a Letter of the 20th November 1837, par. 2. The circumstances explained in that letter, 4th November, and the evidence herewith adduced, will, I trust, satisfy his Lordship's mind, that no improper conduct could, in justice, be ascribed to that intelligent officer (the Chitnees), nor would such impression have been for a moment entertained, had the late Resident, who knew what the established usages of the country were, remained in his situation. He (that Resident) had the benefit of five years' experience, and had also obtained from his predecessor, Colonel Robertson, a knowledge of the sentiments impressed on his mind towards the Raja of Sattara and his officers, which, as he (Colonel Robertson) expressed them to me, amounted to a degree of affectionate attachment. He (the Resident) therefore possessed every advantage in enabling him to form a correct judgment of those of that court, and their disposition towards the British Government, thus presenting a wide contrast in point of knowledge to what may have dictated the measures pursued by the present acting agent when he so inconsiderately entered on his course of violent, offensive, and generally alarming proceedings, disregarding the experience and knowledge of his predecessor, defeating the real ends of justice, (as no evidence obtained by intimidation can be relied on), and, as the Raja has observed, acting in violation of the very rules and laws which we ourselves had established and hitherto respected, regardless of the rank and character of the parties he wished to influence, and even of female domestic privacy; thus producing such a degree of alarm in the public mind as led the people to doubt whether the English Government, which had always until of late conducted affairs to the general satisfaction, was any longer to observe either forms, rules, or treaties.

the high merits, fidelity, and honour of the Chitnees, and of those men, whose sovereign, without a hearing, and in breach of an existing treaty, they have branded as an enemy of the public peace, and devoid of all faith and reliance.

where its own views and expedients were concerned ; and I have again extracted a part of No. 1, Art 3, which accompanied my last letter of the 4th instant, that his Lordship may again more immediately and distinctly perceive the distress of the Raja's mind, and the impression also on the minds of the people of Sattara, by the violence of the course pursued.

3. But when this acting agent was questioned by the Raja as to the unprecedented course he had taken towards a respectable family, he pleaded the nature of the orders he had received. "What am I to do? I am directed to do what I have done already"; which would imply that these orders had been given him by this government; and such proceedings must have emanated from some source evidently not an official one, as the late Resident denied the existence of any cause of complaint against the Raja or his officers. It therefore becomes a question which it is important should be solved for the information of His Lordship in Council, as throwing essential light on the generally alarming conduct of this government, and to ascertain whence the sources of its proceedings and acts towards the Sattara state have originated, because his Lordship in Council has here presented to him this acting agent thus reduced, by his own avowal, and in the estimation of the prince and people of that country, from the benignant, honourable, and dignified rank of a British representative, exercising a clear and impartial judgment, and correct and perfect intelligence on all points, to the wretched condition (as stated in No. 3, Art 2, Letter 4th instant November) of associating himself with, or being rendered the instrument of a vicious and intriguing Bramin, stained with falsehood, and charged with a felonious attempt to ruin a highly respectable public officer, for the treacherous and treasonable purpose of subverting the authority of the Raja, and destroying the government of the Sattara State ; and his Lordship in Council will view with regret that this Government should be found leagued and directing (as stated above by the Acting Resident) the violent and oppressive acts of such agents.

4. The Raja, however, notices the control and active interference of two people (Ballages Punt Natoo and Ballages Punt Kebay) in connexion with or under the auspices of the acting agent, but more especially of Ballages Punt Natoo, who holding no official situation, it almost becomes evident he is the person to whom the Bombay Government has been induced to listen, in total disregard of the opinion and experience of the late Resident, thus incurring an awful responsibility in receiving information from such a source, which I have shown in my last address to be stained with falsehood and perfidy ; and thus outraging all law, all regard for

4. The Chitnees, however, as the accompanying historical sketch will show his Lordship the Right honourable the Governor-general, is a man who has eminently promoted the interests of both British and Sattara Governments, and who, from office, is the medium of conducting the whole of the correspondence and detail of the Sattara affairs, resembling our own chief secretary, but he possesses no responsibility as a member of government, and his former functions, as a negotiator, terminated on the establishment of the Rajah's authority. As well might the Government of Bombay cast the odium of any faulty measure on the secretary in whose department it had occurred, as charge the Chitnees with a want of fidelity in the conduct of his duties. But in requesting the attention of his Lordship the Right honourable the Governor-general to the accompanying historical sketch, he will see a steadiness of principle, and an adherence to stipulated engagement, in every instance where the Chitnees was concerned or was consulted, which will, I trust, at once stamp the character of that faithful and highly-esteemed officer, and exonerate him in his Lord-

rank and character, and setting established authority (that of the Raja, the head of the state) at naught. It is, therefore, of the highest moment that his Lordship in Council should be clearly informed whether the motives which have impelled this man, Ballajee Pant Natoo, to resume on the present occasion his hostility to the Raja of Sattara, is not the gratification of his deadly enmity both to that prince who dismissed him from his service, and to the Chitnees and his caste who had formerly checked him and his Bramins in their career of intolerance and mischief, as stated in the copy of the Memorial of the Chitnees, No. 2, Art. 6, herewith transmitted. The Chitnees, seeing his old enemy abroad, anticipated, as in a bird of evil omen, that he might ere long be assailed by him, and perhaps be precluded from placing the important circumstances of his case on record, and was therefore induced, on hearing reports prejudicial to him, to address to his Highness the Maharaj, on the 23rd May last, the accompanying memorial, to which has been since added a detail of the circumstances of the situation since he was placed in confinement. But I would here again beg to solicit the attention of his Lordship in Council to the following parts of the conversation between Ballajee Pant Natoo and the Chitnees, as given in No. 3 of the documents which were transmitted with my last address of the 4th instant, exhibiting, as stated in that letter, the dangerous and insidious conduct of this man (Ballajee

ship's mind from every slur which may have been cast on him by those ignorant of his previous history, valuable services, and meritorious conduct, during an arduous and anxious period, which has secured to him the gratitude and attachment of his Highness, the respect of the whole population of the Sattara state, and will, I trust, obtain for him his Lordship's protection and approbation.

I have, &c.

(Signed) *John Milne*, M.D.,

late President Bombay M. B.

Punt Natoo), and his disregard of truth. He (Natoo) therefore said, that "His Highness the Maharaj and Govind Row had declared in deposition, that they had committed an act of corruptness, and you, for no advantage, take all this on yourself." Natoo is again charged with falsehood by the Chitnees: "You (addressing himself to Natoo) made a false representation to the Resident (Colonel Lodwick), and have brought difficulties on his Highness the Maharaj." And again the Chitnees charged Natoo with falsehood: "You have given your support to these intrigues, and made them speak falsely, which you pretend to listen to as true."

5. I observed to his Lordship in Council, in my letter of the 26th ultimo, when adverting to the unusual and very objectionable course pursued by the Acting Resident at Sattara, almost immediately after his arrival there, that he would seem to have totally disregarded the experience of his predecessor and any information he may have given him, and that he waited not to receive the statement from the Raja, which he said he would be glad to be favoured with and hand on to Government, but, as is detailed in No. 2, Art. I. and II. of the accompaniments of my letter above referred to of the 26th ultimo, he commenced a course of violence in seizing a whole family, and extorting through fear certain depositions which, under such circumstances, every impartial tribunal would pronounce to be utterly worthless; and this is proved by the circumstances of the case of the lad Bhawoo, given in No. 2, Art. I. of the accompaniments of my letter of the 4th instant, thus showing this Acting Resident's total want of judgment and of ordinary discretion, while such a course produced the most unfavourable impression upon the public mind towards him, and general sorrow and alarm in the country.

(True extract.)

(signed) *John Milne*, M. D. late President Bombay M. B.

HISTORICAL SKETCH of *Balla Sahib Chitnees*, of the Sattara Government.

Translation from the Mahratta original, seal marked Pratap Seveh Maharaj, and signature set with his own hand.

The circumstances of Nayberrow Woorf Bahomitrow Mathar, who are the Chitnees Pandit Shoomunt of the Maharaj Sirkar, connected with both the Governments of the Maharaj and the British India Company, have induced me to state, at some length, that the latter Government at present having lost the remembrance of my former services, have placed their reliance on others, and carried on matters in total disregard of my character. I, at such a time, would solicit some portion of their consideration, but having, seemingly, under present circumstances, incurred their displeasure, I am not likely to be listened to or considered, as it appears to be imagined that I am the prime mover and instrument of whatever mischief or differences in friendship have occurred. During a long line of ancestors up to this moment, they and I have been in the habit of serving the Maharaj Sirkar, with all our ability and energy, during the lifetime of each of the successive sovereign princes of these dominions, and they also have done everything good for us within their power, and still I have the prospect of their favour which we have always enjoyed; and I have derived every happiness during a long period in serving such a noble prince as his present Highness, which I have enjoyed both before the time of the treaty and since its execution between the Maharaj and the British India Company. I was the person employed as the negotiator, and who concluded the treaty and the written engagement. My name was to be inserted as well as those of other jaghirdars, but it was my misfortune, or through some advantageous object to the British Government, not done, greatly though it inconvenienced me not to be included in the engagement; and, in consequence, both the Sirkars have reprimanded me, the Maharaj attaching to me the responsibility, as I was the person on whom he trusted in concluding the treaty, and in making every agreement with the

British India Company. He has now signified that he will deprive me of my property and discharge me from the country, for the enmity now produced on the part of the British Government, and their seeming desire to deprive his Highness of his government on the occurrence of any accident or intended reproach, which, like the present, is deemed to have inspired the Maharaj unjustly. All the Karbaries of this government are of opinion and say that the Chitnees must be brought to punishment for his being instrumental in causing such a case as the present, and advise that His Highness be compelled to confide in and listen to them, and manage accordingly, because the people of His Highness the Raja say, that destruction and ruin will fall on them, and they will be deprived of their offices, their respectability, and their support by the loss of their salaries, as happened by Bappoo Gokla, who advising Bajee Row Peishwa, disposed him to cause ground of dispute with the British authority, and at last deprived him of his government.

But here it seems, on the part of the British functionaries, the principle is no longer available on which the promise was held to me at the time of concluding the treaty, and giving the government into the hands of the British functionaries on that occasion for the good of his Highness the Maharaj.

It cannot now be believed on the part of the Raja, that I can any longer be considered trustworthy, from the responsibility I incurred when I concluded the treaty and made the written engagement, in which he has now been deceived, and differences have been raised, and it is the will of God to deny me fair and just redress, and misfortune now seems to have overtaken me ; but I shall do my duty to the functionaries of both, with all my abilities, and not fail to do all I can to prevent the breach of friendship between both the Sirkars, for I have only been, as has ever been the case, in communication with the English Government alone, and never have addressed myself to any other state. Idle people may talk what is in their mind, but I am obliged at all times to be correct in giving a particular account of the circumstances alleged in the case of this state to the English Government, where redress is required

to be afforded either by the Bombay or Calcutta government, or by the Home Authority, or in the House of Parliament. The evidence which I am sure will be adduced by the former Residents, and by a former Governor, will show their opinion of me at the time of the conclusion of the treaty. When I am evidently proved to have committed any act of corruptness against either of these states, then I, of course, ought to be amenable to the infliction of punishment.

If any question arises regarding my correspondence, I beg to afford the following particular account, and I request your Lordship will have the kindness to take this into your liberal consideration, and to protect the dignity I have always maintained in this court from the ancient descending line, both of my family and of the Maharaj Sirkar, and to consider the services I have already done, which the records will prove to your Lordship's satisfaction, and whether my signature has not always been respected; but at present no reliance is placed in my statement by the British authority here and the formal seal of his Highness the Maharaj seems to be required, a deviation which I am sorry for.

1. Being fully aware of the difference between the British and Peishwa's Government, I explained to his Highness the Raja that it was a proper time for his explaining his wishes, and to depend upon the English, as they were powerful and trustworthy for framing any treaty. The Peishwa being under his authority, as one of the ministers, and who, possessing a strong force, put him under restriction, and kept him as a prisoner, and deprived him of his government, so respectably established, and by whom he was deceived, I therefore requested him to rely upon me as his ancestors did upon my ancestors, who were the oldest servants employed by the Maharaj Sirkar, and had acted with all their ability, as I did at that very difficult period, and at the conclusion of the treaty my proposal was acceded to by his Highness the Maharaj, and I was commanded to act accordingly. I went to the British authority and represented as follows: "That the Peishwa was one of his Highness' servants, who, after having been entrusted with the government, had possessed himself

of a large force, and began to rule over him and the country, pretending that he himself was only the faithful servant of the government, and with whom all his Highness' servants in similar ranks of power as the Peishwa, and also the different jaghirdars, combined with their troops in supporting the usurpation, and caused the Maharaj Sirkar to yield; but they were intimidated when the negotiation was opened with him and the British authority." The same I represented, and requested the favour of the British authority to cause him to restore his unwarrantable possession of the government to the proper holder, his Highness. The private communications, and an assurance of the performance of this business, were from time to time received, and the British authority was said to be guided by the laws, and would never fail to act according to their words, and to fulfil the stipulation which at the time that authority had complied with, and given its full attention to; but it was then answered, that on the expiration of the engagements made with the Peishwa and the English Government on a former occasion, the matter would be favourably considered, but it was proper, as we had commenced by acknowledging the dignity of his servant, the Peishwa, and others who pretended to have been independent, to act accordingly; and they, to support their engagements, requested that this secret consultation should not come to the Peishwa's hearing. Besides, every precaution was requested from me, the intercessor, in order that the intelligence might not be carried to the knowledge of their enemy, the Peishwa, and that difficulty might not be raised for which they were not responsible, and prove the cause of any injury. They sent a message with me to his Highness, and having experienced their faithful conduct, it was every way satisfactory to the Maharaj. They desired me to mention it to him, that the business will be performed, and friendship will be promoted. I, on giving the message, satisfied the Maharaj of the circumstances, and made him place every reliance, for which he returned me many thanks, and also for my intelligence. I also represented to his Highness my privations, by Bajee Rao depriving me of my jaghirs, and he, Mr. Elphinstone, promised me, before

Ballajee Punt Nattoo, that he would address letters to the Governor, and to the Bhonsla, for the continuance of my annual stipend, which had been curtailed for some time.

2. Afterwards I made this known to his Highness, who was much pleased with it, and sent me a message, intimating to me to be careful in my interview with the British Government, but not be deceived by their words as they, perhaps, for their own advantage, will refuse to comply with the agreement of granting the favour of restoring the acquired government to his possession after they have overthrown the Peishwa ; and he also suggested to me to be cautious that the Peishwa does not thwart me when he hears of the project, and will also for his own good make some sort of engagement with them, or will say that he is willing to restore his usurped government to his Highness the Maharaj, and the matter will be put a stop to ; for it was from my acquaintance with every usage and from my being an old and faithful servant, that he desired to bring forward his intentions through my agency.

3. When I related the second passage to Mr. Elphinstone, the then Resident, he requested me to be confident in his word, and desired me to be careful in conversation with him on the subject, and to deliver into his hands the copies of the documents of the detailed circumstances from the commencement, to enable them to be authenticated, and to make inquiry into their validity, by which the Peishwa, under false pretexs, used to ascribe to himself as being the legal heir to the Government ; and he also requested my co-operation, as being an old servant and hereditarily authorised, that "though I may be trustworthy, yet I am a servant of his Highness, and bound to obtain his consent, or an order, as the documents are of the greatest importance, and rather a delicate thing to give into the possession of others at once, and without the consent of my master ; but he is almost inclined to accede, from motives of cementing friendship with the English, as they are said to be trustworthy, and are powerful, and will never create any future differences."

4. Afterwards I made the circumstances known to the Maharaj, who, being confident in their words, ordered me to

give the copies of the documents requested. Ballajee Punt Natoo was the examiner of the documents, who ascertained their validity and arranged to their satisfaction, but in the course of time, the Peishwa got notice of the circumstance, and Trimbackjee proceeded with 25 troopers to attack us at the time we were engaged in preparing our measures, and we heard the sound of forcing the door, and so were obliged to escape over the wall of the compound of my house, else we would have lost our lives at the time.

5. No difference was manifested by Bajee Row, and therefore the English were not driven to an open rupture.

In the village of Madholee, on the bank of the river Krustna, Bajee Row Peishwa was residing in order to bring his Highness from the fort for a secret communication, and he therefore brought him down and gave the house of the Pratee Neethee to live in. Bajee Row used to invite his Highness the Maharaj after his dinner, and they were in the habit of associating every day on the occasion. Bajee Row communicated to his Highness, stating that since the commencement of his treaty with the English up to this time we are much displeased at their disturbances and therefore it is now desirable, and I have chosen to commence hostilities rather than live in disturbance, and we shall try our fortunes. We know that the English Government is in difficulty, and that the beggars can scarcely get anything for their maintenance, and how can their subjects enjoy happiness? I am a great sinner that I dishonoured his Highness and deprived him of the government, which I gave into the hands of the English; and this is the time at which I shall be blamed and censured. Therefore I pray your Highness to assist me in levying the war, and what is to happen will happen; but I have made every settlement with my subjects, whom I have directed to collect together when the time approaches and the intimation is given. The English are full of deceit, and have learned to speak sweet at first, then to deceive. I have had great patience that I have passed a long time in restriction. I have done an unlawful thing, which I hope will be excused, and when the time approaches I will give notice, agreeably to which, in

some retired situation, his Highness may secure his family, together with Majee Sahib (the mother of his Highness), and then join me in the field of battle ; and after we have defeated the English the government then will belong to his Highness, who may govern as the sovereign. "I am to attend to what he will direct ; I am agreed to what he may give only for maintenance of my wife and of mine. I am to give every satisfaction he requires on the occasion." An answer from his Highness the Maharaj was issued. "I did not see a reason for his dispute with the English, and also being an intimate friend of the English, he had no reason to make these differences ; and he also stated to some, his being a principal servant of his, that he had put trust in him ; but at present he was bound to act at his command, and was to proceed where he might direct." Such artifices to lull were there used by the Peishwa ; but the opinion for levying the war was given in consideration of raising the dispute. The Peishwa said that he was obliged to proceed to Poonah, as Sir John Malcolm spoke to him something on the occasion. His Highness relating to me the circumstances in an interview, said that "this was the opportunity when we should agree to our stipulation, in order to perform our wishes, and to keep our dignity unsullied ; and you [I] have made my secret adviser, therefore I request you to preserve every precaution, otherwise the English may deny their words, and then we shall be deceived. You are the intercessor ; I have never met them on the subject and they are sure to be involved in the war ; wherefore I request you to see them for this purpose at Poonah and tell them the circumstances, and let me know the answer."

6. Upon this I proceeded to Poonah, and related the circumstances to Mr. Elphinstone and to Ballajee Punt Natoo, who observed that his Highness could not have urged my interference, as Bajee Row, being noted for cowardice, would neither dispute nor fight ; and how should we believe that a barren tree produced fruit ? and it will soon be seen that the English have, only for their own interest, made this declaration. Mr. Elphinstone then said, "it shall never be so told

of us. His Highness is the owner of the government, which will of course revert to him ; and you satisfy him of this point."

7. The above alluded to communication I made known to his Highness.

8. During the war his Highness was placed in the fort of Wasota, the intelligence of which I carried for the information of the English, and asked their permission that I should associate with him, and I then suggested to the English not to make the circumstance public. I then proceeded with Bajee Row, that I might not be entirely deprived of my jaghir, which I was prevented from enjoying at that time.

9. Naroo Punt Aptay was deputed to bring down his Highness from the fort to the battle, and to have his presence, as it was made known by Bapoo Goklar that the Raja had gone to the side of the English, and if he joins them in the field they will be encouraged, as his Highness being the sovereign of the kingdom and acting with them, no confidence will then be placed in our army, and we shall be disappointed. The intelligence that his Highness had been brought to the field of battle was conveyed for the information of the English, and a request made them to be cautious in making further proposals.

10. Bajee Row seeing his army day by day defeated by the English, observed to his Highness that he was unable to fight with the English ; and Goklar and Nimbalkin, besides other airdars, declared to me that Bajee Row, being only a servant of his Highness, and incompetent to possess the supreme power, they were therefore willing to bring all the airdars into his Highness's presence, and that his Highness may fight against the English ; upon which he answered, that "he was not so well acquainted with them as to be confident in them ; and how could he act, as the rider is upon horseback, and the bridle of his Highness is in other men's hands?" Bajee Row solicited his Highness's favour to give him the names written down of the officers and those that were faithful to his Highness, and he would afford the pecuniary aid, and would bring them to his presence, and through whom a separate army should be collected to fight under him personally

against the English. He was further asked whether it will be agreeable to him when the army collected and transferred to him amounts to the number of 25,000. His Highness said, that "this will be answered after taking the subject into consideration."

11. His Highness mentioned the case to me, and asked my opinion whether there was a fit time for him to assume authority ; and he must reply to Bajee Row. I answered, that he should not rely on Bajee Row, and that it was quite impossible for him, a great man, to cancel his word which was pledged to the formidable English ; upon which he said, "Very well ;" but he rather suspected my conduct, and therefore required the security of Chapulkur, the Swamee (a priest).

12. Bajee Row again requested his Highness to remind him of his proposal, to which he answered in the same way as he did before, and that it was all right what Bajee Row suggested, but his Highness could rely upon no one at the present time, and that the army could not be collected in so short a space of time, nor could they make any exertions likely to succeed. Bajee Row then authorised a person to bring his Highness down from the fort for the purpose. His Highness requested to allow him to be accompanied with his faithful servants, to which answer was made that he was not directed to do so. His Highness would have got angry at the time, but considered that he was under restraint. [From this statement it will appear that the proposal was made to him.] Bapoo Gokla said, "His Highness the Maharaj states what is truth ; but if he is inclined to yield compliance, the work will be done very easily." His Highness answered that they may form that opinion, but his Highness had repeated what was his view ; and he also added, that "nothing can be performed without the concurrence of the actor."

13. Chapulkur, the Swamee, was invited by Bajee Row, and urged to recommend him (Bajee Row) to his Highness, and to satisfy him of the affair ; and the case was made known to the Swamee before Bapoo Goklar. In such a crisis, I, knowing the case, approached his (the Swamee's) presence, and related to him the secret agreement, and requested him

not to follow his own views, or to give his consent on the subject, but to satisfy his Highness, and induce him to abide by the word which was pledged to the English, and to make him give his word to me for his doing so. Accordingly the Swamee did so, and returned to his residence, communicating only his favourable wishes to Bajee Row.

14. The English Government began to occupy all the forts and the country, and Mr. Elphinstone and Ballajee Punt Natoo came to Sattara, invited the whole of his Highness's old councillors (one Vitul Punt Phudness, Khundarow Rajay Sirkar, and others), and satisfied them in various respects, and also desired that they would soon bring Maharaj back. And they thereafter closely followed Bajee Row. Mr. Elphinstone told them to inform his Highness that his Highness must come and join the British army, and said that he would notify to the commanders respecting the arrangements, and they will inform you. They then said, also, that provided the Maharaj were to become confederate with us, then Bajee Row will be unable to contend with us, but will fly as an insurgent, and afterwards the Maharaj will be restored to his empire. Having related all these circumstances, they gave them poshaka, and did them every honour. Vitteel Bullal sent the message to his Highness relative to the proposal by Nursoo Kakday.

15. Nursoo Kakday came and represented all these circumstances to his Highness in private at Sholapoor. He told me all the above ; at which time I communicated the information to General Smith that they must not attack the equipage of Bajee Row at night, but in the day, because it would let our private marks be better known ; and he communicated this to General Smith at Acklool.

16. After the lapse of three days, General Smith having moved with his force, came to Astwalkee, near Pundharpoor ; at that time Bajee Row was joined by his Highness the Maharaj, with his family, and a considerable army marched thence. At this time the army of the British and of Bajee Row met on the field of battle, and began to fire their guns, and an action commenced. At such a crisis we, without regarding the loss of our lives, gradually remained behind, while hundreds of people

fell in battle. In the interim Bajee Row sent Bulwunt Row Raska and Shamrow Rustia with some retinue answering to their dignity, in order to escort the Maharaj. Accordingly they approached, and directed us to quicken our pace, to which I replied, that "We are walking as fast as our horses could walk." Whilst we were walking with them the British cavalry assaulted them, with their retinue, and sharply fired their pistols, and the infantry also soon joined them. At that time the Rastia, &c., were attacked by them, and a great many people fell; in the meanwhile a ball struck his Highness's stirrup and broke it. In that moment I suggested to his Highness that this is our opportunity, and requested him, Bhawoo Sahib Maharaj, Appa Sahib Maharaj, their mother, and those courtiers who were present there, to stop for a moment. They did accordingly; but his Highness the Maharaj said to me, that "I have every confidence in you, but it seems to me our end is approaching, for the cavalry have attacked from both sides and the infantry behind, and the body of troopers under Major Doveton, Sheikh Boodun Havildar, and Sheikh Moydeen Jamadar approached us in front. Majee Sahib, apprehending that death was approaching (because she was a woman), bade her elder son (the Maharaj) to put her to death, on account of her apprehending injury to her dignity, and said, "You will not have the sin of matricide." The Maharaj had a naked sword in his hand, and was ready to do so, but Bhawoo Sahib prohibited him, and said, "There is still time for such an act; and if I see them attack us, I will then use my weapon." Afterwards I jumped from my horse, according to his Highness's command, and gave the bridle of the horse into his Highness's hand, and threw away the sword which his Highness carried, and ran towards the British army. I went walking leisurely, otherwise they would have fired on me. I went to the elephant of Barra, and cried aloud, not to make confusion; the Maharaj is here. On which they asked me if that was true. Afterwards I satisfied them. Then he (the Sahib) made a motion with his sword, which was in his hand, round his body, and the troops turned back and put a stop to the fire of their muskets. The Sahib took me by the hand.

and marched with some cavalry to the Maharaj. He asked me, "Which of these is the Maharaj?" To which I replied, "Let go my hand ; I will point him out." On his disengaging my hand, I took General Smith's hand and put it into Maharaj's, and told him, "This is the Maharaj" ; adding, to his Highness, that "This is the General Sahib." Afterwards General Smith asked me, "Who are all these?" I answered, "These two are Maharaj's younger brothers ; this is his Highness's mother ; and all the rest are courtiers, who have served under his Highness for many years."

17. General Smith said to his Highness, "You are now come to us, but what man is he?" Thereupon the Maharaj answered, "He is my ancient old courtier and Chitnees." General Smith said that "he asked his Highness thus, because perhaps he might be from the part of Bajee Rao." The Maharaj replied, "He is my trustworthy servant, through whose means this transaction, withdrawing us from this rebellion, was arranged with Mr. Elphinstone." Afterwards General Smith caused the elephant carrying the nobut or banner to approach the Maharaj ; at that time the Senaputty or commander-in-chief, named Bulwunt Rao Bhoslay, was not riding on horseback, but on an elephant, according to the command of his Highness ; and according to the agreement he ought to have been with the Maharaj, but he was serving under Bajee Rao, and on this account he was not with them. I then called him to his Highness, and whilst he was coming some one fired his musket at the elephant driver, and killed him ; the Senaputty himself then drove the elephant, and approached the Maharaj over the corpse of the driver. On ascertaining that he was Bulwunt Rao Rajay Bhoslay Senaputty, we made him descend from the elephant, and Ragopunt Loctoy, a cook of Bajee Rao, was mounted. His Highness the Maharaj presented a shala, made at Ahmedabad, to Captain Doveton ; and Bhawoo Sahib gave one shala and one shawl to the havildar and jamadar.

18. In the meantime Mr. Billamore went in haste after General Smith, and spoke with Major Dawes in English, who

saluted his Highness the Maharaj, when he returned to General Smith, and gave him all the information ; General Smith was wounded, but came to pay his respects to his Highness the Maharaj, and Major Doveton took his Highness with all his attendants there, but they both met in the road. General Smith was in a palanquin, paid his respects, and said that Maharaj had obtained a victory ; the Maharaj has come and joined us according to private agreement, and on this account we consider affairs are propitious to us ; we have obtained advantage and reputation. He also said, that "Bajee Rao is now an insurgent ; the whole of the empire will follow the Maharaj, now there is no apprehension or doubt ; the throne is with the Maharaj." He then said, "We must not stay here long, because Bajee Rao is near ; and provided the information of this be known to him he may return, and attack us, even at the risk of his life ; therefore, that he should retire to the village." Thus saying, they carried his Highness and his people to Astumralkee.

19. Afterwards they sent for me, Ballajee Sahib, to ascertain the corpse of Gokla. I went there, and pointed it out ; thereupon General Smith said, that he will send the corpse to his Highness the Maharaj, and told me to take it to him to see ; accordingly, I sent it to his Highness the Maharaj, who, having seen it, ordered it to be burnt. In the interim Mr. Billamore came, and requested his Highness the Maharaj to come and join our army, and said, "This amity, which was thus established between us, was the means by which the English obtained a perfect and easy victory, and therefore his Highness the Maharaj must order a salute to be fired in token of victory," when his Highness the Maharaj ordered the guns to be fired.

20. Afterwards, on the same day, at four o'clock, General Smith and Mr. Billamore came, and smilingly asked his Highness the Maharaj respecting his Highness's health, and inquired of His Highness about his commands ; on account of this, I answered in the following manner :

"1st. You have met us before we have seen Mr. Elphinstone. Every one fled on your advance ; we were not close

to your army, but were walking with Bajee Rao ; when we saw your army we, according to the private signal, gradually left Bajee Rao, and joined your army ; therefore, you must introduce Mr. Elphinstone to his Highness the Maharaj.

"2nd. Bajee Rao by any means will negotiate a treaty with you, and require us to be surrendered ; therefore, you must not cede us into his possession, and I demand your promise of this, as this was before agreed on between us.

"3rd. I request you to speak to Mr. Elphinstone regarding the claim on our part."

To these three propositions General Smith answered in the following manner :

"1st. Unless we die we will never surrender his Highness into the hands of Bajee Rao, and this we promise to you. His Highness the Maharaj came and joined us ; now Bajee Rao is an insurgent ; the empire belongs to the Maharaj. We will never enter into a treaty with Bajee Rao, but with his Highness the Maharaj.

"2nd. If his Highness the Maharaj wishes to be introduced to Mr. Elphinstone, then come soon to Poonah ; and if he wishes to postpone it, then go to Sattara." To which I answered, that we wished for an early introduction to Mr. Elphinstone, and we had resolved to proceed to Poonah.

"3d. You say that I am required to mention you to Mr. Elphinstone ; but as a private understanding has taken place between you and Mr. Elphinstone, he will have immediately comprehended your wishes, and we will not hesitate in speaking of you."

21. General Smith requested his Highness the Maharaj to give him a letter to Mr. Elphinstone about the victory gained, and his satisfaction, and said that he would write a letter to him also ; to which his Highness answered, that "We possess no form of letter-writing to Mr. Elphinstone, but that we will write to him in the name of Ballajee Punt Nathoo, stating the whole account, and about the private understanding, which we hope you will transmit to him."

22. On account of this I wrote a letter on the part of his Highness to the address of Ballajee Punt Nathoo, regarding the

meeting occasioned by Nurhur Rao Mulkur, who often used to go to Mr. Elphinstone in private, and we noticed all this in that letter, and wished to have amity established, and hoped to have our expectation fully satisfied. I therefore addressed the Sahib, stating, that now it is required on your part to do what is right. According to the private agreement entered into, I have brought his Highness the Maharaj, his Highness's younger brother, and the Chitnees, and have joined your force. There are letters which respect their circumstance.

23. When we began to walk Mr. Billamore came and spoke, that this vast empire is the possession of the Maharaj, and by this means we began to receive nuzrana from every village, according to the former rule.

24. Again I wrote another letter to them and sent it, in connexion with the subject which I presumed to lay before them as a first step, and also stated that the favour of an answer was not yet received, and that we are waiting for it. Nurhur Rao Mulhar Chitnees will inform you regarding the hopes we entertain from the friendship established.

25. On the 5th of Magh Mr. Billamore came to Higingaum, and said that General Smith presents a request to his Highness, that he is coming there to display the banner or jhaunda bawoota of his Highness ; and said, that as soon as the banner is raised, they would order the gun to be fired ; to which he replied, "Very well." In the afternoon General Smith came with the banner, and the Sahibs who were with him were named as follows :—

Captain Tovey, Captain Mayne, Mr. Billamore, Captains Hardcastle and Shaw, Major Doveton, and Wissagee Ramajee, in the service of General Smith. These all came, and raised the jhanda, and saluted it through the Chitnees. His Highness and all the Sahibs stood in the part towards the east, and fired the salute. Afterwards they all entered the tent or dara pitched there, sat down, and General Smith, having looked towards the other gentlemen, took off his cap or hat, and his boots, and sat down, and began to converse. He requested his Highness to listen to him; he spoke in the English language,

and Mr. Billamore explained it to us in the Hindoostan language.

1st. We received the letter of Mr. Elphinstone, expressing his great delight, and stating that our nishan is raised, and that the Most noble the Marquis of Hastings will be very much rejoiced. Mr. Elphinstone wrote to his Lordship one letter regarding all this subject, and Mr. Elphinstone is coming to pay his Highness a visit.

2nd. His Highness the Maharaj will administer his empire, and we will expel Bajee Row from his residence in the country. His Highness is the owner of the empire. His Highness will go to Sattara, sit on the throne, and administer the government. His Highness will have no apprehension of Bajee Row any more ; and Bajee Row will not be permitted again to enter the kingdom, nor will the empire be ever ceded to any other than his Highness the Maharaj.

3d. Now his Highness may not apprehend any peace between Bajee Row and the English. He also said that his Highness must discharge those two cooks, one Rago Punt Josee and one Pandoba, because they are Bajee Row's servants ; so that they may go to him, and inform him of all that has taken place here, by means of which his (Bajee Row's) influence will be dissolved, and no one will condescend to listen to his proposals of protracting further resistance, and thus he will be without resource on all hands. Should you keep these cooks, they may perhaps make some attempt on your Highness's life ; therefore, dismiss those men ; and, according to this advice, they were sent away.

26. On the 12th of Magh, dated 26th, Wednesday, Mr. Elphinstone and Ballajee Punt Natoo, with a large retinue, arrived at Belser from the fort of Singur. The guns were fired, and Ballajee Punt Natoo sent a message with Nensoo, the treasurer, that Mr. Elphinstone will come to see his Highness in the afternoon ; and also stated, that you should rely with confidence on him, and should answer all his questions, so that he will be delighted. Thereupon, in the afternoon, Mr. Elphinstone came to his Highness. His Highness sent me in advance to meet Mr. Elphinstone, and I met him. Mr. Elphinstone had

with him Mr. Russell, General Smith, Mr. Billamore, Captain Grant, and Ballajee Narrayen Nattoo. Mr. Elphinstone and every one of the English took off their caps and hats, and paid his Highness their respects, and sat down, and inquired of his Highness regarding the Maharaj's health; and said, that the Maharaj is fortunate, and also the English, as the Maharaj, with all his family, came and joined our army at the time of the engagement, without injury to themselves. We have written all the circumstances to the Most noble the Marquis of Hastings, Governor-general of India; he will be very much delighted to peruse it. Now, I intend sending Mr. Russell to the Governor-general of India, and he will arrange matters in all respects; and if his Highness pleases to send a message or a letter, or wishes to depute any man to him, then send it. To all these his Highness the Maharaj replied, that the stipulations were "executed through the hand of the Chitnees, and he has a confidential promise from you, which I hope you will abide by, according to the law. I have every confidence in you, and on this account I left every one, and everything, and became confederated with you. Now, you should keep your promise." Thereupon Mr. Elphinstone said, "that the Chitnees came and repeated the whole circumstances regarding the case of his Highness; and he further said that a proclamation is prepared, which Ballajee Punt Nattoo will come and read to his Highness. The first visit has taken place; and, thus saying, he went away."

27. Afterwards Ballajee Punt Nattoo came, and read the proclamation to his Highness; I then replied, as well as Mr. Elphinstone, "that all was right."

28. On the 9th of Falgoon, dated 8th, Monday, at Poorandhur, Mr. Elphinstone sent to his Highness some silver kettles, articles of council, a tent of woollen cloth, and a woollen temporary building, and a palanquin studded with looking-glasses, as a nuzzarana.

29. On the 14th of Falgoon, Mr. Elphinstone, Captain Grant, and Ballajee Punt Nattoo, came into the tent, and Mr. Elphinstone and his Highness the Maharaj discoursed in a private place without any third person. The next day Captain

Grant came, and requested to inform his Highness that Mr. Elphinstone had ordered him to remain with his Highness the Maharaj, and behave agreeably to the communication held between his Highness the Maharaj and Mr. Elphinstone. Therefore, whatever you have to communicate to our Government will be communicated through me.

30. On the 3rd Falgoon, dated 7th Jamadehoul (Wednesday), Captain Grant came and told his Highness the Maharaj, that they had got the ambaree, studded within with looking-glasses, and addressed his Highness about the conquest of the fort of Pandoo Gur. He also stated that it is in the mind of Mr. Elphinstone, after the conquest of the forts of Keljia and Kumal Gur, to place the following countries under your authority: that is, "from the mountain Syadry to this side of the river Neera, towards the bank of the river Bhema, and thence towards the junction of the river of Crustna and Bheema. We have written to the Most noble the Marquess of Hastings, the Governor-General of India; besides this, we will act conformably to our promise. If we were to give all the forts into your possession, there is risk, as the dispute is not yet settled, therefore we will maintain the defence of all the forts, and raise the neshan of his Highness the Maharaj." To which his Highness replied, "You speak now beyond former agreement, so that, with its recollection, write to the Most noble the Marquess of Hastings, the Governor-general of India, and also tell Mr. Russell to speak thus to the Most noble the Governor-general of India." He said that they have written to the Governor-general, therefore that they cannot answer at present. He also told his Highness the Maharaj to go to Wayee for the performance of religious worship, as there the fort of Kelja will have taken alarm on his Highness's approach.

31. Mr. Elphinstone and Ballajee Punt Natoo were displeased with Wittul Punt Fudness; on this account Wittul Punt Fudness wrote a letter to me requesting that I would go to Mr. Elphinstone and Ballajee Punt Natoo, and satisfy them in every way, as I am known: and if you do not, then it will be my misfortune. I for this purpose, went to them, and satisfied them in various ways, and mentioned to them the

points necessary for the defence of the country. I have the letter of the fact of Wittul Punt at present.

32. Thereupon we all proceed to Sattara, by means of which every one paid his visit to his Highness the Maharaj, and also Wittul Punt met his Highness, who placed him at Sattara.

33. His Highness went to the fort of Waster to reduce it, and whilst the English were fighting against that fort Bawa Sahib, the son of Bhawoo Sahib, the Maharaj, was there ; in the meantime Captain Grant came from Mr. Elphinstone and told his Highness that without attacking with artillery the fort would not be subdued by us, therefore Mr. Elphinstone wishes to open a battery upon it, but is unwilling, as there are your families. To this the Maharaj replied, that "this is the better mode, and agreeably to which we formed our friendship ; and as we were not concerned about the loss of our lives there, our families must now run the same risk, as I take them as dead to us ; but if they survive, then we will meet each other again ; therefore, without any hesitation, fire the guns ; we must not regard the loss of our families where friendship and public security are concerned, and there is no difference in my determination." Ballajee Punt Natoo was there. Then the English troops began to open their guns, and in the interview the shells fell on the place where the family of his Highness was residing, and the walls of the palace were thrown down, when the wives of his Highness and his Highness's brothers concealed themselves under the wall, called [davidā]. Such a calamity the Maharaj did not regard, in the case of his Highness's family, fully alive to the friendship with the English Government. All this was observed by Mr. Elphinstone, and he saw everything in the fort was burnt. The Maharaj sent a message to his Highness's wife to burn everything she possessed, because for these things you will have fear when the assault is made. Bawa Sahib, the son of Bhawoo Sahib Maharaj, through the fear of the guns and shells, took fright, and thus became helpless in every respect, and could not rest from fear ; thus he died in very bitter agonies.

34. On the 5th Chiter the fort of Vassota was captured,

and the Chitnees proceeded to bring down the family of his Highness. Mr. Elphinstone visited his Highness with his retinue ; his Highness was seated on the throne and gave his audience to them, and the day was celebrated with great pomp, with a salute of guns. The European gentlemen took their seat on his left side.

35. On the 6th of Chiter Mr. Elphinstone gave a party to his Highness and his Highness's courtiers, and presented them with ornaments of jewels, and with precious clothes of honour.

36. On the 5th of Chiter, in the year Budohanama 1740, Ballajee Punt Natoo having prepared an address, and produced it to his Highness for his approval to be proclaimed, which was consented to by his Highness, but he objected to one article in it, which stated that his Highness has been liberated from his confinement imposed by the Peishwa, and has been crowned ; having observed this, his Highness stated that he had been crowned for a long time ; it is not that he is to be reinstated upon the throne, but that he himself had joined the cause of the English authority. What is this that you now state, contrary to the terms of our friendship, which wished to be continued, and his confidence to be placed in them? His Highness sealed the rest of the statement without any hesitation, and it was proclaimed, the copy of which is in our possession, and it also must be in their possession. After this deed I went to Mr. Elphinstone. When Captain Grant and Ballajee were seated, I asked what was to be done about the word pledged to me by Mr. Elphinstone, who declared my perfect ability in serving both the Government of the British and that of his Highness the Maharaj, and he again repeated what was justly due to me, and that my management would be remunerated when the affair shall be arranged in a proper manner for his Highness, and it will not be neglected by either government to hold regard of any services, of which I should remain confident.

37. Afterwards the meeting of Mr. Elphinstone, Captain Grant, Ballajee Punt Natoo, and of his Highness the Maharaj, together with Majee Sahib, took place, where the proceeding was confirmed of Vittul Punt to be the interpreter in adminis-

tering the affairs, and his Highness may again take his place with the Chitnees at the fort, and Captain Grant should leave with Ballajee Punt until the present disturbance was suppressed, which was still carried on at that time. This proceeding was unanimously agreed to, and the appointment of Wittul Punt was confirmed, but the suspension, regarding the establishment of the former usage, was raised on his Highness's part. After the conclusion of his proceeding, his Highness went to the fort on the 8th of Chiter ; afterwards a vakeel from Auckul Kotkur was deputed to his Highness the Maharaj, who having known of his arrival, and though a letter was sent to him by the Chitnees through the Residency, desiring him to visit his Highness, yet it was not received by that vakeel for some time. The case was made known by Vittul Punt Phudnees to his Highness, and the Chitnees was reprimanded by Captain Grant for his negligence. The Phudnees said that what was he to do if the secretary of his Highness may have been tardy in sending it, but afterwards the Chitnees, on stating the circumstances, was exonerated from any blame.

38. Agreeably to the project which was formed by Mr. Elphinstone, before the departure of Mr. Russell to Calcutta, the matter was not adjusted ; in consequence of which a detailed account was forwarded to the Supreme Government, in the absence of the Residency, and before any engagement was entered into.

39. A letter of Mr. Elphinstone's, dated 13th September (Suntesa Assreen), informing that the management will be made for his Highness agreeably to his pleasure, and not less than what was given to other Savistans, and that the order from the Supreme Government is soon expected.

40. Afterwards, having heard of the argument to be concluded, his Highness the Maharaj invited the Chitnees Chintoo Punt and Dajeeba Walsoodee to consider on the subject in what manner it was to be performed ; in this crisis Captain Grant, knowing the fact, went to his Highness with Ballajee Punt, and Vittul Punt showed him the engagement prepared by the English Government, and requested his Highness to sign it, and to rely upon no one, but to retain

every confidence in the English Government, which will do everything good for his Highness. This case happened before Wittel Bulal, who, in form, was also to be entered in the engagement; the engagement was sealed immediately by his Highness without any objection.

The above written detailed circumstances of the political concernment I personally executed through the commands of your Highness, and in presence of Ballajee Punt Natoo, wherefore I solicit your Highness to inquire into the subject if it has been increased or diminished in its substance, and let me know the answer. The above alluded to memorandum was read to Ballajee Punt Natoo before Ramchunder Shastree and Bappoojee Senoy. Ballajee Punt Natoo said, "That the circumstances are in every respect true, and had been passed before me, and neither the substance of which was extended or lessened"; and he also stated that there are at present many gentlemen in England, Mr. Elphinstone, General Smith, Captain Grant, Mr. Russell, Colonel Robertson, &c., who are well acquainted with this case, and that he would prove this everywhere. Afterwards, in Jallamundeer bungalow (a bungalow in a garden surrounded by water), and at Dagaum before the Shastree, I said I have claims to my rights upon both the governments; upon which Ballajee Punt Natoo answered, that "when such time as your demand approaches I shall provide you with a secret mark, which will be every way available for your purpose." Dated 5th Vyshack Vudha of 1759, year named Hay malumbe nam Sawantsur, 18th Mooee of Suffer sun Summan Sullusin Mayatyn Valuf, or in the year of Christ 24th May 1837. Written by Bulwunt Rao Mallabar. Sealed (marked Mortob).

The above conversation took place before me.

(Signed) *Ramchunder Shasta.*

The above conversation passed before me.

(Signed) *Bappoo Ram Chander Sakullkur.*

Witness Kossee Sewram Bunday states, that Ballajee Punt Natoo spoke to him that Bulwunt Rao, the Chitnees Pundit Summunt, has written a yad or detailed account of his past services, which is right; but what need is there for him to do

so at present? "When he shall apply to England I will give him a mark, and the same I also mentioned to him." Dated 5th Vyshack Vudha 1759 ; Wednesday. Written by himself, Kassee Sewram Bunday, in the church of Shea Gunputtee of Sattara.

Observation.—"I should hope the authorities may, actuated by virtuous feelings, be deliberate in taking into their due consideration the above detailed account of the services which I have rendered to both the governments with all my ability, and satisfactory also to them both, of which the reward now is, that with this knowledge, and the effect produced on the state of the country, I have at last been seized, imprisoned, and disgraced, through the misrepresentation of men of wicked propensities. I forwarded this statement to Dr. Milne through our Vakeel Rungoba Bappoojee before I was seized, in order that he may transmit it for the information of the Bengal government and the authorities in England."

(True copy of translation).

(Signed) *John Milne*, M.D.

Late President M. B. Bombay.

APPENDIX B

DR. MILNE'S LETTER TO LORD AUCKLAND

The British Friend of India Magazine for December, 1845, published (pp. 198-202) the letter of Dr. Milne to Lord Auckland. In doing so, it wrote :—

“As the interest of the public in the case of the deposed Raja of Sattara is every day increasing, we give below a valuable letter addressed in 1837, by the late Dr. Milne of Bombay, to the Governor-General, Lord Auckland. It will be found to throw much light on the early misunderstanding between the Government and the Raja. This letter has never before been published, and we have in our possession the most undeniable proofs of its authenticity. Subsequent revelations have demonstrated, that had the judicious counsel of Dr. Milne been followed, the conspiracy against the Raja would have been crushed in the bud.”

“To the Right Honourable George, Lord Auckland, Governor-General of India.

My Lord, Mr. Elphinstone will ever be considered here an authority from whose decisions it will not be wise to deviate, and whose acts indicate a statesman of high tone, always displaying an acute perception and the most noble and elevated sentiments.

Expressing the highest respect for, and having witnessed the general admiration and affection of this Presidency, towards his great predecessor, Sir John Malcolm, though possessing a restless disposition, and strong propensity to recommend himself by various innovations, nevertheless, uniformly wished it should be understood, that there was no deviation from the principles and great outlines of his distinguished and avowed model. Nor, did he in the general character of his policy towards the native States in alliance with the British Government, alter the course which had been pursued; and the same

attention was directed in his intercourse with them to every minor object and occurrence.

Lord Clare, though active and zealous, possessed not the tact of those, whose names carried great confidence and a degree of weight with them; he unfortunately had his favourites, who were often too easily listened to. Some of those were very troublesome meddlers, and of that number happened to be the agent for Sirdars in the Dekkun, who had, under plausible pretences, been permitted to indulge in faulty innovations, and to do great mischief.

Without apparently adverting to the constitution of all Governments in this country, which have to support the character of landed proprietors as well as that of rulers; the agent, under the plea of defining more exactly the boundary between the territory, considered to belong to the British Government, and that of the Raja of Sattara, suggested that the Nerah River should define the limits of the latter's possession, thus depriving him of the reversion to two-thirds of the Jageer of the Punt Sucheew, or in fact and *de jure*, of a part of his patrimonial estate, without adverting to the circumstances of the British control, as a paramount authority being in no respect affected by his ill-judged proposal, as the territory of the Raja, virtually, might be considered by treaty, an integral part of a great whole subjected to one ruler.

The Raja naturally and very properly objected to the proposed arrangement, or to any deviation from the treaty, as concluded and matured by Mr. Elphinstone; very judiciously observing, that no distinct or satisfactory grounds for the proposed change, were stated or made out; and if one innovation was admitted, it was impossible to know what further infringements might follow: besides, the people at large would feel that his authority was on the wane, and that the British Government only wanted a plea to depose him and assume his Government.

That constant and friendly intercourse which had been hitherto maintained both by Mr. Elphinstone and Sir John Malcolm, seems about this period to have experienced some interruption, and the Raja's communications were left without

notice. The unusual course, to which he had hitherto been a stranger, caused him uneasiness, and not knowing what Government intended, he seems to have been impressed with the idea that, right or wrong, the suggestion of depriving him of this portion of patrimonial property would be adopted. He, therefore, as authorized by the Court of Directors, determined to lay his case before them: as to all his letters no reply could be obtained here, and the Court had desired, that no deviation from established usage should occur.

It would not appear, however, that the specific point of forming this imaginary boundary of the Nerah River, was ever duly considered or rationally weighed, as that line of demarcation between the two States, or rather in fact the two properties, was virtually, as a measure of convenience, of no importance, because the ruling control of the British Government, extended not only through this portion, but throughout the whole of the Sattara State. The Raja, then, contemplated deputing a person to England, to state specially the wrong which was done him, by appropriating any portion of what would revert to him on the death of the Suchew Punt, besides alienating the allegiance of his Jageerdars which it had the effect of doing.

While this was in agitation, the impression seems to have been given to many of his own people, that his hitherto friendly alliance and influence with the British Government was now questionable, and as a circumstance about the time had occurred in the capital punishment of one of his domestics, who had been guilty of an outrageous act of theft and sacrilege, the connections of this man had been brooding over this act, which they felt had brought disgrace on them, and secretly, as was afterwards learned, resolved on revenge. They were, however, long at a loss what course to pursue, until the disreputable habits of life of the widow of the punished culprit, had associated under her roof a Brahmin of infamous character and some Purdessee sepoy's of the 23rd regiment N. I., who are too often found to be a most intriguing and dangerous class in our ranks; and it appears that they had had their rage recently excited against the Raja's Minister, Govind Row Vittul, who had, at the instance of the Resident, removed from Sattara, a

Gooroo, or Priest, to whom they used to resort for gambling purposes. This minister also had further excited their resentment, by applying to the Resident to get the men of a detachment of the regiment stationed at Mahabuleshwar, removed, who had fixed their huts in the vicinity of his well and garden ; because not knowing their caste, and being a Brahmin, he was afraid of his water being injured by low caste men.

It was resolved, therefore, under the roof of the demirep widow, by the minister's servant, (whose connection by marriage had been hanged), in conjunction with a Brahmin of noted infamy and two of the sepoy's who had been obliged to incur the expense of shifting their quarters at Mahabuleshwar, to assail the minister. As none of them had ever been admitted into the Rajah's presence, but, through the traitorous servant, they had appeared with hundreds of other people at the minister's public Durbars, which afforded them a kind of foundation for their infamous plot ; which was made known to the Resident, and he, without knowing or inquiring into the character of those who had resolved on assailing the loyalty of the minister, or at all considering the probabilities, or even possibilities of such a story, took his measures of communicating this imaginary plot to the Governor, Sir Robert Grant, at Poonah. The same easy credibility was given to the Resident's report. No inquiry into the character, or motives, or probability, or even possibility of such a story seems to have been considered necessary, even in the absence of every kind of hostile appearance.

The seizure of the supposed traitor, the Dewan, was determined on ; yet no intimation was given to the Rajah ; but the Dewan when invited to a conference at the Residency, and under the most unsuspecting feelings of friendship, was suddenly charged with the plot alleged against him, locked up in a dark room, under the influence of the greatest terror, and since that period it appears every sinister course has been attempted to obtain, what seems to be desired, the implication of the Rajah in a conspiracy to corrupt the British troops, and to levy war against the British Government.

But that an executive functionary, who had incensed the whole of a particular class of men in a Regiment in two instances, one where interest was affected, should apply to two of that very class to join a Maratha Rajah in hostility against the powerful Government they served, is an instance of fatuitous credibility which common sense would denominate the height of folly.

The whole documentary evidence, however, of this nefarious and disreputable proceeding will be laid before your Lordship in Council, but that the truth of the whole may be fully investigated on the spot, I would beg to suggest that a committee of men of standing in the service be appointed who are familiar with the usages of this country, and possess a knowledge of the character of the various descriptions of people in it,—who cannot be swayed by hostile feelings or particular partialities, and who will go with clearness into every point, and I doubt not that then the truth and accuracy of what I have above stated, will be made fully evident to your Lordship.

The high character and discernment of the late member of council, Mr. Sutherland, now on a deputation committee to the Southern Maratha country, point him out as peculiarly well fitted for such an investigation ; and if a member of the Sudder Adawlut is added, every thing will I confidently trust be fairly and impartially conducted.

I beg to apologize for the liberty I have taken, in occupying your Lordship's valuable time ; but the subject is important, in giving a favourable, or in correcting a sinister general impression, and you may not consider me to have adopted an objectionable course, of stating in as brief a manner as the subject would admit, the particulars of an ill-conducted case ; and as your Lordship will see, I have not failed to express those sentiments, both to Mr. Elphinstone and to Major Felix, as the copies of my letters herewith transmitted will shew, and the reply of the latter will satisfy your Lordship that I possess his respect for my motives.

Trusting that I have rendered a very mistaken case a

perfectly clear one, and enabled your Lordship to do justice both to an innocent man and to an injured and insulted Prince. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Lordship's

Most faithful Servant,

(Signed) JOHN MILNE.

Bombay, 8th May, 1837.

APPENDIX C

General John Briggs was a well-known Oriental Scholar and author of several works on Indian History. *The Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India* from his pen is a well-known work. He was a political resident at the Court of Satara for several years. So he was well conversant with the Raja and his political views. His opinion, therefore, on that prince is worth knowing. Major Evans Bell, in his Memoir of General Briggs, has given an extract from General Briggs' paper on the Satara Raja's case the greater portion of which has already been reproduced in Chapter VII. The opening paragraphs of that paper are given below :—

GENERAL JOHN BRIGGS ON THE SATARA RAJA'S CASE.

"Nine years after I had left the Sattara Residency, the Court of Directors, in consequence of repeated letters from the Government of Bombay praising the Rajah's conduct, passed a resolution in July 1835 that a jewelled sword should be purchased, suitable for presentation to the Rajah, and should be sent to His Highness, accompanied by a letter from the Court, in which it should be declared that 'this mark of distinction is founded not solely on the public spirit evinced by the Rajah in the construction of roads, and the execution of other public works, but on the general and distinguished merits of His Highness's administration, which justly entitle him to applause, as well as on the liberality which he has displayed in disbursing his private funds for public purposes.'

"A letter to that effect was accordingly addressed to the Rajah, and sent with the sword for presentation, through the Government of Bombay. But neither sword nor letter was delivered. They were detained in the Chief Secretary's office at Bombay, because the Rajah had already committed

himself to a decided opinion regarding the interpretation of those articles in the Treaty relating to his feudatory chieftains, and his jurisdiction over their estates as affected by the boundaries of his principal piece of territory, which was opposed to that of the Bombay Government, and which, more especially as the Rajah appealed to the Court of Directors, was considered at Bombay to be disrespectful and contumacious. But at this time there were no charges against the Rajah. The treasonable plot imputed to him was not thought of till July 1836. Moreover, the Home Government acknowledged the correctness of the Rajah's views regarding his feudatories. In a despatch of the 22nd November 1837, sixteen months after the pretended discovery of the plot, the Court of Directors again take occasion to express the pleasure they feel from the Resident's reports of the Rajah's administration. The Rajah's rights, freely admitted by the Home authorities, were obstinately resisted by the Bombay Government; all his appeals were unheeded; his grievances aggravated by delay, and still more deeply embittered by withholding from him the despatch of the Court of Directors which contained the sanction to his claims. This course of proceeding was, in my humble opinion, a positive breach of treaty on our part.

The Indian Examiner and Universal Review for June 1847, under the heading "The Plot Discovered", published the report of a speech of General Briggs on the Satara Raja's case which is so important that it is reproduced below. The above-named journal prefaced the publication of the speech as follows:—

As there exists at the present moment a very gratifying disposition to peruse information respecting the case of the Raja of Sattara, we have peculiar pleasure in being able to give to the world an authentic and revised report of the admirable speech delivered by General Briggs, formerly Political Resident at the Court of the deposed Raja, on the charge brought against his Highness of intriguing with the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa. A more able or convincing statement we have never read, and we doubt not it will render essential

service to the cause of the injured Prince on whose behalf it was generously made. The speech was delivered at a great meeting in behalf of the Raja of Sattara, held in the Concert Room, Store Street ; on which occasion the Chair was ably filled by Thomas Wakley, Esq., M.P.

MAJOR-GENERAL BRIGGS.—This is the first public meeting which I have attended in connexion with the case of the Raja of Sattara. But though I have not hitherto taken a part in the out-of-doors agitation of this question, I have constantly appeared in my place in the India House, when it has been there discussed ; and have, by my voice, as well as by my votes, done all in my power to obtain justice for the virtuous but injured Prince, whose claims upon your sympathy have already been so ably urged by your Chairman. As you have heard, I was for several years honoured to represent the British Indian Government at the Court of his Highness the Raja of Sattara. The duties of the situation which I filled, brought me, as a matter of course, into intimate communication with the Raja, and enabled me to acquire a thorough knowledge of his personal character. During the same period, I also knew the Raja's representative, now before you ; so that I may say my acquaintance with that gentleman is about twenty-four years old ; and upon the strength of that acquaintance, and after a careful observation of his conduct during the seven years he has resided in this country as the agent of his deposed Prince, I will venture to say that a more honourable, zealous, or faithful servant, never prosecuted the duties assigned him by any sovereign. I have been particularly requested by this gentleman to attend on the present occasion, to explain to you the nature of a part of the case to which reference is made in the papers he has presented to the meeting, and also to translate an extract from a Mahratta newspaper, which he has brought with him. With reference to the latter, I may observe, that several of these papers have at intervals come to this country. One of them I made use of at the India House during a debate which took place in the month of August, 1845. On that occasion I made the following remark before submitting the quotation. "I hold in my hand a native newspaper, from

which I have made a short extract. The paper has just arrived from Bombay. I do not attach much importance to remarks in newspapers, in general, and particularly to native newspapers ; but still this is worthy your attention. The article I allude to, relates to the case of the ex-Raja of Sattara ; I have translated it into English." I then read the extract, which was as follows :

"Bombay, June 16, 1845.

"Our opinion of the Sattara business," says the Editor, "is as follows : First, Colonel Ovens, the Resident, infringed the treaty of Sattara, published a proclamation, and got up forged papers. Ballajee Punt Nathoo is an infamous intriguer. He is the confidant of the Resident, and has received a Jagheer. His intrigues have led to the refusal to the Raja of the written statements against his Highness. The persons who have given evidence against him, are intriguers, traitors, thieves, the relatives of Ballajee Punt Nathoo, and the enemies of the Raja, and conspirators. For this opinion we have ample authority. Colonel Ovens is the individual who has given support to this faction ; and he has even gone so far as to bring forward new seals forged in the name of the Raja. We feel bound, therefore, to reprint in this our paper, for general information, here and everywhere, impressions of the true seals and the false seals,—the latter being copied from the printed Parliamentary documents in page 1818."

In the paper from which I made this translation, were *fac-similes* of the seals forged to criminate the Raja, and of the genuine seals which they were intended to represent ; and I exhibited the newspaper, and the impressions of these seals, true and false, to the Court.

THE CHAIRMAN.—Will you repeat the date of that Newspaper?

GENERAL BRIGGS.—The date of that paper was June 16. 1845. The one which I to-night hold in my hand is dated November 9, 1846, and was received by the last mail. I am going to give you a translation of one of its leading articles. It is as follows :

"SATTARA AFFAIRS.

Several months ago we noticed the nature of the evidence got up against his Highness the Raja of Sattara, when we stated that Colonel Ovans, the Resident at his Highness's Court, and the Political Agent at Dharwar, had produced certain false seals, which had been purchased by the payment of large sums of money ; and we then printed exact *fac-similes* of those seals, together with those of the real seals, in order to compare them, and to show the forgeries. We think it necessary to republish the copies of these seals, to call the attention of our readers to these proceedings, and shall continue, from time to time, to do so, until some satisfactory answer is given to clear up this matter. That the Resident did purchase certain papers, and two seals, a large one and a small one, purporting to be those of the then Raja of Sattara, but bearing the impression of the Raja Sivajee, for the sum of 400 rupees, is proved by the Parliamentary Papers, page 818. It is these seals, which, on comparing them with the originals, have been proved to be false. These seals, as also the real seals of the Raja, whose name they bear, are printed underneath ; and on comparison, the forgery will appear complete. Five seals of a similar character, which were obtained by the Political Agent in Dharwar, and assumed to be the seals of the Raja, in order to convict him, were also obtained by means of money. On the 6th of January, 1838, the political agent writes that the seals have the inscription of the name of the then Raja ; and on the 19th of February, 1838, he writes that these seals were not obtained without great expense and difficulty ; but he says, I have much suspicion as to their authenticity. Page 819. Parliamentary Papers. The *real* seals were in the hands of Colonel Ovans, at Sattara, when these were sent to him. We now exhibit impressions, both of the false seals obtained at Dharwar, and the true seals. It does appear most extraordinary that the Government, being in possession of the two sets of seals, the false ones and the true ones, should bring the false ones forward as evidence against the Raja."

Such, Sir, is a portion of the contents of a native Newspaper

in the Mahratta language, at this moment widely circulated over that part of India which is inhabited by that large section of the Hindoo people with which the Raja of Sattara is connected. We are told that a re-consideration of this case, and a new decision upon it would damage the Government in the eyes of the natives of India.

Mr. GEESIN.—So much the better.

GENERAL BRIGGS.—A gentleman behind me, says, "So much the better ;" but it is not the injury of the Government, but its reputation that I am anxious for ; and I am of a very different opinion from those who think that the correction of an error, in a case like this, would damage the Government. What will really damage the Government, is, the circulation of papers like these among the natives ; papers, proving, by ocular demonstration, that one of their princes has been dethroned by means of forgery—that that forgery has been made apparent to the world by the publication of the secret papers of the Government—and that the victim of such baseness in nevertheless left without redress. This paper, let it be borne in mind, is printed at Bombay, under the immediate cognizance of the British authorities ; and yet, however mischievous it is calculated to prove, there is no mode of preventing its publication ; for, how can it be prosecuted for libel, when it simply quotes from the papers laid before Parliament ? What I said in 1845, I repeat to-night. Let the Government hasten to vindicate its own character by retracing its steps. Let it give the Raja the benefit of the disclosure of all these horrid falsehoods and forgeries. If it does not, will not the natives conclude that those atrocities were perpetrated with the sanction, if not by the direction of the Government ; since, on their being revealed, they took no measures to repair the wrong done to the innocent victim of those machinations ? Sir, on other occasions, in another place, I have been at some pains to dissect that part of the plot to ruin the Raja, which relates to his alleged compact with the Viceroy of Goa ; and as this is a portion of the case which requires some such local knowledge and familiarity with the customs, religion, and languages of India, as I happen, from long residence in the

country, to possess, I shall refer to the subject to night, particularly as I have been requested to do so by my friend Rungo Bapojee. You have already heard the nature of the charges brought against the Raja. As for that referring to his alleged interview with two native officers of one of our regiments, it is so absurd, that a child of five years old would refuse to credit it, if informed of all the circumstances of the case. For how stands the matter as related by the prosecutors themselves? Why, thus—that the Raja sent for two soldiers, in our service, to whom he had never in his life spoken before, and without any security for their secrecy, without any knowledge of their character, without any plan of action in which they were to co-operate, told them he was in league with the native powers of India to upset the Government to which they belonged. Now this is really the sum and substance of the charge. Is it likely that any man, with one grain of common sense, would do this? Would a burglar send for two of the inspectors of the metropolitan police, and coolly tell them that he was in league with a score of other house-breakers to rob one of the banks in Lombard-street? But you have been correctly told, that after the Supreme Government was made aware of the evidence given by the soldiers, they instructed the British Political Agents throughout the country to take the clue which had been furnished, and to report to what extent the alleged conspiracy had been carried on; and that these Agents, one and all, declared that they could discover no trace of a plot. So that we have the double absurdity of the Raja telling two native officers in the British troops that he was in combination with certain princes, actually named, to drive the English out of India, when no such combination existed! I ask you whether upon the face of it, this charge is not the most absurd and ridiculous one ever preferred against an innocent man? Well might the Supreme Government scout both it, and the evidence on which it rested, as utterly worthless as a justification of any severe measures against the Raja.

But let me come to these seals and papers in the Goa case, for these have been set up as the principal evidence against the Raja. In proof of this, I may refer to Hansard, who informs

us, that Sir James Wier Hogg, the Chairman of the East India Company, told the House of Commons, "That, with reference to the evidence, both oral and documentary, as to the Raja's intercourse with the authorities at Goa, that he admitted fully the folly and absurdity of the scheme, but at the same time contended, that the charge was proved and substantiated beyond the possibility of a doubt." This, it is charitable to presume, was said before Sir James Hogg had looked into the papers which contain the evidence on this branch of the case. To night you shall have the opportunity of judging of the assertion made in the House of Commons. If I am not greatly mistaken, I shall awaken something more than mere doubt in your minds, in reference to the oral and documentary evidence on which the Raja has been convicted on the principal charge brought against him. The first charge was that of engaging in a plot with the native princes to overthrow the British power in India. This entirely rested on the alleged interview with the two sepoys or native soldiers. The second charge was that of corresponding with an ex-Raja, at the time in exile and beggary, for the purpose of obtaining two millions and a half sterling, in money, to assist in his scheme against the English ; and the third charge was that of carrying on, through a series of years, a written correspondence with Don Manoel, the Portuguese Governor of Goa, in order to obtain through him 30,000 troops to drive the English out of India. It is to this third and last charge that I solicit your attention.

The papers in the Goa case are comprised in 177 pages of the blue books on the Sattara case, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed. This is the evidence which in the opinion of Sir J. W. Hogg, substantiates this charge beyond the possibility of a doubt. I have gone through the whole of these papers with great pains. I have analyzed their contents with rigour. I have weighed the evidence they contain. I have searched into the history of the parties who are the principal actors in the scene which they disclose, and I have made up my mind on the subject. In connection with this case there are two sets of seals, alleged to be those of the Raja of Sattara. The question respecting these is, are they genuine.

or are they fabricated seals? I need scarcely inform you, that seals in India are what signatures are in England; they are the necessary attestation of the genuineness and authority of documentary evidence. The two sets of seals alluded to are produced in evidence against the Raja, to prove his treason against the British Government in India. They were not found in the possession of the Raja. Let that fact be remembered. Neither were the documents to which they appear affixed found in the possession of the Raja, nor is it even pretended that he ever saw them, or that any paper bearing their impression ever emanated from his palace. One set of these seals was obtained, as you have already heard, through the efforts of Mr. Dunlop, the British Political Agent at Dharwar, who went to great trouble and expense before he could procure them. How did he finally come into possession of them? Through the agency of certain parties, who made themselves masters of the papers belonging to a personage of reputed high sanctity, and great religious authority, called the Swamee of Sunkeshwur. This man, who was dead at the time, had been a sort of high priest or pope among the Brahmins in that part of India which includes the territory of Sattara. The seals were found among his papers in the retreat or hermitage where he had been accustomed to live. They were sent by Mr. Dunlop to Government, as the seals of the Raja of Sattara. Since the impressions of these have been given to the world in the parliamentary papers, they have been examined. What is the result? Are they the seals of the Raja? No; they are neither the seals of the condemned Raja nor of any other Raja. The inscription reads—"Sadasew Bajee Row, the prime minister of Raja Shahoo, King of men." According to the Sanscrit mode of putting what I have given you in English, the word *Raja* stands first, and hence, in hot haste, the seals are pronounced those of the living prince, though his name is *Pertaub Sing*, and not Shahoo. Had the seals belonged to Raja Shahoo, they would have belonged to a man who died ninety years ago. But they are the seals, or purport to be, of one *Sadasew Bajee-Row*, a prime minister of that prince. Now, that prince never had a prime minister of that name; nor, during the reign of any

Raja of Sattara, was there ever a prime minister called Sadasew Bajee Row. This seal, therefore, is not the seal of the ex-Raja ; neither is it the seal of any other Raja : and, though it purports to be the seal of a prime minister of one of the Rajas of Sattara, it is not so ; for neither the Raja Shahoo nor any other Raja of Sattara ever had a prime minister of that name. It is therefore a forgery, and the name it bears is that of a man who never had an existence as a Mahratta minister. I will now solicit a few moments of your time, that I may say a word or two regarding the man in whose possession this set of seals was found, and to whom they belonged ; that you may clearly perceive, as I have ever done, that there could be no connection between him and the Raja of Sattara, for any such purpose as that set forth in the charge, and that you may understand, also, the nature of the plot against the Raja, and to some extent the motive in which it originated. First let me say, that not alone were the seals to which I have now referred (and I hope sufficiently) found in the hermitage of this deceased Brahminical pope, but also a variety of records, proving him to have been a man who, exclusive of his sacerdotal functions, carried on extensive political intrigues. Amongst his papers was found a correspondence with Hyderabad, also with Solapoor, also with the ex-Peishwa Bajee Row, also with the ex-Raja of Nagpoor, and a treaty, in cypher, with the Guickowar, or Raja of Baroda.

The Swamee of Sunkeshwur, as standing at the head of the Brahmins in a particular locality, and in virtue of a custom immemorially connected with the station which he filled, was in the habit of collecting and commissioning others to collect, in his behalf, religious benevolences. In other words, he laid the inhabitants under tribute, and enforced payment in the name of religion. This tribute was for the support of his Holiness, for he, like many other similarly eminent men, took good care of himself. Soon after the Raja ascended the throne, it pleased the Swamee to send divers persons into the Sattara territory, to collect the aforementioned religious benevolences amongst his Highness's subjects ; but the Raja, with his usual good sense and liberality, (and being withal no very ardent admirer

of the Swamee.) made it known among the people that they were at perfect liberty to give or withhold their contributions, for that he would neither sanction nor permit any coercion in religious matters. The consequence was, that the Swamee's agents did not reap a very plentiful harvest. This was a great grievance in the eyes of the pope, and no doubt considerably diminished his respect for the Raja. After this the Raja gave still further offence to his Holiness, by declining to go out two miles from Sattara to meet him on the occasion of his paying a visit to the city. The Raja thought it due to his own rank that the Swamee should come to him. This deficiency in respect for the head of the Church gave the Swamee much annoyance, and he ill brooked the letting down of his dignity, in being compelled to dispense with the homage he expected from the Raja. This occurred in 1817; and from that time to the year 1837, a period of twenty years, a feeling of revenge on account of this fancied insult rankled in the breast of the Swamee, who, let it be remembered, belonged to that caste which had usurped the throne of the Rajas of Sattara. I may also specify another cause of hatred and vengeance furnished to the Brahmins, and to the Swamee in particular, by the Raja. They claimed, as the superior Brahmin caste, the exclusive right of performing certain funeral ceremonies. Now the Raja himself was the protector of a caste which, though inferior, claimed the same right, and insisted on exercising it. The Brahmins of the caste of which the Swamee was the head, appealed to the Raja to support *them*, and to prohibit this inferior caste from performing the rites to which I have alluded. The Raja refused to interfere, but consented that the question, which was a religious one, should be submitted to the pundits, or doctors of Hindoo divinity, at Benares, for their decision. This did not satisfy the Brahmins, who on one occasion assembled in thousands near Sattara, and vowed, if the opportunity ever served, they would be revenged on the Raja for his refusal to uphold their priestly privileges. These are the men with whom it is alleged, the Raja entered into a conspiracy to overthrow the British power in India! Can you believe it? Is it within the bounds of probability, that such elements

would unite for such a purpose ; or that the Raja would take into his confidence, and put his fate into the hands of men like these, whose religious hatred of him was strong and inextinguishable, and who were equally disliked and abhorred by him?

If you will turn to the papers connected with the Goa plot, you will find, that throughout the whole of the proceedings, down to the period when Colonel Ovans entered into a treaty with a gangrobber of the name of Balkoba Kelkar, there is a man of the name of Nago Deorao who figures very conspicuously ; who, in fact, appears to be the principal agent in all the business connected with that plot. It is important to ascertain who this man really was ; for, if Sir James W. Hogg is correct, he was, throughout, the trusted, confidential, and authorized envoy of his Highness the Raja of Sattara. The Swamee, in addition to making periodical visits himself, was in the habit of employing others to collect his religious benevolences ; bands of military men, or marauders, to plunder and molest those who were unwilling to contribute. It is on record in these papers, that on one occasion he gave fifty pounds in money, and clothes of equal value to a gang of these outlaws, to enable them to go down to a certain district in the Concan and plunder the people. Now, let me beg you to notice the fact, that the man Nago Deorao, of whom I have spoken, was one of the men so employed by the Swamee to collect his benevolences ; and this same Nago is the man said to be the guilty accomplice of the Raja, in his conspiracy with the Viceroy of Goa. He was beyond all question at the head of a gang of the Swamee's agents for obtaining tribute, and from time to time executing the deep-laid plots of that affected saint. Now, the proof of the Raja's participation in a plot with the Government of Goa rests upon certain papers and seals, which were said to have been in the possession of this Nago Deorao. The whole of the documents, as well as copies of the seals, are given in a paper drawn up with much skill and care by Rungoo Bapojee, and are taken from the blue books of Parliament. The documents are alleged to be letters which passed between the Raja and Don Manoel, the Viceroy.

and the seals to be those of the Raja of Sattara. Rungoo has also given copies of the Raja's genuine seals, so that the two sets, the *false* and the *true*, can be compared. In their *form*, their *size*, and their *inscriptions*, they are wholly different. Here are the forged seals ; they consist of a large one and a small one. The inscription on the large one is, being translated, "Raja Seevajee, King or Emperor, holding in his hand the sword of victory ;" on the smaller one are the words, "Let all be done according to these orders." By the first of these inscriptions, it appears that these instruments were intended to represent the seals used by the great Seevajee Raja, who reigned over the Mahratta Empire about 160 years ago. Here however, are copies of the seals really used by Seevajee, which have been forwarded to England, to assist us in the exposure of this infamous transaction. The inscription on the larger of these seals is, "Like the increase of the new moon from the first day, so all the world obey and worship the seal of Seevajee Raja, the son of Shahjee Raja." But, even had the seals in the possession of this Nago Deorao been exactly like those of Seevajee Raja (which they seem intended to represent), the use of instruments in the Goa intrigue, different from those usually affixed by the Raja to state papers, would have been inexplicable.

Let me now explain how these forged papers and seals fell into the hands of the Bombay Government. You are all aware, that Colonel Ovans displaced at Sattara that highly honourable officer, General Lodwick ; who, rather than make himself the tool of the party who wished him to act according to the "paper of hints," and so become the instrument of dethroning the Raja, retired from a situation yielding him upwards of four thousand pounds a year. Colonel Ovans no sooner arrived at Sattara, than he set himself about collecting evidence from all quarters. As it was publicly known that this Resident wanted evidence against the Raja, there were plenty of persons willing and ready to supply him with any description of testimony which he might deem necessary to convict the Prince, whom he was bound by the treaty to advise and befriend. Nago Deorao was at this time in that part of the Bombay

territory which is called the Concan, situated below the Ghauts. He was there, as I have stated already, as the agent of the Swamee of Sunkeshwur, prosecuting his work of collecting religious benevolences for this Brahminical high-priest. He had with him at the time an *uncle*, three *first cousins*, a *brother-in-law*, and a *nephew*, besides other relatives. I mention this fact to show you the position in which the principal members of this confederacy stood to each other—they were a snug family party. Nago Deorao died, and the result was, the breaking up of the gang. Some of them had recourse to an expedient which the holy hermit at the top of the Ghaut (the Swamee) was in the habit of encouraging. That is to say, they collected together a band of vile and reckless characters, and resolved to attack the British treasury at Vingorla, where they hoped to obtain much spoil. This is what in India is called *Dacoity*, or gang-robbery. The "family party" I have named, had taken steps for that purpose ; but before they could accomplish their design, the British authorities at Vingorla got scent of their intentions, and frustrated all their plans. Several of them were taken prisoners ; the leader, however, escaped. This leader was a man of the name of Balkoba Kelkur, the companion, confidential friend, and brother-in-law of the deceased Nago Deorao. Defeated in his atrocious design of plundering the Vingorla treasury, he fled to some hiding-place in the territory of Goa, and from thence he conveyed, through some trusty agent, to Colonel Ovans, the information, that he had in his possession certain documents of a very important nature, which would be amply sufficient to criminate the Raja of Sattara. Colonel Ovans, on hearing this, deputed a confidential agent of his own to negotiate with this gang-robber and fugitive from justice, for the delivery of these papers. Accordingly, the Resident's agent, accompanied by the emissary of the fugitive felon, visited the Concan, and entered into communication with Balkoba for the production of the papers. The thief, like a shrewd fellow and a good diplomatist, kept out of the way until a preliminary treaty should be agreed upon, signed, and sealed, and delivered. Others were employed to go between him and the representative of Colonel Ovans.

These parties pretended that the papers were not then actually in the possession of Balkoba, for that he, pressed for pecuniary supplies, had *pawned* them for 800 rupees, or £80 sterling. The agent of Colonel Ovans took an objection to the sum, as being large, and there was, as is usual in such cases, a good deal of palaver. At length, the ambassadors from the chief of banditti came down to 500 rupees, or £50 sterling; and finally agreed to take £10 less, or 400 rupees, on condition that, over and above the money, Balkobar should receive a *free pardon* at the hands of the British authorities. On Colonel Ovans being informed of the terms which had been made, he instantly ratified them, by sending a letter of approval, accompanied by the *money* and the *pardon*; and the gang-robber at once came forth whitewashed, and set up with cash. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that the story about pawning the papers was invented for the occasion.

The all-important documents obtained by the means and from the parties I have described, were a bundle of paper tied up in a cloth. They purported to be *originals*. In number they amounted to forty-two. Thirty of these papers consisted of an alleged correspondence between his Highness the Raja of Sattara, and his Excellency Don Manoel, the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa; the letters of the Raja purporting to be attested by the *seals* of the Prince, and the letters of the Viceroy by the *signature* of that high functionary, and to be all *originals*. The remaining twelve papers were of different character, but all tending to criminate the Raja. Amongst these papers is one of a very singular and extraordinary character. It is a document, purporting to be Articles of Agreement, drawn up at Goa by Don Manoel, as between himself and the Raja of Sattara, according to which the Viceroy undertook to supply to the Raja 30,000 men, half Portuguese and half French, to aid the Raja in subverting and annihilating the British power in India. I will not dwell for a moment upon the absurdity of this paper, nor will I state over again the facts you have heard, relative to the denial on the part of Don Manoel of all participation in such a scheme; but, there is one fact which I wish to impress upon your minds, and it

is this: that when the papers left behind on the decease of the Swamee, came into the possession of the Bombay Government, through the means adopted by Mr. Dunlop, and already alluded to, a rough draft, or original copy, of this very treaty or bond of agreement was found among those papers. I cannot too strongly urge you to consider this fact. I have already described the character of the Swamee—I have shown you that his life was devoted to intrigue—I have proved to you that he and his followers were the deadly enemies of the Raja—between whom and that noble and liberal-minded prince there could be no sympathy, and no intimate communication—I have shown you that the dislike was reciprocal, and that it was matter of historical notoriety that the Raja was distinguished for nothing more than for his deep-rooted aversion to the Brahmins—I have shown you, too, the motives to revenge which the Brahmins generally, and the Swamee in particular, cherished towards the Raja. Bearing these things in mind, then, look calmly at the fact here placed officially on record, that an original draft of a paper, purporting to be articles of agreement between Don Manoel and the Raja of Sattara, is found among the papers of the deceased Swamee, and that a copy from that original draft is found—not among the papers of Don Manoel, not among the papers of the Raja—but in a bundle of papers given by Nago Deorao, the secret agent of the Swamee, to Balkoba Kelkur, to be restored to the master by whom he had been employed down to the moment that he breathed his last. Yet, Sir James Hogg says he considers the Goa charge established beyond the possibility of a doubt. If it has, why then has the Portuguese Government never been called to account? If the Raja is guilty in this matter, so is Don Manoel; and as he could not bring 30,000 troops to India without the aid of his Government—or, if he could, at all events compromised his Government by entering into a treasonable alliance with the Raja for such a purpose—how is it there has been no reckoning either with Don Manoel or the Government he represented? The inference is inevitable. The British authorities never for an instant seriously believed that such a compact existed. They therefore never dared to

charge Don Manoel ; but the thing served the purpose of dethroning a powerless prince like the Raja, and the bare existence of these papers enables a gentleman in the House of Commons to talk of documentary proof, and of the Goa charge being supported by incontestible evidence. Happily, those who are competent to judge of the nature of these papers have been now in their possession, and are astonished that such evidence could ever have been received against such a man as the Raja. But let me return to the gang-robber and his employers. Balkooba Kelkur and the papers were together brought to Sattara, to be examined by Colonel Ovens. Along with them came the other members of the infamous gang, an amnesty having been previously obtained, by which they escaped the consequences of their crimes. These are the respectable witnesses brought to the Residency at Sattara to give evidence against the Raja. Now, Sir, I will show this meeting clearly what was the nature, and what the value as evidence, of those papers. On examination it turns out, that among the whole of these alleged treasonable documents there was not one actually written either by Don Manoel or the Raja. These robbers were examined separately, and their depositions are now before us. Under these examinations it came out, that seven letters written in the Raja's name were in the handwriting of one of the gang, of the name of Moro Josee, as well as three in the name of Don Manoel. This single robber then is, upon the evidence of himself and his confederates, convicted of being the actual writer of ten of these treasonable papers—at one time writing in the name of the Raja, and at another in that of Don Manoel. Surely this is a most easy method of convicting two parties of a conspiracy against a third—to write letters for both, and to put them into a bag, and call them evidence—especially if you can get parties to swallow the story. Here, then, we have a notorious enemy of the Raja, and an infamous gang-robber, the writer of ten of these papers so triumphantly referred to in the British House of Commons. Another of the gang, Dajee Bulal Waced, is convicted of writing one letter in the Raja's name, and three in Don Manoel's. Another of the gang, Nana Fatuck, turns out

to be the writer of eight letters on the part of Don Manoel, and one on the part of the Raja. Another of the gang, Narain Chitney, writes one letter on the part of the Governor, and one on the part of the Raja. He seems to have had less to do than the others. Another of the gang, Raojee Kotnees, is the writer of one letter, and Sukharam Khatmut is also the writer of one. These facts are established on the testimony of the very persons who produced these papers as evidence of the Raja's guilt. It is not pretended that they were written by the parties themselves, neither is there a tittle of proof adduced of any authority having ever been delegated to the writers by the parties whose names were used. They are pure fabrications, at the instigation of those who, in common with the members of this gang, were the deadly enemies of the Raja. Now, it must strike those whom I address as a very extraordinary thing, that any officer in the British service, animated by a desire to do justice, would bring forward such witnesses and such documents as evidence against the Raja.

Amongst these documents there is another, of a very singular character, upon which, as considerable use has been made of it by the enemies of the Raja, I must ask permission to make a few remarks. I have already described Nago Deorao—who, while living, was the head of a gang—as a confidential agent of the Swamee, and constantly employed by the latter as a collector of religious benevolences, and the promoter of intrigues. This man, finding himself near death, wrote, it is said, a letter, and this letter is found in the bundle purchased by Colonel Ovans. Those desirous of criminating the Raja have tried to make it appear, that the letter attributed to the dying Brahmin was intended for the Raja; while those who have looked at it with impartial eyes have come at once to the conclusion, that it was not, and could not be, intended for the Raja, but, if for anybody, for the Swamee of Sunkeshwur. If the latter opinion be the correct one, then, not only does Nago Deorao stand wholly dissociated from the Raja, but the letter comes in as a proof, that throughout the whole of the transactions we have been looking at, (regarding the forgery of the correspondence,) Nago was the secret and authorized agent of

his religious superior the Swamee ; and this corresponds with every other fact connected with this strange history. Now, as an oriental scholar, and an impartial man, I am prepared to prove, that the letter ascribed to Nago Deorao could be for no other person than the Swamee, and that it was as much intended for the Raja as for me, and no more. This part of the subject has been already most ably handled in another place by General Robertson, a Director of the East India Company, and my successor, as Resident, at the Court of Sattara. Sir Robert Grant, while he admits that Nago Deorao's letter is of "*a religious character*," yet comes to the conclusion, that it was intended for the Raja of Sattara. In reference to this error on the part of Sir Robert Grant, General Robertson observes—"I shall make one further allusion to the minute of Sir Robert Grant, dated the 5th of May, which relates to an important matter, on which I am totally at issue with him." Nago Deorao, in July, 1836, feeling himself dying, is represented as dictating two letters ; one to the Raja, and another to three of his colleagues, or members of his gang. In the former, he states that his death is approaching, and that he shall "never see the feet again" ; and then submits the five following requests.—

"1st. That the offerings and perpetual lamp of the Deo of Shree Ravensidh may constantly continue.

"2nd. That a debt due from him to the shop at Ravensidh may be paid.

"3rd. That his children, who are young and ignorant, may be provided for and protected, as the Raja may think proper.

"4th. That the pledge to liquidate the debt, due by the late Chintoram, be fulfilled.

"5th. That a provision be made for Dajeeba Waeed, who has been with me two or three years, has much exerted himself, and has been of infinite service during my sickness."

Having made the above requests, he concludes thus :—
 "The master has hitherto provided for me in every way, and he will do so hereafter ; therefore, taking this supplication into consideration, the master is powerful to make a provision. The Papers and Stamps (Seals) have been delivered into the charge

of Balcrishna Ragoonath, (Balkoba Kelkur.) By the virtuous actions of the master the affair will be accomplished ; but myself being unfortunate I am bereft of the feet. Never mind, SHREE SIDRAJ will bless the master with constant prosperity."

Now, let me endeavour to show you how it was that the Governor of Bombay, and others, came to regard this as a letter to the Raja of Satara. In the original letter, which is in the Mahratta language, the word "*Maharajah*" occurs several times, and this has been translated "his Highness," or the "Raja." Now, it is important that you should understand, that Nago Deorao, writing to a person in the station, and of the high and holy character of the Swamee, would be sure to use the word "*Maharajah*," which is employed to signify "Holiness" as well as "Highness," both being expressed by the same word, in the Mahratta. Writing to an ecclesiastical prince like the Swamee, the word "*Maharajah*" would of necessity have to be used, to signify "his Holiness," or "his Eminence ;" and in writing to a temporal or political prince, the *same* word would be used ; for, as every person conversant with the native language knows, there is no other. A knowledge of this simple fact, furnishes a clue at once to the right comprehension of the contents of this letter. A letter written in this country to "his Majesty," would naturally be supposed to be intended for the King upon the throne ; but it by no means follows, that a letter written in India, to some one who is called "*Maharajah*," is intended for the temporal prince of the country, and for no other person. If the supposition be entertained that this letter was intended for the Raja of Sattara, then all that is in it is utterly inapplicable and unintelligible ; but, on the supposition that it was meant for the Swamee, every part of it is clear, and perfectly easy of comprehension. The language is precisely that which would be used towards an ecclesiastical superior, and the requests preferred are just those which a dying man, standing in the relation in which the writer stood to the Swamee, would be sure to prefer, and would be justified in presenting. But, Sir, while I am prepared to maintain, that every word employed in this letter is perfectly in keeping with the mode which would be adopted in addressing a person like the Swamee, I am also

prepared to maintain, that there are forms of address, and peculiar expressions in this letter, which could not be employed by a Brahmin, like Nago Deorao, when writing to the Raja of Sattara. I am borne out in this opinion by a reference to the letter which Nago Deorao is said to have dictated to three of his surviving colleagues. His companions, who are Brahmins like himself, and a part of the gang of the Swamee, are to present his "written and humble supplication" to the Maharajah, and are to "get the whole of the arrangement made." The idea of the three men coming to the Raja of Sattara, for the purpose mentioned in this former letter, is preposterous. Again, in this letter he says, "Remember how you and myself have hitherto behaved; take care of all the *mundellel* (the gang), and see them all conduct themselves with one unanimous concern, and the affair, *through the grace of Shree Sidh* (the Holy God), should be accomplished by the exertions of all. The DEO (God) being favourable, will crown it with success; to accomplish his own affair it depends on SHREE DEO (the Holy Divinity). My desire was, that the affair might succeed; and all, with pleasing consideration, might be ready *in the service of the DEO* (Dod). Persevering in it, you should *by the command of the SHREE* (the Holy One) accomplish it: He will have favour." All these expressions clearly show that Nago Deorao and his accomplices were bound together in a religious compact, and were under the direction of a religious head, and looked up to some one of a high ecclesiastical character, who was under the special care of the Divinity. This could not be the Raja, for they were religiously at war with him, and had again and again denounced him as the enemy of the Brahminical faith, and the staunch opponent of the exclusive privileges which they claimed. Between the Raja of Sattara and the Brahmins, there was *deadly hostility*. Not long before, between 2,000 and 3,000 Brahmins waited upon Lord Clare to present a petition, *complaining of the Raja of Sattara*. They were at the time in a state of the greatest excitement; they even went so far as to declare that he was *no Hindoo*. Before this period, they were in the habit of besetting Sir John Malcolm with complaints against the Raja. "Every march I made," he

says, "I was met by Brahmins, loudly inveighing against the Raja." With these facts before you, you are called upon to believe, that the Raja was in solemn league and covenant with some of the most bitter and intriguing of this sect, and that he had them under his special care, and was willing to arrange all their affairs when they died. I cannot do better than read you an extract from the masterly speech of General Robertson, delivered in the Court of East India Proprietors. He says, "Supposing such a letter as that said to have been addressed to the Raja ever existed, it is my conviction *it was not addressed to the Raja, but to the Swamee of Sunkeshwar*. There is nothing in it that indicates it to be such as Nago would have addressed at the close of his earthly, as well as Goa mission, to the Raja. All the references to their proceedings as being the affairs of the Deo (God)—to their success, depending on the Shree Deo (the Excellent or Holy God)—to their acting under the *command* of the Shree (God)—show, that the 'the Deo's affair' was one that related to the *Brahmins*, the peculiar objects of the Deo's regard in this world." Now, what object had the Brahmins most at heart? *Victory over the Purvoes*, who they considered were *favoured by the Raja*, in consequence of which the Raja had been long the object of their *peculiar hatred and aversion*. There can be little doubt that Untajee, the Brahmin agent in the charge against his Highness of seducing the troops, was the tool of some more important personages of *his own caste*, and when more of the secret history of this case is known, I feel assured that this will prove the case. It was expected that *that* charge would have effected the Raja's ruin; but that failing, there was this of the Goa plot, the materials of which had been long preparing, under the Swamee and other great Brahmin directors. 'The affair of the Deo,' therefore, *was the ruin of the Raja*, when opportunity might offer by this plot." General Robertson, also, justly remarks, that if Nago Deorao, in July, 1836, actually wrote a letter to the Raja of Sattara, soliciting certain favours, and commending his followers to the care of his Highness; also ordering the delivery to him of certain most important papers, it is passing strange, that with such large bills upon the Raja's gratitude,

and documents of such moment to deliver to him, they never showed their faces at Sattara to reap the benefit, but in their extremity planned a robbery to save them from starvation.

I have reserved to this period all notice of a fact, which, in my judgment, and the judgment of every competent person whom I have consulted, sets this question at rest for ever ; and I am willing to stake my reputation on the opinion which I am about to deliver. I would not object to submit it to the criticism of the best Oriental scholars among my own countrymen, or to the judgment of the most learned among the natives of India. Sir, I open this volume of papers in the Sattara case, laid upon the table of the House of Commons, and I find on page 805, a document, entitled, "Translation of a letter from Nago Deorao, to the Raja of Sattara." These are the words of Colonel Ovens. They are his description of the document. The document is said to have been written by a man of high caste ; and Colonel Ovens has declared it to be a letter intended by him for the Raja of Sattara. I care nothing for its contents. I do not inquire what matters it relates to—for I find words at the top of this letter which convince me, and would convince every man in the world who knows the meaning of them, and the manner in which they are used in India, that the letter so headed, was not, and could not be intended for his Highness the Raja of Sattara ; and had this document in the Mahratta language fallen into my hands, these—the very first words which would have met my eye—would have at once assured me that it was not possible that the letter could be designed for the Raja. I will try to render this matter,—which is one of vital importance, as affecting this particular branch of my subject,—intelligible to this audience. Sir, all Hindoos, in writing to each other, place a certain word at the top of the paper on which they commence to write. This they do, no matter what the caste or rank of the party addressed. The custom is invariable and universal. The word so employed is "SHREE." It is used as a recognition of the Deity, or as a sort of invocation of the Divine Being, at the beginning of the communication. Such would be the word used by any servant of a Hindoo prince, writing to his sovereign ; and the same word, also, would be

used in addressing a person in the lowest situation in life. But there is another form of commencement or invocation, used only by a Brahmin when writing to a holy man—to one of superior sanctity and high religious elevation—one which would be considered prostituted, and used sacrilegiously, if employed on any other occasion ; and that consists of the words "SHREE SIDHRAJ," which, being translated, means "A holy and mighty Saint." These are words which no Brahmin in India would ever place at the head of a letter intended for a layman, whatever his rank or power might be. The Raja was a layman. He had no sacerdotal rank, or character, or office. He possessed no sanctity in the eyes of the Brahmins—no claim to religious veneration—no title to be addressed as a sainted or holy man. The meanest member of this Brahminical confederacy would have endured death rather than address these words to the Raja. The Raja would never have required them, nor would he have appropriated the title if it had been offered to him. The Swamee of Sunkeshwur was the "*Sidhraj*" of the Brahmins composing the gang of persons in whose possession these papers were found—a man, who, whatever his love of intrigue might be, and however deficient in those moral qualities for which we look in a man of reputed holiness, was held in the highest veneration by his own sect ; and, as we have seen in the early part of this history, deemed it due to his religious eminence to require the homage even of the prince upon the throne. There is a peculiar meaning in the words *Sidh-Raj*, signifying that the person to whom the title is given has separated himself from the world—is devoted to celibacy—and has consecrated all his powers to the advancement of the interests of religion, and the service of the sect to which he belongs. This letter, therefore, could never be intended for the Raja, but was obviously, from the very words placed at the commencement of it, intended for the Swamee of Sunkeshwur, who was always addressed as *Sidhraj*.

Having now done with the letter of Nago Deorao, I come to say a word respecting the seals used in this business. On some of these forged papers there are the impressions of seals purporting to be the seals of his Highness the Raja of Sattara.

although in no respect like the seals which the Raja was in the habit of using. As has been explained, they were the seals of some Raja Seevajee ; but neither in form, size, nor inscription, did they resemble the real seals of the great Seevajee, impressions from which were in the Record-office at Sattara, and might have been produced for comparison with these. The seals themselves, too, were in the bundle produced by Balkoba Kelkur, and were brought forward as evidence. Whence, then, came these seals? It is by no means necessary for the case of the Raja that we should know the history of these seals, for they are manifest fabrications and forgeries ; but, as it happens, and as if it had been ordained that no link should be wanting in the chain of proof requisite to clear up the mystery, we are made acquainted by the gang themselves with the origin of these base instructions. The question is asked at Sattara, "How came you in possession of these seals?" The reply is, "Oh, we made them!" "Made them! how came you to think of making seals for the Raja of Sattara?" "Why, Nago Deorao had authority from the Maharajah to make seals, and so he had them manufactured in the village of Pedney, in the Southern Concan." Here, then, is the history of these official documents. Now, bring these facts together, and let them have their due influence on your honest judgments. There is, in the first place, the fact, that the Raja from the moment of his elevation to the throne, showed, and even openly avowed, a rooted dislike of the Brahmins, whose power and authority he was always seeking to diminish and counteract. Next, you have before you the fact, that on several occasions his Highness gave great offence to these Brahmins by his conduct, either negatively or positively. Next, that it was notorious throughout the Deccan, that the Brahmins, especially those connected with the members of this gang, entertained a deadly enmity towards the Raja ; and that amongst the most conspicuous of those who did so, were the parties produced as witnesses against the Raja in support of the charge of intriguing with the Viceroy of Goa. Next, that this gang was in the direct employ and pay of the Swamee, who, besides being proved to be at the bottom of this Goa plot, was a general intriguer, and mixed up in similar

conspiracies, over a great extent of country. Next, that these papers were not found in the possession of the parties to whom they were addressed, but in one place, and in one bundle—neither at Goa nor at Sattara—but in the hands of a leader of a gang of robbers, and one of the very party known to be seeking the Raja's ruin. Next, the fact, that the authorship of these papers—the whole of them—is avowed by the gang, who also tell where the seals were made. Finally, you have the letter of the dying chief to his employer, the Swamee, furnishing you with the most conclusive evidence that the Brahmin pope at the top of the hill, was the man recognized as the head and chief of the conspiracy. Now, with all these facts before you, and with nothing but the word of Balkoba Kelkur, the thief, that Nago Deorao told him that he had the Raja's authority for what he did, you are called upon to believe that the Raja actually did sanction all this to be done by men whom he held in hatred and contempt, and whom he had for years, by his own liberal and impartial conduct, provoked to seek his destruction. Were it possible to make you as well acquainted with the Raja's character as I am, you would see at once that it was morally impossible for him to be guilty of what is here laid to his charge; and that these were the very last men in the world whom he would have employed as agents to work out such a design as that ascribed to him. But, without that knowledge, you will, you must, scout the idea that a prince compassing the overthrow of the British dominion in India, would employ as his agents such a vile, degraded set of outlaws as these, and give them authority to sit down where they passed, in another territory, and write letters to a European Viceroy, touching the introduction of 30,000 troops from Portugal and France, and the subsequent payment of millions of money, and the partition of an empire. Equally impossible is it to suppose that a man like Don Manoel, however disposed he might be to engage in a conspiracy of this kind, would consent to have it carried on by such means and such agents. But you are required further to believe, that these men, though in possession of State mysteries, which made them continually the arbiters of the fate of the Raja, and therefore competent

to exact whatever terms they might please to propose, as the conditions of secrecy, were reduced to such a low ebb of poverty and destitution as to be compelled to plan an attack on the treasury of Vingorla, to replenish their funds. You are also called upon to believe that they sold genuine documents of the nature described for £40, when, to purchase their suppression, the Raja, if guilty, would gladly have given £40,000, or twice that sum. These are things which no sane man can credit; and yet they must have been believed by some parties; or, if not, the Raja has been deliberately sacrificed on evidence believed by those parties at the time to be false. Sir Robert Grant, as I have stated, admits that the letter written by Nago Deorao was of a religious character; and also expresses his belief that the Goa plot originated with the Swamee, and that the Raja was only eventually brought to engage in it. A knowledge of the Mahratta language, and some acquaintance with the religious customs and phraseology of the Hindoos, would have enabled that Governor to have understood at once the meaning of the letter, and the station and character of the person to whom it was addressed. His incompetency in this respect may be admitted as some excuse on this particular branch of the subject; but what are we to think of an acute English lawyer (as he had the reputation of being) supposing that two such deadly enemies as the Swamee and the Raja would be found in company together in such a matter as this? In conclusion, let me remind you of the fact, that, from first to last, all evidence against the Raja has been withheld from him, and that he has been deposed without a trial. It is deeply affecting to think of a man obtaining for the first time the evidence on which he has been punished, six years after the sentence has been pronounced, and carried into execution; and then getting it in a foreign language, and at the same time debarred the opportunity, even then, of proving its falsehood. Is this consistent with the principles of justice? What I depose an illustrious man like the Raja, all whose acts have been of the most remarkable kind—remarkable for their great liberality and rare wisdom—and not only refuse to allow him to be confronted with his accusers, but even deny him a knowledge of

the nature of the charges brought against him! What! suffer him to remain, year after year, in exile and captivity, ignorant of his alleged offences, and then for him to learn the names of those who have conspired against him, only when certain papers are dragged from the India House, by order of Parliament! These things require to be looked into by the British people, and I hope they will do their duty in this case.

I have now done. My aim to-night has been to fulfil the wish of some friends near me, that I would say something respecting this notable Goa plot. I have complied with that wish, and have endeavoured to make it as intelligible as such a subject is capable of being made. If I do not mistake the attention which has been shown by this audience, I have been tolerably well understood. I think you now see through this conspiracy. Well, if you do, let the Raja have the benefit of your best efforts, but do not forget that Sir James Hogg declared, in the House of Commons, that whatever doubts might be entertained on other parts of the question, the oral and documentary evidence contained in the Parliamentary papers *proved the Raja's guilt in regard to the Goa plot*, BEYOND THE POSSIBILITY OF A DOUBT. I shall now resume my seat; and make way for other gentlemen.

APPENDIX D

COLONEL OVANS.

MR. GEORGE THOMPSON.—Sir, the object of my rising to address you on this occasion, is, to induce this Court to consent to the appointment of a Select Committee to enquire into the conduct of a public officer of the East India Company. The officer to whom I allude is Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Ovans, of the Bombay Army, late Political Resident, or Representative of the British Government, at the Court of Sattara. I am aware, that the notice I have given would justify a belief, that I am about to prefer, in a formal manner, certain charges against that officer. It would have been easy for me to have done so ; but after a very careful consideration of the question, I have come to the conclusion that I shall be acting more in accordance with the ordinary course of an investigation like the present, if I confine myself, in the first instance, to a brief statement of the facts of the case, and conclude with a motion for the appointment of a Committee to enquire into those facts, and to report thereon to this Court. Although the papers which contain the entire case I am about to bring before you are in the hands of the Proprietors, yet, it would, perhaps, be unreasonable to expect that they should be able, on the spot, so to test the accuracy and fairness of my references, and so to weigh the importance of my inferences, as to feel justified in at once pronouncing judgment upon the conduct and character of Colonel Ovans. Some of the facts I am about to state are familiar to the Members of this Court, having been frequently before referred to. Others may be altogether new,—and others, again, though not previously unknown, or unnoticed, may have been viewed in a very different light from that in which they have presented themselves to my mind. At all events, they have never yet been presented in a collected and consecutive form—have never been made the ground of specific and formal allegations, for the purpose of eliciting from this

Court a deliberate opinion upon the official conduct of Colonel Ovans. It has appeared to me, therefore, that courtesy and fair dealing, no less than the gravity and importance of the subject, demand that I should, in the first instance, present to this Court what I may call a *prima facie* view of the case. Having done this, it would be competent to me to give notice of the charges I intended to found upon the *ex parte* evidence laid before the Court ; and if, in going into these charges, I brought forward no new matter, I should stand acquitted of precipitation, or of having in any way taken the Court or Colonel Ovans by surprise. I have resolved, however, to adopt a course which will put it in the power of this Court to take the enquiry into their own hands, and by so doing to have the utmost possible security for the fair and impartial prosecution of that enquiry. My present object then, is, to shew cause why such an enquiry should take place. This object I shall seek to accomplish by placing before you certain incontrovertible facts ; these facts will be of a nature to admit of easy, immediate, and satisfactory investigation. I shall lay you under no necessity to call witnesses living. I shall not oblige you to search voluminous reports ; I shall not perplex you by placing before you the doubtful and conflicting evidence of natives, even when that evidence is to be found in a printed form in the papers now before us. I shall make Colonel Ovans the narrator of his own acts, and, in most instances, the expounder of his own motives. There will be only one question of fact for you to determine, and that will be, whether certain documents, bearing the name of Colonel Ovans, supplied by the authorities in this house, and bearing the *imprimatur* of the Imperial Parliament, are correct copies of genuine documents emanating from Colonel Ovans, during the time of his administration of the affairs of Sattara.

Sir, before I proceed, I must be permitted to state that the enquiry upon which I am about to enter is one of deep importance. It nearly concerns the character of an officer of this Company, who has filled a high appointment, and who has been entrusted through a series of years, with almost unlimited power over the destinies of a large number of human

beings ; an officer who justly or unjustly has been the almost sole instrument of dethroning a Prince of high reputation and rare virtues, and of enthroning another, who is at this moment living under the protection of the British Government. For many years this officer has been the Representative of British authority at a Native Court, our Representative, your Representative and mine ; nor ours alone—the Representative of the Monarch and the people of this country, as well as of the East India Company. By the measures he has taken, by the information he has furnished, and by the advice he has tendered, he has for a long period influenced the affairs of a distant nation. On almost every page of these voluminous papers, I see the evidence of the almost paramount influence exercised by this officer over the councils of an important branch of the Indian Government. I am about to call upon you to examine into the nature of the measures he adopted, the character of the information which he afforded, and the kind of advice which he offered, to guide the deliberations and determine the decisions of the government under which he acted. An able predecessor of this officer, when called upon to reply to certain questions put to him by the Government of this country, relating to the qualifications of Residents at Native Courts, has observed that "A dishonest envoy is the worst of Traitors, as a foolish one is a calamity and a reproach." It is equally indisputable that an enlightened and upright envoy must be a blessing to the country he visits, a credit to the Government he serves, and the means of exalting the reputation and influence of the nation to which he belongs. It will be for you to say, at the close of the enquiry, to which of these classes Colonel Ovans belongs. The present investigation is important, inasmuch as it involves the justice or injustice of the sentence pronounced upon the Raja of Sattara, and consequently the character of the Government by whom that sentence has been pronounced and carried into effect. If that sentence shall be found to have been a just one, then let it stand ;—the more rigorous the enquiry, the more complete will be the manifestation of its justice, and the more hearty and permanent the verdict of approbation pronounced upon it. But if it was

an unjust sentence, and still more, obtained by base, fraudulent, and foul means, it will remain as a stigma upon our national character—a stigma that can only be effaced by speedy reversal and ample reparation. Such is the nature of the inquiry. It relates to the character and conduct of a British officer, to the sentence passed upon a Prince and a people, and involves the reputation of the British name throughout those wide dominions which we are permitted to govern, in trust for the Crown, and responsible to God.

Lieutenant Colonel Ovans entered the service of this Company in 1809. In 1820 he was employed upon a survey of Guzerat ; in 1825 he was engaged in Kandeish ; in 1831 he visited England on furlough, and on his return to India, was promoted to the situation of Quarter Master General of the Bombay Army. In 1836 he was associated with Mr. Willoughby and Colonel Lodwick, on a Commission to enquire into a charge against the Raja of Sattara, of attempting to corrupt the native troops, serving under the British Government in India. He returned to his military duties at Bombay, and on the 6th of June 1837, was officially notified of his appointment to the situation of acting Resident at Sattara, in the place of Colonel Lodwick, who had been called upon by Sir Robert Grant, to apply for a sick certificate, in order that the Governor might put into his office a person of greater tact, dexterity and energy.

In 1818, Pertaub Sing, the deposed Raja of Sattara, having been released by the British Government, from the state of confinement in which he had been kept by the Peishwa, was placed upon the Guddee of Sattara, as the representative of the ancient Princes of the Mahratta country ; one of the objects of the Government being, to establish a counterpoise to the remaining influence of the former Brahmin Government. The Raja is described by those who found him in the field of battle, as having shewn the utmost joy at being taken to the camp of the British, and as having expressed the utmost confidence in the generosity and good faith of our Government. Mr. Elphinstone, in a letter to Captain Grant, 8th April 1818, (p. 508), speaks of the young Raja, as having given "proofs of

a good disposition, and a sound understanding", and Sir John Malcolm, after an inspection of the Sattara territory, eleven years afterwards, speaks in the most favorable terms of the character and conduct of the Raja, since he had been entrusted with the entire administration of the affairs of his principality ; and in a Minute penned on the 22nd of February, 1829, says, "the mere loss of revenue that has attended the establishment of the principality of Sattara, is compensated tenfold, by the reputation we derive from the act, and by the scope we have afforded to the exercise of talent, and the attainment of rank and consideration to a large and prosperous population."

On the 25th September, 1819, a Treaty of perpetual friendship and alliance was concluded, between the Raja of Sattara and the British Government. I shall read the second and sixth articles of that Treaty, as referring to the position of the Agent or Resident at the Court of his Highness.

ARTICLE 2. The Raja, for himself, and for his heirs and successors, engages to hold the territory in subordinate co-operation with the British Government and to be guided in all matters by the advice of the British Agent at his Highness's Court.

ARTICLE 6. The Raja shall ultimately have the entire arrangement of the country now ceded to him ; but as it is necessary, on account of the recent conquest of the country, that it should at first be governed with particular care and prudence, the administration will, for the present, remain in the hands of the British Political Agent. That officer will, however, conduct the Government *in the Raja's name*, and *in consultation with his Highness* ; and in proportion as his Highness and his officers shall acquire experience, and evince their ability to govern the country, the British Government will gradually transfer the whole administration into their hands. He will, however, at all times attend, as above agreed, to the advice which the British Political Agent shall offer him, *for the good of his State, and for the maintenance of general tranquillity.*

Were it necessary, I might quote numerous passages from the letters of Mr. Elphinstone to Captain Grant, and from that

officer to Mr. Elphinstone, for the purpose of shewing in what manner the duties of Agent and Resident were to be discharged. It was enjoined upon the Resident to treat the Raja with the utmost respect and deference, to avoid all interference, except where it was absolutely necessary—to be the friendly adviser of the prince in all matters connected with the welfare of the State, and his own honour and character, and to do all in his power to render the Raja popular among his subjects, and to establish him firmly on the throne to which we had elevated him. Every letter from the Resident to Mr. Elphinstone, is replete with the proofs of the Raja's profound regard for the friendly council of his European adviser—and subsequent Residents have affirmed, that the injunctions of Captain Grant were observed with a degree of reverence absolutely religious; as unalterable laws for the regulation of his conduct, and that he never mentioned the name, either of Mr. Elphinstone or Capt. Grant, without an expression of his exalted esteem for their character, and his fixed determination to act according to their early counsel. Happy would it have been for the Raja, and most fortunate for the name and honour of the British Government, if every Governor and Resident had trodden in the footsteps of these distinguished men! I have already stated that previous to Colonel Ovan's appointment as acting Resident at Sattara, he had been a member of the Commission sent in October, 1886, to Sattara, to investigate a charge against the Raja. As a member of that Commission, he pronounced the Raja guilty of tampering with two Native officers of the 23rd regiment. In conjunction with Mr. Willoughby, his brother Commissioner, he refused on that occasion to pay the Raja any outward mark of respect—he resisted the endeavours of Colonel Lodwick to obtain for the Raja the services of a vakeel during the enquiry—he prevented the cross-examination of the witnesses—he obtained the destruction of the Notes taken by Colonel Lodwick during the sitting of the Commission—and he finally united with his Civil colleague to induce Colonel Lodwick to sign the report of the proceedings, well knowing at the time that Colonel Lodwick regarded the evidence as utterly worthless.

I shall not now dwell upon the conduct of the Bombay Government in appointing to the situation of Resident, a person who had previously pronounced the Raja guilty of the heinous crime, of attempting, by the corruption of our troops, the destruction of the English in India, and the overthrow of our Government. Neither shall I at present go into the details which would be necessary, to bring to light the artifices and falsehoods which were resorted to, for the purpose of effecting the removal of Colonel Lodwick from Sattara. Neither shall I now dwell upon the extraordinary fact, of the alleged Petition of Gijabae being kept, from the 6th of March to the 13th of June, in order that it might be committed to the hands of Colonel Ovans. Suffice it to say, that while Colonel Lodwick was removed, upon the declared ground of having lost the confidence of the Raja, a man was appointed, who had secretly declared his conviction of the Raja's guilt, and who was specially instructed to be distant and reserved in all his communications with the Raja; and who, acting upon his instructions, informed his Government that he had resisted the Raja's attempts to throw himself into his hands. It is a dark and most distressing chapter in our Indian history, which records the transactions of the Bombay Government, from the period of the misunderstanding with the Raja, on the subject of the Jagheers, down to the appointment of Colonel Ovans, and his arrival at Sattara. I proceed at once to the conduct of Colonel Ovans.

I.—SUBORNATION OF EVIDENCE AGAINST THE RAJA.

Colonel Ovans arrived at Sattara on the 15th of June, 1837, and commenced his official duties on the following day. These papers enable me to state with certainty, what was the earliest official act of this officer. I have shewn you, that by the Treaty existing between the two Governments, he was bound to be the friendly adviser of his Highness the Raja, for the good of the State over which that Prince presided, who, by the same Treaty, could not act, except with the concurrence and approbation of the Resident. Bear in mind, that for nineteen years the Raja had so conducted himself, as to merit

from all persons connected with the Government of India, eulogiums higher than any that ever before had been pronounced upon any native Prince ; and that the testimony of the retiring Resident was, that until the Raja had been deceived by the Governor of Bombay, and had therefore resolved to send an Agent of his own to England, he had conducted himself with perfect good faith, and firm reliance on the British Government. Remember, too, that during those nineteen years, there had never been in the archives of the Residency, a fragment of secret correspondence respecting the affairs of Sattara. Let me now shew you what was the first act of the new Resident, Colonel Ovans. The circumstances I am now going to relate, will furnish a very important clue to the manner in which the evidence against the Raja was obtained. It appears that in the month preceding that of Colonel Ovans' arrival at Sattara (namely in May 1837) a Brahmin lad of the name of Pandurung Punt, made several overtures in person, to a Lieutenant Horne attached to the 8th Regiment of Native Infantry. These overtures were in the name and on the behalf of another person, of the name of Bhow Leley, and were to the effect, that if a large sum of money was advanced by the British Government and a guarantee of personal safety given, certain treasonable documents would be produced, bearing the signature of Govind Row and others, implicating the Raja of Sattara in a conspiracy against the British Government. This Pandurung Punt afterwards had an interview with Captain F. Durack, the Line Adjutant, and deposed in writing, that Bhow Leley was prepared, on condition of a present payment of 1000 Rupees (£100) and a subsequent present of a lakh of Rupees (£10,000) to produce a treasonable document in the hand-writing of Govind Row. Pandurung was told to send his principal, Bhow Leley, and accordingly Bhow Leley also came, and repeated the offer he had made through the boy. These occurrences took place while Colonel Lodwick was the Resident at Sattara, and the Commanding Officer of the British troops, but were not communicated to him. On the arrival of Colonel Ovans, however, they were instantly made known to that officer and he at once gave authority to Captain Durack

to give Bhow Leley the sum of 200 Rupees (£20) to pay the expenses of his trip to the place where the treasonable documents were said to be ; he also directed Captain Durack to pass a note, to the effect, that he (Bhow Leley) would be rewarded by the British Government according to the extent of the services he might afterwards perform. Such was the first act of Colonel Ovans, on the morning of the 16th of June, the very day of his assumption of the office of Resident at Sattara. According to his instructions, Captain Durack on the same day, gave to Bhow Leley, 150 Rupees (£15) and a written guarantee that he should be adequately rewarded for all the information he might procure "of a certain nature." At the expiration of a month this man returned, and reported to Captain Durack that he had failed in his enterprise ;—Captain Durack would have dismissed him, but he was told by Colonel Ovans to give him another trial as he yet might be found useful. Here then we have an offer made to a Lieutenant at Sattara of treasonable papers. There is a Resident at the Court of the Raja who is also the Commanding Officer, but the fact is wholly concealed from him. Several interviews take place, all equally secret and unauthorized. At last, the man Bhow Leley sees the Line Adjutant, the Staff Officer of Colonel Lodwick and repeats his proposal to him. He also conceals the fact from his Superior, the Resident. The moment Colonel Ovans arrives, he is informed of all that has taken place, and without a moment's hesitation, he authorises his own Staff Officer to enter into a bargain with the unknown man, to pay him a large sum of money, and to give him a written assurance, that he shall be rewarded "in proportion to his services." What are the services he has to perform? He is to produce papers which will criminate the Raja. The man who offers to do this, is all unknown to Colonel Ovans ; unknown to Captain Durack, and unknown to Lieutenant Horne ; but he nevertheless receives at once a sum of £15 sterling, a pledge of indemnity, and a written assurance of future reward in proportion to the services he may render, that is, in proportion to his ability to enable the Resident to criminate the Raja. What is the nature of this Act? Is it not direct subornation? What can be a greater

aggravation of the criminality of this act, than the fact, that it was committed by one who was bound by a Treaty to be the friendly adviser in all things of the Prince whose destruction was thus aimed at? And that it was the first act of his official career! What hot haste, what extraordinary avidity do we find here! Without a moment's reflection, without any examination of the vile instrument who preferred his services, without a slightest knowledge of his character, his avocations, or his motives; Colonel Ovans at once closes with his officer, retains him by a present fee, and degrades his own Staff Officer by requiring him to pledge the British Government to reward this man in proportion to the success of his detestable schemes! Imagine the Raja receiving and welcoming Colonel Ovans in the evening of the very same day—as his friend, his counsellor, and co-adjutor, as the successor of Elphinstone and Grant, and Briggs, and Robertson! Read the account which Colonel Ovans has himself given of the frank confiding manner of the Raja on that occasion, offering to throw himself wholly into the hands of the Resident, protesting his friendship for the British Government, and his willingness to die to prove his sincerity, and then revert to the scene of the morning, to the first act of this friendly adviser, who has given a wretch 150 Rupees to pay his trip in search of papers for the purpose of helping that adviser to hurl this noble and unsuspecting Prince from his throne. O, Sir, I feel my need of patience while I dwell upon these scenes. I blush for my country, I blush for human nature itself, when I think upon acts like these! What a perversion of authority! What a prostitution of power! What a cool predetermination to ensnare, to deceive, and to destroy are exhibited in this one act! Can we wonder at any thing that follows after this? What must the enemies of the Raja have thought, when they saw in the hands of Bhow Leley a paper in the handwriting of Colonel Ovans' Staff Officer, offering a reward to an unknown man, for papers to criminate the Raja? Imagine the hellish jubilee there must have been among the foes of this most virtuous Prince, when they found a man had come among them whose first act was, to grant a roving Commission to an unknown vagabond, to go in search of treasonable papers

to convict the Raja. It was a proclamation throughout the country, that all who wished to destroy the Raja might come forward, and find a warm greeting at the hands of the Resident, and a rich remuneration for their treachery. What must Bhow Leley himself have thought? Wretch that he was, he must have said to himself,—“I have at length found my fellow in the British Resident, a man, who, without seeing my face, will send me one hundred and fifty pieces of silver, and give me a note of hand for a future and a rich reward, if I will help him to effect the ruin of the Prince he has come to advise!” Sir, I shall call upon this Court to institute an enquiry into this part of the conduct of Colonel Ovans. I am prepared to establish the accuracy of every fact I have now stated. It will be for the tribunal I desire to see appointed, to say, whether the view I have taken of these circumstances be sound or otherwise. Let me, before I dismiss this part of my subject, observe that I have been unable to discover the slightest evidence that Colonel Ovans communicated to his Government, a single syllable concerning this transaction with Bhow Leley. On the contrary, he appears to have most studiously concealed the whole affair from their knowledge, until the Raja himself detected the infamous proceeding.

II.—INTERCEPTION OF CORRESPONDENCE.

The next feature in the conduct of Colonel Ovans, as disclosed by these papers is, the practice, through a series of years, that is, from the time of his arrival at Satara, until after the dethronement of the Raja—of intercepting, opening and perusing the whole of the correspondence between the prince whom he was bound by Treaty to advise, and of all persons connected with him. A very large portion of these voluminous papers consists of intercepted correspondence. The letters sent by his Highness to his Agents—the letters from those Agents to his Highness—the correspondence of all persons connected with the Sattara Government—the letters of all persons in every part of India who addressed any communications to the Raja—the letters of Dr. Milne, the Resident of the Bombay Medical Board—the letters of Captain Cogan, a

Captain in the Indian Navy, and a Justice of the Peace in Bombay—the letters of Mr. Baber, a Magistrate in the Malabar Coast—these and a great variety of other intercepted Documents are to be found in these printed papers. I have searched in vain for any explicit instructions to Colonel Ovans to adopt such a mode of proceeding, I have searched in vain for any direct sanction of such a proceeding. I have in vain endeavoured to find, in the circumstances of the case, or in the contents of the Correspondence intercepted, an occasion for such a proceeding. I have several times before alluded to the fact, and it is one which cannot be too much dwelt upon—that there is not to be found, throughout the whole of this intercepted Correspondence, a solitary trace of any hostile intrigue against the British Government. Can any sane man believe it possible, that the Raja of Sattara could be engaged in widespread machinations for the overthrow of the British Government in India, and that the whole of his Correspondence for three years should be destitute of any allusion to his designs? Remember! this intercepted Correspondence contains the most confidential instructions of the Raja, to his various Agents and friends, and their most confidential communications to him. This intercepted Correspondence lays bare all the plans and purposes in the bosom of the Raja and his adherents. This Correspondence is a complete revelation of all that was said, and thought, and intended, and desired. And what does it prove? That the Raja was a traitor? That he was alarmed at the prospect of his treason being discovered by the British Government? That he was employed in subtle stratagems to suppress evidence, and buy off witnesses, and mislead his prosecutors? No. It is a Correspondence demonstrating that the Raja and all persons acting with him, and for him, were honourable men. The contents of these confidential communications are in perfect keeping with every official communication to the Resident. Now that we have this intercepted Correspondence in our possession, we see at once how pure, how upright, how honourable and how noble was the whole conduct of this most ill-used Prince. For his sake, and for the truth's sake, I am inexpressibly thankful that we have the fruits

of this official delinquency before us. I repeat it ; if I had no other evidence of the innocence of the Raja before me, than that which is furnished by this intercepted Correspondence, I should hold him absolutely guiltless of every charge brought against him, and regard him as a truly upright excellent man. This Correspondence has never been brought forward against the Raja. I have never seen or heard a single syllable of it quoted, either as direct or collateral evidence of his guilt. Does not this fact strike those who hear me as wonderful? Is it not one of the most striking proofs of the perfect guiltlessness of the man who has been dethroned? Is there a parallel to this fact in the history of the world? What is the object of all this correspondence? Simply this—to obtain an impartial enquiry into the case got up against the Raja. This, the Resident is himself obliged to admit. But, if this confidential Correspondence has never been used against the Raja—has never been brought into Court—has been most studiously kept in the back ground, and for the reason I have stated, that it is the most irrefragable evidence of the purity of the Raja's intentions, and the absolute justice of his cause,—then, it may be asked, what use, if any, was made of it? I will answer that important question. It was used as a means of basely counteracting and defeating the earnest endeavours of the Raja to obtain justice, and to place his situation in a correct point of view before the Government. It was used as a means of ascertaining who were the Raja's friends. What those friends thought of the plots against the Raja ; what measures were in progress to defeat those plots ; what knowledge was possessed of the schemes going on at the Residency. Mail-bags were rifled ; the sanctity of public conveyances was invaded ; post-masters were bribed ; seals were broken ; messengers were waylaid ; spies were employed ; and, in fact, treachery, dishonesty, and felony were every day committed, for the purpose—the sole purpose—of preventing the truth from being brought to the knowledge of the Government. Sir, if this Court grants the Committee I am about to move for, I pledge myself to prove all this. I will demonstrate to you that in every instance where the Raja made an effort to bring the truth before those

who were to be the judges in his cause, he was foiled, circumvented, and defeated, by the diabolical artifices employed by those, who had, through the vilest and most criminal means, obtained a knowledge of the contents of his secret Correspondence. For three years I find Colonel Ovans connected with these most infamous proceedings ; I find him misrepresenting, abusing, and maligning all who were actively engaged in the disinterested and honourable work of affording succour and advice to the Raja. I find the most respectable men calumniated in the secret Correspondence of Colonel Ovans. I will mention two men who were the victims of this most mean, insidious, and brutal conduct. I mention them because they are dead ; they are Dr. Milne and Mr. Baber. These honourable, humane, and just-minded men did not live to see in print the vile stigmas cast upon their character and motives by Colonel Ovans. They died ignorant of the efforts made by that person to degrade and cashier them. What was the object of this ? It was to prevent the success of their efforts in behalf of the Raja. Grant me a Committee, and I will prove from these papers, not only the practice of intercepting letters, but will prove that the practice was converted into a means of defeating the ends of justice, of preventing the publication of the truth, and of injuring and degrading honourable men.

III.—THE EXTORTION OF EVIDENCE IN THE CASE OF GOVIND RAO.

Govind Rao is the son of the lady of the name of Girjabae, to whom the petition which has been shewn in this Court to be a forgery, was ascribed. Govind Rao is a Brahmin, and a man of rank, and in 1836 was in Sattara and high in the esteem of the Raja. He was a friend and favorite of the Raja but never actually filled the office of Dewan, or Minister. I am aware he is always called Dewan, and Ex-Dewan. Those who were at the bottom of the plots against the Raja, found it convenient to speak of him as the Raja's Minister, because they thereby strengthened their case against his Highness. Govind Rao was accused by two native soldiers of being implicated with the Raja in an attempt to seduce the soldiers of one of our Regiments. In the course of the recent Debate, I exhibited

the conduct of Govind Rao on his first hearing of the accusation against him. After his apprehension he was imprisoned in an empty powder magazine. In other words, he was immured in a living tomb, with soldiers with fixed bayonets to guard him ; so strict was his confinement that the food brought to him was placed on the ground on the outside of the dungeon, and the attendants were made to retire before the prison door was opened. When brought before the Commission, Govind Rao asserted his innocence and denied all knowledge of the alleged plot. On the 11th January, 1837, he was removed to Poonah where his restraint was of a milder kind. One of the first acts of Colonel Ovens was to obtain the removal of Govind Rao to the fortress of Ahmednugger. He was sent there under an armed escort ; he was placed in the common jail ; his cell was small confined and unwholesome, he was allowed to see no one but his own servant ; and instructions were given to intercept his correspondence and forward it to the Government. In the mean time certain parties in Sattara imposed upon the Government by sending an account of the petition which was false from beginning to end, but which induced the Government to believe that it was the genuine petition of Girjabaec. This document implicated Govind Rao and many other persons in a conspiracy against the British Government. Its contents were represented by Colonel Ovens as the information which Govind Rao had given, and Colonel Ovens said it might be regarded "as in fact the confession of Govind Rao himself." Anxious however to extort from Govind Rao an acknowledgment of his concern in it, Colonel Ovens dispatched a secret Emissary, a man of the name of Sukharam Bullal, to Ahmednugger, to obtain a statement confirmatory of the truth of the petition. Sukharam Bullal was the uncle of Govind Rao, an adherent of Appa Sahib, the Raja's traitorous brother, a friend and creature of Ballajee Punt Nathoo's, and the chief fabricator of the falsehoods which had been previously sent to the Bombay Government. On the arrival of this man at Ahmednugger he was permitted to have free access to the dungeon of Govind Rao. It appears that he was for sixteen or eighteen days in constant communication with the prisoner. At

the end of that time, Mr. Hutt, the Judge at Ahmednugger, was called upon to receive from the hands of Govind Rao a paper which had been previously written. This paper was dated the 24th of August, 1837. This paper was the same day sent to Government as the genuine confession of Govind Rao. The order for Govind Rao's removal to Ahmednugger is dated the 1st July 1837, the order of his release is dated the 15th September 1839, ten days after the dethronement of the Raja. On the 7th of October, the day of his arrest, when questioned in the presence of the Raja respecting his knowledge of the alleged plot, he burst into a fit of laughter and all the people laughed with him. He was surrendered by the Raja without demur, denying at the time all participation in, or knowledge of the conspiracy. In the proceedings of the Commission we find him giving the following evidence.

"I am prepared, of my own free will and pleasure, to speak the truth. I am an hereditary servant of his Highness the Raja of Sattara. My father was Dewan ; he died ten years ago. I am now Acting Dewan, and receive eight hundred rupees per mensem."

Q. Have you any statement to make before this Commission?—A. I will answer whatever question I am asked.

Q. Do you know any of the native officers or sepoy's of the twenty-third regiment, number nine, now at Sattara?—

A. I am not acquainted with any native officers or sepoy's of the regiment now here.

Q. Have any of the native officers ever visited your house, to make their salam on any other account?—A. No ; they never came to my house, and I have no knowledge of any of them.

"The Commission now fully and explicitly explain to the prisoner the nature of the charges against him, and the evidence upon which they are founded. The prisoner declares that the whole of what he is accused of is false."

During the time he remained in Sattara he made no confession ; during the time he was in confinement at Poonah he made no confession ; and when at Ahmednugger he made no confession, until the secret Agent of Colonel Ovans had

been for sixteen or eighteen days incessantly occupied in tampering with him. Now, compare the confession he is said to have made, with the Petition and its accompaniment, which are described by Colonel Ovans as, in fact, the confession of Govind Rao. Here is his confession :—

“I make the following representation, that the circumstances (therein contained) may become known to the Government ; that Untagee Wagh did bring the two soobedars of the pultan (regiment) to me. They were once taken to Maharaj (the Raja of Sattara), and Maharaj, taking them privately aside, did speak to the soobedars about (forming) friendship, and other matters.”

Now, sir, without referring to the repeated declarations which Govind Rao, since his release, has made, that this confession was extorted, allow me to ask if this transaction, as officially reported in the letters of Colonel Ovans, of Mr. Hutt, and the Bombay Government, does not bear upon its face the marks of being a deliberate, wilful, and infamous extortion. I am happy to say it has been so regarded by every gentleman but one who has referred to it in this Court. Who is the real author of this Report? Without a doubt, he is Colonel Ovans. This extortion is an integral part of a complicated scheme of villainy for the purpose of dethroning the Raja. It was Colonel Ovans who called Sukharam Bullal to his aid on his first arrival at Sattara. It was Colonel Ovans who sent Sukharam Bullal in pursuit of Girjabae. It was Sukharam Bullal who brought to Colonel Ovans the person who personated Girjabae. It was Colonel Ovans who employed Sukharam Bullal to write the statement which was palmed upon the Bombay Government as the statement of Girjabae. It was Colonel Ovans who assured the Government that the inventions of Sukharam might be relied on as the truth, and it was Colonel Ovans who despatched Sukharam to Ahmednugger to extort from Govind Rao a confirmation of the story that had been told. I propose therefore that the conduct of Colonel Ovans in this matter should undergo investigation by a committee. I am prepared with the evidence necessary to support every allegation I have made. I do not ask you to adopt my opinions, but to give me an opportunity of laying

evidence before others, upon which they may found their own opinions, and I am both willing and anxious that the evidence I bring forward should undergo the most rigorous and sifting examination. Before I dismiss this part of the subject I must refer to one singular circumstance connected with it. Govind Rao placed his confession in the hands of Mr. Hutt on the 24th of August, 1837, and yet he was not released from prison until the middle of September, 1839. If considered guilty, why was he then dismissed? If not guilty, why was he kept a prisoner? If the Raja deserved dethronement, why did Govind Rao escape? If Govind Rao was entitled to his release, why was the Raja dethroned? If the evidence against Govind Rao be true, he was the main instrument in entrapping the Raja and was therefore one of the most guilty parties. If the evidence against Govind Rao be false, why was the Raja punished upon it? But it is not difficult to understand the reason for keeping Govind Rao at Ahmednugger. Those who obtained his confession knew it to be false, and therefore could not allow Govind Rao to be at large, until their guilty plans were accomplished, and the victim of their conspiracy was hurled from his throne. The following is a petition just received from Govind Rao.

PETITION OF GOVIND RAO, JULY 16, 1845.

(Translation.)

TO THE HONOURABLE THE COURT OF DIRECTORS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

The petition of Govind Rao Wittul (late in the service of the Raja Chuttarputtee, now at Benares) 16th July, 1845. To that enlightened and equitable body, this true statement is now addressed; to explain the particular circumstances of the case. When the two native officers of the 23rd Regiment of Native Infantry informed the Resident, Colonel Lodwick, of the calumny they had raised, accusing me of treason, he (the Resident) sent to the Maharaj for me, and placed me in confinement; after which, Mr. Willoughby and Colonel Ovens were deputed to enquire into the business, and formed a committee, in conjunction with the Resident for that purpose: and, on that

occasion, on being confronted with my calumniators, I declared their statements were false. Though there was no evidence to convict me, yet considering me under suspicion, I was sent to Poonah, to be placed under the surveillance of the Judge ; after which, with no other view but to give me further uneasiness, I was sent to Ahmednugger, and placed in confinement in a narrow dirty room, where I was forbidden to converse with, or see any one ; and so, my condition was more wretched than before. While there, my uncle (Sukharam Bullal), who is a servant of Appa Sahib, the present Maharaj, and (what I was not at the time aware of) an accomplice of Ballajee Punt Nattoo, was brought to me, and had an interview with me ; from him I was led to believe that the severity of my treatment at the hands of the Bombay Government arose from my not telling the story they wanted me to tell, and that without my doing so, I could expect no relief ; and indeed, that my life would be endangered by my obstinately adhering to the truth, which could not possibly be of any service to me ; moreover, that (since the Government *had determined on the ruin of my Master, at all events*), that no good could come of my telling the truth now ; so that I had far better, just for the present, admit in writing what they wished ; for this was not a time when truth would avail anything. Being persuaded by this, I wrote as I was desired ; after which, hearing that certain enlightened and just persons in London, had taken into consideration the injustice done to my master, and were inclined to assist him, I wrote and sent to London a declaration, dated, 8th January 1842, in which the true state of the case was set forth. Now, if the judge of Nuggur, Mr. Hutt, and other officers were sent to and questioned, they would not say that I was forced to write what I did, and they would of course say that all they did was right and proper. What I wish especially to impress upon the mind of the enlightened Court is, that at first, when at Sattara, I was placed in confinement *in a Gunpowder Magazine*, in great discomfort, and when brought from thence before the Commission, and confronted with my calumniators, I stated what was strictly true, *viz.*, that I knew nothing of any conspiracy. And when that investigation was over, every sort

of annoyance was resorted to, in order to induce me to write what was wanted, viz., by removing me from Poonah, and imprisoning me at Nuggur, where I was ill-treated, and finally, the writing mentioned obtained from me. The injustice and cruelty of this is plain enough surely, for the Government had no sooner obtained the requisite admission in writing, than I was taken out of prison, and had permission to go about and take the air ; so that the chief object was to get the admission written ; otherwise, why was I for *three years* in prison *after the investigation* before the Commission, being first sent to Poonah, and then to Nuggur, and so about from place to place, for the purpose of annoying and distressing me ? I do not think any other reason can be given, and no doubt the same will be equally plain to the Honourable Court. The English (*i. e.* Bombay) Government have been guilty of injustice, from listening to the advice of disaffected persons. There is no doubt of this. Except through the interference of the Honorable Court, there is no hope of obtaining fair and even-handed justice ; and I have the fullest confidence in the willingness of the Court to bestow it. This Petition is laid before the Honorable Court.

(Signed), GOVIND ROW WITTUL,

In his own hand.

IV.—SUPPRESSION OF EVIDENCE IN THE CASE OF KRUSHNAJEE SUDASEW BHIDEY.

Sir, I may be very brief upon this part of the subject, as we have recently witnessed in this Court a masterly and triumphant exposure of the unprecedented rascality practised in reference to the depositions of this man Krushnajee. As, however, I am about to move for an enquiry into the conduct of Colonel Ovans, it is necessary that I should recapitulate the circumstances connected with what has been properly called the damning feature of the proceedings against the Raja. On the 12th of August, the Bombay Government were assured that there was no room to doubt that the petition which had been sent in March was genuine ; that Govind Rao furnished the information ; that Girjabae advised the writing of the document ; and that it was written by a man of the name of

Mahdeo Fugery, in the house of Sakharam Bullal, the sister-in-law of the mother of Govind Rao. Sukharam Bullal, at the time Colonel Ovans wrote this letter to Government, was already closeted with Govind Rao in his dungeon at Ahmednugger! On the 26th of August, the Government of Bombay were in possession of the extorted confession of Govind Rao—the only thing required to finish and complete that part of the plot. It is now demonstrated, that on the 7th of September, Colonel Ovans obtained the fullest possible proof that every representation he had forwarded to Government was false, utterly, absolutely, and designedly false. On the 7th September, he had the real writer of the petition before him, that man being a living person of the name of Krushnajee Sadasew Bhidey, and not an imaginary one, as Mahdeo Fugery was. He had the proof before him that this man was employed by a person of the name of Lukhsmun Punt Shekdar, and not by Sukharam Bullal. He had the proof before him that the petition was written while Govind Rao was in Sattara, and not as had been stated, when Govind Rao was a prisoner at Poonah. He had the proof before him that the petition had been posted in the village of Punderpore within the Sattara territory, and not at Poonah, the place of confinement of Govind Rao. He had the proof before him that the real writer had been bribed by the promise of a large reward, to undertake the writing and sending of the petition. He had the proof before him, that the first words of the petition had been added to the document long after the body of the petition had been prepared. He obtained from Sukharam Bullal a confession that he had given an utterly false account of this petition. And yet, he suppressed this evidence from the knowledge of the Government for upwards of eleven months. Such are the facts, now look at the consequences to the Raja of this most guilty act.

V.—GROSS FRAUD UPON THE BOMBAY GOVERNMENT.

Sir, upon the faith of the false information sent to the Bombay Government, that Government granted plenary power to Colonel Ovans to seize and imprison the persons denounced in the petition. Colonel Ovans accepted the power thus

delegated to him, and used it to arrest and incarcerate whomsoever he pleased. He played the part of a despot in Sattara. All real power and authority were in his hands, backed as he was by the military resources of the British Government. Still acting upon the information in the petition, and still concealing the fact of its falsehood and forgery from the Government, he pushed his secret enquiries in all directions, and proclaimed indemnity to all who would give evidence against the Raja. Still keeping the evidence he had obtained secret, he sent Report upon Report to his Government, heaping charge upon charge against the Raja—the genuineness of the petition being all the time the key stone of the arch—the connecting and sustaining portion of the entire fabric. During the twelve months of suppression, the Bombay Government and the Government of India recorded voluminous Minutes against the Raja, all based upon the reports of Colonel Ovans, and all written in entire ignorance of the fabrication and forgery of the document that had led them to invest Colonel Ovans with the power which he exercised, and to authorise the investigations he was carrying on. In these Minutes, the letter written by Colonel Ovans on the 12th of August is referred to, as containing a true history of the petition, and the proof of its genuineness. These Minutes were transmitted to this house to decide the judgments and decisions of the Court of Directors, and I shall be prepared to prove, that the case against the Raja had been virtually closed, before the fraud I have now attempted to lay open was detected ; and I now come to the manner in which the evidence was extorted.

VI.—THE EVIDENCE OF KRUSHNAJEE, FORCED FROM COLONEL OVANS, BY THE DISCOVERIES MADE BY THE RAJA.

Upon this subject I have frequently touched before, I shall therefore be brief now. At the beginning of June, 1831, the Raja's agents in Bombay heard for the first time, of the existence of evidence against the Raja, in the shape of a petition from Girjabae ; they immediately informed his Highness. The Raja immediately interrogated Girjabae upon the subject, and that lady on the 11th of June, declared in the most solemn

manner, her total ignorance of such a document, and her entire innocence of any participation in such a proceeding. Colonel Ovans, the systematic purloiner of all correspondence affecting the Raja, came into possession of all the letters relating to this affair, and finding that a denial was about to be forwarded to the Court of Directors and the Government of India, he consulted his own safety by packing up the depositions of Krushnajee, and sending them to Bombay on the 16th of August, 1838. Sir, I shall be prepared with the most unquestionable evidence on this part of the case, whenever I am called upon to substantiate my allegations before a Committee of this Court. In the mean time, I charge Colonel Ovans with practising a gross and criminal imposition upon the Bombay Government, and with being a willing party to a foul conspiracy to effect the dethronement and ruin of the Prince, of whom he was by treaty the official and friendly adviser.

VII.—COLONEL OVANS RETAINED AS A WITNESS AGAINST THE RAJA,
A MAN WHOSE EVIDENCE WAS IN FAVOR OF THE RAJA, BUT
WHICH EVIDENCE COLONEL OVANS SUPPRESSED.

This I shall be able to prove by the most abundant evidence. I have already shewn that the deposition of Krushnajee Sadasew Bhidey taken by Colonel Ovans on the 7th of September 1837, and the truth of which is admitted by the Deputy Chairman himself, demonstrated the utter falsehood of every report Colonel Ovans had previously made to his Government. Had that deposition been forwarded at the time it was taken, it must inevitably have quashed the proceedings which had been authorized under a belief of the truth of the previous representations. I need not say what effect such a disclosure would have had upon the Members of the Government of India and upon the minds of the Court of Directors. It would of necessity have opened their eyes to the unblushing villainy of those who were acting as the confidential advisers of Colonel Ovans. A scrutiny into all the facts connected with the Petition of Girjabae would have led to a discovery of the nest of vipers that had found shelter and scope for their

malignant ingenuity under the protection of the British Resident. Ballajee Punt Nathoo, Sukharam Bullal, Lukhsmun Punt, and the whole of their confederates would have been at once unmasked and the Raja would have been delivered from the brood of reptiles that were then throwing their coils around him. The deposition of Krushnajee was a crisis in the affairs of the Raja. Believe, if you will, that Colonel Ovans was honest down to the 7th of September 1837. I will allow you to believe so. I will consent to acknowledge him so myself. The events of that day must have opened his eyes. No human ingenuity can get rid of the fact that the deposition of Krushnajee must have convinced him that he was in the hands of villains and forgers. His reflections as an honest man must have been—"I have been deceived and betrayed. I have been made the dupe of deep designing traitors, who have used me as a tool to accomplish their wicked ends. I have been made to deceive the Government. I have sent them as truth that which I now discover to be forgeries and lies. I will unveil the iniquity I have detected. I will hasten to undeceive the Government whom I have unwittingly deluded. I will crush this deep laid conspiracy against the Raja. I will not take another step until I have probed to the bottom this mystery of hypocrisy and unnatural perfidy. I will not only bring the perpetrators of these frauds to justice, but I will ascertain and make known who their prompters and supporters are. Happy am I, that there is now the proof before me, that the accused Raja is the victim of the snares and plots of hitherto unsuspected villains. He shall be saved if he is innocent, and my boast shall be, that I rescued the Raja from the ruin that impended." Such, I say, would have been the natural reflections of an honest and upright mind upon the disclosures of Krushnajee Sadasew Bhidey. But Sir, honest or dishonest—whether a friend of the Raja or an enemy—whether an open, frank, and conscientious British officer, or a disgrace to the name, and a willing confederate of the demi-devil Ballajee Punt Nathoo—whatever were the dispositions, views, and intentions of Colonel Ovans, in this matter of the evidence of Krushnajee, he had no discretion—no, not a hair's breadth of liberty. He had been charged to furnish, without

the unnecessary loss of a moment, all the information he could obtain respecting the Petition. This charge had been repeated and reiterated. Colonel Ovens had as often given his word that he would do all in his power to furnish authentic information. More than that—he had sent to Government a history of this Petition, which he now knew, to an absolute certainty, to be false. The Government were acting upon the information he had sent. That information, as far as it extended, was operating as a mildew and a blast upon the character of the Raja. The Government believed the Petition to be genuine, and the particulars respecting it to be true. The Petition was a forgery, and its history a fiction. The Confession of Govind Rao was a base extortion, through the agency of the indescribable villain Sukharam. If Colonel Ovens held the power granted to him by the Bombay Government—still more, if he proceeded to use it, and to seize and imprison the parties denounced in the Petition, he was guilty of the crime of practising a fraud upon his employers, and inflicting irreparable injury upon innocent men. Send the deposition of Krushnajee, therefore, he must. True, it proved his former statements to be false, but it must go. True, it would lead to a total change of measures, and he must henceforth be, in conjunction and co-operation with the Raja, the minister of justice to the base wretches Ballajee Punt Nathoo, and his co-conspirators, for they stood convicted of the two-fold guilt, of seeking the destruction of their Prince on the one hand, and the prostitution by hypocrisies and forgery, of the power of the British Government on the other; but still the evidence must be sent. Was it sent? It was not—it was retained in secrecy, and thereby the Government of Bombay was deceived by their own servant. The evidence was suppressed, and Colonel Ovens was therefore guilty of a dreadful breach of trust—the awful crime of intercepting and embezzling judicial evidence of vital importance to a Prince and all his people. Sir, had this been an embezzlement of money it would have been a grave offence, but the guilt would have been as nothing, and less than nothing, in comparison with this almost unparalleled crime of concealing evidence which would have saved the Raja, and placed the names of his enemies among

the blackest and most infamous of the human race. God only knows the motive of Colonel Ovans, in the commission of this awful crime. It is beyond my province, as it is beyond my power, to fathom the depths of the heart of this man—I have only to do with the facts that are before me ; here they are—patent as noon-day—immovable as the granite rock. These facts convict Colonel Ovans of deliberately and wilfully concealing the evidence of Krushnajee Sadasew Bhidey. In the hour that he proposed to do this he became a party to the frauds of those whom he had detected ; he became himself a deceiver, a liar, a forger ; and when I look, either at the origin, the object, or the consequences of these common crimes against truth, justice, duty, every sacred and honourable principle, I am constrained to say, that I have not yet met with a case of greater enormity in the annals of human depravity.

Well, sir, the evidence of Krushnajee Sadasew Bhidey would have saved the Raja, and would have brought the enemies of that Prince to justice, but it was suppressed by Colonel Ovans, until the case of the Raja had been closed, and the Governments of India had given their opinion upon it, and when it was at length revealed, no notice was taken of it. What was done with the witness? He was bribed to silence by the immediate payment of fifty rupees ; he was told to remain quiet, and was peremptorily forbidden to approach Girjabae, the pretended author of the petition which he had written ; he was further supported for two years by the payment of a monthly stipend, and he was at last dismissed with a gratuity of one hundred rupees. Thus was a witness, who would have borne testimony that, if there had been justice in India, would have been the salvation of the Raja, quietly put out of the way, and the evidence he had given to the Representative of the British Government and the sole official organ of communication utterly suppressed. It is in vain for the Directors to attempt to prevent enquiry into this transaction. Hitherto they have remained silent. They have praised Colonel Ovans, but they have not answered a single charge against him. They cannot say that the charge now brought, rests upon the testimony of a perjured wretch, for Colonel Ovans himself is the sole witness

whom I deem it necessary to call in support of this charge. They cannot plead the difficulty of going into this charge. No commission in India is required ; no sifting of opposing evidence. This book, and one hour's attention to what it contains, are all that is required to settle this question for ever.

VIII.—FORGED SEALS AND PAPERS PURCHASED BY A GANG ROBBER.

I allude now to the case of Balkoba Kelkur. I shall not go into the particulars of this case now, as they are very numerous, and because it has never yet been attempted to be denied that Colonel Ovans did authorize the payment of 400 rupees for the redemption out of pawn of a bundle of papers possessed by this man, and did also obtain for him a free pardon. These papers have all been proved to be utter forgeries. The seals forged, the writing forged, the witnesses personated, the evidence perjured. It is however to the act of subornation at the beginning that I am now directing your attention, and I will prove before the Commission that what commenced in subornation ended in perjury and the personation of witnesses. I will prove also that Ballajee Punt Nathoo, the chief adviser of Colonel Ovans, was the man who concocted, matured and developed this plan. When I have done this, the Raja will be demonstrated to be innocent at least of one of the crimes laid to his charge.

IX.—SUPPRESSION OF THE PROOF that the State Seals of the Raja had been fraudulently obtained, and affixed to Treasonable Papers, for the purpose of effecting the Raja's ruin.

Sir, it may not be known to those who hear me that there are in existence at this moment written documents and blank papers bearing impressions of the *genuine State Seals* of the Raja. I admit them to be such. The written papers are full of treason—that also I admit. If they can be traced to the Raja, he is guilty—that also I admit. If one tittle of evidence can be produced to show that the Raja knew of their existence, before the fact was known to Colonel Ovans, I will never open my lips in the Raja's defence again. Before a Committee, I will prove that these documents were fabricated by a gang of conspirators. I will prove that Ballajee Punt Nathoo, the adviser,

and Ballajee Kasee Khibey, the Native Agent of Colonel Ovans, was offered some of these documents. I will prove that he declined them, only from a fear that the Raja might be able to expose the plot. I will prove that his own confidential servant had one of these papers in the possession for some months. I will prove that Colonel Ovans concealed this fact from his Government. I will prove that he sent a false account to the Government after the plot had been detected by the Raja. I will prove that he withheld the name of his own native Agent. I will prove that Colonel Ovans suppressed enquiry into this affair. I will prove that he tampered with the witnesses, and made them give false evidence. I will prove that he never brought these documents forward against the Raja, although, if proceeding from the Raja, they were of infinitely more importance than all the other evidence put together. I will prove that the Raja called for an enquiry into this affair, and that Colonel Ovans suppressed that enquiry. [Mr. Thompson read a number of papers on this part of the subject, for which we have not room] Next to the suppression of the evidence of Krushnajee, I deem this the most important subject connected with the conduct of Colonel Ovans, and I will undertake to substantiate every one of my allegations, by the production of the letters of Colonel Ovans himself. Let the press tell the world that there are Mahratta Proclamations bearing the genuine State Seals of the Raja, calling upon all Hindoo soldiers to rise and extirpate the English ; and say, besides, that Colonel Ovans knew these to have been obtained by false means, and did wilfully prevent the Raja from bringing home the fact of their having been obtained by foul means, to the knowledge of his Government !

X.—SEIZURE AND IMPRISONMENT of the Raja's subjects, without Accusation, and without Trial.

XI.—GRATUITOUS HARSHNESS AND CRUELTY in the manner of the Raja's dethronement. The peace of Sattara, and the lives of the inhabitants, unnecessarily perilled, by the measures adopted to depose the Raja.

XII.—VIOLATION OF A WRITTEN PLEDGE, that if the Raja

peaceably relinquished his throne, his property, *bona fide* private, would be respected.

Mr. THOMPSON, after referring to numerous proofs in support of the three last-named allegations, concluded by an earnest appeal to the proprietors, for an examination into the case he had brought before them, and concluded by moving for—A Select Committee to Enquire into the Conduct of Lieutenant Colonel Charles Ovans, during the period that he filled the office of Resident (or Representative of the British Government) at the Court of Sattara.

The motion having been seconded by Mr. Gordon,—

The CHAIRMAN said, he should meet it with a direct negative, as every charge against Colonel Ovans had received the fullest investigation.

SERGEANT GASELEE supported the motion of Mr. Thompson, and contended that a matter of such grave importance imperatively demanded the fullest enquiry.

Mr. THOMPSON solemnly denied the truth of the Chairman's assertion. It was not permitted to him to characterize that assertion in the language it deserved ; but he would deliberately proclaim, that no investigation had ever taken place, and would defy the Chairman to name the time when, or the place where, any enquiry had been instituted.

The Chairman was silent.

The question was called for, and Mr. Thompson's motion was lost.

Mr. THOMPSON then moved,—

That the following papers, namely : a Minute recorded by Sir James Rivett Carnac, Governor of Bombay, dated 19th June, 1839 (*vide* Papers printed by the House of Commons, No. 569, of 1843, page 253), a Minute by Sir James Rivett Carnac, dated 20th June, 1839, (printed Par. Papers, p. 255), a Letter from Sir James Rivett Carnac, to Lieutenant Colonel Ovans, Resident at Sattara, dated August 30th, 1839, (printed Par. Papers, p. 469), a Proclamation issued by Lieutenant Col. Ovans, dated September 5th, 1839, (printed Par. Papers, p. 1153), a Letter from Lieutenant Colonel Ovans, to Sir James Rivett Carnac, dated Sept. 5th, 1839 (printed Par. Papers, p. 470), and a Minute by Sir James Rivett Carnac, dated Sept. 4th, 1839, (Printed Par. Papers, p. 265), be submitted to the consideration

of Counsel, and that an Opinion be requested, whether the Dethronement of his Highness Pertaub Shean, the ex-Raja of Sattara, was or was not a violation of an Act passed in the Thirty-Third Year of the Reign of his Majesty George the Third, Chapter 52, Sections 42 and 43 ; and that such Opinion, when obtained, be laid before a Special Court, to be convened for the purpose of receiving and considering the same.

This Motion was also put and lost.

Mr. THOMPSON then gave the two following notices of Motion :—

1.—That I shall at the next General Court, prefer charges against Lieutenant Colonel Charles Ovans, late Resident at Sattara, of conduct unworthy the character of a British officer, and in violation of a Treaty subsisting between the East India Company's Government, and his Highness Pertaub Shean, the Raja of Sattara, in the following instances, namely,—

1. That Colonel Ovans, who was bound by Treaty to give his advice to the Raja for the good of the Sattara State, and for the maintenance of the general tranquillity, did, on the very day of his arrival at Sattara, on the 16th of June, 1837, and of his assuming office as Resident and Commanding Officer of the British troops, authorise his Staff Officer, Captain F. Durack, to pay to one Bhow Leley, a man Colonel Ovans had never seen, and of the "worst character," the sum of two hundred Rupees, for the production of certain Documents purporting to criminate the Raja, and also to give to the said Bhow Leley a written Assurance that he should be further rewarded, in proportion to the services he might render ; and that when Bhow Leley failed to produce such Documents at the time appointed, Colonel Ovans authorised Captain Durack to give him another trial : which acts of Colonel Ovans, were a Subornation of Evidence against the Raja, a gross violation of his duty as Resident, and such as proved him to have come to Sattara, as the unscrupulous Enemy of the Raja : Further, that these acts were concealed by Colonel Ovans from the knowledge of his Government.

2. That Colonel Ovans did, from the time of his assuming office as Resident, down to the period of the Raja's dethronement in the month of September 1839, systematically intercept, and cause to be intercepted, the whole of the correspondence of the Raja, his servants, and his friends ; and that Colonel Ovans

did convert such systematic intercepting, opening, and perusing of the said correspondence, into a means of counteracting and defeating every endeavour which the Raja made to obtain a hearing, and to make known his case to the British Government; and into a means of secretly calumniating the friends of the Raja to the British Authorities.

3. That Colonel Ovans did, in the month of July, 1827, obtain the removal of Govind Rao, a subject and friend of the Raja of Sattara, then confined at Poonah, to strict confinement in the fortress of Ahmednuggur, where, by means of a Secret Emissary sent from Sattara expressly for the purpose, Colonel Ovans obtained from Govind Rao, a paper, purporting to be a Confession of the Truth of a Petition criminating the Raja, which Petition, as Colonel Ovans had previously reported to his Government, had been proved by him to be the Petition of Girjabae, the mother of Govind Rao; by which act Colonel Ovans was guilty of Extorting Evidence against the Raja by the foul means of imprisonment and duress.

4. That Colonel Ovans did suppress from the knowledge of his Government, for a period of eleven months, that is to say, from the 7th of September, 1837, until the 16th of August, 1838, the Evidence of Krushnaje Sadasew Bhidey; which evidence established the fact, that he, Krushnaje Sadasew Bhidey, was the actual writer of the Petition ascribed by Colonel Ovans to Girjabae, the mother of Govind Rao, and which evidence further proved, that the account of the said Petition, which Colonel Ovans had sent to his Government on the 31st of July, and the 12th of August, 1837, was entirely false.

5. That on the faith of the above false information, Colonel Ovans obtained from the Government of Bombay full power to imprison the persons named in the Petition, and to pursue any enquiries which he might deem advisable, into the plots alleged in it; in virtue of which power Colonel Ovans imprisoned many persons, the subjects of the Raja, and instituted extensive, complicated, and secret investigations, which he made the matter of numerous Secret Reports,—based on which Reports, the Government of Bombay and the Government of India, recorded and transmitted to the Authorities in England voluminous Minutes; those Governments being wholly ignorant at the time, that Material and Important Evidence had been withheld by Colonel Ovans from their knowledge.

6. That Colonel Ovans disclosed the Evidence of Krushnajee Sadasew Bhidey, to the Bombay Government eleven months after he had taken it ; and only when he had learned, from the interception of the Raja's Correspondence, that Girjabae, the mother of Govind Rao, had solemnly denied all knowledge of the Petition he had ascribed to her.

7. That Colonel Ovans, notwithstanding the suppression of the evidence of Krushnajee Sadasew Bhidey, entertained that person as a witness against the Raja, allowed him a monthly stipend for nearly two years, and authorised the payment to him, as gratuities, in one instance of fifty rupees, and in another instance of one hundred rupees.

8. That Colonel Ovans induced the Government to grant a Free Pardon to one Balkoba Kelkur, a gang-robber and fugitive from justice, whom he had never seen, and that he entered into a bargain with this gang-robber, to redeem, for the sum of forty pounds, certain Documents pawned in the Goa Territories, the most important of which purported to be authentic and treasonable letters, addressed by the Raja to the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa, and authentic answers thereto, addressed by the Viceroy to the Raja.

9. That Colonel Ovans, in the month of September, 1838, was offered by Ballajee Punt Nathoo, his Chief Adviser, and Ballajee Kasee Khibey, his Native Agent, a highly Treasonable Paper, or Proclamation, bearing the genuine seals of the Raja of Satara, and calling upon the Native Troops in the Service of the British Government to rise and extirpate the English. That it was intimated at the time, that this paper was probably obtained by foul means, and that, if then produced as evidence against the Raja, his Highness might establish such to be the case. That on this intimation, Colonel Ovans declined, then, to receive the paper, on the ground, as he stated, that it might throw doubt on the genuine papers then in his possession. That Colonel Ovans afterwards suffered this paper to remain in the possession of his Native Agent for four months, until the 25th of January, 1839. That during those four months Colonel Ovans wholly abstained from making any enquiry into the genuineness of this paper, or the means by which it had been obtained.

and that he apprised his Government of its existence, only when he learned from the interception of the Raja's Correspondence, and from the Raja himself, that his Highness had detected the plot by which the impression of his seals had been fraudulently obtained, and the reasonable purposes to which they had been applied.

10. That Colonel Ovens, during the course of the proceedings carried on by him in the above manner against the Raja of Sattara, did seize and imprison a large number of the Raja's subjects, without Accusation, that he kept them in prison without Trial, and only released them when the Dethronement of the Raja had been effected.

11. That Colonel Ovens, when entrusted with the execution of the measures connected with the Dethronement of the Raja of Sattara, was guilty of treating his Highness with unnecessary and gratuitous harshness and indignity, and wantonly put in peril the peace of the Raja's Capital, and the lives of its inhabitants.

12. That Colonel Ovens, after having been the medium of conveying to the Raja the Written Assurance of the Government, that if his Highness peaceably submitted to the order for his deposition, his Private Property would be respected; and after having written three several Official Notes to his Highness, in which he distinguished the property which was Private from that which belonged to the State, did nevertheless afterwards advise the Government to confiscate the whole of the Raja's property without exception.

II.—That I shall, at the next General Court, move :—

That Whereas, on the 25th of September, 1819 a Treaty of Perpetual Friendship and Alliance was concluded between the Honourable East India Company and his Highness Maharajah Pertaub Shean, the Raja of Sattara :—

And Whereas, his Highness Pertaub Shean, so conducted himself as an Ally of the East India Company, that on the 29th of December, 1835, the following letter was unanimously agreed to by the Court of Directors :—

“Your Highness,—We have been highly gratified by the information from time to time transmitted to us by our Govern-

ment, on the subject of your Highness's Exemplary Fulfilment of the duties of that elevated situation in which it has pleased Providence to place you.

"A course of conduct so suitable to your Highness's exalted station, and so well calculated to promote the prosperity of your dominions and the happiness of your people, as that which you have wisely and uniformly pursued, while it reflects the highest honour on your character, has imparted to our minds the feelings of unqualified satisfaction and pleasure. The liberality, also, which you have displayed, in executing, at your own cost, various public works of great utility, and which has so justly raised your reputation in the eyes of the princes and people of India, gives you an additional claim to our approbation, respect, and applause.

"Impressed with these sentiments, the Court of Directors of the East India Company have unanimously resolved to transmit to you a sword, which will be presented to you through the Government of India, and which, we trust, you will receive with satisfaction, as a token of their high esteem and regard.

"With sincere wishes for your health and prosperity, we subscribe ourselves in the name of the Court, your Highness's most faithful friends, W. S. CLARKE, Chairman, J. R. CARNAC, Deputy."

And Whereas, in 1836, certain enemies of his Highness the Raja of Sattara did conspire to effect the ruin and dethronement of that Prince, by preferring False Charges against him to the Bombay Government :—

And Whereas, when those Charges, and the Evidence in support of them had been forwarded to the Court of Directors, and had been considered by them, it was the decided opinion of that body, that it would not only be a waste of time, but seriously detrimental to the character of the Government, to carry on any further enquiry into the matter :—

And Whereas, this opinion was communicated to the Government of Bombay and the Government of India, in Despatches from the Court of Directors, dated, respectively, the 13th of June, 1838, and the 29th of January, 1839 :—

And Whereas, Sir James Rivett Carnac, on his appoint-

ment to the office of Governor of Bombay, received no instructions from the Court of Directors to dethrone, or otherwise to punish the Raja of Sattara ; but, on the contrary, was empowered to suppress all further enquiry into the charges that had been made against the Raja, and to consign the matter to entire oblivion :—

And Whereas, Sir James Carnac did, in a Minute recorded by him on the 19th of June, 1839, propose that the Resident at Sattara, should be instructed to assure his Highness of the desire of the British Government, to maintain the relations of amity with him ; and did further declare, “that the British Government had nothing to fear from the Raja, and could afford to act with generosity” :—

And Whereas, Sir James Rivett Carnac did, at a personal interview with the Raja, on the 23rd of August, 1893, inform his Highness that three important violations of the Treaty had been proved against him :—

1st. Of the 5th Article, in having, during a series of years, held improper communications with the Goa Authorities.

2nd. Of the same Article, in having held a clandestine intercourse with Appa Sahib, the ex-Raja of Nagpoor.

3rd. Of having tampered with the Native Officers of the 23rd Regiment of Native Infantry.

And Whereas, Sir James Rivett Carnac did, at a subsequent interview, on the 27th of August, peremptorily require the Raja to sign certain Articles, to which the following Preamble was affixed ; viz.

“Information having been received by the British Government that your Highness, misled by evil advisers, had, in breach of the Treaty which placed you on the throne, entered into communications hostile to the British Government, an inquiry into these accusations was considered indispensable. This inquiry has satisfied the British Government that your Highness has exposed yourself to the sacrifice of its alliance and protection. Nevertheless, moved by considerations of clemency towards your Highness and your family, the British Government has resolved entirely to overlook what has passed, on the following conditions, namely,” &c., &c.

And Whereas, the Raja of Sattara, did at these interviews, declare his entire and absolute innocence, and earnestly implore permission to be heard in reply to the charges which his enemies had brought against him, and in refutation of the evidence in support of them, and did also express his willingness to submit to any conditions which did not require him to abandon his religion, or to acknowledge, in violation of his conscience, that he had been the enemy of the British Government :—

And Whereas, for the sole reason of having refused to sign the Articles and Preamble, submitted to him, he was, on the 5th of Sept. 1893, and by the authority of Sir James Carnac, forcibly taken a prisoner and dethroned, and a Proclamation issued by the Resident, declaring his brother, Appa Sahib (his bitter enemy), Raja of Sattara :—

And Whereas, by the 33rd Geo. III. Chap. 52, Sec. 43, it is Enacted, that "it shall not be lawful for the Governor of Bombay," &c. "to make or issue any order for commencing hostilities, or levying war, or to negotiate or conclude any Treaty with any Indian Prince or State (except in cases of sudden emergency, or imminent danger, when it shall appear dangerous to postpone such hostilities or Treaty), unless in pursuance of express orders from the Governor-General in Council, or from the Secret Committee, by the authority of the Board of Control" :—

And Whereas, it is further Enacted in Section 42 of the same Act, that "It shall not be lawful for the Governor-General in Council, *without the express command and authority of the Court of Directors, or of the Secret Committee, by the authority of the Board of Control, in any case,* (except where hostilities have actually been commenced, or preparations actually made for the commencement of hostilities against the British nation in India), either to declare war, or commence hostilities, or enter into any Treaty for making war," &c. :—

RESOLVED, That the Dethronement of His Highness Pertaub Shean, the ex-Raja of Sattara, under the circumstances now set forth, was a violation of the above Statute, and was, therefore, an ILLEGAL act.

APPENDIX E.

THE DEPOSED RAJAH OF SATTARAH.

The British Friend of India Magazine for May 1844 (pp. 207-24) gave an account of Mr. George Thompson's visit to India. This is reproduced in this Appendix, as well as Dr. Bholanath Chunder's article on Mr. Thompson in India published in the *Calcutta University Magazine* for November, 1895.

The pages of this periodical have contained many references to the case of this unhappy and much-injured Prince. Purtaub Sing, the deposed and exiled Rajah of Sattarah, is a Hindoo of illustrious lineage, and very rare moral and intellectual endowments. For many years his virtues as a ruler, were recognized and acknowledged at the India House, and as a testimonial of the high admiration in which his character and administration were held, a sword of 3,000 guineas value was unanimously voted him. In the meantime the Rajah had been deprived, by the Government of Bombay, of some rich jagheers, which had lapsed to him by the death of their incumbents, and which had previously been awarded to him by a solemn treaty at the time of his accession to his throne, under the auspices of the British Government. The refusal of the Rajah to submit to the confiscation of these jagheers, brought him under the displeasure of the Bombay Government, and laid the foundation of his future ruin. Enemies of the basest character plotted against him, and found their calumnies greedily listened to by the Government at Bombay. Evidence was taken in secret, and he in vain asked for copies of their evidence. He was denied a trial, but told that if he would admit his guilt, he would again enjoy the favour of the Government—but must submit, however, to the loss of his jagheers, as well as of his character, and to the pensioning out of his own treasury, of those who had conspired against him. This the Rajah indignantly refused to do, telling the then Governor that rather

than sully his name, relinquish his rights, or violate his religion, he would forfeit his kingdom and endure beggary. He was dethroned—spoiled of all his private property—and driven to a burning and unhealthy spot, 700 miles distant from his native hills, where he has ever since remained a state prisoner; his brother (his chief enemy) and his abandoned accusers, have revelled, in the meanwhile, in the wealth of which he has been cruelly robbed. Since his deposal, a vast mass of papers relating to his case have been printed by order of the House of Commons, in addition to those which from time to time have been forced from the authorities at the India House. Though these papers reveal a series of plots and villainies on the part of the Rajah's enemies almost unprecedented, even in the annals of Asiatic wickedness, the Rajah is still without a hearing, he is not so much as furnished with the means of knowing what has been said against him—for the papers printed here, are in a language of which he is utterly ignorant.

We have been favoured with a sight of a paper, sent by Mr. Thompson, who has recently visited the Rajah in his exile, to the leading friends of that prince, in England. We believe we shall commit no offence by laying it before our readers. It contains a brief, but touching, statement of the present situation of the Rajah, and we hope it will have the effect of stirring up the lovers of justice in this country, to make some fresh exertions in behalf of a deeply injured man.

TO THE FRIENDS OF HIS HIGHNESS PURTAUB SING, THE DEPOSED
RAJAH OF SATTARAH, NOW IN EXILE AT BENARES.

Presuming that intelligence respecting the Rajah of Sattara, from one who has recently had an opportunity of seeing and of enquiring into the circumstances of that unfortunate Prince, will not be unacceptable to those in England who have generously exerted themselves in his behalf, I shall give a brief account of two visits paid to his Highness, and state the impressions produced on my mind by the interviews I had with him, and by the conversations I had with others respecting him.

My first interview with the Rajah was on the 16th of June, 1843, which was the day of my arrival at Benares. In accord-

ance with the orders of the Government, the meeting took place in the house of the agent of the Governor-General Major Carpenter, who showed me every attention compatible with the duties of his situation, and the special instructions he had received in reference to the intercourse of strangers with the persons under his charge ; and from all I could learn, that gentleman exercises his authority with the utmost consideration of the peculiar position of the Rajah, and the other Princes and Chiefs committed by the Government to his care. At this interview I was permitted to enjoy a free conversation with the Rajah for upwards of three hours. Major Carpenter acted as interpreter, and took great pains to communicate to the Rajah all I desired to say. His Highness manifested great joy at seeing me, and embraced me in the most affectionate manner. He expressed his deep gratitude towards all those who have taken up his cause in England. He brought with him a great mass of papers, and in the course of our conversation very frequently referred to them. These papers were in the form of bound volumes. He appeared to possess a minute and consecutive record of every important transaction connected with the affairs of his principality, from the time he was placed upon his throne, until his removal. He conversed with great earnestness and fluency, and it was quite evident that his deposition, and his treatment before and after that event, by the British Government, was the constant and sole matter on which his thoughts were engaged. He dwelt particularly, and with great emphasis, upon the original misunderstanding with the Bombay Government on the subject of the lapsed jagheers, and seemed impressed with the belief that all his subsequent troubles had sprung from that cause. He appeared very imperfectly informed respecting the contents of the printed papers in the hands of parties in England. He spoke throughout as a deeply-injured man, and the victim of arbitrary and irresistible power. He had the air of one deeply conscious of his own rectitude, and convinced of his perfect ability to prove, upon a fair examination into the merits of his case,—not only his innocence of the misconduct imputed to him, but also that he had been previously ill-used by the Bombay Government, and had the

strongest right to claim the protection of the Supreme Government for the redress of his original grievances. For every question put to him he had a prompt and sensible reply, and referred to his papers with the utmost facility. He exhibited several original letters from distinguished men, upholding his claim to the jagheers of which he had been deprived long before his deposal, and demonstrated that, from the commencement, his desire had been to submit the question in dispute respecting them to the judgment and decision of those best informed regarding the true meaning of the treaty which the Government dictated in placing him upon his throne. He struck me as a man having no secrets. He never contradicted any former statement, nor in the slightest degree prevaricated, or attempted any evasion. All he seemed anxious for, was a fair, an honest, and a full enquiry ; and he was evidently confident of a verdict in his favour. He said that owing to his mental anxieties, and the sickening suspense in which he had been kept, his life had become a burden to him, and he spoke with great seriousness of escaping from his troubles by voluntary death. He represented his sufferings under the circumstances of his exile, as extreme. Benares was of all places most unfavourable to his health, and the least likely to agree with his constitution, as its situation and climate were wholly different from those of Sattarah. During the previous hot winds, he had been reduced to great debility, and absolute lethargy, and his death at the time seemed almost certain. He dreaded the return of the hot months, and considered it quite improbable that he could sustain existence beyond a few more years in Benares. He was paying monthly instalments out of his allowance, to defray the expense of rebuilding his premises, which had been accidentally destroyed by fire, and he thought it a great hardship that his stipend should be diminished to repay the Government what they had advanced for such a purpose. The soldiers originally appointed to guard his camp had been withdrawn, and he had been forced to maintain sepoys at his own expense. The Agent had kindly offered to supply their places by burkandazes (common watchmen), but this offer he had declined, as he regarded the employment of such men, in lieu of regular guards,

as degrading to a person of his rank. His income was far too small for his establishment. More than twelve hundred persons had accompanied him from Sattara to Benares, and the greater part of these were dependent wholly upon him for the means of existence. Many of his people had died every year from the unhealthiness of the place. If any of his followers had resources at the time of their arrival, those resources had become utterly exhausted: they had lost all they once possessed, through their faithful adherence to him in his misfortunes. They were now (though many of them were men of rank by birth) in a state of abject penury; but while he loved them for their loyalty, and had every wish to be their supporter, he had no means of assisting them. On his coming to Benares, he had requested Major Carpenter to take an inventory of every article he possessed, as well as of the jewels belonging to the ladies, and to annex to each its value. This had been done. He had often been obliged to sell things, in order to meet his expenses, but he had scrupulously followed the advice of Major Carpenter, and had abstained from borrowing, or getting into debt. He set his heart upon the adoption of the infant child of the unfortunate Balla Saheb Senaputtee, over whom I was informed, he watched with great tenderness and care. He expressed a strong desire to be permitted to contract a marriage engagement on behalf of this boy, with the family of one of the Oodepore Rajahs. The father of this boy, had been followed from Sattarah, by order of Colonel Ovans, and made to give up property to the amount of fifty thousand rupees, on the pretence of his being in debt that sum to the State, in the capacity of Commander-in-Chief and Paymaster of his Highness's troops. The Rajah considered this act as most cruel and unjust; and thought the matter should be brought under the especial notice of the authorities in England. He (the Rajah) had to support both the boy and his mother, and he hoped the Government would pity their condition, and restore to them that which had been taken from the Senaputtee, as the charge brought against that officer was wholly without foundation. If his case was likely to remain long unsettled, he wished to be permitted in the mean time, to remove to some more healthy

part of the country, but he could not do so without the sanction and pecuniary assistance of the Government. His people were leaving him, and returning to their own country, or, going elsewhere. Many were sick and starving, and all were dispirited and desponding. He could not see these things, and not be weary of his existence—he wished to die. Could he be assured of ultimate success, he could be patient, and he would try to keep up the courage of his people. He would wait, one, two, three, or even five years ; but, hopeless suspense was insupportable. The chief source of his consolation were the letters of sympathy he received from England. His one desire was to return with his faithful followers to Sattarah, and die in the home of his ancestors. He had recently lost by death his favorite servant and secretary Balwunt Rao Chitneas, and he felt that he must die soon, or be left alone.

My second interview with the Rajah took place on the 24th November 1843. This was also in the house of, and in the presence of, Major Carpenter. He repeated many things which I have already stated. He was attended by a number of his followers, who were introduced to me as persons who would directly disprove many of the statements made against the Rajah, that had been sent from India, and printed in England. I declined to question them, or to hear them, as I had no means of using their testimony. They, therefore, made their "salaam," and retired. The Rajah again made many earnest enquiries regarding the time that his case would be under discussion in England, and asked me to speak some words of hope and comfort to his people. I studiously abstained from saying anything calculated to raise false expectations. I merely assured his Highness, that whatever could be done for him by his friends here, would be done, and that he might rely upon it, that no lapse of time would lead them to abandon his cause, as long as he remained without a fair trial, and as long as they considered him the subject of unjust treatment.

I am confirmed by everything I saw and heard in the belief of the Rajah's innocence of the charges brought against him. The favorable impressions I had received respecting his character were greatly strengthened. He was frank, communi-

cative and decided. He seemed a man with whom it would be easy to deal, if the simple object was to arrive at the truth. His manner was perfectly undisguised, and he appeared ready to render every assistance in his power in the way of promoting enquiry.

During the twelve months that I was in India, I mingled much with the natives of the country of all ranks, but met with no one who inspired me with a more favorable opinion of his character than his Highness the Rajah of Sattara.

AN OLD LEAF TURNED BACK ; OR RECOLLECTIONS OF GEORGE THOMPSON, M.P., IN INDIA.

Two-and-fifty years ago George Thompson was here. He came preceded by a ready-made reputation. His name then was in every mouth. His speeches were the common talk of all intelligent men. Very few persons are now living who remember him when he was here.

I was then hardly out of my teens, and only a few months out of the college. My seniors and elders knew him better from their frequent opportunities of association. Juniors like myself could know only what passed in the public meetings. Let me have the pleasure of recording my little knowledge of him purely from personal experience.

George Thompson came out to India towards the end of 1842. He accompanied Babu Dwarkanath Tagore on his return from his first voyage to England. Dwarkanath Tagore had founded the Landholders' Society at Calcutta, in 1838. Lord Brougham, stepping into the shoes of Burke, the great friend of India, had founded the British India Society in London, in July 1839. The two bodies, making a common cause, were in communication with each other. Their two founders, meeting in London, and becoming personally acquainted, had a great deal of talk over Indian matters. George Thompson was the most zealous member of the London British India Society in our cause. India was his special theme. He was invited by Dwarkanath to visit this country, and came out with him in the same steamer.

Youngster that I was, and fresh from the college with accounts of Chatham, Burke, Fox, Pitt, Brougham and others, I felt a great curiosity to realize in Mr. Thompson a Member of Parliament in flesh and blood. His tall, manly and noble figure struck my young Bengali eye, as did the appearance of the Roman senators strike the eye of the barbarian Brennus. His noble form without, was the visible type of his noble mind within. This is Nature—which holds the two in sympathy and even scales. Phrenology and physiognomy are not without truth—when they shall have become recognised sciences, and shall in addition to culture and intelligence guide us in the choice of our administrative men, the destiny of humanity shall improve. Beyond question, Thompson's inborn character was legible in his face.

Between the *eyes* and the *ears* there is but a little interval. But not so is the difference between *seeing* and *hearing*. Sir Walter Raleigh had twenty different versions of a row beneath his room in the Tower of London, whence he could overhear but not oversee ; and despaired of writing his *History of the World* with any chance of truth. Mill, the historian, wrote his work without ocular knowledge of India, and not only fell into many inaccuracies, but from want of imagination failed to infuse life into the dry bones of his accounts. Thompson had "read, and heard, and dreamt of India," but to have a right conception of the great theatre of British action in that country, he set out on a visit to its shores and found a marked difference between seeing through "the spectacles of books," and seeing with one's own eyes. Grant Duff, Lord Randolph Churchill and others have since followed in his track.

These were hard times indeed, when India was almost a sealed country to an Englishman ; when one desirous of visiting and settling there had to procure a passport from the Court of Directors ; when Dr. Marshman and Mr. Ward, coming out in an American vessel, were taken for French spies by Lord Wellesley and were disallowed to land until they were identified to be Dissenting missionaries ; when Mr. Silk Buckingham, a great friend of Raja Rammohan Roy, was obliged to quit the country for his spirited writings in the *Calcutta Journal* ;

when public meetings subject to restraints could be held only under sanction by Government, and one, the requisition for which had been made by Mr. John Palmer, the prince of merchants, and other such influential citizens, was disallowed ; when the Governor-General disliked the remarks of the papers, and the servants of Government were prohibited to have any connection with the Press ; when the Press of India laboured under the most galling restrictions, and the name of political agitation was unknown in the land. One by one all these hardships disappeared as the empire of public opinion superseded the empire of autocracy. They had all become bygones when Thompson arrived here. He did not come on any special mission. But there grew up one from his association with the intelligent young men of that day. Finding their minds greatly prepared, he undertook to initiate them in political education and left a permanent mark of his visit to our country.

Mr. Thompson arrived in December 1842, and entered upon his career in January 1843. On the 11th of that month, there was a meeting of the Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge to which Babu Ramgopal Ghosh invited him. I regularly attended the meetings of this Society, and was present on the occasion of his first address. The Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge rose on the ashes of Derozio's Academy. It was ushered into existence in 1838 mainly by the efforts of Ramgopal Ghosh, and used to meet at the upper hall of the Hindoo College. I was then in the College, and remember very well how Ramgopal's and Duckhinaranjan's fluent speeches fired many of the senior boys into imitation of their examples,—how they eagerly took to Demosthenes, Cicero, Chatham, Burke and Brougham—how they organised little Debating Clubs of their own, and tried their "prentice tongues" in forensic exercises. Even a poor fellow like myself, who on his legs before an audience always found himself to be out of his element, like a fish out of water, caught the mania of the day, exercised my tongue in oratorical practices, culminating in the delivery of a speech on the advantages of India's steam communication with England, before a

meeting of the Theo-philanthropic Society held at my maternal grandfather's (Mathur Mohun Sen's) house, that was presided over by one Mr. Herman Geoffry, a barrister by profession, but then a tutor in the Oriental Seminary. To become a public speaker was the great ambition of every green youth of that time.

In this mood of theirs, nothing could be more welcome to them than Mr. Thompson's opportune advent. He stood them in good stead under an urgent requirement—that of hearing a first-rate orator. His very first speech not only acted as a spell, but falling upon their spirit like a spark, caused a loud outburst of enthusiasm. Every one acknowledged him to bear away the palm, casting the Turtons, Dickenses and and Clarkes into the shade. His attractive delivery, seductive voice, exquisite pronunciation, the regular flow of his lucid expressions of noble thoughts, at once earned him a general popularity, and made him a most welcome comer to profit by his priceless lessons.

Fascinated into warm admirers, we very much regretted missing his words uttered next at a select party invited to meet at the house of the Revd. K. M. Banerjea. Neither did we hear his after-dinner speech at the Agricultural and Horticultural Society. But we were present at the public Greenlaw Memorial Meeting, where his address was a master-piece.

* The most remarkable of all Thompson's speeches in India was the one made at the Anniversary Meeting of the Mechanic's Institute held in the Town Hall, on 7th March 1843. I was present on the occasion. The upper hall, with all its nooks and corners, was closely packed and crowded to overflowing by an audience from all classes of the community. Mr. Thompson's arrival was welcomed with "a protracted peal of clapping." The business of the meeting being over, he rose to speak amid "overwhelming bursts of cheering." The profound stillness with which he was heard made the slightest whisper swell into a sound. Scarcely were the cheerings and acclamations about to die away, when a slim European gentleman—the Revd. Mr. Morton—stood up in a corner of the hall. Every one took him to be under liquor on his

throwing down the gauntlet, and opening his battery in Roebuck's "Tear'um" style. The indignant audience was about to out-hector him into silence. But Mr. Thompson begged to hear him out. No sooner had Mr. Morton done, than Mr. Thompson made himself conspicuous by being up on his legs. He now spoke from the stirred depths of his soul, and his eloquence was no other than Nature's gushing out-pouring. Striking the iron while it was hot, he dealt a crushing sledge-hammer blow. Poor Morton had no more ammunition to fire a second reply. He beat his retreat quite abashed and crest-fallen.

This speech of Thompson's was done *par excellence*. Nothing like it was ever heard in the country. It made a great impression upon the young minds. The immediate, instantaneous *impromptu* reply, without meditation or failing in words, struck them most. They looked upon him as born with the true oratorical talent—as endowed with every requisite for an orator. Dr. Duff had as much, or perhaps greater, natural eloquence, and always spoke out of the abundance of the heart. But he was not an accomplished speaker; he wanted Thompson's finish, manner, melody and effective art.

Thompson began his amateur-tuition by a series of lecture-speeches delivered in a weekly meeting held for three or four times at Babu Sreekissen Sing's garden-house at Manicktola—the same place where the Wards' Institution had long been. He used to come with a paper in his hand, to which he did not refer more than once or twice in the course of his delivery. His proceedings had the attraction of a great novelty. There was not an educated youth who was not drawn to hear him. It was not only to hear his Parliamentary oratory in India, but that his political lessons and his awakening our political instincts were such unique things as had never been known in all their long history, or in the history of Asia. Rapidly did he win his way among the enlightened Bengalis by the genial heartiness of his address and his breadth of sympathy. The assembly growing larger and larger, the scene shifted to Fouzdari Balakhana—to the upper hall of the south-west

corner building on the Chitpur Road, below which Babus Dwarkanath Gupto and Gourisanker Mitra had their dispensary.

Calmly did Thompson go on with his lessons giving legs to the lame and eyes to the blind, till they culminated in an unprecedented eventuality—the formation, on Thursday, the 20th April 1843, of *The British India Society*, by our College elders Tara Chand Chakrabarti, Chandra Saikhar Deb, Ramgopal Ghosh, Dakhinaranjan Mukerjea, Peary Chand Mitra, Shama Charan Sen, and others. To this first seed, sown by George Thomson, M.P., may remotely be traced the outcome of all other similar associations in India, including the very Congress itself.

Hardly had the British India Society met two or three times at Balakhana, before adverse criticisms against the proceedings of its members broke out in the European quarters. Those who meant to govern us as well by physical as mental disarmament, highly blamed Thompson for sowing nettles and thorns by their pleasant bedside. If it was politically wrong to teach the Natives at all, to teach them politics and agitation was to teach them sedition pure and simple. Taking up the official chorus, the Anglo-Indian Press, ever so ready to throw stones at the aliens, raised a Cerberean howl, the loudest din of which came from the Serampur watch-tower. The *Friend of India*, with pious antecedents, had its pen dipt in soft sawder for Government; and in gall for the Natives. No raillery or sarcasm kept up by its contemporaries could ever shame it out of its pseudonym. Once its imperturbable gravity was shaken to give the following reply to its brethren:—

“I am His Highness's dog of Kew,

Pray tell me, Sir, whose dog are you?”

The hiringling organ came out with the most stinging articles—styling the Society “Chuckerbutty Faction,” from its being presided over by Babu Tarachand Chakrabarti, and tauntingly comparing the “thundering Balakhana speeches” with the actual thunderings then going on at Bala Hissar. Mr. Thompson was nick-named *Thompson the Grievance-monger*.

But the deportation of an interloper had come to an end. The hue and cry of his countrymen affected him not. He went

on putting forth opinions in an equitable and loyal spirit, and tending to bring on kindly understandings between the rulers and the ruled.

Thompson's eloquence became a far cry at Delhi. The Great Mogul, struggling under inadequate resources, and pining to have restored the tokens of vassalage formerly shown to him, invited him, and dubbing him his ambassador, or agent, or advocate, whatever you choose to call it, sent him to plead his cause in England.

"What next befell him then and there
I know not well—I never knew."

Those who had nicknamed Thompson the Grievance-monger for teaching the Indians to air their grievances, now questioned whether his philanthropy was not a fudge, and whether his secret errand was not a look-out for the pagoda-tree. Take for granted that it was so. But is there an Englishman who, called upon to make a clean breast, can deny that "the British in India are like children come to see their old Aryan grandmother, not with any impelling sense of filial duty, but with a lurking belief that there was some jam-pot in the old lady's cupboard they would like to have their fingers in?" What is it that has made Britain from Land's End to the Orkney Isles one long Field of the Cloth of Gold but the perennial flow into it of Indian money for the last hundred and fifty years?

I know nothing of Thompson's second visit beyond his making a great speech at the Native Black Act Meeting at the Town Hall, in April 1857, which I listened to with rapt attention.

Thompson's speeches were collected in a pamphlet long gone out of print. In reproducing them after half a century, Babu Raj Jogeshar Mitter has unburied a welcome intellectual treasure-trove to light. Time has not lessened their value. Progressive enlightenment has not affected their interest. On the generation which heard them in eloquent utterance they exercised a potent charm. To the generation of the present

day they will prove an interesting as well as a profitable reading. There is bullion in the lessons of our first political teacher that will last long. Every young reader ought to have a copy of them.—Babu Bholanath Chunder in *The Calcutta University Magazine* for November, 1895.

APPENDIX F.

At a general quarterly Court of Proprietors of Indian Stock held in the Company's house, Leadenhall Street, on Wednesday, Sept. 23, 1846, in a powerful speech, Mr. George Thompson condemned the conduct of the Court of Directors. This speech was published *in extenso* in the *British Friend of India Magazine* for October 1846, from which it is reprinted.

"Sir, eight years ago, the Raja of Sattara, whose acts for twenty years will bear comparison with those of any prince renowned for talent and for virtue, in any part of the world, at any period,—was dragged from his throne, for refusing to plead guilty to charges which he had never seen, upon evidence taken in the strictest secrecy, to no one syllable of which he had been permitted to reply. (Hear hear). This was the act of a British Governor of the name of Carnac, sent out from this house to preside over the Presidency of Bombay.

The intelligence of this act reached this house in the month of November, 1839, and the despatch of Sir James Carnac made known to the Court of Directors the fact, that the Raja had been dethroned for the reason I have stated. That despatch, after informing the Court of Directors that the Raja was accused of carrying on a treasonable correspondence with the Goa authorities—of intriguing with the *ex-Raja* of Nagpoor—and of attempting to seduce certain native officers in the British service, went on as follows:—

"When I had concluded (says the Honourable the Governor), he (the Rajah) asserted that the accusations against him *originated in the intrigues of his enemies*; that as long as the British Government entertained the idea *that he had cherished hostile designs*, he could agree to nothing; but *this idea being removed, he would agree to anything I proposed*; that he would consent to anything, except to abandon his religion, or to acknowledge that he had been our enemy;

“that he would receive any conditions, reply to them, and “vindicate his conduct generally.”

This is the account given of the conduct of the British Government, and the conduct of the Raja, by the man who dethroned the Raja. The British Governor called upon the Raja to confess his guilt of crimes, two of which had never before been so much as specified, and the Raja was promised that if he did confess, he should be maintained on his throne, and should be restored to the favour and protection of the British Government. The Raja denied the truth of the charges brought against him—protested his entire and absolute innocence—and demanded a *hearing*. For persisting in his refusal to criminate himself, and this demand for fair trial, he was forthwith dethroned; he was banished to a burning plain 900 miles distant from his native and salubrious climate; he was stripped, or, rather plundered, of every portion of his private property; and he was branded throughout India as a monster of ingratitude and treachery, who, after being the participant of numberless favours at the hands of the British Government, had plotted the overthrow and destruction of that Government. The intelligence of this act reached (as I have said) this house in the month of November 1839, and the naked fact was put before the Court of Directors, that an illustrious prince, whom they had three years before declared as a model for the study of all native rulers, had been dethroned, beggared, and banished, because he would not, *without a hearing, acknowledge* himself guilty of crimes which his worst enemies had for years been secretly alleging against him.

The Directors, *knew*, that the Raja had never been called upon for his defence—they *knew*, that, previous to the interview with Sir James Carnac, the Raja had never heard of the nature of two of the three offences imputed to him—they *knew*, that not a syllable of the evidence taken against him had ever been furnished to him—they *knew*, that the authorities in India (even those most prepossessed against the Raja) had never contemplated severe measures, without affording the accused the opportunity of establishing his innocence—they

knew, that they had themselves severely censured the proceedings against the Raja, and had peremptorily required their termination—they knew, that Sir James Carnac was, not only not instructed to depose, or in any way to degrade the Raja, but on the contrary, was expected to stay the persecutions going on against the Raja, and to bury all past proceedings in profound oblivion—they knew, too, that the Raja, whether guilty or innocent, heard or unheard, he could not be *legally* dethroned, without the express command and authority of their own Court, with the sanction of the Board of Control. Such was the knowledge, and such had been the conduct of the Directors, previous to the startling intelligence that the Raja had been hurled from his throne, for refusing to pronounce a sentence of "Guilty," upon himself, on charges, of some of which he was wholly ignorant, until this self-condemning verdict was demanded from him. There are few men on the outside of this house, who would hesitate a moment, before they decided, what was the duty of the sworn executive officers of this body. Let us inquire what actually took place.

The intelligence of the Raja's dethronement was not confined to the Directors, and on the 4th of February, 1840, a requisition was sent in for the summoning of a Special Court of Proprietors, to consider a recommendation to the Court of Directors, "to withhold their sanction to the act of the Bombay Government, until, a full and fair investigation should have taken place into the charges preferred against the Raja, according to his Highness's earnest and repeated request." The Special Court was convened, and a discussion, which lasted two days, was the result. The recommendation was supported by Sir Charles Forbes, by Mr. Lewis, by Captain Cogan, by Mr. Poynder, and a number of other gentlemen. On that memorable occasion, there was one speech delivered, which was sufficient of itself to induce the Court of Directors to order an immediate enquiry into all the circumstances connected with the dethronement of the Raja. It was the speech of General Lodwick, one of the political Residents at the Raja's Court. That speech laid bare the secret of the enmity of certain persons at Bombay, towards the Raja—it demonstrated

the diabolical injustice of the proceedings of the *Secret Commission*—it exhibited the manly and noble conduct of the Raja, during the period of those proceedings—and was, in fact, a testimony in proof of the Raja's moral incapacity to be guilty of the acts ascribed to him. What was the conduct of the Directors on that occasion? (I may here observe, once for all, that I speak of the majority of that body). Did they at once accede to the reasonableness of the recommendation? No. The Chairman, Sir Richard Jenkins, and the Deputy Chairman Mr. Bayley, *moved and seconded an amendment* "that this Court deems it highly inexpedient, and accordingly declines, to interfere with the responsible executive of the affairs of Sattara." This amendment, let it be recollected here, and known to all elsewhere, was the amendment of *the Directors themselves*. They did not allow a vote to be taken, *aye* or *no*, upon the original motion. No. Their object was to rebuke those who had dared to think, and to propose, that a recommendation should be made to themselves. They knew, that by voting for this amendment, and by getting their abject and mercenary followers to do so, they should not only negative the original motion, but record a censure upon those who had brought it forward. Thus it is, that things are managed in this house. The friends of justice here are few in number, and even among those, there is but here and there one, who can afford to brave the displeasure of the men who have the enormous patronage of India in their hands. Moreover, the attendance in this Court is ever thin, and while the friends of justice have nothing to rely upon but the merits of their cause, the Directors can always procure the attendance of a large number of proprietors, ready to do their bidding, and to support them, whether right or wrong. The most that many of those who agree with us can do, without injury to their prospects, it to stay away and refrain from supporting the Directors. Never will it be otherwise, until the corrupting influence of patronage, the curse of this Company, and of India, is destroyed.

On the occasion I have referred to, the Directors carried their amendment. By their own votes, and by those exclu-

sively, they obtained a majority, and resolved that they would not be interfered with. They were, therefore, left to do as they pleased. Their vote on the occasion was as *indecent*, as their *amendment* was *arrogant* and *insulting*. Left to themselves, what did they do? Of course they had promised fair enough. They had told the Proprietors of their anxiety to do full justice to all parties, and of their intention to act deliberately, and upon the fullest information. What did they do, to prove that it was unnecessary and *inexpedient* to interfere with the executive? Did they pronounce, as they were bound to do, the act of Sir James Carnac, illegal, and order the immediate restoration of the Raja? No. Did they issue their mandate for enquiry, and a full and fair investigation into the facts of the case? No. Did they, at least, restore the private property taken from the Raja, in violation of a written pledge? No. Did they boldly rebuke, or even mildly censure, the conduct of their governor? No. Did they do nothing to vindicate the outraged principles of law, and the dictates of divine justice? Nothing. What did they do? On the first day of April, following, they sent out a despatch to Bombay warmly commending the *zeal*, the *judgment*, and the *energy* of the man who had hurled the Raja from his throne. The Raja they left bereft of pity, of property, of throne, of country, and even of permission to dwell nearer than a thousand miles from his native hills; and this they did *under an OATH* to deal *indifferently* and *equally* with all manner of persons!

What next? In the month of June, when called to account for their conduct, they justified their proceedings by a reference to the official documents which they had before them, and called upon the Proprietors to suspend their judgment until they also had seen and examined the papers in the case. After much debate, they agreed to place a portion of these papers before the Proprietors; but, lo! when they appeared, they were only one side of the case; they contained the charges against the Raja, and the minutes of the Bombay Government; but the Raja's own letter of November, 1838, which contained his own statement of the origin and causes of the conspiracy against him, and his exposure of the characters of his accusers

—this they withheld, as they did the whole of the evidence upon which the Raja had been pronounced guilty.

These papers, such as they were, were discussed in July, 1841; the debate extended over five days. The speeches delivered are on record, to speak for themselves. The Raja was triumphantly vindicated; his innocence was established; his enemies were dragged to light; their infernal plots were revealed; their secret motives laid open; their acts of malice and revenge were held up to execration. By whom was the Raja defended on that occasion? By Generals Briggs, Robertson, and Lodwick, for fifteen years the representatives of the British Government at the Court of the Raja! By Charles Norris, a secretary to the Government of Bombay. By Colonel Sykes and Captain Shepperd, and by the present deputy Chairman, Mr. Tucker: and also by Mr. Lewis, Mr. Hume, Mr. Poynder, Captain Cogan, Mr. Salomons, and myself. I feel confident it would be impossible to find twelve men in any part of the world who would hesitate to return a verdict of "not guilty," after hearing the speeches delivered on that occasion. (Hear, hear). What was the result of this debate, overwhelmingly triumphant as it was—demonstrative as it was, both of the innocence of the Raja, and the guilt of his accusers!

I moved, that the Court should declare the Raja innocent, and therefore entitled to a restitution of the rights, and ample reparation for all his wrongs. That motion was thrown overboard.

Mr. LEWIS moved for an impartial Committee to investigate the case. He, too, was defeated.

Mr. TUCKER proposed the restoration of the Raja's private property, and the re-investment of the Raja in his rights should a suitable opportunity offer. He, too, was defeated.

Mr. SALOMONS moved that the Court of Directors should be recommended to re-consider the question. He, too, lost his amendment.

Mr. POYNDER moved to restore the Raja, or if that could not be done, that compensation should be given. He, too, was doomed to see his proposition go to the wall with the rest.

The Chairman of the Court of Directors moved that it was

inexpedient to interfere with the responsible Executive, and the amendment was carried. How carried! By the votes of SEVENTEEN DIRECTORS! Inexpedient to interfere with the responsible Executive! Why, this is a flat contradiction in terms. If they are responsible, and to this Court, as the constituent body, why should not their conduct be interfered with! What is the end and design of this Court else! And, mark! What was the interference which they deprecated and condemned—the interference of a respectful recommendation to appoint an impartial Committee to enquire. Surely, the force of dictation could no further go.

I come, now, to another part of the conduct of the Directors—one affording the most convincing evidence of their determination to prevent the utterance of the truth, and to annihilate the right of this Court to discuss the affairs of India. In the month of September, 1841, a learned friend (Mr. Lewis), came to this place, for the purpose of discussing a motion which had been unceremoniously set aside at a previous meeting. Instead of being allowed to exercise his right to lay that motion before the Court, he was met by a motion for adjournment, brought forward by one of the most obsequious of the supporters of the Directors (Mr. Weeding), and seconded by another (Mr. Fielder). What was the issue? The motion to adjourn was carried. How stood the votes? Against the adjournment were ten Proprietors, and two Directors, making *twelve*; in favour of the adjournment were TEN Directors, and *five* proprietors, making *fifteen*, and so the freedom of discussion was trampled under foot, and iniquity triumphed. There is but one place in the kingdom in which such unseemly and tyrannical proceedings would be permitted, and that is in this house, which is an Augæan stable of corruption. Here we find the chartered rights of proprietors rudely assaulted and prostrated by the men whom those proprietors have put into their situations. And why is it? It is because of the gifts which these Directors have to bestow. How often has it been said by the Proprietors, on this very question, "I would attend and vote with you, for, I believe you are in the right; but I am on the look out for a cadetship, or a writership, and I should peril my prospects if I appeared in

opposition to the men behind the bar." Hence those men behind the bar act for a time with perfect impunity, knowing too well that they hold in bondage, by their patronage, almost every man possessing a vote in this Company.

I pass over intervening events, that I may hasten to notice the conduct of the Directors on the 29th July, 1842. On that day a Special Court was held, to consider the contents of some printed papers relating to the case of the Raja. Those papers contained the minutes of the evidence taken against the Raja by the Secret Commission, and the Report of the Commissioners appointed to receive that evidence. The question was one of vital importance to the Raja, and to the interests of truth. For several months, some of the most distinguished members of this Court had been occupied in examining and analyzing this evidence, and in comparing it with the Report drawn up by Messrs. Willoughby and Ovans. The conclusion arrived at by every one of those gentlemen was, that the evidence was a mass of perjury, and the Report of the Commissioners false and unfounded. They were prepared to demonstrate this out of the evidence itself, without the aid of any other documents. Let it be remembered, that it was upon this evidence the Government of Bombay, and the Directors relied, mainly, for their justification of their proceedings against the Raja; and let it be remembered, also, that it was this evidence which the Proprietors had been told to look at, that they might learn the justice and necessity of those proceedings. Finally, let it be remembered, that the Court was specially convened and specially advertized for that purpose. We met. What was the course pursued by the Directors? Did they say, "Now, gentlemen, you hold in your hands the most important evidence connected with this case. Consider it—discuss it—let it be deliberately examined and criticized, and then pronounce your verdict"? Did they say this? No. As soon as the Chairman of the Court of Directors stepped into that chair, he said, "I move that this Court do now adjourn." Those who were present, can never forget the scene presented by the Court on that occasion. Many of those who were in the habit of thinking and speaking well of the Directors, were filled with disgust at their conduct. For an

hour, every appeal was made to them to allow the discussion to proceed, but in vain. They saw on this side the bar a well drilled corps of mercenaries, and knew full well that their stratagem would succeed, whenever the question was put to the vote. There was one man, however, who foiled them in their dirty work, who determined to prove to them that they should not have it all their own way. He declared his intention to shew cause against the adjournment, and the man, who at twelve o'clock of the morning of the 29th of July, moved the adjournment, was sitting in that chair at two o'clock of the morning of the 30th, after a fourteen hours' discussion of the amendment he had the injustice and hardihood to propose. (Laughter). I was that man, and there are many here who will bear witness to the ruffianly treatment I received during several of the early hours of my address. The clamors, the epithets, the gnashing of teeth, the threats, the insinuations, and the insults that were showered upon me. It was a day of proud triumph for the friends of the Raja. It was a day of deep humiliation and defeat for the Directors. It was on that day that I first arraigned Colonel Ovans for the commission of one of the foulest crimes a public man can commit—the wilful concealment of judicial evidence revealing the authors of the plot against the Raja, and completely exculpating the victim he was seeking to ruin. It was then that I was branded as a *liar* and a *liabeller* ;—it was then that my proofs were called *forgeries*, and my assertions *falsehoods*. Where are the friends of that officer now! The men who branded me as a calumniator four years ago are here to-day ; but I have since proved the truth, not only of that charge, but of eleven others equally grave, out of Colonel Ovans' own letters. I was then threatened with a prosecution for libel. I have courted prosecution. I have heaped charge upon charge, and libel upon libel. I have challenged Colonel Ovans to meet me here. I have had my charges laid upon the table of the House of Commons. Where is the prosecution? Here I stand to-day to repeat my charges, and to brand Colonel Ovans with the commission of some of the blackest crimes which a man in his official station could perpetrate. But where is he, and where are his friends! Alas! for him,

for his cloth, and for his connections ; he hides away in obscurity, and his friends, who were once so loud-tongued and boisterous, dare not say a word in his behalf. Reverting to this proceeding in 1842, I charged the Directors with a deliberate attempt to suppress the evidence of the Raja's innocence, by moving and supporting the question of adjournment. When at two in the morning the vote was taken, eighteen out of twenty-four of the Directors voted in favour of adjournment, and, with the exception of myself and the late Mr. Charles Norris, the speech of every friend of the Raja's was burked. Was this, let me ask, consistent with that solemn oath which I quoted at the commencement of my address! Do these men really believe in the existence of that God whom they invoke when they place the Bible to their lips, and swear, *that they will do justice without respect of persons?* If they do, what must be their reflections at some time or another, upon such acts as I have now described?

On the 8th of February, 1843, at which time I was in India, another memorable discussion took place, on a motion of Mr. Lewis, that the Raja should either be restored to his throne, or be permitted to be heard in his defence. Amongst other speeches, there were two of singular ability, delivered by Mr. Lewis and Mr. Sullivan. I have ever regarded that of the latter gentleman, as one of the best ever made on this question. It is distinguished by all the acuteness for which that honorable proprietor is so well known ; but still more so, for that candour, and stern love of justice, which are such conspicuous features in every thing that proceeds from his lips. What was the conduct of the Directors on that occasion? Not satisfied to give a vote in the negative upon the original motion, they again set their *automata* at work, and Mr. Weeding moved, and Mr. Fielder seconded a motion, "that the Court do now adjourn!" With two or three honorable exceptions, the Directors voted "aye," and the motion for adjournment was carried by a vote of forty-six to sixteen. Here, again, we find these executive officers of ours doing the part of moral *Thugs*, and strangling the motion of the friends of the Raja. I could prove, that with an occasional exception, the question affecting the con-

duct of the Directors has been settled by the votes of the Directors themselves. The culprits at the bar have returned the verdict! The Directors have settled the question of their own character. They have whitewashed themselves. They have done no wrong, because they say so. They are "not guilty," because they pronounce the decision of the jury!

During the year 1844, the Directors were unmolested. In the month of March, 1845, however, I brought forward the case of the Raja, with special reference to the spoliation of his Private Property, and the conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Ovans. I alluded to a charge of perjury brought against that officer by Rungoo Bapjee, who had offered to substantiate his accusation, if afforded the opportunity of doing so. I also referred to the various acts of Colonel Ovans, as described in his own official and printed despatches? What was the conduct of the Chairman on that occasion! He moved the old amendment, declaring the inexpediency of interfering with the executive, and ordered a letter to be read, in which the Directors, writing to the Government of Bombay on the 30th of May, 1843, declared that none of the discussions which had taken place, had left the slightest stain upon the character of Colonel Ovans. And yet, I had proved in their presence from their own records, that this same Colonel Ovans had played the part of a spy; had systematically intercepted and opened letters (even those of persons high in the service of this Company); had maligned honourable men in his secret despatches; had kept back the evidence of forgery, (committed to ruin the Raja and his friends); had immured persons for years in prison, to extort false evidence, or to keep them from giving evidence which was true; had thrice violated a written pledge to respect the Raja's property, and had locked up in his desk, for a year, the incontestible documentary proof, that the criminatory document, upon the strength of which he was proceeding in all his measures against the Raja, was a fabrication and a forgery! I shall have another word to say on this subject presently.

In the month of July, 1845, I again claimed the attention

of the Court to the proof, that the dethronement of the Raja was an act contrary to the Statute Law of this realm, made and provided with special reference to such cases as that of the Raja ; and I called upon the Court of Directors to bring forward the standing Counsel of the Company, or to produce the opinion of any other legal gentleman, in favor of the legality of that act, I told them that I was aware of the fact, of their having expended thousands of pounds in legal advice, and challenged the production of one opinion in favor of any part of their proceedings against the Raja. What answer did I get? A simple moving of the old amendment, declaring the inexpediency of interfering with the executive. The amendment was of course carried, and thus an enquiry into the vital question, whether the Raja (guilty or innocent) had been legally deposed, was got rid of. What a strange pertinacity in wrongdoing! What an infatuated resistance to light, and evidence, and truth! What a contempt for every thing wearing the aspect of fair and honourable dealing. If any person should hereafter take the trouble to go through the debates on this question, he will find the Directors, from first to last, at war with every principle that is esteemed holy and divine—steadily resisting the evidence of innocence, and screening every guilty perpetrator of oppression, and every fabricator of falsehood.

On the 22nd of August, 1845, we had a two-days' debate upon the papers relating to Colonel Ovan's concealment of the evidence of Krushnajee, and his extortion of the confession, so called, of the unfortunate Govind Row, and also respecting the origin and nature of certain papers used at various times to criminate the Raja. It is not saying too much, to say, that there has seldom been a *viva voce* discussion, during which more talent was exhibited than on that occasion. The facts brought to light were not so much a demonstration of the Raja's innocence, as a revolting and horrible exhibition of the crimes of those who had brought him to destruction. The resolutions proposed by me, concluded with a prayer for an impartial investigation. Mr. Lewis, who thought some portions of my resolutions rather strong, and was desirous of obtaining a favorable vote, simply moved that the Raja should

be heard in his defence. The Chairman moved *the old amendment*, for which twelve Directors voted, in addition to their supporters on this side of the bar, and Justice, and Innocence, and Truth, were again struck down by Corruption, and Violence, and Falsehood.

On the 22nd of October, 1845, I tendered evidence in proof of twelve grave charges against Colonel Ovans, and gave copious references to the printed papers in support of every one of them; confining myself exclusively to the letters of the party criminated. Having done so, I moved the appointment of a select Committee to enquire into those charges, and to report upon them to a General Court. I was met by a direct negative from the Chair, who, in the face of evidence the most unanswerable—the letters of Colonel Ovans himself—declared the party I had arraigned innocent!

On the 17th of December I formally impeached Colonel Ovans upon the charges into which the Court had refused to look by means of a Committee. In substance, they accused Colonel Ovans—of having been guilty of *suborning false testimony* against a prince to whom he was bound by Treaty to tender friendly advice—of having, through a series of years, *feloniously intercepted, opened, and copied*, all communications passing between the Raja of Sattara, his ministers and friends, and the subjects and friends of the Raja in India and in England—of having sent *fabricated and forged documents* to the Government of Bombay, for the purpose of criminating the Raja, *possessing, at the time*, the absolute proof of the real character of the documents, but *concealing it from the knowledge of his superiors*—of having extorted evidence against the Raja *by means of threats and imprisonment*, well knowing, at the time, that the evidence so extorted was false—of having become privy to the surreptitious annexation of the Raja's State Seals to forged and treasonable papers, and of having *concealed the knowledge of the fact* from his Government—of having practised, throughout the whole of his official career at Sattara, previous to the dethronement of the Raja, *a series of wilful and complicated frauds upon his Government*, thereby causing them to believe in false and perjured evidence—of

having been a party to a violation of a solemn written pledge, delivered by himself to the Raja, that the private property of that Prince should be respected, if he submitted without resistance to the order for his dethronement ; and, of having carried the order for the Raja's deposal into execution, in a manner calculated to endanger the peace of Sattara, and the lives of the inhabitants.

On that occasion I said :—Justice to myself requires, that, whatever may become of Colonel Ovans, I should not abandon my charges against him, until I have indelibly placed on record the proof of the truth of those charges. When I first brought forward two of the twelve charges, now before you—that of suborning the evidence of Bhow Lely, and that of concealing the evidence of Krushnajee, you treated me with insult and brutality. I was branded as a calumniator, and an utterer of lies, and when far away, even on the very spot where Colonel Ovans might himself have called me to account, I was by some who are now profoundly silent, held up in this Court, and afterwards in print, as a libeller, and the malicious assailant of an honorable man. The world shall have the means of judging who are the real libellers, and who amongst us are cowards and knaves—for some such there must be connected with this affair. I will do that to-day, which shall for ever afterwards stand as my justification, and I will, by one act, redeem myself from every imputation cast upon my character and my motives, and demonstrate that I have never brought a charge against the man now at your bar, which I had not the most ample means of substantiating. And mark how I will do this! I will suborn no witnesses—I will produce no forged documents—I will cite no hearsay evidence—I will draw no inferences—I will read no papers of which you are ignorant—I will make no petty-fogging affidavits, to extricate myself from difficulty, by an artful play upon words. I will do none of these things ; and yet, I will place myself upon my trial by the side of Colonel Ovans. *One of us must, and shall, fall to-day.* The result of this inquiry must be, either that I depart, branded with the damning stain of a vile traducer, and a fabricator of

false and wicked accusations, or that Colonel Ovens, the man whose character you have sought to uphold by empty assertions, will be convicted of having perpetrated crimes as heinous as were ever committed by any, even the vilest and worst, of the servants of this Company. I will render this result inevitable, by the issue to which I voluntarily commit myself. *I agree to a sentence of self-excommunication from the society of true and honourable men, if I do not prove my charges.* And, again, I call upon you to mark how I will prove them. These official papers, which you have yourselves sent to Parliament, with the attestation of your own sworn examiner, shall be the only records to which I will appeal. I will do more. I will refer to none of these, *save those which have emanated from Colonel Ovens himself, and bear his own signature, or are declared authentic, by his own letters.* Behold the difference between the course I propose to adopt, and that which has been pursued towards the Raja of Sattara! My charges are publicly made—they are reduced to court martial phraseology—they are clear and specific—they give names, and dates, and places, and I have, besides, given you three months' notice of the precise nature of the evidence which I shall this day produce—I have given you the name and page of every document to which I shall refer—I have given you time to ascertain their existence, their authenticity, their validity, and their sufficiency, and here I am, ready, willing, and anxious, that they should be submitted to the most rigorous test which impartiality, truth, justice, or legal ingenuity can devise. On your side are power, boundless wealth, all the resources of law, a strong sympathy with the accused, the means of obtaining any amount of assistance, the certainty of being heard to any extent, the assurance that you have an audience that will attach the utmost weight to whatever you can say in refutation of these charges—and here, on the other side, I stand alone, weak in body, all but exhausted in mind, deeply conscious of the responsibility I have assumed, without one friend to aid me. No matter—alone, unfriended, I challenge you to the trial, and may Heaven defend the right!

Having thus addressed the Court, I produced my evidence.

It was conclusive, it was unanswerable, and it was overwhelming. I then moved "That Lieutenant-Colonel Ovans had been guilty of conduct unworthy of the character of a British Officer, and in violation of a Treaty subsisting between the East India Company and the Raja of Sattara," in the instances set forth. The motion was put from the Chair, and negatived without a division. On the decision of the Court being declared, I said, "Gentlemen, who have voted against this motion, I pray God you may be able one day to prove, that you have not laid wilful perjury upon your souls." So ended the impeachment of Colonel Ovans.

I consider the verdict that day given one of the most fearful departures from truth ever committed by any assembly of men. The evidence I then adduced, is *now in my possession*, ready to be re-produced whenever I can find an honest tribunal that will entertain my charges. My prosecution of Colonel Ovans is not abandoned—it is only postponed. While I live, I will not cease to proclaim him the deliberate enemy of the Raja, and seek to bring him to the condemnation he merits. And this I shall do without a single vindictive feeling. I shall do it to save others from the commission of similar crimes. I shall do it for the sake of the people of India, one of whose most illustrious princes has been crushed and ruined, and now pines in captivity and infamy through the success of the machinations of this man. But what shall be thought of the men in this house who have thus far shielded this offender, who, when the proof of his guilt was before them in the shape of his own letters, and of the documents which he had concealed, or caused to be fabricated, voted *that he had NOT done the things which, in his own letters, he had said he HAD done?* And what shall we think of him and them, who, with exhaustless pecuniary resources, and the civil and criminal law to appeal to, suffer me to reiterate and print and publish these charges, and to make them at crowded meetings, and yet move not a finger to prevent me, nor venture one word in reply? Why if I was not supported by the evidence which they themselves have been compelled to return to Parliament—if I was not wholly invincible in proof—they would not suffer this day

to pass without taking the first step to bring me to trial, as the basest of libellers. Does not this silence—this abject cowardice—speak volumes? Does it not proclaim, trumpet-tongued, both the guilt of Colonel Ovans, and the conviction of that guilt on the part of his defenders? As the Directors have acted by Colonel Ovans, so have they acted towards every one who has aided in the downfall of the innocent Raja. The two perjured soldiers who gave their evidence on the commission, are in command of Hill forts, in the Deccan, and have been eulogized from the Chair of this House. The infamous intriguer, Ballajee Punt Nathoo, rejoices in a pension and the protection of the Bombay authorities. The unnatural brother who plotted the ruin of the Raja, now sits upon the throne of Sattara; and the man most deeply stained of all—the man I have so often impeached before, and again impeach to-day, finds in the Court of Directors a body of men willing to vouch for his honesty, though they have neither the ability to say a word in his defence, nor the courage to measure weapons with his accuser in a court of justice.

Desirous to show the Directors a path by which they might escape from their difficulties, if there existed in their minds any wish to forsake a course of injustice, I again, in March last, brought this question forward, and by a reference both to the facts and the law of the case, proved that the dethronement of the Raja was an illegal act. Having done so, and having invited an enquiry into the validity of my arguments, I concluded by an earnest appeal that, though late, the Directors would, as they looked for justice to themselves, hereafter act fairly towards the Raja of Satara. I appealed in vain. My arguments were not refuted—my construction of the Act of Parliament was not shown to be incorrect; none of my facts were called in question; but I was met by a direct negative, and again might triumphed over right.

I have now rapidly reviewed the proceedings of the Directors during the principal debates which have taken place in this Court. Let me add that one of the Directors, as the organ in the British House of Commons of the body to which he belongs, has undertaken to put his case before that House.

Last year I demonstrated in this place that every representation made by that Director in Parliament was directly contrary to the facts of the case ; but as his colleagues have not thought fit to disavow his proceedings, I hold them collectively responsible, and deliberately affirm what I am prepared again, if called upon, to prove that the statements made in the House of Commons by the present Chairman of this Court were garbled and unfounded.

I have yet another and a serious charge to bring against the Directors. I hold in my hand the sixth volume of a work written by an under-secretary in this house, of the name of Edward Thornton—a work entitled, "The History of the British Empire in India." This work has been brought out under the patronage of the Directors, and I understand they have taken 2,500 copies of each volume for distribution among the Proprietors. It is, therefore, a work paid for out of the money derived from the people of India—a work which has cost them, according to its publishing price, *twelve thousand pounds!* In this, the last volume, the under secretary has discussed the subject of the Raja's dethronement, and this book is sent forth as a just exposition of the facts and merits of that question. Now if there was any one subject connected with the affairs of India, on which more than the rest the deputy-secretary had it in his power to obtain correct information, and to arrive at a sound judgment, it was that of the Raja of Sattara. Since February, 1840, the discussions in the Court of Proprietors on this question have been frequent. At many of these Mr. Thornton has been present, and with the proceedings of all of them he has been perfectly familiar. In addition to these discussions, voluminous papers have been printed both by the Court of Proprietors and by Parliament ; the contents of which have placed the fact beyond the possibility of doubt,—that the crimes attributed to the Raja of Sattara, were *the inventions of his enemies*, and that the evidence brought forward to prove their commission, was obtained by the foulest means, and in the great majority of instances, was a mass of perjury and forgery. These papers have again and again been brought before the attention of the Directors, during the

discussions in this Court, and it is long, very long, since any one of those directors has had the hardihood to stand up and assert his belief in the evidence given against the Raja. Mr. Thornton knows, that every Resident at the Court of Sattara, with the exception of Colonel Ovens, has declared his conviction of the Raja's innocence. He knows, that three of these ex-Residents have again and again stood up in this place, to expose the worthlessness of the evidence against the Raja, and that they have most triumphantly demonstrated the perfect innocence of that Prince, of the acts laid to his charge. He knows, that the Raja's innocence has been further proved by the voluntary declarations and solemn affidavits of the principal witness, since his dethronement. He knows, that the British Government in India was never able, even with the assistance of Colonel Ovens, to obtain a single tittle of *direct evidence* against the Raja. He knows, that for seventeen years, all who knew the Raja, bore unanimous testimony to the excellence of his disposition, the soundness of his understanding, his remarkable talent for the administration of public affairs, and, above all, to his unvarying attachment to the British Government. He knows, throughout the whole of the Raja's correspondence (intercepted by Colonel Ovens, and now made public) there is not a sentiment, or expression, at variance with the purest loyalty to the British Government, or with the most perfect inward consciousness of rectitude and honour. He knows, that for six years the friends of the Raja of Sattara have been straining every nerve to obtain an impartial enquiry into the evidence collected against the Raja, and that in the mean time, they have succeeded in rebutting every part of that evidence, until at last, there is not to be found at the India House one man capable of saying a word in favour, either of the witness against the Raja, or the testimony they have borne. He knows, that those who at first appeared as the friends of the Raja, only to the extent of demanding a hearing (being at the time but partially acquainted with the facts of the case) are now convinced after a searching examination of the papers, that there is not a stain upon the Raja's character, and that he has been

the victim of one of the vilest conspiracies ever formed against an upright man.

These are facts of which Mr. Thornton cannot but be perfectly cognizant. Yet, he has devoted seventeen pages of his sixth volume to the object of leading his readers to believe, that the Raja is a *weak, a worthless, and a guilty* man. In other words, Mr. Thornton has laboured to bring his readers to *a conclusion which he knows to be false*. I do not hesitate to say, and will make good my assertion in any court of justice in the world, in which I am permitted to bring forward my evidence, that every fact stated by Mr. Thornton in relation to the character and conduct of the Raja of Sattara, is contradicted by the documents which Mr. Thornton had in his possession at the time he wrote his book. I have said, that for seventeen years the unvarying testimony of every European acquainted with the Raja, established the fact of his being a man of superior understanding and talent, and that his country was a model of good management. Mr. Thornton, however, describes the Raja as "an Oriental Prince who indulged in follies which entitled him to be ranked among the weakest of his imbecile order." (p. 84). Mr. Thornton appears to have thought that this description required some confirmation, and he therefore quotes the report made by the arch traitor *Ballajee Punt Nathoo*, to Colonel Lodwick, at the commencement of the conspiracy in 1836. On the next page the Raja is spoken of, as a "prince of weak and wild character," who, "whether he were guilty or innocent, had unquestionably deprived himself of all claim to plead against the English Government, the obligations of the treaty under which he had exchanged the condition of a titled slave for the exercise of actual sovereignty; for the conditions of that treaty he had notoriously broken." (p. 85). The man who writes this, knows full well, that before a charge was ever preferred against the Raja, the British Government, at Bombay, had broken the treaty of 1819, by seizing upon the Raja's *Jagheers*; and that it was to prevent the effect of the Raja's appeal against that breach of treaty, that the charge of attempting to seduce the sepoy's from their allegiance was preferred against him.

Referring to the terms submitted by Sir James Carnac to the Raja, Mr. Thornton says—"No sacrifice was required—no penalty inflicted—but the Raja with a perverseness rarely equalled, spurned the friendship which was tendered to him, on terms *neither burdensome nor dishonourable.*" (p. 92). When the terms here referred to were submitted to the Raja, his highness loudly and repeatedly declared his entire innocence of any, the slightest unfriendly feelings towards the British Government.—Again and again he desired Sir James Carnac to take charge of his Principality, during a rigorous and impartial enquiry into the secret charges which had been brought against him, (the evidence on which he had never been permitted to see) and declared at the same time his willingness to submit to any conditions, which did not require him to abandon his religion, or admit that he had been the enemy of our Government. Such were the offers made by the Raja at this meeting between him and the Governor. But why need I take the trouble of exposing the untruths of Mr. Thornton! The Raja himself, in a letter to the Governor General of India, with the contents of which Mr. Thornton is doubtless well acquainted, has by anticipation most amply refuted the assertions of the deputy secretary. If Mr. Thornton can read the Raja's published letter to Lord Hardinge, without a blush for his own mendacity, and the total degradation of his own views of honour and morality, then is he even worse than I at present take him to be. If he be not past mending, let him learn a purer creed from the high-toned morality and inflexible love of truth and honor exhibited by the Maharatta prince whom his purchased pen has maligned. And is it for one—every single page of whose worthless book has been paid for by the hard-earned plundered money of the Natives of India—is it for such an one to amuse himself by flinging dirt upon one of the purest and brightest characters that has ever appeared in India or elsewhere? Let him keep his venal goose-quill to write eulogiums upon his masters—a work that will afford full scope for his imagination; but let him not henceforth defile the

reputations of those, whose virtues he has neither the capacity to appreciate, nor the principle to imitate. Great pains are taken by Mr. Thornton to persuade his readers that the Raja of Sattara has been the victim of mercenary agents and adventurers, who are spoken of as "those standing curses to Indian princes." The entire history of this case refutes the assertion. But as he has broached the subject, I will state my opinion in reference to the injury done to Native princes, and the people of India generally, by agents and adventurers. There are in London, and in the immediate neighbourhood of Leadenhall Street, men of so venal and base a spirit, that to secure the patronage of the East India Company, they will sell their small talents to work all manner of unrighteousness. These men will justify acts of flagrant oppression and violence—they will assail and vilify the motives of the most virtuous of men—they will blacken the character, and degrade the intellect, of the noblest and most beneficent Native Princes—they will distort and falsify the plainest facts of contemporary history—they will write books, and call them histories, for the purpose of deluding the unwary, and perpetuating the reign of monopoly, corruption, and plunder. Such men are the "standing curse of India." Like the Swiss soldier, or the Italian Bravo, they are ever ready to do the bidding of a wealthy master. Their vocation is, to "make the worse appear the better reason"; and while their books—which if left to their intrinsic merits would fall still-born to the earth—are paid for and circulated *at the expense of the natives of India*, it will remain the duty of the honest and the just of all parties to take the mask from the faces of such creatures, and expose them in their native deformity. The antidote to the scribblings of such men is the diffusion of the truth—more especially the truth about themselves.

But I turn from Mr. Thornton, to ask what is to be thought of those who have paid for this history, and have allowed it to go forth under their patronage as a calm and impartial narrative of facts? The author's object was to please his masters and make money—an object low and sordid enough, in all conscience. But what is the object of the Directors, in

placing this book in the hand of every Proprietor, and allowing it to go before the world with their sanction? Is it not, plainly, to blast the reputation of an innocent man, and to cover up their own, and the misdeeds of their servants? What can be a greater outrage upon truth, than this book? Why, it is falsified by their own letters addressed from this house, as I will shew in one, out of many instances. "The Raja is the weakest of his imbecile order." So says the under secretary. Is he? What say the Directors themselves, in their own despatches from the court-room? *In a political letter to Bombay, August 19, 1829, the Directors declare that they are "impressed with a highly favourable opinion of the administration of the Raja of Sattara. He appears to be remarkable among the princes of India for his mildness, frugality, and attention to business, to be sensible of what he owes to the British Government; and of the necessity of maintaining a good understanding with it; nor does he, in his intercourse with your officers, furnish any grounds of complaint, except an occasional manifestation of that jealousy of our controlling power, which it can hardly be expected that any native prince, however well disposed to us, should entirely suppress. Again, on the 21st September, 1831, the Directors write:—"The information which your records supply, as to the proceedings of the Raja of Sattara, continues to confirm the highly favourable opinion we had formed of his disposition, and of his capacity for Government. His administration of a certain jagheer is described as having been distinguished for good sense and disinterestedness. His conduct to the dependant jagheerdars as just and conciliatory; and in his general government, while he appears to have seldom stood in need of your advice, he seems to have been duly sensible of its value on the few occasions when it was offered."* And on the 11th of June, 1834, the Directors wrote another political letter to Bombay, in which they say:—"With respect to your suggestion, that we should confer upon his Highness some testimonial of our sense of the public spirit and liberality, by which he is distinguished among the native princes of India, it is for you to inform us what it should be." Again, as if never weary of expressing their admiration of the Raja of

Sattara, the Directors addressed another letter, dated the 26th September, 1834, and after describing him as "a prince whose administration is a model to all native rulers, they say:—"He appears to be most attentive to business, superintending every department of his Government without the aid of a minister. He confines his own expenses, and those of all under him, within fixed limits. He pays all his establishments with perfect regularity; but when, in any year, his resources are inadequate to his fixed expenses, a rateable reduction is made from all allowances, not excepting his own. By his frugal and careful management, the Raja has kept free from debt; and as he does not accumulate, he is enabled to expend large sums in liberality and in the improvement of his country. We have read with great pleasure the following passage from Lieutenant-Colonel Robertson's despatch:—"He also maintains a well-regulated school at Sattara, in which he has teachers of great respectability, both as to character and attainments. This seminary was closely examined in all its details last October, by a very competent judge, the Rev. Mr. Stevenson, of the Scottish Mission, who, I am happy to say, expressed the highest satisfaction with it, and did not scruple to say, he considered it a far more useful establishment than the College at Poona. In this seminary his Highness teaches Mahratta, Sanscrit, and the sciences usually taught in that tongue, Persian, and English, as well as arithmetic, surveying, and other kinds of knowledge useful in the transaction of public business. In this school his Highness has a number of youths of his own caste, and relations of his (whose forefathers despised all such tuition), training up for his public service, and this is one of the causes why the Brahmins are hostile to him." Then comes the resolution of the Directors on the 22nd of July, 1835, voting the Raja a sword; and then the memorable letter which accompanied it, of December 29, 1835. Yet these same Directors send forth a book, which, amongst other atrocious falsehoods, declares, that "the Raja is the weakest of his imbecile order."

Such, unhappily for the fate of the Princes and People of India, are the men who preside in this house. What is left to the friends of justice, but an appeal to the people of

England. I have commenced to make this appeal. I shall continue to make it. I will do it, however, as I have hitherto done—with a just consideration of those who are absent. My strongest words shall be uttered here. Elsewhere, I will but place before the people a plain unvarnished narrative of facts. I will employ no epithets, draw no inferences, impute no motives. The people out of doors shall nevertheless, know the real state of the case. And do you, gentlemen, who sit behind that bar think that you can much longer avert the consequences of the exposure of your conduct? Think you, you can for ever protect the guilty parties whom you have hitherto shielded? Are you, in your own estimation, so mighty, as to be able to bid defiance to every power that can be brought against you? Have you no knowledge of the omnipotence of truth? Are you ignorant of what has been already achieved by the honest publication of the wrongs of the oppressed? Can you afford to brave the indignation of your fellow-countrymen, in every place where the deeds which have been narrated here to-day shall be proclaimed? I know you regard me with the eye of scorn, and deem me an insignificant personage. Perhaps you would say I am the weakest of my imbecile order. But know you not, that, with Truth by my side, and the cause of Justice in my hand, I may go forth, all weak as I am, and boldly challenge you to meet me in the lists before an impartial public. In this cause I wear a panoply which no weapon which you wield can penetrate. While I plead for the innocent, I know that every attribute of the Almighty is on my side, while you cannot appeal to one in your own behalf. Even here you are dumb. The truth has paralyzed you. You have been driven from every refuge of deceit. The lips, once so garrulous, are now silent. The falsehoods and sophistries that were once so current, are scattered to the winds. The Raja is already triumphant. He beholds his victory in the speechless confusion of his enemies. But we are not contented with your overthrow in argument. You are prostrated, but you still retain your prey. We will not rest till we obtain full justice for the Raja—until his righteousness comes forth as the

sun at noon-day. You may resolve, henceforth, to be silent. You may say with Jugo,

“Demand we nothing: what you know, you know:

“From this time forth I never will speak a word;”—

But, if you will not confess—if you will not make atonement, we are, nevertheless, resolved that your victim shall be rescued. Happily, we know in what directions to look for help. We turn from corruption and power here, to the impartial judgment of the British people, before whom the claims of helpless innocence are never presented in vain. We will publish the story of the Raja's wrongs, and of your foul oppressions, through the length and breadth of the land. We will publish that story in other lands. We will challenge the sympathy and aid of all good men in every country—for the cause of humanity is of no country.

“*Homo sum, et humani a me nil alienum puto*”

is a sentiment to which the people of England, and throughout the world, will respond with as much enthusiasm as did a Roman audience when it was first uttered by one who had been a slave. We have all one Father—one God hath created us. All are interested in checking the growth of tyranny and the march of despots. We have lighted the torch at the altar of divine justice, and with it we have already kindled a flame which is spreading from man to man, and from town to town, and from the island to the continent. God grant that it may continue to spread, until in the mighty conflagration shall be utterly consumed the huge fabric of oppression and wrong which you have reared upon the prostrate happiness and hopes of a hundred millions of the human race!

I move,—“That, on a deliberate review of the manner in which the Court of Directors have dealt at every successive stage with the case of the ex-Raja of Sattara, it is the opinion of the Court Proprietors that the Court of Directors have evinced towards the ex-*raja* a contempt of every principle of justice; while it has manifested towards every person who was instrumental to the dethronement of his Highness, a partiality the most flagrant, and extended to them protection the most culpable; that this conduct is calculated to shake the

confidence of the native princes of India in the honour and good faith of the British Government, while it has reflected the deepest disgrace upon the British name in all the nations of the civilised world, among whom the case of the ex-Raja has become known."

Mr. Gordon seconded the motion in a speech of great power ; for which we hope to find room in our next number.

Mr. John Sullivan read several passages from the works of Mr. Thornton, and expressed himself in terms of strong indignation at the wanton perversion of truth, and numerous direct falsehoods contained in the parts referring to the case of the Raja of Satara. He also reminded the Court, that the object for which every meeting on the Raja's case had been held was enquiry. "Let the Raja be heard in his own defence," had been the sum and substance of their cry for seven years. While he (Mr. Sullivan) had a voice, he would continue to utter that cry. No lapse of time could sanctify the horrid deed of condemning a man to punishment without suffering him to be heard in his own defence.

The motion was put and negatived.

The Court then adjourned.

APPENDIX G

All just and upright men revolted against the diabolical proceedings of the Bombay Government of those days. Mr. T. H. Baber, who was in those days Commissioner in the Southern Mahratta Country, Bombay Establishment, in a letter dated Tellicherry, 26th March 1843, addressed to Rungo Bapoojee, Vakeel to his Highness the late Raja of Satara, wrote :—

“* * I regret exceedingly it is not in my present power, to be of service to your master’s most righteous cause, having resigned the Company’s service, through positive disgust at the tortuous and wrongful course of proceedings on the part of the former and late Bombay Governments, and in none more so, than in their conduct towards your master—and also to myself. You ask me to forward copies of my letters to Government, in which I exposed the intrigues carried on against your master—but, my friend, you must be fully aware that the Government cautiously abstained from referring questions for my inquiry and opinion connected with the proceedings carrying on against your master—though no one had better opportunities of knowing the politics of the Sattara State than I had—because they knew, that I would never lend myself to so unworthy a cause in whatever light considered. I have just laid my hand on a correspondence I had with the Court of Directors and Board of Control from which you may gather something that may possibly be of use to you, as far as shewing the wicked attempt made by the Bombay Government to implicate me in the supposed intrigues carrying on at Sattara, and as contrasting their eagerness to find matter of accusation against your master, at the very time that they were giving protection to a set of miscreants, their principal native servants in the Southern Mahratta country—whose villainy I laboured so hard to unmask—and of which not a reasonable doubt could have been entertained—had the inquiry been committed to impartial

and unprejudiced men. You have my full permission to make what use you wish of these papers, as not a word is advanced therein which is not the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth."

Copy of a correspondence, between the Governor-General of India, Court of Directors, Board of Control, and Harvey Baber, Esq., late Commissioner in the Southern Mahratta country, Bombay establishment.

THE SECRETARY TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE INDIAN BOARD,

SIR,

I have the honour to submit for the consideration of the Right Honourable the Commissioners, copy of a letter I addressed to the Secretary to the Honourable the Court of Directors on the 19th of last month, on the subject of certain calumnious representations which had been sent home against me by my habitual enemies, J. Farish, G. W. Anderson, and J. A. Dunlop, in the course of the proceedings instituted against the *ex-Sattara* Raja without any communication with me, public or private, although I was at Bombay at the very period in question, and could therefore have at once satisfied those persons, (for gentlemen they are not) how grossly they had been imposed upon, or were deceiving themselves in hoping to find matter of accusation against me, in the disapprobation with which it was known, (for I never disguised my sentiments on proper occasions) I viewed and contemplated the downfall of a Chief, who has been emphatically designated "the creature of our breath," "the spoiled child of our patronage," "whose administration of his country has been respectable, and in some views even meritorious, whose revenue management is efficient, who is popular, and, in fact, one of the very few among our native allies, whose administration our alliance had not rendered a curse to his people," for such are among the encomiums passed upon the Raja, in the minute of the Governor of Bombay, on the 30th of January 1837; and such have been confirmed by several years of experience, during my administration of the adjoining territories of the

Southern Mahratta country. Under these impressions it may readily be imagined, that I did not contemplate with indifference the appalling proceedings that were carrying on against this unfortunate Prince, knowing as I could not fail to do from my opportunities of hearing them, and from my knowledge of the characters of the vile Agents,* who were being admitted into our Councils expressly to plot the Raja's ruin, that in their eagerness to find matter of accusation against him, every rule of justice and fair dealing, had been kept at a most contemptuous distance, in fact, that the measures in operation against the Raja, were no better than the practices of *Incendiaries*; and accordingly did not hesitate to communicate to the Governor-General my candid sentiments as to the injustice as well as impolicy of the measures then in progress against the Sattara State; and even to make the tender of my services towards healing all existing differences, and establishing such a system of surveillance as would strengthen the hands of our Political Agent, without the necessity of additional, or indeed *any* troops at all at Sattara. For the information of the Honourable Board and the world at large, I now transmit a copy of my letter to my Lord Auckland, and to present the possibility of any misconstruction of my conduct, I beg here at once to declare that I never corresponded with, or even saw the Raja, and that the only letter he wrote to me was, after I was no longer in office, and even that was not answered or even acknowledged, because it had not passed through the prescribed channel, the Resident.

I have, etc.,

(Signed) T. H. BABER.

TELLICHERRY, 21st October, 1841.

TO JAMES COSMO MELVILLE, ESQ.,

Secretary to the Honourable the Court of Directors.

SIR,

My London Agent having forwarded to me my copy, as Proprietor of East India Stock, of the printed papers relative

* Balaji Punt Natu, and Ram Rao of Kolapoor.

to the case of the Sattara Raja, I have been much shocked at finding my good name called in question, in the course of the proceedings which have been so long carrying on against that much to be commiserated, (because as I myself believe, from repeated opportunities of knowing and judging his conduct as a British Ally), and innocent Prince; and as the present is the first and only intimation I have ever had, directly or indirectly, that anything I have said or done, or any opinion I had formed or expressed at any time, could be tortured into matter of accusation, as must be implied from the secret letters from the Bombay Government under the signatures of my habitual detractors J. Farish, G. W. Anderson, and J. H. Dunlop, dated the 15th November, 1st and 4th December, 1838, though from the omission to give the dispatch, dated the 5th September, referred to therein, and which from their context, would seem to contain the gist of the calumnious allegations in question, I trust I may be permitted to look to the Honourable Committee, to whom those despatches were addressed, for a solution of anything and everything, that has thus clandestinely been got up against me and acted upon by the prejudiced functionaries in question, and should they do me that common act of justice, of giving me an opportunity of knowing and replying to these slanders, I pledge myself, by everything that I hold dear and sacred in this life and in the world to come to satisfy those Honourable and impartial men, that they are a tissue of the grossest falsehoods, and originate in the same malignant and corrupt source to which I have peculiarly been exposed, from the day I first dared to stand forth as the champion of my Honourable employers, in exposing public abuses, whenever or wherever found.

I have, etc.,

(Signed) T. H. BABER.

TELLICHERRY, 19th Sept., 1841.

To T. H. BABER.

SIR,

Your letters of the 19th and 21st September last have been received and laid before the Court of Directors.

In reply to the first, in which your name is introduced into some of the papers relating to the case of the Raja of Sattara, I am commanded to state that the Court do not consider the vindication of your character, which you desire, to be necessary, in connection with the case. I am, etc.

(Signed) J. C. MELVILLE.

EAST INDIA HOUSE, 7th January, 1842.

Extract from a letter from T. H. Baber, Esq., British Commissioner in the Southern Mahratta Country, dated Poonah, 2nd September, 1832, (three days before the Raja's deposal) to the Right Honourable Lord Auckland, Governor-General of India.

Excepting the call there appeared to be for my services to the Southern Maratha Country, I have not a wish to continue in the service under the Bombay Government, which I plainly see, is likely to be of the same character as that of the two preceding administrations, under the hectorage of the present counsellors and secretaries, a melancholy instance of whose unfitness as advisers your Lordship has recently seen, in the failure of our policy at the Court of Sattara, and the consequent necessity of assuming a threatening attitude, when a mild and conciliatory line of conduct, especially in guarding against such impression as, that the Governor was in leading strings of men so notoriously hostile to him, as Messrs. Anderson and Willoughby, Colonel Ovans, and that eminent intriguers and traitor Balaji Punt Natu, and though last not least, the Raja's own brother, whom the brother had brought over to the Resident's side, under promise of placing him on the musnad. But for which, I am convinced all existing differences might have been satisfactorily adjusted. Be assured, my Lord, the Raja has too much good sense to harbour a thought hostile to British interests, having over and over again challenged inquiry, conducted by unprejudiced men, in all the farrago of improbable circumstances, which have been arranged against him by the intrigues of the Brahminical faction, that cause throughout the Southern Mahratta country (see my last letter to this Government in the accompaniment) which it is notorious has

for years been plotting the Raja's downfall ; what will be the course next adopted, will, I conclude, depend upon your Lordship's decision, placing however, the confidence I do in your Lordship's sense of justice I do implore you not to allow your judgment to be warped by the one-sided proceedings, which have been made the ground of our present hostile attitude towards this helpless chieftain, but to comply with his repeated request for a hearing before impartial disinterested men, called from Bengal and Madras, when alone the ends of strict justice can be attained ; or should your Lordship be desirous of availing yourself of my long experience, and the high character for integrity I have maintained during forty-two years' service, unsullied by even a suspicion of sordidness ; I can only say that I am at your disposal so long as the public exigence requires my continued exertions, when I would pledge myself to expose the gross delusions under which the local Government had been, and are still labouring and effect such a reconciliation between the Raja and ourselves, as shall strengthen the bond of union under existing treaties, which surely give us ample influence in the Sattara Councils, much more effectually than any increase in the number of troops (which now amount nearly to two regiments, besides a detachment of artillery and 100 Europeans), and I would even go the length of saying, should do away the necessity of a single sepoy there, provided the Political Agent is what he ought to be, and placed directly under the orders of the Supreme Government. The same officer should be vested with political powers over the adjoining petty state of Kolapoor and the Jageerdars in the Southern Maratta country, a measure which would at once destroy the pernicious connection between them and the Brahmin confederacy, in the Belgaum and Dharwar Collectorates.

I am, etc.,

(Signed) T. H. BABER.

Pages 182-188 of Official papers appertaining to the case of the Dethroned Raja of Sattara with a brief statement of the case. London. Printed by G. Norman, Maiden Lane, Covent Garden, 1843.

APPENDIX H

So far no allusion has been made to the article on "Satara and British connection therewith," contained in the 10th Volume of the *Calcutta Review* (July-December 1848). Following the example of the more celebrated *Edinburgh Review*, the names of writers of articles contributed to its pages were not at first divulged to the public. Consequently no body knew who the writer of the above article was. But now the veil has been lifted from the face of the mystery by the publication of "Selections from the first fifty volumes of the *Calcutta Review*." This article finds a place in those selections and its author was a Revd. Weir Mitchell. He was a native of Scotland and was sent out by some of his pious co-religionists to convert the heathens of India and bring them within the fold of Christ. Whether he succeeded in that task is a subject which does not concern us here. Christian missionaries in India as a body do not concern themselves with the political questions of the day. They say that they have nothing to do with politics. How justly the following words of Mazzini are applicable to them :—

"We have nothing to do, they say, with political questions. Is it then by leaving man in the hands of his oppressors that you would elevate and emancipate his soul? Is it by leaving erect the Idol of blind Force, in the service of Imposture, that you think to raise in the human soul an altar to the God of a free conscience?"

But those missionaries who meddle in Indian political questions are generally unsympathetic towards the people of this country, and are advocates of a reactionary policy in dealing with Indian problems. This is not to be wondered

at when we remember the fact that according to these good Christians, the Heathens, since they will, *one and all*, be cast into eternal hell, cannot be supposed to possess any rights and privileges. The Christian missionaries in India perhaps do not agree with what the famous Christian preacher and teacher Revd. Joseph Cook of America said in one of his lectures that,—

'Exceedingly evil is that day in any nation when political and religious interests run in opposite channels. These opposing currents make the whirlpool that impales faith on the tusks of the sea. When Chevalier Bunsen lay dying, he said: 'God be thanked that Italy is free. Now, 30,000,000 people can believe that God governs the world.' The average German peasant twenty years ago regarded his minister as merely an agent of the government, and spoke contemptuously of police Christianity because the State church in the Fatherland was, until within a few years, very frequently an ally of absolutism.'

The natives of India should not be blamed if they look upon the Christian missions in this country in the same light as did the German peasants half a century ago.

The persecutors of the Raja of Satara were mostly natives of Scotland—men who were reputed to be good Christians like Sir Robert Grant. It is no wonder therefore that Revd. Weir Mitchell, who in those days was quite a young man, must come to their rescue and present the official versions of the alleged plots and intrigues to the public to prove the guilt of the Raja. The article covering some sixty pages of the Review is written in a manner which clearly shows the writer's bias against the Raja. Referring to the Goa conspiracy, he writes in a footnote on page 469:—

"The ex-Viceroy has since declared to Mr. Joseph Hume (Parl. Deb. 24th June, 1844) that he 'never had any correspondence on political subjects' with the Raja of Sattara. If we

might offer a suggestion to the veteran patriot, we would recommend him, on the next occasion of his addressing that nobleman, to enquire whether he ever held any communication, *other than political*, with the Raja, and whether he ever received any presents from His Highness. On this latter point we have the unexceptionable testimony of the Rev. Dr. Wilson, of the Scotch Free Church Mission, who mentions, in a private letter, his having seen at Goa, the horses sent to the Viceroy by the Raja."

It was certainly not the business of the veteran patriot (Mr. J. Hume) to enquire of the (Portuguese) nobleman whether he held any communication *other than political* with the Raja. The persecutors of the Raja professing the same faith and belonging to the same country as Revd. Weir Mitchell did, could have, if they possessed manliness, and were not arrant cowards and moral assassins as most of them undoubtedly were, they could have officially written to the (Portuguese) nobleman to find out whether the Raja held any communication *other than political* with him.

Revd. Weir Mitchell has dragged in the name of his co-patriot Revd. Dr. Wilson and has unwittingly proved him to have been a spy. Dr. Wilson was no doubt a great scholar, but with all that he was a spy. In reviewing Mr. George Smith's Life of Revd. Wilson, the Journal of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha for 1879 (presumably the review was from the pen of the late Mr. Justice Ranade), wrote :—

"Dr. Wilson in an evil hour allowed himself to be influenced and soiled by contact with the prejudices of rampant officialdom. For the little services the officials rendered to him, he bartered the noble dignity of his independence. He consented to act as the spy of Government in the Satara troubles, and Mr. Thompson, the advocate of the Satara Raja, took him justly to task for his officious meddlesomeness in

politics. In the mutiny troubles, Dr. Wilson became a police agent, opened letters sent through post, and used his vast scholarship to decipher their contents, and inform the Secretaries of what people thought and spoke in confidence. His subservience in these matters was of the highest consequence to Government, and in Lord Northbrook's time, Dr. Wilson was selected as a referee and the chief non-official political adviser to Government."*

The statement of Revd. Dr. Wilson should not be taken as gospel truth—no, should be taken with great caution—with the proverbial grain of salt. What wonder if the whole statement was a lie, a fabrication of Dr. Wilson to strengthen the hands of his co-religionists and compatriots who were bent upon the ruin of the Raja.

As the Raja was not called upon to offer any explanation as to his presenting the horses to the Portuguese Viceroy, there is no necessity of dwelling at length on the subject. If the Raja's guilt were well established, why was he not given an opportunity to explain his conduct?

Sir John Kaye's judgments on Indian political questions were, on the whole, fair. It was very likely the writings and statements of men like Mitchell and Wilson which prevented him from grasping the correct view of the Satara question. He does not seem to have bestowed that amount of research on this subject which its importance undoubtedly demanded at his hands. He entertained the most contemptuous estimate of the natives of Scotland. In delineating Lord Dalhousie's character, he wrote:—

"With the *characteristic unimaginativeness of his race* he (Dalhousie) could not for a moment divest himself of his individuality, or conceive the growth of ancestral pride and national

* Current Literature pp. 53-54 of the P. S. S. J. for the third quarter of 1879.

honour in other breasts than those of the Campbells and the Ramsays.**

It is a pity, therefore, that the views and statements of such people should have led him to form an erroneous judgment regarding the guilt of the Raja of Satara, referring to whom he wrote:—

“Appa Sahib * * had succeeded his brother, who in 1839 was deposed, and, as I think, very rightly, on account of a series of intrigues against the British Government equally foolish and discreditable.”†

Regarding the horse or horses which Revd. Dr. John Wilson said he saw at Goa as presents from the Raja of Sattara, the following extracts from “A Statement of the case of the deposed Raja of Sattara”, published in March 1845, show that the Raja did not send any horse to the Portuguese Governor of Goa.

“Avjeevin Peerajee states, ‘When Nago Deorao went to Rybunder, he took a horse from Sattara, which was given to Don Mancel: there I saw that horse: previously also, a large horse was taken from Sattara, and given to Don Mancel. So I heard.’”

“With regard to this present of a horse, Colonel Ovans in his statement of the charges against the *ex*-Raja, assumes as one of the facts proved, that it was sent by his Highness to Don Mancel. Far from establishing, however, that this was the case, the depositions of the different witnesses examined on the subject prove, if such contradictory and hearsay stories can prove anything at all, that this horse was not only not sent by the *ex*-Raja, but that it was the property of, and paid for by, the Swamee of Sunkeshwur, the real employer of Nago and his party. The name of the *ex*-Raja, as the sender of the present, does not appear in one of these depositions.

* A History of the Sepoy War in India, Vol. I. Ninth Edition (1880) p. 357.

† A History of the Sepoy War in India, Vol. I. Ninth Edition (1880) p. 72 footnote.

"Ballajee Punt Nattoo says that some one gave General Robertson information regarding the horse and other presents alleged to have been sent on the part of the ex-Raja to the Viceroy of Goa, and that he was accordingly desired by General Robertson to speak to his Highness on the subject. He has not, however, any recollection of the date or even of the year in which this occurred. "But what says General Robertson to all this? With regard to the evidence of Ballajee Punt Nattoo, we find him declaring, in a speech delivered at the East India House on the 16th of July 1841, that *not one word of it was true*: and the following is an extract from a speech delivered by him at the East India House in the year 1840:—

"I patiently listened to reports; I received them as communications of importance, and with commendations of the valuable services of my informants: but time and many casual circumstances enabled me to appreciate those reports at their due worth, and to feel convinced that they were generally little better than malicious fabrications, and that any truth that they contained was sadly alloyed with falsehood.

"It is but just to the Raja to mention these facts, for they will show that he was environed by enemies, and will afford a key to all that has since occurred."

"Testimony such as this, proceeding as it does from a source uninfluenced by motives for or against the ex-Raja, is alone sufficient to refute far stronger evidence than that of Ballajee Punt Nattoo and his creatures....." (pp. 93-95).

APPENDIX I

Minute by the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India, dated 30 August 1848 :

THE RAJA OF SATTARA.

1. The death of His Highness Shreemunt Maharaj, the sovereign of Sattara, has rendered it necessary for the British Government to determine the important question, whether the state of Sattara shall be continued as an independent sovereignty, or whether it shall be held to have lapsed to the paramount state, and shall henceforth form an integral portion of the British empire in India.

2. The minutes of Sir George Clerk, the late Governor of Bombay and his colleagues in Council, Mr. Reid and Mr. Willoughby, have been for some time before us.

I deferred, however, submitting the question for the consideration of the Supreme Government until I should have received the Minute of the present Governor of Bombay, Viscount Falkland, who had intimated his intention of expressing his opinion upon it. His Lordship's minute has now arrived, and I lose no time in bringing the subject under the notice of the Council, in order that the opinions of the Government of India may be transmitted with as little delay as possible to the Honourable Court of Directors by whom a final decision can be given.

3. After a careful consideration of the many documents which relate to the Sattara state, as well as of those more immediately before us ; and after deliberate review of the various arguments which have been fully and ably stated by the several members of the Government of Bombay, I am clearly of opinion that the death of His Highness Shreemunt Maharaj, without heirs natural, having rendered the throne of Sattara vacant, that territory should be held, in accordance with practice and with law, to have lapsed to the paramount state,

and should henceforth be incorporated with the British territories in India.

4. In the minutes of the members of the Government of Bombay, the whole facts of the case are so clearly set forth, and every argument is so fully treated, that I feel it to be unnecessary to enter at any great length into the discussion of this question; I shall rather endeavour to state as concisely as I can the conclusions at which I have arrived, and the reasons on which they are founded, referring to the minutes in question for the more detailed statement of the arguments in which I have expressed my concurrence.

5. His Highness Shreemunt Maharaj has died, leaving no heirs natural, but having, in accordance with Hindoo custom, adopted one of his kinsmen as his heir a few hours before his death.

6. The questions for decision are:

1st. Is the British Government bound, as a matter of justice and of right, to recognise the boy thus adopted as being actually the successor of the late raja, and heir to the throne of Sattara?

2nd. If not as a matter of justice and of right, ought the British Government to approve of the succession of this boy, as a matter of wisdom and sound policy?

7. If the late Raja had left an heir of his own body, no question could have been entertained of the perfect right of such heir to succeed to the throne. It is equally clear, I think, that the boy who has been adopted by the late Raja, in justice, and as his right, ought to succeed as heir to the personal and private property of the prince who adopted him. But I think that Mr. Willoughby has proved to demonstration in his minute, that the boy has not, by reason of the ceremonial of adoption, acquired any right whatever to the sovereignty, until the adoption has been ratified and confirmed by the British Government as the lord paramount of the state of Sattara; and further, that the British Government is not bound, as a matter of justice and of right, to confirm the adoption, but is free to give or to withhold its ratification as it may think right.

8. I hold it to be established as a general rule, beyond cavil or doubt, in the papers now before us, that while adoption

by a prince of any individual is valid, so far as to constitute him heir to the adopter's private possessions, it is of no power or effect whatever in constituting him heir to the principality, or to sovereign rights, until the adoption so made has received the sanction of the sovereign power, with whom it rests to give or to refuse it.

Mr. Willoughby's
Minute, para 10.

9. This appears to have ever been the practice throughout all the states of India. It has been frequently acted upon heretofore by the Government of the Honourable Company by whom the sanction asked has sometimes been given and sometimes withheld. Their proceedings have received the approval of the Court, who declared that our sanction is necessary, "not indeed to the validity of the adoption or to the private rights which it confers, but to enable the adopted son to succeed to the chiefship."

30 Dec. 1842.

10. Abundant proofs will be found in the papers laid before Parliament relative to the affairs of Sattara, that that power has always itself recognised and contended for the principle, that on the death of the holder of a fief without issue, it rested with the sovereign authority to decide whether he would annex the territory to his own possession or permit adoption.

P. 26, 27, 41 & 8, 61
& 42, 82.

There is evidence equally direct, that the rule has ever been regarded as applicable to the destination of the state of Sattara itself.

11. Thus, in discussing the state of the Raj in 1839, the Governor of Bombay, Sir J. Carnac, after describing himself "as a strong and earnest advocate for upholding the native states of India," goes on to observe, "neither the Raja about to be deposed, nor his brother, who is to be substituted in his place, have any children, and at their advanced period of life

Sir J. Carnac's Minute,
4 Sept. 1839, p. 309 &
26.

it is not very likely that they will hereafter have any, and I know of no other party who can claim the succession by

hereditary right. It follows, therefore, that on the demise of the new Raja, the Sattara state would lapse to the British Government, unless indeed it shall be then judged expedient to allow this line of princes to be continued by the Hindoo custom of adoption; a question which should be left entirely open for consideration, when the event on which it depends shall actually occur.

12. Sir James Carnac held it to be a point without doubt that the raj would lapse to the British Government, and that

8 February 1841.
p. 109.

it was for the British Government alone to say whether it would allow its continuance by adoption, or whether it would not. This view was in no degree repudiated by the state of Sattara. The vakeels of the ex-Raja, in their letter to the Court of Directors, advert to these expressions of the Government of Bombay, in which they say, he "holds out (by not allowing the present ruler of Sattara an adoption) the almost immediate prospect of a large increase to your territorial revenue as a boon for the confirmation and indemnity of his conduct." They give vent to their own dissatisfaction at Sir J. Carnac's proceedings, but they never for a moment call in question the correctness of his statements as to the occurrence of a lapse or dispute, his right of not allowing an adoption."

13. Lastly, it was fully admitted by the late Raja himself that the sanction of the British Government was necessary in

Resident at Sattara,
3rd April 1848, 8th
April 1848, Mr.
Willoughby's Minute
p. 20.

order to render his adoption valid. He frequently applied for permission to adopt; his last request to the Resident was, to obtain a "recognition" of the adoption he contemplated making, and he relied on the absence of that recognition, on the part of the British Government, as fatal to any claim which might be set up by the adopted son of the late ex-Raja at Benares.

14. It is on these grounds that I found my conviction, that the British Government is not bound as a matter of justice and right, to recognise this boy as actually the heir to the sovereignty of Sattara, but is free in this case, as it has been in others, to confer or to refuse its sanction as it may think fit.

15. This power it possesses by virtue of its authority as the sovereign state over Sattara, a position which it holds equally as the successor of the emperors of Delhi, as the successor by conquest of the Peishwas, the virtual sovereigns of the Rajas of Sattara, and lastly, especially, as the creator of the raj of Sattara under the treaty of 1819.

16. It was under the clauses of that treaty that the present raj was called into existence by an exercise of the power of generosity of the British Government. All the ordinary rights, therefore, possessed by a sovereign over a subordinate and long constituted state must, from the very nature of the case, have been stronger in this instance than in any other. I can find nothing whatever in the terms of the treaty which would justify the assumption that it was intended to curtail those rights, or to confer larger powers in respect of adoption on the Raja of Sattara than are enjoyed by old established states. The words, "heirs and successors," must be read in their ordinary sense, in the sense in which they are employed in other treaties between states. And in the absence of all evidence or reasonable presumption, founded on known facts, or on some special wording of the English instrument in favour of a wider interpretation, those words cannot be construed to secure to the Rajas of Sattara any other than the succession of heirs natural, or to grant to them the right of adopting successors to the raj without that sanction of the sovereign state which may be given or may be withheld, and which, by ordinary and invariable practice, is necessary to the validity of such an act of adoption by the prince.

17. Having thus stated the grounds of the conclusion I have formed, that the Raja of Sattara had not, either by the terms of the treaty, or by any rule of law or practice, the right to adopt a successor to his raj, and that the British Government is not bound, as a matter of justice and right, to recognize the boy His Highness named as actually his successor in the raj. I proceed to set forth the considerations which have induced me to form an opinion not less decided, that we ought not to recognize this successor as a matter of expediency and policy, but that we ought to regard the territory of Sattara as lapsed.

and should incorporate it at once with the British dominions in India.

18. However wise the policy may have been which led to the creation of the state of Sattara in 1819, and however strong the reasons which induced the government at that period to establish anew a Mahratta state on that side of India, I venture to think that the same reasons do not exist for its continuance now.

19. The power of the Mahrattas, at that period still formidable, is no longer a source of anxiety to us; the territories of the Peishwa have for 30 years remained tranquilly in our possession; the supremacy of the British Government has year by year become more firmly established. Scindia and Holkar have, in the course of events, been effectually reduced to harmlessness, and there is now no reason, as there formerly was, to apprehend the formation of alarming confederacies among Mahratta chiefs, nor any necessity for maintaining, as a counterpoise, the nominal sovereignty of the house of Sevajee.

20. The assumption of the raj by the British Government will cause no ferment or discontent among other native powers, though it must of necessity be obnoxious to the pride and to the feelings of those who have lived and held influence within its bounds.

21. While, therefore, I do not presume to dispute the wisdom of creating the raj of Sattara in 1819, I conceive that the same reasons do not prevail for its reconstitution now, when it is again placed by events at our disposal.

22. I am unable to admit the force of the argument advanced by Sir G. Clerk for its continuance, which is founded on the happy and prosperous condition of the state, and the just and praiseworthy government of the late Raja.

23. These indeed would be strong arguments for its continuance if the late Raja were yet alive, or if it could be shown that the excellence of his administration arose, not from his own personal qualities, but from the nature of the institutions of the state, by which the dispositions of the sovereign would always be guided or compelled into an observance of the rules of good government; but if the excellence of his government

proceeded only from the excellence of his own disposition, I find in that fact no argument for the continuance of his sovereignty to others, whose disposition may differ widely from those so happily displayed by His Highness, and whose administrations may be as conspicuous for oppression and misrule as that of Shreemunt Maharaj has been for wisdom and mildness.

24. While I find no sufficient reasons for the reconstitution of Sattara, either in the considerations which led to the original formation of its government, or in the manner in which that government has lately been administered, I conceive that many powerful arguments may be adduced in favour of its ceasing to be a separate state, and being resumed as a portion of the British territories.

25. I take this fitting occasion of recording my strong and deliberate opinion, that, in the exercise of a wise and sound policy, the British Government is bound not to put aside or to neglect such rightful opportunities of acquiring territory or revenue as may from time to time present themselves ; whether they arise from the lapse of subordinate states, by the failure of all heirs of every description whatsoever, or from the failure of heirs natural, where the succession can be sustained only by the sanction of the Government being given to the ceremony of adoption according to Hindoo law.

26. The Government is bound, in duty as well as in policy, to act on every such occasion with the purest integrity, and in the most scrupulous observance of good faith. Where even a shadow of doubt can be shown, the claim should at once be abandoned.

27. But where the right to territory, by lapse, is clear, the Government is bound to take that which is justly and legally its due, and to extend to that territory the benefits of our sovereignty, present and prospective.

28. In like manner, while I would not seek to lay down any inflexible rule with respect to adoption, I hold that, on all occasions, where heirs natural shall fail, the territory should be made to lapse, and adoption should not be permitted, excepting in those cases in which some strong political reason may render it expedient to depart from this general rule.

29. There may be conflict of opinion as to the advantage or the propriety of extending our already vast possessions beyond their present limits. No man can more sincerely deprecate than I do any extension of the frontiers of our territory which can be avoided, or which may not become indispensably necessary, from considerations of our own safety, and of the maintenance of the tranquillity of our provinces. But I cannot conceive it possible for any one to dispute the policy of taking advantage of every just opportunity which presents itself for consolidating the territories that already belong to us, by taking possession of states which may lapse in the midst of them ; for thus getting rid of these petty intervening principalities, which may be made a means of annoyance, but which can never, I venture to think, be a source of strength, for adding to the resources of the public treasury, and for extending the uniform application of our system of government to those whose best interests, we sincerely believe, will be promoted thereby.

30. Such is the general principle, that, in my humble opinion, ought to guide the conduct of the British Government in its disposal of independent states, where there has been total failure of all heirs whatsoever, or where permission is asked to continue, by adoption, a succession which fails in the natural line.

31. It would be difficult to imagine a case to which the rule founded on this general principle would be more closely applicable than to the Raj of Sattara.

32. The territories lie in the very heart of our own possessions. They are interposed between the two principal military stations in the presidency of Bombay ; and are at least calculated, in the hands of an independent sovereign, to form an obstacle to safe communication and combined military movement. The district is fertile, and the revenue productive ; the population, accustomed for some time to regular and peaceful government, are tranquil themselves and prepared for the regular government our possession of the territory would involve.

33. By incorporating Sattara with our own possessions, we should acquire continuity of military communication, and increase to the revenues of the state ; we should obtain unifor-

mity of administration in matters of justice and of revenue over a large additional tract ; and, in my conscience, I believe, we should ensure to the population of the state a perpetuity of that just and mild government which they have lately enjoyed, but which they will hold by a poor and uncertain tenure indeed if we resolve now to continue the Raj, and to deliver it over to the government of a boy brought up in obscurity, selected for adoption almost by chance, and of whose character and qualities nothing whatever was known to the Raja who adopted him ; nothing whatever is known to us.

34. Firmly convinced, then, that we are not bound by law or practice, or treaty to recognise as being actually the heir to his throne the boy whom the Raja has adopted, I am of opinion that every consideration, as well of the interests of the people of Sattara as of the British Government, should lead us to incorporate that state with the British territories ; and I recommend that measure accordingly.

35. An ample provision should be made for the Ranees of the late Raja and his retainers, according to their respective claims, as well as for the foundling whom he so specially recommended to our protection.

36. The boy whom he adopted should at once be allowed to succeed to all private property, and to every thing excepting public rights.

If this provision should not be sufficient for him, a stipend should be allowed to him from the revenues of the state.

37. I would also strongly recommend as a measure of sound policy, that provision should be made, from the revenues of Sattara, for the boy adopted by the late ex-Raja at Benares.

38. He has no claims whatever on the throne of Sattara ; his adoption, even if it had received the sanction of the British Government, which it has not, would not have conferred on him any claim of that nature. Pertabsing could not convey to the boy, by adoption, any rights which did not belong to himself. He had been stripped of his rights of sovereignty when deposed from his throne and banished from his kingdom, consequently he could convey no such rights of sovereignty to the boy. Nevertheless, if the Raj be resumed, discontented spirits

may arise, and some may be found mad enough to become his partizans hereafter ; I therefore think it would be politic, I will even say it would be only fair, regard being had as well to his position as to his near relationship to the late and ex-Rajas, that some provision should be made for his maintenance.

39. Allowances should also be made to such deserving servants of the state as may appear to be entitled to that favour ; and changes in the administration should be introduced gradually and tenderly.

40. The widow of the ex-Raja has at her disposal her allowance, whenever she chooses to receive it, which hitherto she has refused to do.

41. The daughter has also her allowance, and will return to Sattara after the rains.

42. The amount of the stipends, which should all be for life only, may, with all other details, be left for future arrangement.

30 August 1848.

(Signed) DALHOUSIE.

APPENDIX J

The following account of the seals of the late Satara kingdom from the pen of the late Dr. Codrington, published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (for 1883, Vol. XVI) will be found useful to the reader of this narrative, as references have been several times made to them in the preceding pages.

ON THE SEALS OF THE LATE SATARA KINGDOM.

By Surgeon-Major O. CODRINGTON, M.D., M.R.A.S.

[Read 16th November 1883.]

These seals, which had been kept at Satara since the annexation of the Satara kingdom, were deposited in the Society's Museum in 1875 by order of Government, with directions that they should be kept with great care in a permanently closed case, and that they should not be destroyed or alienated to any one.

There are altogether 149 seals, 32 have gold bodies and silver faces, the remainder are altogether silver, except 3 or 4, which have copper or brass faces.

As a rule their shape is pyramidal, with a boss at the top, to which is attached a small looped handle. The face is a tolerably thick plate of metal, the body is a thin case of gold or silver over a mass of lac. They are arranged in pairs, a large one bearing the names, &c., of a person, and a smaller one engraved with one of the following short sentences:—

मोर्तब यद
मोर्तब सुव
मरतब यद
मोर्तब यद
मरताब
मोर्तब सुद

} Let it be so ordered.

मर्यादय राजते	}	Here shines the limit.
मर्यादिय राजते		Here shines forth the limit.
मर्यादय विराजते		
लेखनसीमा.	}	The limit of the writing.
लेखनः सीमा		
लेखनवाचे.	}	The limit of the writing.
लेखनावधि.		
लेखनालंकार'	}	The ornament or decoration of the writing.
लेखनावधी मुद्रा		The mark of the limit of writing.
पत्रायधिरय भाति		Here shines the limit of the document.
श्रीपत्रावधिरयं भाति'		
राजने लेखनवधी.	}	Shines the limit of the writing.
राजते लेखनावधी.		
श्रीमर्यादा श्रीभते मम.		Shri. Here shines my limit.
श्रीमर्यादियं धने वर्या.		Here is the glorious limit full of wealth.

Most of the inscriptions are in Marathi, but some are in Sanskrit, and a few in Arabic and Persian.

Except two pairs, one joined with a silver ring and one with a black silk string, all the seals were unconnected when they were sent here, but I have managed to arrange most of them in pairs, guided by their pattern and workmanship, and by the character of the letters.

In use the large seal, or 'Sicca,' was placed at the top of the writing on documents of importance, such as sunnuds, grants, or treaties. The small one, or 'Mortab,' was impressed at the end of the same documents to mark the end of the writing, and was also used without the 'Sicca' on *Yads* and letters of minor importance.

In the case of documents bearing the Sicca of the Raja, the seals of the ministers of the departments of the State concerned were added just below the Raja's; for instance, in the Poona Alienation Daftar, I saw documents marked in this

way with the seals of the Raja above and of the Peishwa and Pratinidhi below.

The pairs of seals were fastened together by a string, on which were usually little silken caps or covers for each, and a bag to enclose the whole, as may be seen depicted in Grant Duff's "History of the Mahrattas," Vol. III, page 503.

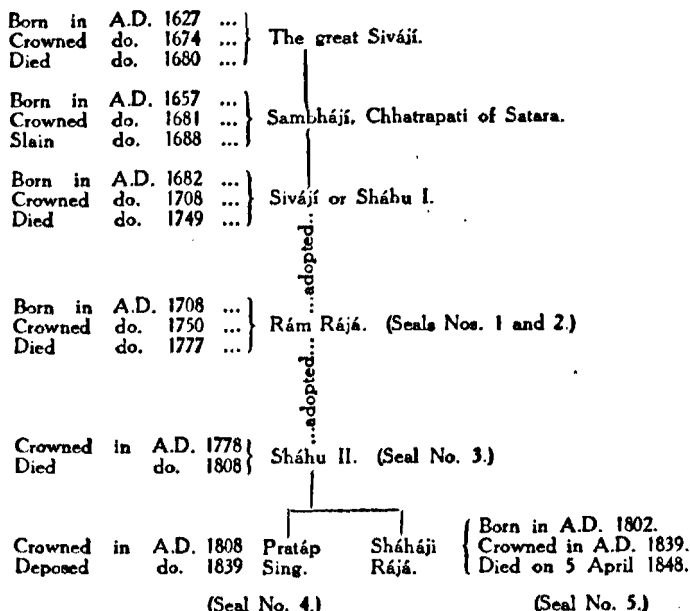
The seals have a convex face, and as there is on many a projecting edge of metal at the sides, it is not easy to get a clear impression of the whole inscription on some of them. In the usual way of stamping the seals on paper, ordinary Indian ink and a cloth pad is used, and but a poor impression, generally more or less smudged, is got, but I have succeeded in getting very perfect ones on white blotting paper by using printer's ink and making firm pressure on an Indian-rubber pad.

Of the Rajas themselves, there are no seals in the collection earlier than those of Ram Raja. The older ones have been sent elsewhere, I suppose. An engraving is given in Grant Duff's book, before referred to; of the seal of Sivaji, taken, it is said, in a note, from the original at Sattara, so it would appear that it was there in the time of the author, *i.e.*, of Raja Pratap Sing, and probably some more were also. Judging from the number of ministers of whom there are no seals, and from so many being represented in this collection by two or more seals, I conclude that the number must have been very much larger.

I presume it was the custom for the seals of deceased or deposed officials to be returned into the treasury. Certainly it was that new seals were made by order of the Raja and given by him to the minister on appointment, and on subsequent renewals of appointment, as there are several letters and memos existing regarding the ordering of new seals by the Raja for his ministers.

It will be seen that the legend is usually prefaced by the marks of the sun and moon, indicative of perpetuity, and with श्री, the symbol for prosperity, and in many cases it ends with निरन्तर 'constantly,' or 'for ever,' the former invoking prosperity and the latter continuity.

The Satara Rajas.



Rajaram has been omitted from the list of Rajas, for although Grant Duff states he was formally seated on the throne in 1690, he appears not to have been so seated in his own right as rajah, but as the regent for his nephew, Shahu. It may be noticed that none of the seals in this collection bear his name.
No. 1.

ॐ श्री ०

गौरीभ्रमरप्राप्तप्राज्यसाध्याज्यसंपदा ॥

शिवपुत्रीरिषं मुद्रा रामराजस्य राजते ॥

Here shines the seal of king Ram, the son of Shiva(ji), along with (i.e., the seal), the universal empire and prosperity obtained by the blessing of Gauri and Shiva.

मयादिषं राजते.

Here shines the limit.

This is the seal of Ramraja, adopted son of Shahu. He was the grandson of Tarabai, wife of Rajaram.

The inscription is in Sanskrit verse. 'The holder of universal empire,' &c., is another reading.

A short gold seal, with octagonal face ; weight $5\frac{1}{4}$ tolas. Mortab similar pattern ; weight $2\frac{1}{4}$ tolas.

No. 2.

ॐ श्री. ०

श्रीशंभोपादकमलसेवाभिषदयावद्वा मुद्रेषा
शाहुराजस्य रामशुनीर्विराजते ॥

Here shines forth the seal of King Rám, the son of Sháhu, the seal full of prosperity (*lit.*, bearing prosperity), on account of the services rendered to the feet of the glorious Shiva.

मयादेयं राजते.

This is another of the same Raja.

The inscription is also in Sanskrit verse. It is much the same as the previous one, but the Raja is called the son of Sháhu in this.

A short gold seal, with octagonal face ; weight $6\frac{3}{4}$ tolas. Mortab similar ; weight $2\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

The two seals seem much alike, and of about the same date. I therefore describe them both as belonging to Rám Rájá, although it is possible one may be that of Rajaram.

In No. 1 the Rájá is called son of Shiva, but his name is written Rám Ráj ; in No. 2 he is called the son of Sháhu.

No. 3.

श्रीमहिवामसाबाव्यश्रियो विरखनयनः ,
शाहनरेद्रसिंहस्य मुद्रिकेयं विराजते. ॥

Here shines forth the (small) seal of Sháhu, the mightiest of (*lit.*, lion amongst) the kings or lords of men, of noble (*lit.*, rare) descent, and who has obtained universal empire and prosperity from (by the favour of) the glorious Shiva.

मयादेयं राजते.

A gold seal, with octagonal face ; weight $6\frac{3}{4}$ tolas. Mortab similar ; weight $2\frac{1}{4}$ tolas.

Shahu Maharaj Dhakley, *alias* Aba Saheb Maharaj, was the son of Trimbakji Bhonslay of Wawi, descended from Vitoji, great uncle of Sivaji. He was adopted by Ram Raja, and en-

throned under the title of Shahu Maharaj, but was a prisoner under the Peishwa all his reign.

The inscription is in Sanskrit verse. The first word is indistinct.

No. 4.

० श्री. ७

गौरीनाथवरप्राप्ता ग्राह्यराजात्मजन्मनः ॥
मुद्रा प्रतापसिंहस्य भद्रा सर्वत्र राजते ॥

Everywhere shines the auspicious seal of Pratap Sinha, the son of King Shahu, obtained (*i.e.* the seal) by the blessing of the Lord of Gauri (*i.e.* Shiva).

मयादिष्टं विराजते.

Here shines forth the limit.

A gold seal, with octagonal face ; weight 8½. Mortab similar ; weight 4 tolas.

The inscription is in Sanskrit metre.

No. 5.

० श्री. ७

स्वस्तिश्रीशिवसंप्राप्तमिष्टः श्रीशाहजन्मनः ॥
श्रीमच्छाहाजीराजस्य श्रीमुद्रेयं विराजते ॥

Here shines forth the glorious seal of the illustrious King Shahaji, the son of the famous Shahu, who (*i.e.* Shahaji), has obtained prosperity from (by the favour of) the blessed Shiva.

मयादिष्टं राजते.

Shahaji, *alias* Appa Saheb, the third son of Shahu II., succeeded to the *raj* when his brother Pratap Sinha was deposed.

The inscription is in Sanskrit verse.

A tall and large gold seal, with octagonal face ; weight 20¼. Mortab same pattern ; weight 4 tolas.

No. 6.

७ श्री. ०

श्रीराजाशाहाजी हबपली स्वामीचरचोतस्य
बलवंतराज राजकुवर समराज बाहादुर निरंतर.

The prince Balvantrao Unrao Bahadur, devoted to the feet of the illustrious King Shahaji, the Lord of the Umbrella.

सेखनसीमा.

The limit of the writing.

This is the seal of the boy whom Raja Shahaji took under his protection some time before his death, conferring upon him the name of Balvantrao Bhoslay and the title Rajadnya.

A tall gold seal, with round face ; weight $12\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.
Mortab same pattern ; $2\frac{3}{4}$ tolas.

FORGED SEALS of Raja Seevajee Chuttraputtee, purchased by Colonel Ovans for 400 rupees, and produced by him as evidence in support of the alleged charges against the ex-Raja of Sattara,—vide par. pa. 818.



True impressions.

(Signed)

COLONEL OVANS,
Acting Resident.

Original Seals of Seevajee Maharaj Chuttraputtee, produced by Rungo Bapojee, in proof of the forgery of those purchased by Colonel Ovans.



True impressions.

(Signed)

RUNGO BAPOJEE,
Vakeel to H. H. the Raja of Sattara,
now at Benares.

लेखनसीमा.

The limit of the writing.

This is the seal of the boy whom Raja Shahaji took under his protection some time before his death, conferring upon him the name of Balvantrao Bhoslay and the title Rajadnya.

A tall gold seal, with round face ; weight $12\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. Mortab same pattern ; $2\frac{3}{4}$ tolas.

APPENDIX K.

In one of the appendices an account has been given of the seals of the Satara Kingdom. Here *fac-simile* reproductions of the forged seals and for comparison, copies of the original seals also are reproduced, from the Parliamentary Papers, as well as from "A statement of the case of the deposed Raja of Sattara" (pages VII, VIII and IX), published in March 1845.

The inscription on the larger forged seal (No. 1) is as follows :—

"Râjâ Sivâjî Chatrapati. Adhâr-hâti jayawati tarwar."

It means,

"Râjâ Sivâjî, King or Emperor, holding in his hand the sword of victory, or his victorious sword."

The inscription on the small seal (No. 2).

Srî maryadeyam virâjate" means

"Let all be done according to these orders."

Seals Nos. 1 and 2 were intended to represent those used by the great Sivâjî. Rungo Bapuji procured copies of the original seals—impressions of which are given in Nos. 5 and 6. The Sanskrit inscription on No. 5 is as follows :—

"Pratipad chandra lekheva varda visnu visva vaditâ sâha suno siva rasausa mudra bhadraya râjate."

It means

"Like the increase of the new moon from the first day, so all the world obey and worship the seal of Sivâjî Râjâ, the son of Sâhâjî Râjâ."

The inscription on the forged seals Nos. 5 and 6 is as follows :—

"Srî Râjâ Sâhu narapati Harsa Nidhân Sadâ siva Bâjîrâv Mukhya-pradhân."

Translated, it means

"Râja Sâhu, King of men, the powerful Sadâsiva Bâjîrâv, the Chief or Prime Minister."

On pp. 139-140 of "A statement of the case of the deposed

Râja of Satara" published in March 1845, it is stated regarding the inscription on the seals Nos. 5 and 6:—

"This proves, beyond all doubt, that the seal was a forged one ; for the first Raja Shahoo reigned upwards of a century ago, and the second monarch of that name, the father of the ex-Raja, died in the year 1808, and during his life no adoption of Bajee Row took place. Bajee Row was dismissed from his office of Peishwa by proclamation of the ex-Raja in the year 1819,.....and the state seals of his Highness, he having, up to that time, employed those of his father, were changed in the same year. (this) seal purported to have belonged to one of the Peishwas, and if further proof of its spurious character were necessary, the fact that no such person as Sadâsiv Baji Row ever filled the office of Peishwa is sufficient to afford it."

The forged Seals Nos. 7, 8 and 9 have merely the words "Lekhun Seemâ," "The End."

The inscription on the original seal (No. 10) of Raja Pratap Singh used by him subsequently to the year 1819 is as follows:—

"Sri Gaurinatha Varaprâpta Sâhu Râjâtmajanmanah. Mudrâ Pratapa Sinhasya Bhadrâ sarvatra râjate."

Translated, it means,

"By the favour of Gaurinâtha (the Lord of Gauri, *i.e.* Siva), the seal of Pratapa Singh, the son of Sâhu Râjâ, obeyed by all or commanding all."

The inscription on the small seal is "Maryâdeyam Virâjate." It means "Let all be done according to these orders."



Original Seals of Pertaub Shean Maharaj Chuttraputtee, (Raja of Sattara) which were left in the possession of Colonels Ovans, and which could have shewn the forgery of those produced by Colonel Ovans and J. A. Dunlop.



True impressions.

(Signed)

RUNGO BAPOJEE,

Vakeel to H. H. the Raja of Sattara,
now at Benares.

रुंगो बापोजी

RUNGO BAPOJEE,

Vakeel to H. H. the deposed Raja of Sattara.

9, Blundford Place, Regent's Park,
February, 1845.

The signature in Marathi of

APPENDIX L.

The part played by Balaji Pant Natoo in the conspiracy against Raja Pratap Singh was very thoroughly exposed by Mr. Charles Norris, who had held the post of Secretary to the Bombay Government, in a speech at a Court of Proprietors of East India Stock on the 29th July 1842, on a requisition from nine proprietors to consider the following motion :—

“That from the papers recently laid before the Court of Proprietors relating to the case of the Raja of Sattara, taken in connection with those previously before the Court, this Court is of opinion that the Raja of Sattara has been deprived of his property, and exiled, without having been heard in his defence ; and that such proceedings are repugnant to the principles of justice, and subversive of the British interests in India.”

Unfortunately, for the Raja, Mr. Norris died shortly after the delivery of the speech. He had, however, before his lamented death, sent the speech, elucidated by a few Notes to the *Colonial Magazine* for publication, from which it was subsequently reprinted in book form. In reproducing this speech in its issue of October 13th, 1842, the *Bombay United Service Gazette and Literary Chronicle* wrote :—

“The following we consider as fit to hold a place amongst the literary productions of the day. The author is well-known in Bombay. Here he held a highly-distinguished post, and for his numerous good feelings and his interest in promoting the benefit of the people of this vast country, his name has always been held in grateful remembrance. His opinions on the Sattara Case are not the opinions of a man who has had little to do with the affairs of India. They have endured the suns and breezes of Oriental diplomacy, and may be taken as thoroughly correct and sound.”

The speech deserves perusal from the beginning to the end. But we content ourselves by giving a few extracts from it. He said :—

“The deposed Raja of Sattara was raised to the throne by

the British Government in 1817, and from that time to the year 1832, conducted himself so admirably, that he was the theme of constant applause to the four successive Residents at his Court, to the Bombay Government, and to the Court of Directors, as an able and benignant ruler ; His administration was just, liberal, and enlightened ; but he had enemies, not from faults of his own, but in some measure in consequence of his very excellencies. *The first of these was Appa Sahib, his unworthy brother.* Their disagreement was a matter of public notoriety, though the Raja never failed to treat Appa Sahib with kindness and attention. This ungrateful man, early in 1835, and once previously in the time of Sir John Malcolm, made an attempt to induce the British Government to confer on him half his brother's rāj ; and we find him, by Ballajee Punt Nattoo's evidence before the Commission, (S. P. p. 113), giving information six months previously, or about April, 1835, which no one can credit, that 'His Highness had written to his agent in Bombay, that if he fails to obtain redress in England, (whither he was sending an embassy), he would go over to the Russians ; tell them that his kingdom is one of fifty-six crores of Rupees—that they must bring an army, and reinstate him in his rāj—and that he will ultimately repay their expenses by instalments.' Ballajee Punt Nattoo, his confidant, says, 'The Raja has seduced his brother's wife, and therefore they are on bad terms.' I can only say, if this were true, Appa Sahib would be in my eyes an infinitely greater wretch than I have believed him to be. He lived in the palace, and he lived in the employment, and on the revenues of his brother ; and what should we think of the enormous hypocrisy which he must have practised while so living, if suffering under this cruel wrong ? I must say, however, that I disbelieve the assertion of Ballajee Punt Nattoo. Appa Sahib's elder wife, who fled to the Raja, it was said, in consequence of Appa Sahib's misconduct, is stated by the Residents to have always borne an irreproachable character ; and if she had been treated by the Raja otherwise than it became him to treat his brother's wife, I cannot imagine, that either through complaint, from Appa Sahib, or dissension in the Rājā's family, the thing should not have become known to the

Resident, who would scarcely have failed to urge his Highness to terminate so disgraceful a connexion. Is it to be credited that this person who so ungenerously strove on two occasions to deprive the Raja of half his territories, would not have contrived that a fact should come to the knowledge of our government, which could not fail to lower the Rájá in its estimation?

. The second of the Raja's enemies was Ballajee Punt Nattoo. This person, a leading and bigoted Brahmin, of great talent and art, cunning, ambitious, and worldly-minded, was possessed of considerable influence with all the British authorities in the Deccan. That he was the Raja's enemy, is sufficiently apparent from his evidence before the Commission, wherein he states, that six months previously he had reported to Mr. John Warden, that the Raja contemplated, if he had not committed, a breach of his engagements with the British Government. The same evidence shows him also to be Appa Sahib's confidant, and the willing hearer, if not utterer, of his slanders against his brother.

* * * * *

"The following are reasons why it might be expected that he (Balajee Punt Nattoo) should be so (his enemy). 1st. Because the Raja had rejected him as his Dewan, a place which he was desirous of filling, and *which he now occupies under Appa Sahib*. 2nd. Because he was a leading Brahmin, and belonged to a caste which was never at peace with the Raja, and because he was a connexion, the son of the one being married to the daughter of the other, of Nilkunt Shastree of Poonah ; who, with the Swamee of Sunkeshwar and Chintaman Row of Sanglee, was at the head of the Brahman league against the Purbhoos and other castes, on a question of religion, in which dispute, whether rightly or the reverse, the Raja opposed the pretensions of the Brahmins. The Raja's feelings towards Ballajee Punt Nattoo, I should imagine, partook of fear ; but if he thought him his friend, I should consider the fact merely a proof how egregiously his Highness was deceived by his artful enemy.

"The third party hostile to the Raja were the *Brahmins generally*. The Raja himself did not disguise his dislike and distrust of the members of this caste, and instituted schools

avowedly with the design of instructing Mahrattas, and by this means destroying the predominant influence of the Brahmins ; and the violent religious dispute which arose between the Brahmins on the one hand, and the Purbhoos and other castes on the other, and in which the Raja was considered to wrong the Brahmins, engendered a feeling of hostility on the part of the Brahmins towards the Raja, the strength of which it is difficult to conceive.

“Up to the year 1832, the utmost harmony, cordiality, and confidence prevailed between the Bombay Government and that of his Highness. In that year the Raja’s jurisdiction over a portion of the jagheers of the Punt Suchew, one of his Highness’s jagheerdars, was questioned on the ground that such portion lay beyond the boundary line of the Sattara territory. I believe that I am right in saying, that from 1819 to 1832, his Highness’s jurisdiction over this tract had always been exercised without dispute ; the claim to the jurisdiction on the part of the Company was, however, now advanced by the Deputy-Agent for Sirdars, in the Deccan, who, in noticing it, observes, ‘I am supported in all I have said by the opinion of Ballajee Punt Nattoo, who, as Mr. Elphinstone’s confidential native agent, superintended at Sattara the preparation of the treaty and Schedule on which the Raja founds his pretension.’

* * * * *

It is positively stated, by the Raja’s Vakeel, and I think that I heard the thing stated in India long before the unfortunate occurrences of 1835 and succeeding years, that Ballajee Punt Nattoo had advanced considerable sums of money to the Punt Suchew, the recovery of which would, of course, be much facilitated, by the transfer of a portion of the Suchew’s jagheer to the British jurisdiction. Should this be so, a pecuniary interest would be super-added to the feelings of disappointed ambition, wounded vanity, and irritated sectarianism, to induce him to use his best endeavours to effect that which could not but deeply mortify the Raja.”

APPENDIX M.

I. APPA SAHIB'S CONDUCT AND CHARACTER.

At a special general court of proprietors of East India Stock, held at East India house on the 13th February 1840, General Lodwick said :—

“As I have been attacked by an Honourable Gentleman on the other side of the Bar, for saying that the person now on the throne of Satara was a disgraceful character ; I wish to observe, that I did not go on light grounds when I said that, because I hold in my hands a copy of a document which I put into the hands of the Governor of Bombay. . . . During the time I was at Satara he put in a claim for a division of his Brother's territory.”

He was interrupted in reading the following document :—

“Resident's Reply to a Memorandum written by, or at the instigation of Appa Sahib, only brother of His Highness the Raja of Satara.

“I do not hesitate to designate this a most disgraceful tissue of falsehood, proceeding from a man devoid of proper principles and feelings.

“First.—On the establishment of the Satara Government, Captain Grant held the entire management, agreeable to the 6th Article of the Treaty, and in concert with the Raja settled the Civil List, by which Appa Sahib, the Complainant, received and has always enjoyed 5,500 rupees monthly : not as a matter of right, but as the bounty of his brother. Independent of this allowance, the Raja at one time made Appa Sahib a present of 30,000 rupees, to liquidate his accumulated debts, arising from debauched extravagant habits.

“The Complainant has no call upon him but for such personal expenses as are becoming his rank ; and for this purpose I consider the allowance made by Captain Grant fully adequate.

“Second.—In reply to the second charge, I have to observe, that Appa Sahib has long been separated from his wife, who

is a most respectable person. This lady does not reside under her husband's roof, but in the palace of His Highness the Raja. Appa Sahib has taken in her place a common prostitute, well known at Poona, and advanced 30,000 rupees to satisfy her cupidity, but when it came to the point, the attempt failed, and His Highness very properly cancelled the order for the whole sum of money.

"Since this transaction it has come to my knowledge, that Appa Sahib was suspected of receiving bribes to a heavy amount as Judge of the Adawlut in which he presides. This I made known to His Highness at a private interview in December last, who replied, he had heard of the suspicion, and had endeavoured to ascertain the proof, out of regard to his brother, to whom he is warmly attached, and whom he invariably mentions as his heir, though this is quite optional, as in default of a son to succeed there is no bar to adoption.

"Third.—With respect to the presumptuous claim to equal authority with His Highness, the Raja has set forth, in the 3rd, 4th, and 5th paragraphs of Appa Sahib's memorandum. I can attribute it to nothing short of mental derangement, as his relative situation to the Raja has been fully explained to him, and the gratitude he owes to his brother for invariable kindness has been frequently pointed out.

"Fourth.—In concluding, I request to be allowed to make His Highness, the Raja, acquainted with the contents of Appa Sahib's memorandum, in order to his meeting that punishment which is justly his due. I feel satisfied, from my knowledge of His Highness's character, that the punishment will not bear a just proportion to the offence, but should I be consulted on the occasion, and the document in question proved to come from Appa Sahib, I should be prepared, and recommend Appa Sahib's removal from the Adawluts, and the appropriation of a portion of his annual allowance to the liquidation of his just debts, admitted by his own statement to exceed the large sum of 175,000 rupees, and still increasing.

"(Signed) P. LODWICK, *Resident*,
MAHABULISHWAR."

April 24th, 1835.

II. INTRIGUE WITH APPA SAHIB.

Colonel Ovans, Balajipunt Natoo, and Balajikasi Kibey, were aware,.....that the individuals who were their dupes and tools, had been taken and imprisoned. In order to conceal their own connection with the plot, the two Brahmins proceeded to Appa Sahib, the Raja's brother, and told him, that as the Bombay Government was about to depose the Raja, and confiscate his territories, they advised Appa Sahib to go over to the Resident, and by this step secure the succession to himself. This for years had been the aim of this unprincipled man. Under pretence of visiting a garden, called Kondwa, a few miles distant, he left the palace at Satara. At Kondwa he was joined on the same day by Balajikasi Kibey, Colonel Ovans's confidant, and set out immediately with him for the Residency, where Colonel Ovans and Balajipant Natoo were awaiting his coming, and had prepared the Resident's tent for his reception, (24th March 1839). A guard of honour of the Company's Sepoys, mounted over his person, (this within a mile of the Raja's presence), one of his wives, his family, baggage, &c., were demanded from the Raja, by Colonel Ovans, and delivered up; the people of Satara were invited to visit, and consider him as their future prince, and to crown all, Colonel Ovans obtained from him that memorable paper, in which Appa Sahib acknowledges himself guilty of having conspired with the Raja against the British Government.

"To all these proofs of this scandalous conspiracy against the Raja, to which Colonel Ovans is declared to have been privy, it is only necessary to add one corroboration, furnished by himself, and attested under his own hand, namely, that he was a party to, and entirely sanctioned the bribe which Captain Durack, the staff officer of Satara, partly gave in money, and promised to give in writing, to Bhawu Leley, one of the conspirators, for the production of papers forged in the name of Govind Row, the Raja's Dewan. Rungo Bapoojee."

(Pp. 208-209 of the case of the dethroned Raja of Satara. London: 1843).

III. THE CORONATION OF APPA SAHIB.

"In November 1839, the Governor, Sir James R. Carnac, arrived at Maha-bhulish-war, where the Resident met him, having come from Satara for that purpose. The Resident, after the interview, returned to Satara, and sent Kundo Rao Mama Sirkay, and Eswunth Rao Foujdar to the Governor ; they both had an audience of his Excellency, after which they returned to Satara.

"On the 16th of November the Governor arrived at Satara from Maha-bhuliswar. At that time four persons, including Balaji Pant Natoo, Kundo Rao Mama Sirkay, Eswunth Rao Foujdar, and the Resident went nearly one coss to meet the Governor, whom they accompanied to the Resident's house. With the Governor was his lady, one of his sons (an aide-de-camp), Mr. Willoughby, and a Doctor. Appa Sahib and the Resident gave orders for a salute from the cannon, which took place.

"On the 17th of November, at twelve o'clock, Appa Sahib arrived from his house at the Resident's, where he saw the Governor, whom he invited to his bungalow. On this day also Appa Sahib's Ranee, with great pomp and splendour, had an interview with Lady Carnac, whom the Ranee invited to her house. The same day, at four o'clock, the Governor arrived at Appa Sahib's bungalow. When within a short distance of the house, Appa Sahib went out to meet his Excellency. All the Jagheerdars were in attendance, and were introduced to the Governor by Appa Sahib. According to custom, otto of roses and pawn were handed about. The Governor's lady was received in like manner by her Highness the Ranee. Appa Sahib gave orders that on the following day (the 18th) the town should be illuminated.

"On the 18th of November, at three o'clock, Appa Sahib's second Ranee went in great pomp and magnificence to the Durbar ; and at eight o'clock the Governor and Appa Sahib, on an elephant, arrived at the Durbar, accompanied by some of the Company's and Maharaja's troops. The Jagheerdars and the Resident also proceeded to the Durbar, where the throne is

placed. The Governor then took Appa Sahib by the hand and placed him on the throne. The Governor stood opposite to the throne and presented seven dresses, jewels, etc., to Appa Sahib. After this ceremony was concluded, Appa Sahib descended from the throne, and he and the Governor sat down together on a couch. The Governor's attendants received otto of roses and pawn. The Governor then departed, Appa Sahib accompanying him a few paces, when he took leave. After the Governor's departure the Brahmins, Pundits, &c., presented cocoanuts, and the Jagheerdars, &c., nuzzars to Appa Sahib. A sunnud was laid before him for his signature, by Balaji Punt Natoo, for music and kettle drums, and also the yearly expenses for the support of a nobut establishment, the highest honour that could be conferred. Balaji Punt Natoo also presented two other like sunnads, one for his son-in-law and the *third* for Balajoshee, a Brahmin. Appa Sahib signed these sunnads and affixed the royal seal to them. On this day, at three o'clock, Appa Sahib sent sweetmeats, and all things necessary for a banquet, to the house of the Resident, for the Governor.

"Whatever the palace contained, including what was under lock and key, came into possession of Appa Sahib. Those things which the former Maharaja brought with him to Neembgaon, including the royal seal, sword of state, moorchul or peacock's tail, which is used in fanning kings, and ornamented with precious stones; these, with many other articles, were delivered up to Appa Sahib."

(Pp. 29-30 of the Proceedings at a Special General Court of Proprietors of East India Stock, held at the East India House, on the 12th and 13th February 1840, respecting the dethronement of H. H. the Raja of Satara. London: Printed by John Wilson, 18, Charles Street,—1840).

APPENDIX N.

THE RAJA'S CHRISTIAN ENEMIES.

In his speech in the General Court of Proprietors of East India Stock on the 29th July 1842, Mr. Charles Norris mentioned the Raja of Satara's enemies, (1) his brother Appa Sahib, (2) that arch-conspirator Balaji Punt Natoo and (3) Brahmins generally. But he should have mentioned that he had for his enemies also those Christians who then formed the Governments of Bombay and India, and the authorities of the East India Company. This is evident from the Proceedings at a Special General Court of Proprietors of East India Stock, held at the East India House on the 12th and 13th February, 1840. This was "specially summoned for taking into consideration a Requisition presented to the Directors," to whose chairman nine of the Proprietors wrote on the 4th February 1840

"to summon a Special General Court of Proprietors, at the earliest period, to take into consideration a recommendation to the Court of Directors and to the Board of Control, to withhold their sanction to the dethronement of the Raja of Sattara, by the Bombay Government, until a full and fair investigation of the charges preferred against him shall have been made, according to His Highness's earnest and repeated request."

The proceedings of the meeting on the 12th February 1840, commenced with the speech of Sir Charles Forbes. Referring to the Proclamation of dethronement, he said, "a more weak production I never saw." After reading the Proclamation, he proceeded to say :

"It appears to me, Sir, that this Proclamation is modelled upon an example not worthy of being followed. It is much in the spirit of Lord Auckland's Proclamation before he entered on the wild impolitic war in Afghanistan. The Governors of India seem to think, that in order to add to their importance, they are bound to find out plots and treasons, to issue proclamations, to make wars, to pull down kings, and set up others ; and in fact, that unless they perform some such feats, they

cannot return to this country with any degree of credit, much less with honour.

"It is much to be regretted that the Proclamation did not state the accusations against the Rajah in a more specific form, but this might not have been so easy a matter."

He read out a letter he had received from an officer, dated Satara, 2nd October 1839, in which that officer described the manner in which the Raja of Satara was made a captive of the Christian Britishers. He wrote:—

"One company of his Majesty's 41st regiment, two companies of the 21st regiment Native Infantry, and three companies of the 25th Native Infantry, being ordered to march to Satara, at 24 hours' notice, we left Poona on the 31st August, and arrived in Satara on the 4th of September. We received orders to meet the following morning on the parade, at two o'clock. The grenadiers of the 25th regiment, with the light company and some artillery, were ordered to march to the palace and take the Raja, whilst the 21st companies and the 8th regiment went to the Adawlut and Balla Sahib's house, to take him and look after his cavalry, who were fully expected to shew fight; but nothing occurred, nor could he be found. Balla Sahib is Commander of the Raja's force. We marched into the palace, and formed into line before the doors, and men with lanterns were seen running about in every direction—it being scarcely light—to prevent the Raja attempting his escape, whilst Colonel Ovans, the Resident, and another officer, went into the palace to find the Raja, accompanied by the present Raja Appa Sahib, who led them to his brother's bedroom and shewed them where he was! The same day he was proclaimed. There was the poor little Raja fast asleep when the Colonel found him. He immediately came out in his sleeping-drawers and a piece of cloth thrown over his shoulders; he made no resistance. A palanquin was called, in which he was placed, as well as his Commander-in-chief, Balla Sahib, who was found in another room. Had a single shot been fired, all his property would have fallen prize-money to us, and he had lots of it :....."

In commenting on the above letter, Sir Charles Forbes said that

“it would appear insult was added to injury towards the unfortunate Raja. He was placed in a Palanquin, into which was also thrust the Commander of his Forces. That was contrary to Indian etiquette, and was in fact a gross insult to the Raja ; but Balla Sahib, a noble and devoted adherent, would not be a party to the insult, and jumping out of the palanquin, walked by its side barefooted for seven miles, in the dead of night.

“Thus was the rightful Raja dethroned, without the means of defending himself, without knowing who the witnesses against him were ; for he it remembered that in the notable Court of Inquiry, not only were the names of the witnesses withheld, but also that of the principal accuser, Ballajee Punt Nathoo, who now presides over the affairs of Satara as Dewan or minister. Thus, without accusation fairly gone into, without trial, without confronting him with his accusers, without, in a word, full and fair investigation into the charges brought against him, was this unfortunate Prince torn from the throne of his ancestors, which had been secured to him by solemn Treaty, to make way for a traitor. All this was done without even consulting the Home Authorities.”

Then after reading a few extracts relative to the enthronement of Appa Sahib, Sir Charles Forbes concluded his speech by moving

“That this Court do strongly recommend to the Court of Directors, and to the Board of Control, to withhold their sanction to the dethronement of his Highness the Raja of Satara, by the Bombay Government, until a full and fair investigation of the charges preferred against him shall have been made, according to his Highness’s earnest and repeated request ; and that this resolution be communicated by the Court of Directors to the Board of Control.”

This motion was seconded by Mr. Lewis, who said that
 “in the year 1832 an attack was first made upon the independence of Satara. A claim was then, for the first time, advanced by the Bombay Government to a portion of those territories which had been assigned to him by the treaty.....
 The Bombay Government, in the first place, asserted and

claimed jurisdiction over the jagheer, denominated the 'Punt Suchew,'.....They next resumed the jagheer of the Sheikh Meernud of Waece,.....They next claimed to be entitled to the jagheer of the Khasgee Wala.....They then claimed a similar right—the right of resumption—over the jagheer of Seetole,.....There was moreover the office of the Muntri, one hereditary office, the appointment to which was in the Raja as Sovereign, and to which the Raja had appointed a successor. The East India Company did not dispute his right to the appointment, but they disputed his right to the nuzzerana or fine that was leviable on the appointment and insisted it ought to be paid to them.....

"Feeling injured by these assertions of pretended right on the part of the Bombay Government, the Raja naturally remonstrated. Did the Bombay Government give him a remedy? No. They referred the question to the Court of Directors,..... the Court pronounced its decision, declaring that the Bombay Government had no right whatever to interfere with the jagheers which belonged to the Raja.....What was the conduct of the Bombay Government—having that dispatch before it? Did they abandon their wrongful assertion of right over the Raja's jagheers? No, they immediately issued an order in Council to this effect—"The Neera river is the southern boundary of the territory of the Suchew, and the English Government's jurisdiction extends over it. As the Putwardhan is independent of the Maharaj, so in the same manner is the Suchew independent in his jagheer." This was the most important point of contest between the Raja and the Government ;.....But what must inevitably have been the effect of such proceedings as these on the Raja of Satara? Why, Sir, his feelings already irritated by his rights having been withheld from him for so many years, he was goaded and almost driven to desperation. The fact of the East India Company from time to time rejecting his claims for justice, rendered him an object of contempt in the eyes of his people ; and at the same time, while he was thus degraded in the eyes of his own subjects, the conduct of the Bombay Government opened a wide field for every species of com-

bination and conspiracy that could be hatched up by the designing subjects of his Highness.....

"Sir, I think it will be admitted that when a serious charge like this is brought forward against any individual.....you ought in the first place, to appoint a tribunal for the inquiry, free from prejudice and bias. I think it will also be admitted, that the witnesses adduced.....ought not only to have been free from bias, but free from all restraint whatever. I think it will also be admitted, that the individual who is accused of this heinous offence, should have an ample and full opportunity of defending himself.....

"These are elementary principles of justice,.....Apply these principles to the case of the Raja.....Look at the tribunal appointed for the investigation of the charges against the Raja. Who appointed it? The Bombay Government..... which was at that time notoriously inflicting a wrong on the Raja,—the Bombay Government, which in spite of the decision of the Court, persisted in that wrong.....Who were the persons who sat on that tribunal? Some of them were members of that very government—individuals before whom the case of the Raja had previously come, and who had already decided..... against the Raja on the important question of the Jagheers, and who had sided with the Bombay Government in the wrongs inflicted on the Raja, and in which they were then persevering. They were persons whose minds were prejudiced and biassed, and therefore wholly unfit for the investigation.....

"The whole procedure was an outrage on justice and common sense."

In concluding his speech, he said :—

"Sir, I implore the Court to pause, to consider well the course they are about to pursue, and to act with consistency, justice, and impartiality. Most cordially do I give my support to the motion of the honourable Baronet."

He was followed by Major-General Lodwick. Regarding the Jagheer question, he said that "by the letter and spirit of the treaty granted by the British Government in 1819, the Raja's claims were just.....

"Sir Robert Grant succeeded as Governor of Bombay, and

came up to the Mahabulishwar hills in May 1835, when the Raja took the opportunity of visiting him in great state..... About this time the letter came from the Court of Directors and was sent to me ; I proposed giving a copy of it to the Raja. This was objected to, but by persuasion I obtained leave to send him a part of it. Sir Robert Grant had not paid the usual respect to the Raja in the intermediate period of returning the visit as every previous Governor had done.....The Governor's neglect was bitterly felt, and the succeeding year, when the Governor reached the hills, the Raja went up again, but not with that splendour as on former occasions ; he was attended by a mere private escort, for the purpose of demanding from the Governor, why he had not his rights and sovereignty over the jagheers. What occurred on that occasion was private and therefore I cannot mention it. If I could, I should make my statement stronger, but it is better not to say anything about it. The Raja went from that meeting very dejected ; he did not say much, but I saw it sank into his heart, and that it left a deep wound there.....From that interview in 1836 the Raja went down the hills, and on the road to Satara had a secret meeting with an agent he intended to send to England, so impressed was he that he would have no justice from Bombay. I shortly after heard of the circumstances and at a private interview requested for the purpose, charged the Raja with it.....I spoke very strongly to the Raja.....I wrote off immediately to the Bombay Government, calling on them to support me, because I was afraid the Raja would go much further. They never answered that letter : I never received an answer to it. They did not take the least notice of my communication ; and now they make it a charge against the Raja, that he appointed an agent—is that fair or just?.....

"In June 1836 depositions were sent me from two native officers, of an attempt to seduce them from their allegiance ; they were submitted to the Government.....

"A commission was at last appointed, of which I found I was to be a member. I protested against the Raja being called before the commission. I said, I got a letter of reprimand ; but I considered it an honour.

"The Raja came in.....with the proud and high dignity of a sovereign. He certainly thought he was to be a prisoner. The whole of the people of Satara had turned out—many of them were in tears. . . . I do not want to excite any feeling but what the case warrants. I only wish to state facts in extenuation of the Raja's errors. I only wish to plead for an unhappy man who was excited to torture by the treatment he received from the Government.

"I remained at Satara seven months after the secret commission had closed its proceedings, from which time every possible insult had been heaped upon the Raja They sent one of the secret Commissioners as the new Resident and I was told in the letter removing me that the duty of the Resident was to conciliate the affections of the Raja! &c. &c. But how was this proposed system followed up? Why; Sepoys in disguise were sent to seize persons in Satara, although the Raja was an independent sovereign within his territories. Yet sepoys were sent in disguise, and his subjects were seized."

Major General Robertson who had been Resident at Satara also supported the motion of Sir Charles Forbes. In doing so, he said regarding the finding of the Secret Commission of Inquiry that

"The Government of India, however, did not think the proof so conclusive of the Raja's guilt as the Government of Bombay, and a pause ensued. The Raja's enemies, however, aware that the two Governments were at issue, and convinced that their object would not be attained without adducing further criminatory matter, soon furnished this. The mode in which the inquiry into the charge of seducing the troops had been conducted, no doubt, encouraged them to hope that they incurred little risk of detection, whatever charges they adduced; and hence they went fearlessly to work, while the result has proved that they judged correctly; the Government has declared him to have committed various grave offences against the treaty, and in this opinion the Supreme Government having concurred, the Raja has been deposed, and his principality given to his brother .

"Ignorant as I am of the charges adduced against his Highness, I have carefully examined the Manifesto of the Gov-

ernment. announcing his Highness' deposition, in the hopes of finding in it something to justify that extreme measure.

"The first charge in that document states that his Highness, 'unmindful of his obligations and of the generosity which restored him to liberty and conferred on him a throne,'—there is a great deal of humbug about all this—a great deal of humbug about all this—a great deal of humbug ; 'has for a series of years held clandestine communications contrary to the 5th article of the treaty.' It does not, however, say that these communications were addressed to the enemies of the English government, so that all that the charge involves is merely that his Highness has committed, *but for no criminal purpose*, a breach of as penal an article as ever formed part of a treaty. Now, in regard to this article, though it was no doubt highly necessary to require the Raja's assent to it when the treaty was first formed, and when society was unsettled and our authority was not so rooted as it is now ; yet it does not follow that it is to be strictly enforced in all times ensuing, and when circumstances do not require the same caution. As times change so do laws, especially those which are highly penal ; and similarly so also, after a time, do very stringent articles in treaties come to be silently modified and relaxed ; Correspondence is said to have taken place : this is a crime by the treaty ; but surely, if the correspondence be no otherwise a crime, and the circumstances which suggested so penal an article should no longer exist, it is cruel to deprive a prince of his throne for such a breach of engagements, though such be the stipulated punishment.

"I am fortified in this opinion by my recollecting that such was also the opinion of Sir John Malcolm.

"The second charge in the Proclamation is, that 'His Highness has cherished designs hostile to the British Government.'

"It is an every day occurrence that men are punished for endeavouring to give effect to criminal designs, but I never before heard of punishment consequent on the mere *cherishing* of such designs.

"The third charge is, that the Raja had advanced claims and pretensions incompatible with the letter and spirit of the treaty. If these claims and pretensions have reference to the jagheers, I may say, without fear of contradiction, that all his claims in regard to them are conformable to the spirit and letter of the treaty, and that the only departure from the letter and spirit of the treaty in this instance, has been by the Government.

.....
 "The last article of the charge in the Proclamation.
 'that he has conducted himself in a manner subversive of the alliance formed between the two states.' This is a mere general assertion in a case where the matter charged, to be of any value, should be specific.

"I have been surprised to find no mention of the charge of tampering with the troops in the Proclamation. From this I infer that that charge is abandoned.

" it is stated, also.....that he has latterly been addressed by his agents as 'Hindoo Pud Padsha Sirkar.' Now, have those who charge this as a crime, read Grant Duff. . . they would have seen that this title was first assumed by the first Shao Maharaj, a hundred years and upwards ago ; Times have changed, and the Raja might well direct his agents to discontinue the title ; but can we be surprised at such distinctions being retained after all pretence for doing so has ceased, when the King of England, till the beginning of this century, styled himself 'King of France !'

"I have just a few words to say in conclusion. I will now only say that, knowing the Raja as I do—convinced of his moral worth—of his sense of the advantages which the British nation conferred on him—of his abilities—of his excellent management of his principality—his promotion of public works, and of education, there is not a Prince probably his equal in India—convinced also, from my knowledge of several of those said to be engaged in the plot against him, and of the interested and selfish and hostile motives which sway them, as well as judging by the charges connected with the Raja's pretensions in regard to the Jagheers (of which I can form an opinion), of those charges which are not yet made known, I sincerely think that

justice can never be done in this case without a fair and full investigation."

Mr. Poynder who followed General Robertson made a short speech in support of the motion. He said :—

"I can hardly suppose myself that it is intended to oppose this motion of the Honourable Baronet ; for, on adverting to its terms, I find it all forbearance and moderation. It prejudices nothing—it seeks neither to dethrone nor to set up—but it simply asks, that until a full and fair investigation can be had into the case of this unfortunate individual, there may be a pause in further hostilities. This is 'the head and front' of the Honourable Baronets' 'offending,' and therefore I cannot and will not suppose that, in a British country and before British gentlemen, that he will ask for inquiry into this case of alleged injustice in vain. I will not permit myself to make any observations on the nature of the interview with the Governor, or the Governor's conduct. It is known that I have personally been for a series of years opposed to that individual, therefore I shall not touch the question of the character of Sir James Carnac. But I can not help saying, upon the evidence adduced, it does appear to me to realize the old saying, that 'when a man wants to beat a dog, he will never be in want of a stick.' It appears to me that a series of charges have been wrought up in order to produce an ultimate result. We seem to be all agreed that this is a *prima facie* case of manifest injustice and oppression."

Captain Cogan, the Raja's accredited English agent, was going to speak, when the majority of the Proprietors asked for an adjournment till the following day.

Accordingly, the Court met again on the 13th February 1840, when the proceedings commenced with the speech of Captain Cogan. He read out the correspondence which passed between him and the Bombay Government—"a correspondence which," as he remarked, showed "the strong bias of the Bombay Government against the Raja, previously to the arrival of Sir James Carnac at that Presidency."

Then he informed the Court of the sentiments which had been expressed by a very high authority with reference to the

subject at issue. That high authority was Sir John Hobhouse, the President of the Board of Control. Every attempt was made by the Chairman of the meeting and two or three other proprietors to prevent Captain Cogan making public the conversation he had with Hobhouse. However, Captain Cogan was allowed to speak. He said:—

"I was told by the Right Honourable gentleman that I had joined a party to embarrass the Government, and to bring this case before the Parliament—he swore that he would never allow the Raja to sit on the *Gadec* again—that he would support the Government right or wrong—and put a stop to these 'Turbaned Gentlemen' filling London with their appeals; and he asked me how I dared to give the opinion I did to his colleague (*meaning Lord Palmerston*), of the Raja's innocence, in opposition to the Indian Government?—that he had written to the Governor-General to dismiss any person from the service who presumed to give an opinion opposed to the Government.

"Much was said with regard to the probable evil consequences to myself, with which I shall not trouble the Court, looking upon them with contempt; but I trust, after what I have stated, this Court will do its utmost to protect the natives of India, that it will feel called upon to check that undue exercise of authority which it was established to protect, and not to oppress and degrade the natives of India."*

This exposure by Captain Cogan created a great sensation.

* With reference to this interview, Mr. Poynder, who spoke on that day in support of Sir Charles Forbes' motion, said:—

"I must say, that a most arbitrary power has been put out, with an unparalleled despotism; a gross attempt to pre-judge all the rights of this outraged and unhappy individual; but it has been done contrary to the usual and ordinary spirit that glosses over affairs of this kind and gives them a sort of semblance of Justice:—

"Say that you love me not, but say not so
In anger. The common executioner,
Whose heart the accustom'd sight of death makes hard,
Falls not the axe upon the humbled neck,
But first begs pardon."

Here was no attempt to pardon—but a course was pursued against everything that could set up truth and support justice."

But the Chairman moved an amendment to the motion of Sir Charles Forbes which ran as follows :—

‘That this Court deems it highly inexpedient, and accordingly declines to interfere with the responsible executive in the affairs of Satara.’

This amendment was seconded by the Deputy Chairman.

Mr. Salomons moved another amendment :—

“That the case of the Raja of Satara be recommended to the attentive consideration of the Court of Directors and the Board of Control, and that all the documents connected with his dethronement by the Government of India be laid before the Court of Proprietors.”

This amendment was so reasonable that Sir Charles Forbes said :—

“Sir, I lose not a moment in rising to assure the Honourable Proprietor that if he will move and carry the motion which he has read, I shall be most happy to withdraw mine.”

Regarding the interview of Captain Cogan with the President of the Board of Control, he observed :—

I think we are greatly obliged to him for stating to us that the President of the Board of Control has undisguisedly declared his hostility to the Raja of Satara, that he has declared in terms even stronger, as I have understood, than those used by the Honourable and Gallant Proprietor, that the Raja shall never sit on the Throne of Satara again ; nay more, that that Right Honourable Gentleman will support the Government of India *right or wrong!* Mark those words, gentlemen. I ask you whether you will allow the President of the Board of Control to use such language towards you? Will you, gentlemen, *within* the bar, submit to be so dictated to by the Board of Control? If you do, I say you are no longer worthy to hold your stations. With regard to the threat held out of dismissal, I would ask the Honourable Company’s officers, civil and military, who are present, and who have served in India, whether such a threat was held out before? Whether they ever heard of so monstrous a threat as that the Company’s servants should be dismissed, because they think proper to give opinions on the measures of Government? I trust you, Gentlemen, you will

oppose all such threats as those which have been thrown out by the President of the Board of Control.

"I have heard of other threats that have been held out by those smarting under the discussion of yesterday. I have heard that we are to be favored one of these days with a *Bill*. that if we do not mind what we are about—if we meddle with matters with which we have nothing to do—if we interfere with the political affairs of India—that we are to have a Bill introduced into Parliament to take away the powers of the Court of Proprietors—or, in other words, that the door of this Court will be shut against us. Now, Gentlemen, how would you like that? That would imply a revocation of our Charter. Who are we here? *The East India Company!* And are we to be deprived of all our privileges, the exercise of our judgment, in cases whether of a political character or otherwise, upon which the safety of India and your Dividends depend?"

The Christian authorities of those days ruling over India were displeased with the heathen Raja of Satara because he sent his agents to England to represent his case to those in power there. Referring to this, Sir Charles Forbes said:—

"I trust I shall never see the day when the natives of India shall be prevented from coming to this country to state their grievances; and God forbid that the Government of India should have it in their power to prevent them from doing so, although we have heard it feared, that these '*Turbaned Gentlemen*' will be deluging London if we give them the least encouragement, particularly as there is now steam communication and overland mails, Why, Sir, have they not as good a right to avail themselves of that mode of communication as the natives of England? Have not the natives of India as good a right—perhaps a better—to resort to this country than we have to go to India? We go there to fill our pockets, to bring away all we can—these poor fellows come here to empty theirs; they take nothing away from us."

The motion of Sir Charles Forbes was opposed by men who brought forward very flimsy arguments to support their opposition. Thus said one Mr. Fielder:—

"Have we any reason to suppose that the Directors, the

Governor-General of India, and the Governor of Bombay, who have been so kind to him (the Raja or rather the ex-Raja of Satara), would not have continued that kindness, had there not been some misconduct on his part?"

It was convenient for this Christian Proprietor to ignore all that the previous speakers had said in regard to the *animus* of the various governments against the Raja. The motion of Sir Charles Forbes was not to the liking of the majority of those who were present that day as Proprietors and Directors. In vain Mr. Poynder, in addressing them, said :

"Do not turn out as you have often turned out against me on other great questions, and swell the majority to prevent the most beneficent and god-like acts taking place. . . . Do not rest on your numbers. There is a power in truth that will prevail over all the numbers ; . . . but there is a power beyond mere numbers that will succeed in the end, it is the power of public opinion. It is that power which ought to induce you never, on solemn and great occasions like the present, to take a course that bears a semblance of a desire to obstruct their views. As a lawyer, I will state that I never, in the whole course of my life, saw a more flagrant case made out, or one more likely to call for the condemnation of good and honest men. I do not pre-judge it. I say it is but an *ex parte* case, merely *primâ facie* statements."

And also in vain, Mr. Montgomery Martin pleaded for fair treatment of Indian princes when he said :

"When we consider the present alarming state of India, with our operations in Afghanistan yet unclosed, and the necessity of forming new subsidiary alliances with native powers, it becomes more imeprative to avoid the semblance of injustice towards them ; nor should we forget that the subject of this discussion is the descendant of one of the most illustrious princes of India, and that the Raja of Satara was the head of that powerful race, termed the Mahratta confederacy.

"Sir,.....there has been nothing brought forward to weaken the strong *primâ facie* evidence that has been adduced : it is singular that there should be three of the late Residents of the Raja of Satara present in Court, who have all borne

testimony to his being a Prince of exemplary character—keeping his people in prosperity and comfort, and above all things, being faithful and generous towards those who restored him to the kingdom of his ancestors ; and it is strong evidence in favour of the justice of his cause, that he, a faithful ally, and an affectionate relative, should have been obliged, after a series of years, to place himself in apparent hostility towards those whom he considered as his benefactors ; it must have been no slight act of injustice that could throw a man in hostility with those whom he had always considered as his benefactors, and towards whom he had always expressed himself in grateful terms. If evidence were wanting, we must look at the original cause of dispute. It is a question of land, of Jagheerdars. It is a question of territory ; a question certainly of pecuniary advantage to the Government, and of pecuniary advantage to the Raja. How necessary, therefore, is it that the English Government in India, which rests its sovereignty on public opinion, should be clear from any imputation of seeking to withdraw from a prince whom they have placed on the throne, any portion of his territory.

“The origin of the dispute was apparently a question of land ; and above all things it is desirable in India, that we should not exhibit a desire of grasping at territory.

“This was most remarkably the case with regard to the Marquis of Wellesley, when he went out to India. The great point of dispute between the English Government and Tippoo Sultan was a portion of land. That land was the district of Wynaad and some Jagheers. Lord Wellesley. . . . did not seize the territory, but he sent Tipoo Sultan a letter, and said,—‘Your Highness claims a certain territory—we on our part claim that territory—let us appoint two commissioners on either side, and if it shall be found in the judgment of those commissioners, that the territory of Wynaad belongs to your Highness, I am instructed to give it up to you.’ This was a proper mode of dealing with the case ; and that ought to have been the mode adopted with regard to the Raja of Satara, otherwise you are judges and executioners in your own cause. . . .

“But, Sir, I think it is due to Sir James Carnac,

Mr. Willoughby, and Colonel Ovans, that there should be a further investigation of this case. It cannot stop here. . . .

"I am led to this impression of the necessity of inquiry from knowing that Sir James Carnac went to India with his mind somewhat excited, with regard to the reports prevalent of insurrections, and conspiracies, and different things of that sort. We know it is in the nature of the best minds, and even the strongest minds, that the more alarm occupies the mind, the more likely is it that the judgment will be misled. I imagine, therefore, that the statements with regard to our army west of the Indus, and other things, must have induced Sir James Carnac to take premature steps, which I really do think he would not have taken if he had reflected a little more on the subject. That might have been the case, and that perhaps led him extrajudicially not merely to dethrone one Raja, but to put another on the throne, without first waiting to know the pleasure and will of the Home Government. Lord Wellesley's conduct when he dethroned princes was not immediately to put up others, but to notify to the Court of Directors what he had done, and then to have the opinion of the Court of Directors as to whom he should place on the throne."

It is not necessary to refer to the speeches of other Proprietors on that day. There was no doubt a strong case made out for the re-investigation of the case of the ex-Raja of Satara. So Mr. Salomons asked the Chairman if he intended to persevere with his amendment. The answer of the Chairman being in the affirmative, the Secretary read Sir Charles Forbes's motion, as well as the amendment proposed by the Chairman. The Court divided, and there appeared:—

For the Original Motion	26
Against it (including 26 Directors)	56
		MAJORITY	30

The amendment of Mr. Salomons was then put to the Court. This was seconded by Major Oliphant. But this amendment was also negatived.

Thus ended the proceedings of the Court of Proprietors a few months after the deposal of the Raja of Satara. So he had for his enemies not only a certain class of individuals of his own

colour and religion but also a good many of those who were colourless and took pride in calling themselves "Christians."

The Chairman of the Court of Directors—Sir Richard Jenkins—at one time had filled the post of Resident at Nagpore. How he got Appa Sahib, the Raja of Nagpore, into trouble has been narrated in the *Modern Review*, Vol. XXXII of 1922. Colonel Ovans imitated him in his treatment of the Raja of Satara. Imitation being the most sincere form of flattery, he was so much flattered by the conduct of Colonel Ovans that he did all that lay in his power to support the unjust and iniquitous measures which were adopted towards the Raja of Satara.

Those Christian merchants who originally formed themselves into a company for the purpose of trading in the East were desirous that it should be composed wholly and solely of "adventurers" and not "gentlemen." Thus while petitioning for the charter, their Directors, on consultation, resolved "*not to employ any gentleman in any place of charge*" and requested "that they might be allowed to sort their business with men of their own quality, lest the suspicion of the employment of *gentlemen* being taken hold upon by the generalitie, do dryve a greate number of the Adventurers to withdraw their contributions." (Minutes, 3rd October 1600, quoted in Bruce's *Annals of the Honourable East India Company*, Vol. I, p. 128).

The East India Company retained this marked trait in its character till the last day of its existence, and so no wonder need be felt at the behaviour of the Company's servants and representatives towards the Princes and people of India, for, in a word, they were not "gentlemen".

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- (8) A memorial to Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, from Her Highness Rani Saguna Bai, Widow of Raja Appa Saheb of Satara, in September 1874. (This memorial was prepared by that well-known lawyer, Rao Saheb Viswanath Narayan Mandlik of Bombay.)

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ERRATA.

- Page 18 line 7 for "1836" read "1839".
.. 63 line 18 for "1838" read "1835".
.. 143 line 3 for "to the Chairman and the" read "to the Chairman
of the".
.. 237 line 6 (from bottom) for "to be of one" read "to be one".
.. 240 line 17 for "1893" read "1839".
.. 302 line 12 for "might be defined" read "might be left undefined."
.. 330 line 20, for "1833" read "1853".
.. 339 line 6 (from bottom) for "1858" read "1853".
.. 386 line 19 for "in" read "is".
.. 387 line 7 (from bottom) for "over" read "ever".
.. 397 line 7 for "is" read "his".
.. 401 line 13 for "mundelle" read "mundalee".
.. 441 line 15 for "1893" read "1839".
.. 460 line 6 (from bottom) for "it" read "is".
.. 465 line 8 for "men" read "man".
.. 488 line 10 for "1882" read "1839".
.. 488 line 27 for "brother" read "latter".
.. 492 line 22 for "Co-patriot" read "Compatriot".
.. 513 line 18 for "Nos. 5 & 6" read "Nos. 3 & 4".
.. 513 line 19 for "No. 5" read "No. 3".
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unanimity inwardly, and coincidence in the substance of the representation ; no difference should appear. * * * * *

Rungo Bapoojee was to get 2000 Rupees a month during his stay in England and the services of Captain Cogan were also secured for a like sum. On the 2nd September 1839, Rungo Bapoojee wrote to Raja Pratap Singh :—

"Considerable expense will be required ; but 50,000 (rupees) are now required. Thus the Sahib has said. * * * * * The present is a time for a checkmate by treachery (?), and no one else like Cogan Sahib, and one in whom the Doctor (Milne) Sahib had confidence, can be found.

"Cogan Sahib said, 'your agents were speaking to the extent of 1,500 rupees.' Thus he accidentally said, the monthly allowance should be to the extent of 2,000 rupees ; such appears to be the wish. * * * * * He is to go on the 12th September ; before which an answer should come.

"He says, 'Twelve months' pay should be given first, and you should come : ' such is the occasion for expense. And he says, 'The pension which I enjoy will be stopped ; therefore, undertaking your service, it is requisite to make a representation there distinctly and openly.' So he says."

In reply to the above letter, the Raja wrote to Rungo Bapoojee on the 4th September 1839, as follows :—

"Your letter of the 2nd September has been received, and its contents understood. What you have written is right. But circumstances here appear of a peculiar nature, consequently it is unlikely that any assistance can again be rendered in any respects, as regards papers or money ; understand this perfectly. As to this, agreeably to your present request, the particulars as to the supply of 50,000 rupees, are—

* * * * *

"Such an arrangement is made, within which do what is necessary. After this, even if you write and send full particulars, no other supply beyond this can ever be made ; * * * * * ; and even if you or the Mundallee who have gone in advance,



THE SILVER PLATE PRESENTED TO RANGO BAPOJEE