

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 Bapoojee,
Vakeel to H. H. The Raja of
Sattara, now at Benares."

There is no record to show that the Earl of Clare acceded to Rungo Bapoojee'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."

STORY OF SATARA

RAJA PRATAP SINGH OF SATARA

CHAPTER I

The facile pen of Colonel Tod has made the English-knowing world acquainted with the name of Pratap Singh, a Rajput prince, the only spirited sovereign of Rajasthan who cheerfully bore all persecutions and privations but refused to contract an alliance with, or bend his knees before the great Moghul Emperor Akbar. The Muse of History has justly encircled the name of this Rajput sovereign with the halo of all royal and manly virtues. His name is one to conjure with among the people of Rajputana; and bards and minstrels have sung in unnumbered rhymes and lays and ballads the golden deeds of this great and noble prince.

The Maratha namesake of this Rajput prince is not so well known as he deserves to be; for he too was not deficient in those qualities which distinguished the great hero of Rajasthan. Pratap Singh—the descendant of the Great Sivaji—fell a martyr to truth, and he stood high in the estimation of all those who had the privilege and honor of knowing him. The story of the life of such a great soul is invested with interest not only for the Marathas, but Indians of all castes, creeds and colors. Sivaji, the originator of the Maratha Empire, left at the time of his death two sons, Sumbajee and Rajaram, who in after years founded respectively the royal houses of

Satara and Kolhapoor. The cruel manner in which Sumbajee was executed by Aurangzeb is well known. His son Sevajee *alias* Shahoo was a captive in Aurangzeb's camp and was brought up by his accomplished daughter Zeb-un-nisa. On the death of Aurangzeb he was released and placed on the throne of Satara in 1708. But he was not an intelligent prince and hardly possessed any of those qualities which distinguished his grandfather—the founder of the Maratha Empire. His evil disposition did not make him a favorite with the people whom he was called upon to rule. His incapacity and lunacy would have wrecked the Maratha Empire, had not the sovereign powers been wrested from his hands at this critical moment by his able Prime Minister known as the Peishwa.

The Peishwas have been accused of depriving the descendants of Sivaji of power and dignity which legitimately belonged to them and of reducing them to mere puppets and of keeping them as captives. A little investigation into the matter will show how baseless these accusations are, and, if anything, the Peishwas deserve the best thanks of all for maintaining the fabric of Sivaji's empire entire for at least a century and preventing it from crumbling into pieces, which it surely would have done but for their support. Till the time of Pratap Singh there was not a single Raja of Satara who possessed courage and valor to lead armies into the field, or wisdom and ability requisite for the performance of the administrative duties of rulers. They were neither generals nor statesmen. Under the circumstances the vessel of State could have been hardly trusted into their hands without meeting with disasters and foundering. The Peishwas taking the administration of the empire into their hands prevented

the wreck of the empire and hence should be looked upon as saviors of Sivaji's kingdom.*

English historians are loud in their praises of Cromwell and the part he played at a critical time in English history. It was on this account that he was called the Protector. Cromwell was guilty of regicide, usurpation of power and sending away the rightful sovereign into exile. But such foul charges could not be laid at the doors of the Peishwas. They did not murder any one of their rightful sovereigns, nor sent them away into exile. True it is that they usurped power, but they exercised it in the name of their masters. Although the Peishwas held their court at Poona, they had to proceed to Satara to be invested with their office, and to perform all the duties of their situation as servants of their sovereigns. It is also a mistake to suppose that the lot of the Satara Rajas was that of prisoners. They were not prisoners in any sense of the word, only they delegated their power to the Peishwas.

The boundaries of Sivaji's empire were extended by the courage, valor and diplomacy of the Peishwas. Although the severe disaster that befell them on the battlefield of Panipat checked their course of conquest, yet there were no signs of the decline or downfall of the Maratha

* Captain James Grant in his letter dated Satara, 23rd March 1819, wrote to Elphinstone :—

"Brahmins, who are certainly the only people of intelligence in this country,.....look upon Mahrattas as little better than monkeys, in regard to their ever becoming men of business ; * * generally speaking, even amongst the more intelligent and sensible Brahmins, they offer their real opinion when praising the wisdom and discrimination shown by Shahu, the fourth (? third) Raja, in delegating the power of the sovereign to the Peishwas, as the only means of repairing an Empire which he foresaw would otherwise have speedily fallen to pieces in the hands of his posterity..... "

Empire till Raghoonath Rao commenced his abominable career of low and base intrigues. The intrigues which he carried on with the English under the title of friendship may be properly described as the thin end of the wedge introduced into the body politic of the Maratha Empire which ultimately led to its dissolution and ruin. His intrigues with them gave the English a footing in the management or rather mismanagement of the affairs of the Marathas which ended in the manner known to all students of Indian history.

The Peishwas on the whole managed the affairs of the State so very satisfactorily that we do not hear of the Satara Rajas trying to deprive them of office.* Sevajee *alias* Shahoo died in 1750 without leaving any male issue. So on his death Ram Raja was adopted from Kolhapoor as his son and heir. He, too, died in December 1779 leaving no male issue. . So to perpetuate the family Shahoo Maharaj the second, *alias* Abba Sahib, was adopted, and he ascended the throne of Satara and reigned as Raja till 1808. He was the father of three princes, of whom Pratap Singh was the eldest.†

It has been said above that Raghoonath Rao's deeds or misdeeds gave the opportunity to the English to interfere in the affairs of the Maratha Empire. But it was not till his son Baji Rao became the Peishwa that the English

* Only on one occasion, the father of Pratap Singh tried to assert his independence of the Peishwa. But his attempt was a signal failure due no doubt to his incompetence and ignorance of statecraft.

† This prince knew fully the intriguing nature of the English. The following letters throw such sidelight on the transactions of the English with the Mahratta states that they are reproduced below.

"Mahratta translation, abbreviated from Mahdhawa Rao Narain to Raja Shahu Chuttraputti (the ex-Raja's father), dated 14th October, 1783.

The 6th of Zilkada, Anno 1184.

May it please your Highness,

got the upper hand and established their supremacy over the Maratha Empire. The Treaty of Bassein concluded with Baji Rao reduced the Peishwa to the position of a dependent prince and led to the war with the other Maratha powers which resulted much to the advantage of the English.

By making Baji Rao their tool, or rather using him as their ladder, the English ascended the height, and gained the object of their ambition. He was no longer of any use to them. The treaty of subsidiary alliance not only reduced the position of the Peishwa to that of a dependent Prince, but actually made him a prisoner in the hands of the English. Baji Rao was a weak man and, to curry favor with the English, he cringed and fawned on them, for he was grateful to them for his very existence and for being restored to his *musnud* at Poona. But the systematic ill-treatment which he received at the hands of

With your Highness's favour, I am at present in the enjoyment of health. Your Highness is aware that a Treaty existed between your Highness and the English; that the latter thought proper to violate it, and that in the course of hostilities which took place subsequently, your Highness's arms were victorious, all of which I represented to your Highness in a former petition.

In the new Treaty, however, which has been recently entered into between your Highness and the English, principally effected through the mediation of Mahadaji Sindé, it has been agreed on that the fort of Wasai, the city of Ahmedabad, and other forts and territories, which were in the hands of the English, should be restored to your Highness. This event has taken place, and your Highness's authority has been restored in all the above-mentioned places. I sent Hariballar Tukoji Holker for Raghunath Rao Dada, whom they have brought and who has been confined at Kumbare Dherrangam (near the Godavery).

Mahadaji Sindé is with his army in Hindustan, and has seized the fortress of Gualiar from Ghodker. This I communicate for your Highness's information.

(Signed) MAHDHAWA RAO NARAIN PRADHAN

(The Peishwa).

the English, represented in the person of their Resident at his court, goaded him at last to hostilities with them and brought about his ruin.

A certain Maratha chronicle throws a curious sidelight on the cause of the war between the Peishwa and the English. If we are to believe it, and no arguments have been so far advanced for not believing the statements contained in this document, it furnishes the real clue to the British going to war with the Peishwa.

This *bukhar* or historical sketch was written by one Bulwant Rao Chitnavis and was translated into English by a retired medical officer in the service of the East India

REPLY OF HIS HIGHNESS TO THE ABOVE.

We have received your *arzi* (petition), in which you inform us that a new Treaty has been made through Mahadaji Sindé, with the English, who have restored the fort of Wasai, Ahmedabad, with the other places; that you have succeeded in having Raghunath Rao Dada seized and confined, and that Mahadaji Sindé has taken possession of Gualiar.

We know that the English kept Raghunath as an instrument to serve their own purposes. We know also that they ravaged the country and oppressed the inhabitants. They violated the first Treaty they made with us, and commenced hostilities, and now you apprise us that another treaty has been entered into with them.

In our dominions are many vassals and other servants of the state; and it is very possible the English may again intrigue with some of them, as in the case of Raghunath Rao Dada. We have, therefore, our doubts with reference to the sincerity of the English. In order to establish the new Treaty on a sure and satisfactory basis, we enjoin you to write to the King of the English, and obtain, if possible, a ratification of the same. This Treaty, then has been effected through Mahadaji Sindé, to whom it is proper you write to say that they (the English) first came to India as merchants to trade, and having obtained permission to remain, have at last been emboldened to interfere in political matters, and create disturbances; that in his communications with them he should exercise the greatest caution.

It is our desire that no disturbances or wars shall occur in our dominions, and that our servants and dependants see that the people be not oppressed, but live in peace.

(Seal of his Highness)

Company. The name of this medical officer was Dr. Milne and he was before his retirement from the service, President of the Medical Board of Bombay—the rank corresponding in these days to that of surgeon-general. The statements contained in this "Historical Sketch" were never refuted; but the author, Bulwant Rao, was cruelly treated by the Bombay Government, of which mention will be made later on. In this document it is stated that after the British Government had formed an alliance with Baji Rao, an agent was deputed to the governor-general to solicit that the management of the country might be made over to the Raja, and was informed that the request could not be acceded to until the existing treaty had been violated, when his Highness might rest assured "that he being the possessor of the dominion, it should revert to him." In this "Historical Sketch" Mr. Elphinstone's breach of faith is also referred to. He is said to have promised that in case the Peishwa violated the treaty or levied war, "then his Highness the Maharaj should be confident of his word, which he had just pledged for the restoration of his government," requesting that this promise might not transpire.

From the statements contained in the "Historical Sketch" quoted above, it is only proper to infer that Elphinstone commenced his career of hostility and antagonism against Baji Rao in order to exasperate him to violate the Treaty of Bassein and thus offer a pretext to the English to go to war with him and deprive him of

The 15th of Zilkada, anno viz. 1184.

Corresponding to October 14th, 1783.

(Official papers appertaining to the case of the Dethroned Raja of Satara ; with a brief Statement of the case. London: printed by G. Norman, Maiden Lane, Covent Garden, 1843. pp. 104-105).

his sovereignty. And Elphinstone succeeded. Baji Rao was no match for Elphinstone, who had for his informant the notorious Balaji Punt Natoo, on whose information Elphinstone acted against Baji Rao.

Natoo's machinations and doings resulted in the war between the Peishwa and the English. It is questionable if Elphinstone would have gone to war against the Peishwa, and anticipated success for the British arms, had he not possessed, not only the means of corrupting the Peishwa's army, but also of entering into intrigues with the Raja of Satara. Elphinstone adopted the same means and acted on the same plans which the Marquess Wellesley had so successfully done before. In the war with Tippoo, the fall of Seringapatam was not a little facilitated by the intrigues of the English with the Hindoo sovereign of Mysore who was a prisoner of Tippoo. Similarly the ease with which Lord Lake marched upon Delhi should be attributed to the intrigues which had been carried on some time previously by the English with the Moghul Emperor of Delhi, who, tortured and cruelly treated by his own co-religionists (for the fact should not be lost sight of that it was a Mahomedan who blinded the descendant of Babar and Akbar and heaped other indignities on his devoted head), was being protected, generously treated and taken care of by a Hindoo prince.

Elphinstone followed merely in the footsteps of Wellesley—for it was in his school that he had been trained, in opening intrigues with the Raja of Satara. From the very language in which Elphinstone couched his proclamation of February 11th 1818, in which it was stated that the Raja would be released from the Peishwa's captivity and placed at the head of an independent sove-

reignty, it is evident that he had been intriguing with the Raja who was at that time in the camp of Baji Rao. The persons who helped Elphinstone in carrying on this intrigue, and the manner of its accomplishment, are mentioned in the Bukhar or Historical Sketch to which reference has already been made before.

This Historical Sketch is so important that it is given in full as an Appendix (A), as well as Dr. Milne's letter to Lord Auckland, Appendix (B).

CHAPTER II.

This Historical Sketch, as said before, was translated into English by Dr. Milne and forwarded by him to Lord Auckland. It was printed amongst the papers relating to the Raja of Satara, by order of Parliament. The notice which Sir Robert Grant took of it in one of his Minutes is given below to show the treachery successfully practised by Elphinstone towards the Satara Raj. Amongst the papers discovered in the Records of Raja Pratap Singh, by Col. Ovens, is the following drawn up by Mr. De Woolmar on behalf of the Raja. It is printed on p. 1168 of the Parliamentary Papers relating to the Raja of Satara.

"My father, Shahoo II, died in 1808 ; from him, as his eldest son, I inherited the Kingdom of Satara. During the war of 1817-18, which took place between a faithless servant of mine, and before I was of age (Bajee Row, the Peishwa), and the East India Company, when the latter took that opportunity of interfering with my affairs, I was invited to throw myself into their camp, where I was assured I should meet with safety, respect, and protection. This invitation was accompanied by the most solemn assurances from Mr. Elphinstone that if I would do so, and break off all intercourse with Bajee Rao, and come to him as an ally, my kingdom, with all rights and prerogatives, should be preserved to me.

Placing an entire confidence in those solemn assurances, I immediately joined the English camp. Bajee Rao, the Peishwa, was dismissed my service, as being incapable of governing the kingdom during my minority, and I received new assurances, in the name of the Governor-General, that my kingdom should be preserved intact and undiminished to me.

"Mr. Elphinstone having assured himself, by a strict examination of all my documents, that the whole kingdom

belonged to me, made this circumstance, as well as the dismissal of Bajee Rao, publicly known. I afterwards received a letter from Mr. Elphinstone, wherein he adds, that the English would not act towards me in the manner in which my regent, the Peishwa, had done ; but that he was commanded to assure me, in the name of the Governor-General, that I should be treated as other princes of the highest class had been treated, that is, in a manner suitable to my rank, and the dignity of my family, and my station amongst the princes of this now unhappy country. But not one of those enticing promises was fulfilled ; my treasuries at Poonah and Nagpoor were plundered, my hill-forts dismantled, and a treaty of a most humiliating nature forced upon me, at a time, too, when they themselves declared that I was too young and too inexperienced to take charge of my own dominions ; and I was obliged to content myself with a small portion of my once powerful kingdom,
* * * *

Mr. Elphinstone's treachery to the Satara Raja.
Extracts from Sir R. Grants' Minute dated 31st May, 1838.

19. With the address from Dr. Milne of the 15th January is forwarded what is designated "A Historical Sketch" composed by Bulwant Rao Chitnavees, the whole scope and tendency of which is to show that the British Government committed a flagrant breach of faith towards the Raja in the arrangements adopted on the overthrow of the Peishwa, and the conquest of the Deckan. * * * *

20. In this Sketch it is made to appear that, previously to the Peishwa's downfall, a secret understanding existed between the Raja and Mr. Elphinstone that the former should be restored to the whole of the dominions possessed by his ancestors. When the Raja was released from confinement by General Smith's army that gallant officer, at his first interview with his Highness, is made to say, "The whole of the empire will follow the Maharaj now, there is no apprehension or doubt. The throne is with the Maharaj." The defeat of the Peishwa's army is attributed to the Raja's having come over to us ; and

his Highness is stated to have ordered a salute to be fired in honor of our victorious arms. His coming over to us is represented to have been the effect of a pre-concerted arrangement with Mr. Elphinstone, under a secret engagement that his Highness should obtain the Empire. A Mr. Billamore is represented to have said, "This vast empire is the possession of the Maharaj"; and by this means, we are told that the Raja began to receive nuzzerana from every village, according to former rule. The raising of the Raja's standard under a salute is referred to, and at an interview which afterwards followed, General Smith is made to declare, "His Highness the Maharaj will administer his empire, and we will expel Bajee Rao from his residence in country. His Highness is the owner of the empire. His Highness will go to Satara, sit on the throne, and administer the Government. His Highness will have no apprehension of Bajee Rao any more, and Bajee Rao will not be permitted to enter the kingdom, nor will the empire be ever ceded to any other than his Highness the Maharaja."

21. At his first interview with Mr. Elphinstone, the Raja is said to have observed, in reply to some complimentary expressions: "The stipulations were executed through the hand of the Chitnavees, and he has a confidential promise from you, which I hope you will abide by according to law. I have my confidence in you, and on this account I have left every-one and everything, and became confederated with you. Now you should keep your promise." Mr. Elphinstone's alleged reply is vaguely given, but he is said to have remarked, that "a proclamation had been prepared," which proclamation was, on a subsequent occasion, read to the Raja by Ballajee Punt Nathoo.

22. The Raja's expectations are, however, more vividly expressed in the following communication imputed to Captain Grant Duff, the officer who was our first Resident after the establishment of the Satara Government. He (Captain Grant) stated: "It is in the mind of Mr. Elphinstone, after the conquest of the forts of Kiesla and Kumulgur, to place the following countries under the Raja's authority: that is, from the

mountain Syadry to this side of the river Neera, towards the bank of the river Bheema, and thence towards the junction of the rivers of Kristna and Bheema. We have written to the Marquis of Hastings, the Governor-General of India, and, besides this, we will act conformably to our promise. If we were to give all the forts into your possession there would be risk, as the dispute is not yet settled ; therefore we will maintain the defence of all the forts, and raise the *neshan* (standard) of his Highness the Maharaj." To this his Highness is stated to have replied, "you speak now beyond former agreement, so that with its recollection write to the Governor-General of India, and also tell Mr. Russell to speak thus."

23. In several passages of "The Sketch" the Raja is represented to have been made use of in conquering the Peishwa's possessions, and more especially in the capture of the fort of Wassota, in which his family were imprisoned. In regard to an address, which from the context appears to refer to the proclamation under which the Raja was established on the throne, his Highness is represented to have objected to one article setting forth "that he had been liberated from his confinement imposed by the Peishwa, and had been crowned," and to have remarked, that he had been crowned for a long time, and that it was not true that he was to be reinstated on the throne, but that he himself had joined the cause of the English ; and he concluded by remarking, "What is this that you now state, contrary to the terms of our friendship?"

24. Neither do I conceive it necessary to offer any reply to the accusation of breach of faith contained in the "Bukhur, or Historical Sketch" and repeated in "the important State document" prepared by the Raja against the British Government generally, and against Mr. Elphinstone in particular, otherwise I should refer to the statement of Ballajee Punt Nathoo, himself an actor in many of the important events and transactions that preceded and followed the downfall of the Peishwa in 1817-18, which forms an accompaniment to Lieut.-Colonel Ovans' letter of the 1st February ; * * *

Sir Robert Grant has not brought forward any

evidence to refute these statements. It is a significant fact that when this "Historical Sketch" was composed, and its English translation published by Dr. Milne, Mr. Elphinstone was still alive and in the enjoyment of robust health. Statements so damaging to his reputation and character were not challenged or denied by him. Hence Sir Robert Grant's defence of Elphinstone that "that distinguished personage, on whose honor, public and private, even calumny has never yet ventured to breathe reflexion" will hardly carry any weight with any intelligent and sensible man.

In the Minute Sir R. Grant has appealed to that notorious man, Balaji Punt Natoo.

It was Balaji Punt Natoo who was used by Elphinstone to carry on his intrigues with the Rajah of Satara and his mother. An English translation of one of her letters to Balaji Punt Natoo, dated 23rd February, 1818, the original of which was published a few years back by Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis of Satara in his *Maharashthra Kokil*, is given below. It shows the promise that was held out to the Raja of Satara by Elphinstone.

To Rajamanya Rajashri Balaji Punt Natu.

It is hereby ordered as follows :—

Rajashri Narhar Mathur Chitnis was sent to you twice or thrice to communicate our desire and intention in order that you might make Mr. Elphinstone acquainted with everything, and bring a promise from him that he would be friendly to us, and bring about our welfare. Accordingly the said Narhar saw you and came back. We were perfectly quiet, relying on your promise. But Rajashri Pandit Pradhan sent Naropant Apte and took us to their army. After that the Saheb came to Satara with you. There was a talk there with Phadnis and Khanderao Shirke and the promise was confirmed. This news I have received and I can't describe the joy I felt at it. Then on Magh shudh chaturdashy Friday in the morning at 6 a.m. the

General came with Turk cavalry, and joined us at our camp at Pandharpur. The Pradhan Pant started with ourself in the van, when at a distance of two kos, there was a thick crowd near us. Depending on the promise we found our opportunity and as soon as the Turk cavalry approached, we joined them. We mentioned our name and saw the general. Informing him of the previous promise we remained with pleasure in his camp, with such retinues as remained with us. We took the Saheb's promise that an interview would soon be arranged between us and Mr. Elphinstone and that both parties would be pleased and all our desires accomplished. He promised to take us to Mr. Elphinstone at once wherever he might be. Now day and night I have been impatient to see you both. Happy the day when this object is fulfilled. I have written this that you may know the happy news. Now it depends upon you to speak to the Saheb and help us, and keep your promise. What more can we write? Babu Gokhale was killed. Many fine men fell. Bajirao ran away. Gokhale's body was brought near our tent and we arranged to have it cremated. Let this be known to you. What more need be written? You are wise.

Bulwant Rao Mulhar Chitnavees in his deposition made on 16th August 1837 said:—

“ * * I beg to represent, that I have been a servant of Maharaj Sarkar for seven (? several) generations ; and in the first instance, for the purpose of establishing a friendship between the Maharaj Sarkar and the British Government having made an exertion by means of Ballajee Punt Natoo before the Bura Sahib, and on the day of the war having brought the Maharaj into the camp at Ashtee-Walkee, and having introduced him to the Sahib, I put his hands into their hands (joined their hands) ; for the good of the Maharaj I did that service. Subsequently the Bura Sahib said, 'you have rendered service to both the Sarkars ; for your welfare an arrangement will take place.' Therefore I am a servant of both governments ; * * *”

Thus it is clear that Bulwant Rao Chitnavis knew all that had taken place between Elphinstone and the

Raja and so his statements in the 'Bukhar' or Historical Sketch written by him were founded on facts.

In the "Historical Sketch," Elphinstone and Captain Grant Duff have been mentioned by name as having made certain definite promises to the Raja of Satara. Both the above personages were alive when Sir Robert Grant penned his Minute. Why did he not directly appeal to them, instead of to their creature whose instrumentality destroyed the Maratha Empire and ruined the Satara branch of the house of Sivaji?

Again, is it not significant that Elphinstone and Grant Duff being both alive when the "Historical Sketch" was published, never took the least trouble to clear their conduct and reputation from the foul aspersions cast on them by the author of the above-named Sketch?

Clive deceived Ami Chand by means of forgery. Elphinstone seems to have succeeded in duping the Raja of Satara by means of perjury.

It suited the purpose of Mr. Elphinstone to issue a proclamation so as, on the one hand, to prevent the people of the Deccan from rendering any assistance to or express any sympathy with, Baji Rao, and on the other to induce them to render their allegiance to the Raja of Satara. It was convenient for him to represent Baji Rao and the Peishwas generally as usurpers, and the Raja as a captive whom the English were going to release and seat on the throne of Satara. In the "Historical Sketch" above referred to, the Raja is represented to have objected to one article setting forth that he had been liberated from the confinement imposed by the Peishwa, and had been crowned. Of course, the Raja was perfectly correct in saying that he had not been liberated but he himself had joined the cause of the English, and that he had been

crowned for a long time. It was also not true that he was to be reinstated on the throne, for the throne was already his by inheritance. But Elphinstone made it appear that the English were making a free gift of the Satara territory to the Raja, forgetting that he had been made use of in conquering the Peishwas' possessions.*

* "But there is another point on which sufficient stress has not been laid. The rescue of the Raja, or rather his giving himself up to us at the battle of Ashta, terminated the Deccan war. The tributary chiefs of the Maratha Empire owed obedience to Bajee Rao, the Peishwa, *only in so far as he was the organ of the Raja*. Our victory at Ashta owed its importance, not to gallant action, or to the death of Gokla, but to our good fortune in obtaining the person of the Raja. The Hon'ble Mr. Elphinstone, the political agent with the army, foresaw this—the Government of Bombay also foresaw it, and in consequence, sent an overland express to communicate it, with their congratulations, to the Government at home. The overland express in those days was only had recourse to, upon some rare and important occasion."

The British Indian Advocate, Vol. I, p. 477.

In the course of a long letter from Mr. Joseph Hume published in the *London Times* of the 23rd November 1848, occur the following passages which distinctly show how the Raja of Satara was made use of by the British in conquering the Peishwa and the Deccan.

".....We never made war on the Raja of Sattara, but, on the contrary, made war against the Peishwa on behalf of the Rajah.....just as in 1841 we made war against the Pasha Mehmet Ali on behalf of the Sultan, then under deprivation of his rights in respect of Syria; and, consequently, that the fortune of war.....gave the British Government no rights as against the Rajah, but merely vindicated and established his rights as against an usurping Minister.....I refer confidently to the recollection and judgment of every British officer then in the field as to what he believes would have been the result of the affair if the influence of the Rajah's name could have been brought to bear against us, and if Bajee Rao, instead of being discountenanced and denounced as a rebel by the Rajah, had by him been encouraged, or only suffered, to gather to his standard the powerful Mahratta tribes then already in arms; indeed, I feel confident that there is no such officer who will take upon him to say, if such a general rising of the Mahrattas had openly been countenanced by the Rajah, that we should at this time have been holders of one single square mile of the whole Mahratta country."

* A few days before his deposal from the throne of Satara, Raja Pratap

The fact is that the Raja was neither re-instated nor restored, for he had never been dethroned or exiled from Satara.

Singh wrote to the British Resident, Colonel Ovens, a letter in which he repeated the "breach of faith" on the part of the English. This letter is printed on pages 66 and 67 of the Parliamentary Papers relating to Satara No. 491 of 1843. He wrote on 26th August 1830 :—

"We were not actuated from the first by any avarice in contracting the friendship of the British Government, and when our house is of long standing, and the British Government is a friend, there is no occasion to entertain any doubt, and thus give rise to discredit in the eyes of the people, as to how it was done, for the sake of the friendship of the British Government.....

"Formerly, when Bajeerow was *in statu quo*, we, without fear of life, and without listening to Bajeerow, contracted the friendship of the British Government. As to this, Bajeerow is now alive, and his people are in this country, and persons out of them, and fabricating and malicious people of the same character, in order to serve their own purposes, have made various statements and inventions.

"Mr. Elphinstone said at the first interview, that Russell Sahib, being about to visit his Lordship the Governor-General, his Highness might mention to him anything he had to say, that he may communicate the same to his Lordship, and get a settlement satisfactory to his Highness.

"His Highness answered, that there never was a misunderstanding between him and the English Government; that having had full confidence in the power and justice of the English Government as well as the assurances of Mr. Elphinstone himself, he took refuge in General Smith's camp with his family, brothers, Bulwantrow Senaputty, and Chitnees without caring even for his life;.....

"Mr. Elphinstone said, that the English government did not covet the possession of territory, but was anxious to contract friendship, and that his Highness's advantage consisted in promoting that friendship.

"His Highness remarked, that his sentiments were of the same kind.

"If he entertained any hostile feelings he would have acted differently. While in the camp of Bajeerow, his Highness received an offer of the sovereignty of the kingdom, on a condition that his Highness should have friendly eye upon Bajeerow; but his Highness left off all personal consideration, and disregarding the feelings of his own family, contracted friendship with the English Government.

"If his Highness had any personal consideration, he would have mentioned the same to Russell Sahib, when he went to the Governor-General.

But the British were always for enacting dramatic scenes. So when they went to Satara, the British force under the command of General Lionel Smith made a show of conquering the place by firing a few shells at the fort which were of course never returned; and then hoisting the British flag for some time afterwards replacing it by that of the Satara Raja. Thus the British made it appear that they had conquered Satara, but that they were so generous as to have made a free gift of it to the Raja of Satara!

"And as the Sirdars in Bajeerow's camp were favourable to his Highness he would have acted in a different manner.

"Bajeerow frequently urged his Highness, * * to release his Highness's uncle, Raja Chittoor Sing, but his Highness did not do so; on the contrary, his Highness advised Bajeerow to make a war, and promised his own co-operation.

"The reason of this was, that his Highness had assurances from the English Government, and communications had passed between Mr. Elphinstone and His Highness's people, Sudashew Bhugwant and the Chitnees, when on one occasion he requested information and papers from them connected with the Raja of Kolapoor, &c., which information they readily furnished him, without considering the risk and danger of their lives.

"Captain Grant said once or twice to his Highness, that it was the opinion of Mr. Elphinstone respecting his Highness's territory, that it should be given over to his Highness's charge after his Highness became fully acquainted with the system of administration; but General Munro and Mr. Chaplin thought that whatever was proposed to be given, should be made over at once. Captain Grant further remarked that, as there were two opinions in this matter, the Government would act according to the pleasure of his Highness. On this subject conversations passed between Captain Grant and his Highness; but his Highness uniformly said that as he had no full information respecting the usages of the English Government, he would wait till it was satisfied on the point of his abilities and intelligence. In the meantime, the English Government would superintend the affairs. This was the reply of his Highness. Now, if his Highness had motives of avarice, why should he have said so? This matter is known to Mr. Elphinstone, Captain Grant and Ballajee Punt Natoo; but what Natoo will say just now, is not certain."

CHAPTER III

The following interesting accounts of Satara, its sovereign, his mother and brothers are extracted from "Fifteen years in India," the author of which took part in the chase of the fugitive Peishwa, under General Smith. He writes:—

"General Smith continuing the chase next day down the Salpee Pass, found that the Peishwa had escaped eastward, towards Punderpore. * * * * Before his departure, however, he found it expedient to take possession of Sattara, and the whole force, being joined at Koragaum by Colonel Boles and the heavy division, marched towards the ancient Maharatta Capital on the 10th February, 1818. They crossed the Kisthna at Maowly, a large town, with a magnificent pagoda on one bank of the river, and a handsome pavilion, belonging to the Peishwa, on the other. It is a sacred bathing place, and there are several fine flights of stone steps from the town to the water's edge. The inhabitants seemed very much alarmed, but crowded to see the force pass, * * from this place Sattara, situated on the table land of an isolated hill, has a formidable appearance. They forded the Kisthna, about fifty yards broad at Maowly, and encamped before the place of destination, in fine gardens of onions and carrots, in plantations of sugar-cane, and across fields of wheat, barley, jewarry, cotton and dhol. The loss to the poor owners was incalculable. There was a considerable garrison in the fort of Sattara, but the *Killedar* did not make a resolute defence, or he might have laughed at the efforts of General Smith for its reduction. After receiving a few shells from a mortar battery, the enemy evacuated it without returning a shot, and Thoughtless accompanied the party that took possession of a place truly wonderful, both in respect to nature and art.

"Sattara stands on a hill belonging to a range, which it completely commands. The height of the fort is about three

hundred yards above the plain, its length twelve hundred, and its breadth varying from three hundred to eighty at the western point. There is a table land formed by the hand of nature on the top, which is a huge rock of granite ; it is cut perpendicularly all round, at an average of thirty feet. On this solid foundation the rampart is built of masonry, about eight feet high and as many broad. Numerous towers and bastions are erected round it ; and there were twenty-seven guns mounted on the works, with a park well supplied with ammunition and stores. There is only one gate, exceedingly strong, but a sally-port defended by two towers opens in an opposite direction. Four fine tanks contain an abundance of water, and in short there is a small town on the summit, which, when the Rajah was confined here, served as a habitation for the numerous Brahmins that surrounded him ; in the centre of it a handsome house was erected for him. The pettah or city of Sattara lies below in the plain under the north face of the fort ; it is of great extent, and seemed rich and populous. The houses were well built of stone and lime, with good streets, and numerous gardens and orchards. The top of the hill commands a most delightful view of the Valleys of Sattara, through which the Kisthna and Oomrouly meander and glitter to the eye with pleasing variety, sometimes hid beneath the rich foliage of fruit trees, and occasionally breaking forth in unexpected turns upon the sight. The British flag was hoisted under a royal salute from the camp, but after waving for a few minutes over the battlements that had long awed the Mahratta Empire, it was replaced by that of the Sattara Rajah ; * * *

“The rescue of the Rajah of Sattara and his family from the hands of the Peishwa gave General Smith the most lively satisfaction ; for nothing could be of more importance in the present conjuncture, as the supreme government had determined to depose the usurper, and restore the rajah to some portion of the right belonging to his ancestors. * * *

“General Smith, after the sale of the prize property, returned towards Poonah, for the purpose of placing the Sattara Rajah with Mr. Elphinstone, * *. The rajah now assumed all

the external pomp of an eastern prince, and seated in a rich howdah on a large elephant, accompanied by his brother and their mother, with her ladies of honour in other howdahs and rich palankeens, with flags, tom-toms, tooterics, and guards, formed a pageant of no ordinary magnificence at the head of the British line. During the cool of each morning, these high personages rode richly caparisoned Mahratta horses, and only mounted their elephants in the heat of the day. The queen mother managed her horse with great dexterity, and rode, according to the custom of the ladies of her country, as gentlemen do with us. She bore the traces of great beauty, wore a rich dress of embroidered muslin, with but few ornaments; she did not conceal her face, and was both familiar and talkative with such officers as approached her. In person she appeared rather above the middle size, and her complexion was almost fair. * * Her age seemed between forty and fifty, and she had none of that timidity which one naturally supposes to belong to Hindoo ladies. In short, she appeared to be a woman possessed of much natural ability, and far greater presence of mind than the Rajah, for whom she managed everything, and he even looked to her for the answers he had to make to several questions. He appeared about 23 years of age, and his brothers something younger; but there was no great difference in their size, being all of small stature, dark complexion, and vulgar aspect, so that no person would suppose they were the children of such an intelligent, sprightly, fair woman as the queen mother. They were richly dressed in gold muslins and kinkobs, with pearl necklaces of three rows set in gold and sparkling with precious stones; their turbans and earrings were very costly; they wore trousers with feet like stockings, and slippers turned up at the toes and covered with precious gems. Upon approaching towns or villages the tooterics were sounded, and the musicians, who rode on camels, began to beat their tom-toms, when the inhabitants came out in crowds and prostrated themselves before their legitimate sovereign."

In this connection, the following extract from the

Marquess of Hastings's Private Journal is also interesting reading :

The fort of Sattarah, in the Peishwah's country, has been taken by Brigadier-General Smith, after two hours' bombardment. Our people have at last been taught the use of mortars, which they seem never to have considered before. The capture of Sattarah is useful, from the position of the fort ; but it is further so from the habitual contemplation of that place by the Mahrattas as the heart of their Empire. The Rajah of Sattarah is the hereditary sovereign of the Mahrattas ; and, though held a prisoner by the Peishwa, who (like the French-Maires du Palais) usurped the powers of government, he is still nominally the chief. Bajee Rao's family being Brahminical, a member of it cannot be a sovereign ; but Bajee Rao reigns under the title of Peishwa, equivalent to Vizeer, and keeps up the farcing of asking once a year the orders of the Rajah, whom he retains in captivity. Aware of the probability that we should endeavour to give the Rajah an independent sovereignty, the Peishwah, on his flight from Poonah, took the unfortunate Prince, who is only fourteen years of age, out of the fort, and has been dragging the young man about with him. The Prince's life runs great risk from this jealousy.

The Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings. p. 338
(Panini Office Reprint).

CHAPTER IV

Although the British force reached Satara in February 1818, it is a significant fact that the formal treaty with the Raja of Satara was not concluded till September 1819. This may be adduced as a proof of the treachery which Elphinstone meditated towards the Raja.* Baji Rao was

* Some color is lent to this view by Mr. Elphinstone's letter to the Raja, dated 13th September 1818.

"I have received your Highness's favour, in which you are pleased to say.....that your Highness is now desirous of entering into arrangements with me,.....for the settlement of the Kingdom.....that in the interview which took place to allude to this subject, and that I assured your Highness that the matter had been submitted to the Governor-General in Council in a letter which I wrote to his Lordship. Your Highness is now desirous of being made acquainted with the result of that communication.

"In reference to this I beg to say that I have not yet been favoured with a reply from the Governor-General, owing doubtless to the great importance of the subject, which will require time for consideration. Your Highness, in the meantime, need entertain no apprehension." (Official papers appertaining to the case of the dethroned Raja of Sattara, printed by G. Norman, 1843).

That treachery was meant towards the Raja of Satara by not informing him the limits of his principality would be evident from the following letter of Sir Thomas Munro to Elphinstone, dated 29th March 1818 :

"The limits of his principality be left undefined for the present. He should be required to summon Bajee Rao (the Peishwah) and his principal Chiefs to his presence, and in case of their not obeying, to proclaim, Bajee Rao and all who adhered to him, rebels." (Life of Munro, by Gleig, Vol. III. p. 237).

Yes, make use of the Raja to "hasten the termination of hostilities and the settlement of the country" and when that is done deceive him by every conceivable pretext!

In order to reconcile the Maratha people to the downfall of the Peishwa, Sir Thomas Munro went to the length of proposing "that the British Government should receive investiture of the office of Peishwa according to custom from the Rajah of Satara."

That the Raja of Satara hastened the termination of hostilities is evident from the proclamation which he, at the instance of his English

still in the field and it may be, therefore, presumed that it was not considered expedient at such a time to reduce to writing the secret understanding which, the author of the "Historical Sketch" so very distinctly says, existed between the Raja and Elphinstone.

In the official documents there is no mention or allusion made to the manner in which the Raja of Satara was duped by Mr. Elphinstone. But some of the letters of the latter throw curious sidelight on this transaction and leave very little room to doubt that the Raja and his mother were made to believe that the whole of the territories held by the Peishwa would be made over to them, Captain James Grant-Duff was appointed Political Agent with the Raja. Mr. Elphinstone in his letter of instructions to that officer wrote on the 8th April, 1818, as follows:—

"Having appointed you to act as Political Agent with the Raja of Sattara until his Excellency the Governor-General's pleasure be known, I proceed to communicate to you the objects for which this new Government is to be founded; and the manner in which it appears to me most likely that those objects will be attained.

"The Governor-General's intention in founding a small

friends, issued to his people, on the 14th April 1818. The proclamation ran as follows:—

"It is thus commanded, to wit: on account of the misconduct of Bajee Rao Raghunath Pradhan (the Prime Minister or Peishwa) his administration of the affairs of the Empire is put an end to,.....no communication is to be held with Bajee Row, nor any letters or writing to be sent or received, nor any assistance to be afforded. Moreover, all are to remain quiet at their respective places, and not to make war nor any disturbance with any one or anywhere. Whosoever shall not regard these commands, but shall make war or any other disturbance, whatever grants or other tenures (Jageers) they may hold or enjoy, they will be deprived of the same by the State (Sircar), and be punished accordingly. Let this be proclaimed and made public to all."

state for the Raja, is to afford an honorable maintenance to the representative of the ancient princes of this country, and to establish among the Mahrattas a counterpoise to the remaining influence of the former Brahmin government: to the extent which I intend to propose for the Raja's territories, I have taken in the further object of providing for a portion of the soldiery of the country, whose habits might be unsuitable to our service, and likewise of maintaining some of the civil and religious orders whom it might be difficult to dispose of under our own direct government.

"For the effectual attainment of these objects it is necessary to gain the Raja's goodwill, and at the same time, both the Governor-General's commands and our own security, require the firm establishment of the supremacy of the British government; unless these points are secured, the machine which we are setting up will be liable to be turned against us, and the release of the Raja of Sattarah may prolong the disturbances occasioned by the Peishwa's treachery.

"The present state of the Raja's affairs appears as well calculated as any that can be imagined for establishing our influence or control. He has just been released from prison, and is about to be placed at the head of a government which is obtained by no effort of his own, but is the spontaneous result of the bounty of the British Government. The advantages we may expect from his gratitude are rendered more certain by the continuance of his dependence; he is at present destitute both of power and territory, and depends on us not only for his future establishment, but for his present subsistence.

"To these advantages are opposed the total inexperience of the Raja, and the people about him; their extravagant ideas of their own pretensions, and the facility which these defects would afford to the intrigues of any designing persons, who might have an interest in disturbing the new order of things.

"I rely on your exertions and address for overcoming those difficulties. The best means appear to be, to take complete charge of all the Raja's affairs for the present, which is a natural arrangement, while everything is to be done with our

troops and our money, and gradually to allow him to manage his own territory, as he becomes better acquainted with affairs, as the country becomes more settled, and as his own means become adequate to the purposes of government.

“On this principle, I have already requested him to communicate to you not only any important step he takes, but every particular of his proceedings. I have likewise explained to him the necessity that exists for your taking the management of all affairs as long as the present disturbances last, and have apprised him that the final settlement of his government will in a great measure be regulated by the disposition which he evinces during this period of probation.

“His Highness at present gives proofs of a good disposition and a sound understanding, and by encouraging the most respectable of the persons in whom he has confidence, I hope you will be able to prevent his changing for the worse. Your first endeavour must be to gain his confidence, by convincing him of the interest you take in his welfare, and by constant marks of respect and attention.....

“The rest of the business connected with his government will for the present be conducted by you. You will, however, explain your proceedings to the Raja, conform to his wishes in cases where there is no objection, and endeavour to give him a taste for business, and a knowledge of the principles of government.

“The limits which I intend to propose to the consideration of his Excellency the most noble the Governor-General for the Raja's territory are, the River Neera on the north, the Kisna and Warna on the south, the Peishwa's frontier on the east, and the Ghauts on the west.....”

Such then were the instructions of Mr. Elphinstone to Captain James Grant-Duff, the Political Agent with the Raja. One has to read between the lines of the above instructions to be convinced of the duplicity that was practised towards the Raja. Captain Grant-Duff succeeded in giving effect to the instructions so very well, that about

a year afterwards, *i.e.*, on the 23rd March, 1819, he was able to report to Mr. Elphinstone :

“The principal points.....were, to gain the Raja’s good will, and at the same time to establish the firm supremacy of the British Government, to obtain the Raja’s confidence, to conciliate his family, control their expenses, and subdue the extravagant pretensions, which were so observable, even in camp. All these were to be accomplished progressively. Many trifling circumstances have occurred, which, however important in the summary, could not have been detailed officially without appearing ridiculous ; but I believe I have privately communicated, in conversation or in letters, almost everything that has taken place, or, at all events, sufficient to enable you to judge of the correctness of any opinions I may venture.....”

Perhaps these “trifling circumstances” refer to the promise held out to the Raja and his mother regarding the restoration of the whole of the Peishwa’s dominions to them and which promise the Raja, it is not improbable, reminded the Political Agent of.

“My first object was”, proceeded Captain Grant-Duff, “to regulate the expenses of the family ; but here there really was some difficulty ; I do believe that, notwithstanding all you latterly told the Raja, that had the revenues of the late Peishwa been appropriated solely for the household expenses of the family, that they would not at this period have looked upon the amount as more than an adequate provision for the purpose.”

Now this declaration of Captain Grant-Duff is sufficient to show that the Raja was led by Elphinstone and others to expect that the whole of the Peishwa’s territory would be restored to him and therefore he pitched his scale of expenses so high. Captain Grant-Duff himself was unable to settle the bargain with the Raja regarding his expenses and so the good offices of that arch-traitor,

Ballajee Punt Natoo, were requisitioned. Captain Grant-Duff writes :—

“On the present occasion of settling the expenses, after the interview with the Raja. I have already detailed, I did not visit him for three days. I sent Ballajee Punt, because I should have found difficulty in avoiding personal altercation ; it was sufficient that I had told the Raja exactly what was to be done, without communicating it abruptly. I must, therefore, have stopped all further discussion or argued upon it ; either way, there was a probability of giving offence, of estranging the Raja’s goodwill, or, with Mahrattas, of their forgetting themselves, and breaking through the forms of respect necessary to be preserved in our intercourse.

“I had generally contrived to get the Raja by himself, but when Ballajee Punt went up, he found, as I had expected, that the whole family insisted on being present. Ballajee Punt, on the return from his first visit, described the Raja’s mother as being so extremely violent, that he was apprehensive of losing his character by being abused by her. I therefore told him to address himself entirely to the Raja, and to take little notice of anything the others might say. In finding that her opinions were little attended to, the mother complained of being insulted, cried bitterly, said ‘she would jump off the rampart of the fort,’ or ‘throw herself down a well,’ regretted that she had not gone suttee with her husband, and said that she would that instant apply to me to be sent to Benares.”

It will be remembered from the translation of the Maratha letter given in a previous chapter that Balajee Punt Natoo opened the negotiations with the Raja’s mother and so that lady had an interest now in settling the pecuniary affairs of the family. But when she found herself duped by the sweet and specious promises which were not going to be fulfilled, she naturally became violent and tried to abuse that Brahmin scoundrel. The above paragraph may be taken as an additional proof of what the Raja and his mother must have been led to

expect regarding the restoration of the territories which belonged to them by right.

But Ballajee Punt Natoo was not to be outwitted by the Queen mother. According to Captain Grant-Duff,

"Ballajee Punt behaved most properly on the occasion, spoke to her very calmly and respectfully, showing the necessity of our communicating with one person, as head of the family and the government, that this person was properly the Raja, and, in short, repeated all you had told them in camp, and which I had taken frequent occasion to inculcate.

"Ballajee purposely dwelt upon what she had said of going to Benares, and added, that if she had previously asked that favour of you, perhaps you might have agreed to send her there; that if Sattara was disagreeable to her, perhaps her request might yet be complied with."

Poor woman, she was quite helpless now and so neither Elphinstone nor his vile creature Balajee Punt Natoo had any regard or respect for her. It was thus by intimidating the Queen mother and the Raja, that the difficulty of settling the question of the expenses was removed.

The Raja was now under probation (or rather persecution) of the English Agent for over a year and a half, Baji Rao was no longer in the field, and there was no disturbance anywhere. The Raja had been made use of in conquering the Peishwa and settling the disturbances of the Deccan. He was now quite helpless and at the mercy of the English. The latter forgot all the advantages they derived by their alliance with him and they now dictated to him a Treaty on their own terms. The Raja had no other alternative than to submit to the dictation of the stronger party, although in his heart of hearts he must have cursed all those who had negotiated with him for the alliance with the English as double-faced

liars, hypocrites and treacherous men. He must have looked upon the new Treaty as jumping out of the frying pan into the fire.

CHAPTER V

It is necessary here to give the Treaty in the original, for its wordings gave rise to all the discussions with which the public in England as well as India were treated for nearly twenty years.

Treaty of perpetual friendship and alliance between the Hon'ble East India Company, and His Highness Maharaja Pertab Sheeaw his Heirs and Successors concluded at Satara 25th September 1819 by Captain James Grant, Political Agent, on the part of the Hon'ble East India Company and Wittul Punt Furnaweese on the part of the Raja, by virtue of full powers from their respective Governments. *Whereas* the British Government having determined in consideration of the antiquity of the house of His Highness the Raja of Satara to invest him with a sovereignty sufficient for the maintenance of his family in comfort and dignity, the following articles have been agreed to between the said Government and His Highness.

ARTICLE 1ST.

The British Government agrees to cede in perpetual sovereignty to the Raja of Satara his Heirs and Successors the Districts specified in the annexed schedule.

ARTICLE 2ND.

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' Court.

ARTICLE 3RD.

The British Government charges itself with the defence of the Raja's Territories and engages to protect His Highness from all injury and aggression. The Raja for himself and for his Heirs and Successors engages to afford every facility to the purchase of supplies for such Troops as may be stationed in

his country or may pass through it, and the pasture lands now appropriated for the use of the Troops are to be permanently given up to them.

The Raja likewise for himself and for his Heirs and Successors engages to afford all the assistance in his power to the British Government in all Wars and Military Operations in which it may be engaged.

ARTICLE 4TH.

His Highness for himself and for his Heirs and Successors engages at no time to increase or diminish his military force without the previous knowledge and consent of the British Government.

ARTICLE 5TH.

The Raja for himself and for his heirs and successors engages to forbear from all intercourse with foreign powers, and with all Sirdars, Jageerdars, Chiefs and Ministers and all persons of whatever description who are not by the above articles rendered subject to His Highness's authority. With all the above persons His Highness for himself and for his heirs and successors engages to have no connection or correspondence—any affairs that may arise with them relating to His Highness are to be exclusively conducted by the British Government. If (for the purpose of forming matrimonial connections for His Highness's family or for any similar purpose), His Highness has occasion to communicate with persons not rendered subject to his authority by this Agreement such communication is to be made entirely through the Political Agent. This Article is a fundamental condition of the present Agreement and any departure from it on the Raja's part shall subject him to the loss of all the advantages he may gain by the said Agreement.

ARTICLE 6TH.

The Raja shall ultimately have the entire management 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.

ARTICLE 7TH.

The possessions of the jageerdars within His Highness's territory are to be under the guarantee of the British Government, which on the other hand engages to secure their performing the service which they owe to His Highness according to established custom.

ARTICLE 8TH.

All persons guilty of murder, treason, robbery or other great offences, who may fly from the territories of the Company into those of the Raja, are to be given up to the British Government; in like manner, all criminals as above described who may fly into the territories of the British Government are to be given up to the Raja. For the better execution of Justice and prevention of Crimes, the Raja consents that the Officers of the British Government may pursue criminals and apprehend them in his territory.

ARTICLE 9TH.

The Ghauts are to be the general boundary of the Raja's territory towards the Concan. Where no specific exception is made those mountains are to be included within His Highness's territory.

A survey is to be undertaken as soon as convenient to fix the frontier where the mountains run into the plain. The British Government reserves to itself the right of retaining such

portions of the mountains so situated as may be necessary to make a clear frontier or for other purposes. The British Government also reserves to itself the right of cutting timber on the western sides of the Ghauts. The customs in the Line of Ghauts are to be levied by the Company and an equivalent allowed to the Raja.

ARTICLE 10TH.

The Honourable Company and the Raja, agree to enter as soon as may be convenient on a commercial treaty, and in the meantime the Raja for himself and for his heirs and successors engages to adopt the same system with regard to customs as that which may be adopted by the British Government in its adjoining territories.

ARTICLE 11TH.

This treaty, consisting of 11 Articles, being this day settled and concluded at Satara, by Captain James Grant and Wittulpunt Furnaweese, Captain Grant has delivered to His Highness Maharaj Pertab Sheeaw a copy of the same in English, Mahratta and Persian under the seal and signature of the said Captain James Grant and His Highness Maharaja Pertab Sheeaw has delivered to the said Captain James Grant another copy also in English, Mahratta, and Persian, bearing His Highness's seal and signature, and the aforesaid Captain James Grant has engaged to procure and deliver to His Highness, without delay, a copy of the same duly ratified by His Excellency the most Noble Francis Marquis of Hastings, K. G., one of His Britannic Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, Governor-General in Council appointed by the Honourable Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies, Commander in Chief of His Majesty's and the Honourable Company's Forces, &c., on the receipt of which by His said Highness this treaty shall be deemed complete and binding on the Honourable East India Company, and on His Highness Raja Pertab Sheeaw, and the copy now delivered to His said Highness shall be returned.—

(Signed) HASTINGS.

„ JAS. STEWART.

„ J. ADAM.

Ratified by His Excellency the Governor-General in Council this 27th day of November A.D. 1819.

(Signed) C. T. METCALFE,
Secretary.

The following is a schedule of the districts ceded by the Company :—

Extract No. 300.

Schedule of the Territory and Revenue ceded to His Highness Maharaja PERTAUB SHEEAW of Satara, by the 1st Article of the Treaty concluded at Satara on the 25th September 1819, and to which this schedule is annexed.

The frontier extends from the Kistna and Warna on the south, to the Neera and Beema on the north, and from the Western Ghauts, or Syadree Hills, on the west, to the Districts of Punderpore and Beejapore on the east, exclusive of jaghires, &c.

I. That portion of Neerthuree in the Poona Prant, and that share of Seerwul which lies south of the Neera River.

II. The whole of the Wace Prant, including the following turrufs and villages :—

- | | |
|--------------|------------|
| 1. Huwelee. | 6. Médhé. |
| 2. Wagholee. | 7. Purlee. |
| 3. Neemb. | 8. Koodal. |
| 4. Koregaom. | 9. Wundun. |
| 5. Sattara. | |

III. Belonging to the turruf of Roheerkhorie, Prant Mawul :—

- | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Mouza Kanowree. | 2. Umul, in the village of Hatnose. |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------|

IV. The whole of Jaolee Soobah, from the line at which the ghauts join the plain in the Concan, and including the following nine turrufs :—

- | | |
|-----------------|-------------|
| 1. Bara Moore. | 3. Tamb. |
| 2. Sonat Solse. | 4. Ategaom. |

- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| 5. Kedumb. | 8. Kandatkhore. |
| 6. <u>Helwak</u> | 9. Jor Khore, with the fort
of Pertabghur. |
| 7. <u>Bamnolee.</u> | |

But the Forts of Wasota Buirowgur, and Pruchitgur are to be garrisoned and held by the British Government during its pleasure, but the lands immediately attached to them and within the line aforesaid are to belong to the Raja.

V. The Prant Kurar, including the following turrufs and villages :—

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|
| 1. Turruf Huwelee, including Barsé. | 6. Murlee. |
| 2. Oombruz. | 7. Patun. |
| 3. Targaon. | 8. Waroon. |
| 4. Naneghol. | 9. Kole. |
| 5. Tarulé. | 10. Kuryat Ound. |

VI. Belonging to the Southern Concan, eight villages :—

(1) Turruf Sawurdi—

- | | |
|-------------------|---------------|
| 1. Mouza Waghree. | 5. Mouza Nao. |
| 2. „ Pathurpoonj. | 6. „ Gowaré. |
| 3. „ Mula. | 7. „ Dankne. |
| 4. „ Kolun. | 8. „ Wulwun. |

(2) One village in the turruf of Chiploon :—

1. Muzre Ghaut Matha.

VII. The whole of Khutad Prant, including the fort of Bhooshungur, and the following turrufs, viz. :—

- | | |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Pergunnah Khutao. | 3. Kuryat Maenee. |
| 2. Kuryat Nimsor. | 4. „ Lulgoon. |

VIII. The Prant of Mandesh, including the following turrufs, viz. :—

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| 1. Kuryat Mulouree. | 8. Of the Kuryat of At-
paree, four villages. |
| 2. Pergunnah Sangole. | |
| 3. „ Brumhupooree. | 9. Kuryat Duheegaon. |
| 4. „ Aklooj. | 10. Kusba Dhurumpooree. |
| 5. „ Bhalownee. | 11. Pergunnah Nazré. |
| 6. „ Velapoor. | 12. „ Khasgaon. |
| 7. Kuryat Mhuswur. | |

IX. The following villages and umuls in Phlunt pergunnah :—

- | | |
|-------------------|--|
| 1. Mouza Geerwee, | 2. Kusba Tatnora, umul vil-
lages. |
| 1. Mouza Turduf. | 5. Mouza Danowdee. |
| 2. „ Dhowlé. | 6. „ Wekhree. |
| 3. „ Oopulvé. | 7. Boundary land, called
Dag Musinga. |
| 4. „ Waghoshee. | |

X. The following turrufs and villages in the Prant of Beejapore, viz. :—

1.—The following villages and shares in Huwelee Beejapore :—

- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| 1. Kuba Beejapore. | 12. Mouza U e e n a p o r e
Rusoolpore. |
| 2. Mouza Sarwar. | |
| 3. „ Khuteejapore. | 13. Mouza Khanapore. |
| 4. „ Khunmuchnal. | 14. „ Goongdhuree. |
| 5. „ Joomnal. | 15. „ Huncheenal. |
| 6. „ Rumbhapore
Ungapore. | 16. „ Barutga. |
| | 17. „ Itungeehul. |
| 7. Boornapore. | 18. „ Jalgeeree. |
| 8. Kulkunhullee. | 19. „ Urkeeree. |
| 9. „ Chundapore. | 20. „ Bhootnal. |
| 10. „ Alapore. | 21. „ Sheernal. |
| 11. „ Wangee. | 22. „ Jugnal. |
| | 23. „ Mudbhavee. |

Half-Villages.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Mouza Turvee Nowrus-
pore. | 3. Mouza Ootnal. |
| | 4. „ Futteh-pore. |
| 2. Mouza Heetunhullee. | |

2. Villages and shares in the pergunnah of Moolwar :—

Villages.

- | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Kusba Moolwar. | 5. Mouza Suvunhullee. |
| 2. Mouza Mulghan. | 6. „ Musootee. |
| 3. „ „ Tanshal. | 7. „ Kulgoorkee. |
| the ghat' Tuléwar. | |

following

Half-Villages.

- | | |
|--|-------------------|
| 1. Bara | 1. Murza Koorgee. |
| 2. Sonages in the pergunnah of Kolhardesh :— | |

14. Mouza Maenhullee.	20. „ Mueelar.
13. „ Munukulgee.	21. „ Shergoor.
15. „ Murgoor.	22. „ Anchee.
16. „ Chondhal.	23. „ Nundral.
17. „ Hingnee.	24. „ Shirmal.
18. „ Bargoondee.	25. „ Lonee Khoord.
19. „ Ueersung.	

Half-Villages.

1. Mouza Turgondee.

Umuls in.

- | | |
|------------------|------------------|
| 1. Mouza Lucham. | 3. Mouza Zulkee. |
| 2. „ Belolee. | 4. „ Lonee. |
9. Fifteen villages in the pergunnah of Mumdapore:—
- | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Kusba Mumdapore. | 9. Mouza Dewapore. |
| 2. Mouza Belumbee. | 10. „ Arjoongee. |
| 3. „ Sootgoondee. | 11. „ Katurhal. |
| 4. „ Dewargénoor. | 12. „ Hokoondee. |
| 5. „ Mudgoonkee. | 13. „ Hulgunee. |
| 6. „ Hunchinal. | 14. „ Lingudhullee. |
| 7. „ Korbagee. | 15. „ Kumbagee. |
| 8. „ Segoonsee. | |
10. Six villages in the pergunnah of Goté:—
- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------|
| 1. Mouza Bableschwur. | 4. Mouza Dunjal. |
| 2. „ Needonee. | 5. „ Nagurhal. |
| 3. „ Dashed. | 6. „ Koomutgee. |
11. In the pergunnah of Indee:—
1. Umul in the village of Seergoor.
12. In the pergunnah of Ooklee:—
1. Mouza Hometgee.
13. Ten villages in the pergunnah of Jut and Kurujgee:
- Pergunnah Jut.*
- | | |
|---------------------|---------------|
| 1. Mouza Chinchalé. | 3. Mouza Par. |
| 2. „ Nural. | |
- Pergunnah Kurujgee.*
- | | |
|---------------------|---------------|
| 1. Mouza Ghureodee. | 3. „ Rer. |
| 2. „ Bhouse. | 4. „ Deeksul. |

- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| 5. „ Belwar. | 8. Mola Koombhoz, belonging to Kusaba Koombhoz. |
| 6. Mouza Khutao. | |
| 7. „ Taolee. | 9. Mouza Sawulwaree. |
| 11. Kuryat Tasgaon— | |
| 1. Mouza Poondee. | 3. Mouza Paré. |
| 2. „ Chinchnee. | 4. „ Mungrool. |
| 12. In Kuryat Sawurde— | |
| 1. Kusba Sawurde. | 2. Mouza Lode. |
| | 3. Umal in Dorlee. |
| 13. Kuryat Deshing— | |
| | 1. Mouza Kurolee. |

XII. The following turrufs and villages in the Prant Punala:—

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Kuryat Wangee. | 2. Tarruf Walve. |
| | 3. Kuryat Bez. |
| 1. Mouza Baonchee. | 2. Kusba Penth. |
| | 3. Umul in Kowté Peeran. |
| 4. Of Kuryat Wurgaon— | |
| 1. Mouza Sheegaon. | 2. Mouza Koregaon. |
| 5. Of Kuryat Kodolee— | |
| 1. Mouza Kurunjowdé. | 3. Umul in the village of Chikoordé. |
| 2. Acetowré Khoord. | |
| 6. Of Turruf Huwelle belonging to Kolhapore— | |
| | 1. Mouza Koorlup. |
| 7. Of Kuryat Tulbeer— | |
| 1. Kusba Tulbeer. | 4. Mouza Moondhé. |
| 2. Mouza Mazgaon. | 5. „ Oorool. |
| 3. „ Karowlé. | 6. Umul in the village of Wulphul. |
| 8. Kuryat Kasegaon— | |

Villages.

- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Kusba Kasegaon. | 4. Mouza Shenolee. |
| 2. Mouza Yédé. | 5. „ Retre Hurnan. |
| 3. „ Tambvé. | |

Umuls.

- | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Mouza Malkher. | 2. Mouza Nurseempore. |
|-------------------|-----------------------|

9. Of Kuryat Satvé—

1. Umul in the village of Maglé.

10. Pergunnah Sheerala.

11. Umul in the Kusba of Kuledhon.

XIII. The following villages in the Prant Raeebag :

1. Kuryat Nanduré—

Umuls.

- | | |
|----------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Mouza Khoojegaon. | 4. Mouza Benduree. |
| 2. „ Hatnolee. | 5. „ Banapore. |
| 3. „ Morale. | |

2. Umul in the village of Wariyé.

XIV. The following villages in the Prant Kagul :

1. Of Kuryat Dingruz—

1. Mouza Dongur Sonee.

Umuls.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Kusba Dingruz. | 2. Mouza Borgaon. |
| 2. Umul in the village of Rajapore. | |
| 3. Kuryat Manjuree— | |

1. Umul in the village of Anklee.

XV. The following villages in the pergunnah of Hookeree :—

1. Kuryat Doodgaon—

1. Kusba Doodgaon.

Umuls.

- | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Mouza Borgaon Doopput. | 2. Mouza Bhurkimbé. |
| 2. Kusba Saoluz. | |
| 3. Kuryat Joogool— | |

Umul in the village of Mungawutee.

“The possessions of the Rajah of Akulkote, the Punt Suchoe, the Punt Pruthee Nidhee, the jaghire of the Duffis in the pergunnah of jut, the jaghire of Jan Rao Naik Nimbalkur in the pergunnah of Phultun, and the jaghire of Shaikh Meera Waeekur.

Such villages or umuls as belong to the Putwardhuns within the boundaries of any of the above-mentioned pergunnahs are to be continued to be possessed by them, subject to such exchanges as the British Government may see fit, and in like

manner such villages and umuls as belong to the Raja, which may be situated within the pergunnahs or turrufs belonging to the British Government or the Putwurdhuns, will be liable to such exchanges as the British Government may deem proper for the general convenience of the parties concerned.

The Raja shall have power to make such exchanges with the Rajah of Akulkote, the Punt Sucheo, and the jaghiredars subject to his authority, as may be desirable to the parties concerned, for the purposes of consolidating their respective possessions, provided that such exchanges be undertaken with the immediate concurrence of the Agent of the British Government."

In the treaty of 1819 were scheduled certain *jaghirs*, the holders of which, that is feudatory chieftains, were considered to be under the sovereignty of the Raja of Satara. This was the expressed wish of Mr. Elphinstone who framed the Treaty. But as the "grasping policy" was in the ascendant the Bombay Government did not put this interpretation on the Treaty, that is to say, they did not like to place under the jurisdiction of the Raja the Estates of these chieftains. The Raja wanted to get his claim over these chieftains recognized by the Bombay Government. To quote his own words:—

"In 1832, while the Right Honourable Lord Clare was Governor of Bombay, I deemed it expedient to seek from the British Government an explicit recognition of my sovereignty over certain jaghires specified in the treaty of 1819, the treaty which placed me on the guddee of Satara. That treaty was prepared by the Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone, and submitted to me by the Resident at my court, Captain Grant Duff, and was signed by me on the 25th of September 1819. The view which I took of my sovereignty over the jaghires referred to was supported by Major-General Robertson, the Resident at my court, and now a member of the Honourable Court of Directors." (This was in 1844).

Although Lord Clare differed from the Raja and the

Resident in the interpretation of the treaty he was good enough to refer the matter to the Court of Directors, who ordered, that "the Raja's claim to the reversion of the feudal chiefs of whom, by treaty, he was a sovereign, and who held their titles from him under British guarantee, should be admitted." Unfortunately for the Raja, this decision of the Court did not arrive in Bombay till after the departure of Lord Clare for England.

CHAPTER VI

The Raja after the conclusion of the Treaty, knowing the bad bargain that he had made, and the manner in which he had been duped by Mr. Elphinstone, submitted like a good oriental to his fate and began to govern his dominion in a manner which very few monarchs—ancient or modern—of the East or the West—ever did or do. His administration extorted the admiration of even the most fastidious critics. Resident after resident attached to his Court,—governor after governor of the Bombay Presidency, who had occasion to visit Satara, bore testimony to the high character of Pratap Singh, and the great ability with which he administered the affairs of his State. His rule was so mild and just that his subjects were happy, contented and prosperous during his reign. Even to this day, the memory of the Raja is held in veneration by the inhabitants of Satara for the just manner in which he governed his principality and the fatherly care he took of his subjects.

As Governor of Bombay, Mr. Elphinstone paid a visit to Satara in 1822. Regarding the Raja of Satara, he wrote as follows to one of his friends:—

“I must tell you what a good fellow the little Raja of Satara is. When I visited him we sat on two musnuds without exchanging one single word, in a very respectable durbar; but the moment we retired to a *khilwat* (a cabinet) the Raja produced his Civil and Criminal Register, and his Minute of demands, collections and balances for the last quarter, and began explaining the state of his country as eagerly as a young collector. He always sits in the Nyna-daish, and conducts his business with the utmost regularity. I hunted with him the day we parted, and a young gentleman, Mr. Morris, second

Assistant at Satara, had a bad fall just in front of me, and lay for dead. When I got off I found a horseman dismounted, and supporting his head; and, to my surprise, it was the Raja, who had let his horse go and run to his assistance."

In 1826, the Raja of Satara paid a visit to Poona. On that occasion, in a letter to one of his friends, Mr. Elphinstone described the Raja as follows:—

"He is the most civilised Mahratta I ever met with, has his country in excellent order, and everything, to his roads and aqueducts, in a style that would do credit to a European. I was more struck with his private sitting room than anything I saw at Satara. It contains a single table covered with green velvet, at which the descendant of Sivajee sits in a chair, and writes letters, as well as a journal of his transactions, with his own hand. I do not know what his ancestor would think of so peaceful a descendant."

As long as Pratap Singh was the ruler, Satara presented the spectacle of a model State which reminded men of the legendary description of the government of Ayodhya by Rama.

Colonel Pringle Taylor, who conducted the Raja to the British Camp on the day the latter left that of the Peishwa, described in a letter to Mr. George Thompson the impression that was produced on his mind by the conduct of the Raja on that memorable day. He wrote:

"You have heard me describe, and can recall to memory, the scene in which I became first acquainted with the Raja of Satara. I would again impress upon you the leading feature of our meeting. Before me was a youth, with calm brow and resolved mind, submitting to be cut down by the men of the 22nd Dragoons, in preference to the dishonour of relinquishing his sword. When I saved him I felt that such a spirit could never descend to any of the meanness and follies with which he has since been charged. This impression I conveyed to my friend Grant Duff, the first resident at his court, and he assured me that my impression was right,....."

General Robertson was for many years Resident at Satara and he knew the Raja very intimately. After his retirement from India, he was a Director of the East India Company. At one of the meetings of that Company, he declared that in the course of his experience he had never met with a man, Englishman or Native, of more scrupulous veracity and stricter integrity than the Raja.

The Court of Directors of the East India Company never saw anything good or praiseworthy in the conduct of any of the Indian princes. It was an article of faith in the creed of those good Christians who were members of the Court, to vilify and abuse Indian monarchs, because otherwise they would not get any pretext either to wage war against them, or to annex their territories on the score of bad government. It was not honesty or regard for truth but political expediency which dictated these good Christians to run down the Government of Indian princes and their states. But even they made an exception in the case of Satara and its ruler Pratap Singh. Close-fisted as these Christian directors were, for once they showed generosity by purchasing a jewelled sword worth £3,000 for the purpose of presenting the same to Raja Pratap Singh. In December 1835, the following letter was addressed by the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Raja :—

29th December, 1835.

“Your Highness,

“We have been highly gratified by the information from time to time submitted to us by our government 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 honor on your own 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 greatly 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 Bombay, 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,

(Sd.) W. S. CLARKE, *Chairman.*

J. R. CARMAC, *Deputy.*

One would have wished that the Court had been "faithful friends" of the Raja when he was in trouble. But it was not the only occasion when the authorities of the East India Company praised the Raja for his able administration of his state. As far back as 1829 they wrote a political letter to Bombay that they were

"impressed with a highly favourable opinion of the administration of the Raja of Satara. He appears to be remarkable among the princes of India for his mildness, frugality, and attention to business,....."

Again, on the 21st September 1831, the Directors wrote:—

"The information which your records supply, as to the proceedings of the Raja of Satara, continues to confirm the highly favourable opinion we had formed of his disposition, and of his capacity for Government."

Pratap Singh's rule was no doubt just and mild and the masses of his people were contented, happy and prosperous. But he was a bit of a reformer and tried certain innovations in the customs and usages of the land which proved fatal to his interests and ultimately brought on his ruin. He tried to deprive the Brahmans of what they regard as their vested rights and privileges. All the religious reformers of India from the time of Krishna and Buddha down to Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Dayanand Saraswati have preached against caste and tried to do away with those barriers which separate man from man and have stood in the way of the growth of nationality and patriotism in India. But still that institution has held its sway over the country and has not been destroyed. If there be any truth in the dictum of the evolutionists as to the survival of the fittest, then there must be some inherent goodness in the caste system which has survived all the attacks made on it. If this 'hydra-headed monster', as some call this caste system, cannot be destroyed in one day or one generation, persistent attempts for generations and centuries are necessary to make any impression on this monster. Unless and until the masses are sufficiently well educated to understand what Thomas Payne called "Rights of Man," there is little or no hope of an old institution like the caste system being easily destroyed. Wise rulers of India have, therefore, always fought shy of this institution and have followed the maxim of never disturbing the sleeping dog.

Pratap Singh, unacquainted with the past history of India, and lacking philosophic instinct, as well as the faculty of imagination, committed a great mistake in trying to do away with the exclusive privileges of the Brahmans and thus incurred their enmity. In the step

which he so unwisely took, he deviated from the policy which guided the founder of his family and kingdom. Sivaji's spiritual as well as mundane preceptors taught him to respect and venerate the Brahman and the cow. Had Pratap Singh followed in his footsteps, he would not have made enemies of the Brahmans, who plotted his ruin.

Bulwant Row Chitnavees, the hereditary Secretary of the Raja, was a Prabhoo Kayastha by caste. These Kayasthas consider themselves to be Kshatriyas, who are one of the twice-born classes. As such they think they are entitled to perform all the religious rites and ceremonies which are usually performed by the priestly Brahmans. Bulwant Row Chitnavees performed these religious rites and was encouraged to do so by the Raja. It was this action of his which enraged the Brahmans.

The commonly accepted test of Brahmanhood is the right to perform the ceremonies of (1) *Agnihotra*, i.e., the worship of the Vedic fire, and (2) *Yajna*, i.e., the right of presiding over and conducting the ceremony of sacrifice. This ceremony is claimed exclusively by Brahmans, and those who assist at a *yajna* presided over by members of other castes are outcasted.

The Raja, as said before, encouraged his Prabhoo minister to perform these ceremonies. When the Brahmans objected to this course of procedure adopted by the Raja and declined to be present at the ceremonies of *Agnihotra* and *Yajna* that were to be performed by the Prabhoo minister, it is said that they were persecuted and imprisoned by the Raja.

Most of the Brahmans of the Deccan do not consider the Marathas, that is, the caste to which Sivaji belonged, as Kshatriyas. They look down upon them as Shudras.

But the Raja Pratap Singh considered himself a Kshatriya. He sent a Shastri to the Rána of Udaipur to make enquiries regarding the origin of the Bhosles—the family to which he belonged. The Rana sent word that the Bhosles and his family were one, and despatched with a messenger, Raghunath Singh Zale, a letter to the same effect written by Raja Shahu in 1726 A.D. to Vagji Sisode of Pimple in Mewar (Udaipur). Thus fortified by the opinion of the Rana of Udaipur, he considered himself a 'twice-born'; and as such he offended the Brahmins by arrogating to himself and his favorite Bulwant Rao Chitnavis the duties and functions of the Brahmans. What led to the displeasure of the Brahmans will be better understood from the following notes of a correspondent of *The British Friend of India Magazine* for December 1845, who signed himself as "Zeta."

ORIGIN OF THE CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE RAJA OF SATTARA.

(*To the Editor of the British Friend of India Magazine*).

SIR,—Knowing the deep interest you take in all that concerns the case of the deposed Raja of Sattara, I send you a few hasty notes on the origin and progress of the foul conspiracy, to effect the ruin of that innocent and high-minded Prince. I am an attentive observer of all that transpires relating to the Sattara question, and have no doubt in my mind that the day is not distant, when the innocence of the Raja of Sattara will be proclaimed by the Government that was duped by the Brahminical foes of the Raja; and the Prince himself, be not only restored to character, dignity and his lost possessions, but to an elevation in regard to nobility of mind and heroic virtue, more exalted than that which he occupied at the time the Government of Bombay first lent an ear to the whispers of his traducers.

My notes are the result of a close examination of the

printed papers, after a protracted residence in the Bombay territory, and an intimate acquaintance with the relation in which the Raja stood to the Mahratta Brahmins.

I am, your Obedient Servant,

London, Nov. 15, 1845.

ZETA.

NOTES.

1819-20.—It was in this year that the Swamey or High Brahminical Priest of Sunkeswur reached Maholey, a sacred town on the banks of a small river, within three or four miles of Sattara. On the road he had issued orders for money on the several villages on his route, which the Resident, Captain Grant Duff, with the consent of the Raja, directed not to be paid. On his arrival at Maholey, the Swamey sent a message to the Raja to say that he expected him, as a good Hindoo, to come and visit him, and invite and carry him into the city of Sattara. To this the Raja decidedly objected, and after vain efforts on the part of the Swamey to induce his Highness to alter his resolution, the Swamey himself visited the Raja, first, when his visit was returned, and the latter proceeded on his journey. On this occasion the Swamey was accompanied by Nagoo Deo Row, a professional priest, though by birth and lineage, a Doctor of Medicine. Nagoo Deo Row was a native of Waece, a town not far from Sattara, and consequently a subject of the Raja. Sunkeswur, the residence of the Swamey, is a dependency of the Raja of Kolapur.

1822.—Balajee Punt Nathoo (the native secretary of Mr. Elphinstone during the Mahratta war, and originally the agent of Mahdeo Row Rastia), was attached to Captain Grant Duff as his secretary, or Dewan, by Mr. Elphinstone, during his administration of the affairs of Sattara, from 1818 till 1822. At that period, discussions arose between Balajee Punt Nathoo and Bulwunt Row Chitnevees, the hereditary secretary of the Raja of Sattara. The former was of that sect of Brahmins denominated Concanist (natives of the Concan), while Bulwunt Row belonged to that sect termed Prabhoos. The discussion between these ministers became not only personal, but Balajee Punt Nathoo and his sect, of whom there were several at Sattara, and

chiefly in the service of the Resident, made them subservient to an attack on the religious usages of the Prabhoos, and denied their right to exercise certain forms and practices. These discussions were, however, early checked by Captain Grant Duff, who removed Balajee Punt Nathoo from Sattara and he retired to Poona.

1823-24.—At no distant period the feeling among the Concanist, or Lowland and Deshist, or replaced Brahmins, began to spread against the Prabhoos: and the persons who took prominent part in diffusing this hostility, were Nilkant Shastry, a native of Wae, but now Resident at Poona, and Abba Joshey, a confidential agent of the Resident of Sattara, both of whom were intimately connected by marriage with Balajee Punt Nathoo; and the same feeling was excited in Wae, by Nagoo Deo Row, and through the agency of Balajee Punt Nathoo, Chintaman Row, the Chieftain of Sanglee, was induced to take part in these proceedings.

The latter chieftain addressed a letter in his own hand (1825) to the Brahmins of Maholey, denouncing the Prabhoos, and Nagoo Deo Row of Wae was deputed to Sunkeswur to induce the Swamey, on his route to Nassick, to proceed by way of Poona, and there discuss the subject of the Prabhoos case with Nilkant Shastry, and other learned men.

After the meeting at Poona, the Swamey was induced to denounce the Prabhoos as a caste wholly unknown in the Hindoo Scriptures, and as impostors; and addressed a proclamation to all the Brahmins of the Deccan, upland and lowland, to that effect.

This document called forth a spirited remonstrance on the part of Ragsha Acharige of Poona, addressed to Sunkeswur Swamey, who subsequently avows that he was induced to issue the proclamation against the Prabhoos, owing to his apprehension of offending Balajee Punt Nathoo, of Poona, and Chintaman Row Putwardhun, of Sanglee. This document, in the original dated 26th of November, 1826, is in the hands of Rungoo Bapojee, in London. This proceeding subsequently became known to Balajee Punt Nathoo's party, who deputed Nagoo Deo Row to Sunkeswur, from Wae, to remonstrate.

The party who informed Abba Joshey, was Nilo Punt Burkumkur, a clerk in the office of the late Dewan Vittal Punt, and about this time, (December, 1826) Abba Joshey, the relative of Balajee Punt Nathoo reported to the Resident, Colonel Briggs, that persons on the part of the Sunkeswur Swamey, Chintaman Row, of Sangley, and the Court of Kolapoor, were frequently passing between Sattara, and those places, *implying that the Raja was holding some secret correspondence with those parties.*

The Resident, Colonel Briggs, left the Court in December, 1826, but similar reports were made by the same party to his successor, Colonel Robertson, some time after.

1827.—It seems that during this year, Nagoo Deo Row Vyde, proceeded from Sunkeswur to Goa with the Swamey, and from the letters which were written about that time, he had two or three horses.

Soon after, Sir John Malcolm reached Bombay, he proceeded to the Deccan, where, at the village of Tanduharry, near Rahmatpoor, in the territory of Sattara, he was assailed by a vast concourse of Brahmins, not fewer than 10,000 in number, to settle their dispute with the Prabhoos. To this he replied, it being a matter of caste, it must be decided by both parties agreeing to a Court of Arbitration. At the same time, the Prabhoos made application to the Raja of Sattara for protection against the replaced and lowland Brahmins of the Deccan, who, on referring the case to Sir John Malcolm, received from him the same reply as he had given to the Brahmins.

Matters did not rest here. The Brahmins conceived that the Raja had espoused the cause of the Prabhoos, and there can be no doubt he had protected them against the clamour of the opposite party; but he was now assailed by the Brahminical party, regarding the religious forms he himself practised, which they deemed inconsistent with his caste. On this the Raja applied to the Resident for the permission of the Government to send agents to the courts of Tanjore, Mysore, Kolapoor, Nagpoor, and Oodipoor, in order to ascertain what were the religious forms adopted by the Princes of those States, most of whom were connected in relationship with him. To this no

objection was made on the part of the Government, who acceded to his request as communicated in the Resident's communication dated 11th of December, 1828.

CHAPTER VII

With the departure of Lord Clare, commenced the troubles and sorrows of the Raja. Sir Robert Grant*, who succeeded Lord Clare, did not communicate the decision of the Court (referred to at the end of Chapter VI) to the Raja.† Nay more, he considered it a meritorious act to deceive the Raja by falsehoods and specious promises. To quote from the Parliamentary Papers relating to the Raja of Satara (Part II, p. 1249):—

* Sir Robert Grant, after whom the Grant Medical College in Bombay is named, was the second son of Sir Charles Grant (born at Aldourie, 1746, died 1823), who served with distinction in Bengal, 1767-70 and 1772-1790; was elected a director of the East India Company, 1794; author of *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain*; a plea for toleration in answer to the arguments of Major Scott Waring and Sidney Smith. Sir Robert's elder brother, the Right Hon. Charles Grant, 1778-1866, was M. P. for Montrose, 1807-18, and for Inverness-shire, 1818-35, when he was raised to the Peerage as Lord Glenelg. Sir Robert, like his brother, was born in India, 1779, was elected M. P. for Elginburghs, 1818, for Invernessburghs, 1826, for Norwich, 1830, 1831, and for Finsbury, 1832. He espoused the movement for the repeal of the Jewish civil disabilities (1830-34), was appointed Governor of Bombay in June 1834, and entered on the office in March 1835. He died at Dapuri, 9th July, 1838, and was buried at St. Mary's Church, Poona. He was author of a *Sketch of the History of the East India Company from its first Foundation to 1773*, and other works; his sacred poems were collected and published in a small volume by his brother in 1839, and again in 1844 and 1868; several of them have found their way into most hymnals, and in Palmer's *Book of Praise*, Nos. 21, 68, 107 and 398 are from among them. * * * * Sir James Douglas's *Bombay and Western India*, Vol. II, pp. 114-116 (footnote).

† This new Governor possessed the reputation of being a very pious Christian, and he composed some hymns which are very popular with the Christian natives of England, for they often recite them in their Churches, and on other occasions of worship and prayer. Because he was a pious Christian, therefore the Raja being a heathen, did not deserve any consideration at his hands, on the contrary, was a proper object of spoliation, which will be presently narrated.

"In May 1835, Sir Robert Grant, the Governor of Bombay, being at the Hills, was visited by the Raja in great state. At a private interview the Raja brought forward his claim upon six great jaghires, in the event of lapse by decease, or otherwise. Sir Robert Grant unreservedly promised that the Raja's claims should, without delay, be submitted to the Court of Directors, and instructed General Lodwick to prepare a statement of them.

"After this interview had taken place Sir Robert Grant did not pay the Raja the usual respect of returning his visit, as every previous Governor had done. This neglect was bitterly felt."

Sir Robert Grant, being a pious Christian, keeping all the while the decision of the Court in his pocket, did not scruple to make a false promise to the Raja that his claims would be submitted to the Court of Directors. He did not even consider it necessary to return the visit of a "heathen" sovereign.

Although General Lodwick furnished Sir Robert Grant with the statement he had requested him to prepare, the Governor took no notice of it. In the following year, *i.e.*, 1836, the Raja again had an interview with the Christian Governor. To quote the Raja's words:—

"In May 1836, Sir Robert Grant being again at the Hills, and my mind being in a state of painful anxiety, I paid him a second visit, at which I reminded him of the pledge which he had given me a year before, that a statement of my claims should without delay be referred to the Court of Directors, and I desired to be informed of the result. After much hesitation, and a conversation in English with the political secretary, Mr. Willoughby, and the resident, General Lodwick, I was told by Mr. Willoughby (who spoke for Sir Robert Grant) that my claims had been referred generally, but that in a short time they should be made the subject of a special report. The conviction produced upon my mind by this interview was, that I had been grossly deceived, and I came without hesitation to the conclusion that no reference had been made to the home

authorities during the year that had elapsed, and that the pledge which the British Governor had given me he had violated ; I therefore expressed my determination to bring the question in dispute, as well as the treatment I had received, under the notice of the Court of Directors through an Agent of my own. I again invited Sir Robert Grant to Sattara, which was only 30 miles distant from the place of our meeting, but my invitation was a second time declined."

But Sir Robert Grant exhibited his spirit of Christian generosity and charity when he came to know the intention of the Raja to send an agent to England to represent his case before the Court of Directors. He must have been at his wits' end to know what to do. He knew fully well that he had withheld from the Raja the decision in his favor of the Court of Directors as well as their letter of the 29th December 1835 and the sword of honor they had sent for presentation to the Raja. He knew that the Court would blame him, reprimand him or even perhaps go the length of disgracing him by recalling him from the governorship of Bombay for the manner in which he had ill-treated, deceived and insulted the Raja. The Secretary, Mr. Willoughby, was equally to blame.

They seemed to have been alarmed at the attitude which the Raja now assumed. They knew the Raja was a capable prince and had been deceived, insulted and trifled with. Because he was not a mediocre, and because he governed his subjects well, he became a thorn in the side of Sir Robert Grant and his other colleagues. It was a favorite maxim with a certain Roman ruler not to let "tall poppies" grow. By "tall poppies" he meant capable men, not mediocres, to administer the affairs of the state. The maxim of the Roman ruler has been acted upon by many a politician and administrator even up to our days, of which Sir John Gorst's declaration in the

House of Commons in June 1891 regarding the Manipur Prince might be adduced as an instance in point.

Sir Robert Grant and his Christian colleagues determined to cut down the tall poppy in the person of the Raja of Satara. They concocted a foul conspiracy in order to ruin him. To successfully effect this they had a tool nigh at hand, whom they knew they could depend upon, for he was their creature, and had been the chief actor in many an intrigue which resulted in the overthrow of the Peishwa and the establishment of the British rule in the Deccan.

The name of this man was Ballajee Punt Natoo. His services were requisitioned to re-act the same part to effect the ruin of the Raja Pratap Singh which he had so successfully acted in bringing about the downfall of the Peishwa Baji Rao. General John Briggs, who had for several years been Resident at Satara and who knew Raja Pratap Singh very well, wrote about these conspiracies against the Raja as follows:—

“The disagreeable relations between the Bombay Government and the Rajah were the signal and the starting point for the machinations of his enemies. And the Rajah had against him the most powerful enemies that any man can have against him in India—the Brahmins. Against the Brahmins, as the tribe to which the Peishwas belonged, this unfortunate Prince, though he could not help employing a great many of them, entertained an invincible prejudice, almost amounting to hatred. During Captain Grant Duff’s management of the Sattara State, his principal Native assistant and agent was a Brahmin of great capacity, named Balajee Punt Natoo, whom I knew well, as he had been in the intelligence department under the Poona Residency during the last two years of the reign of the Peishwa Bajee Rao. Having good claims on the consideration of our Government, he had been presented with a small jaghire at the end of the war, and was held in high

favor and esteem by all English officers under whom he had been employed. As usual in such cases, he brought several relations and hangers-on of his family into the Sattara service when he was the Residents' first assistant. When Captain Grant Duff, just before his own retirement, placed the Rajah in power, Balajee Punt Natoo fully expected to have been made Dewan or Minister, but the Rajah dreaded a second Peishwa supported by British authority, and had, moreover, an aversion for the man. Grant Duff would not force or press on the Raja a Minister whom he disliked, and Balajee Punt withdrew to Poona, but had one of his relations in a place at the Residency to tell him all that passed. He was a plausible gentleman, and professed to keep me well informed of all occurrences at the Sattara Court. He knew very well, what was also brought to my notice from several sources, that the Rajah's weak point was an exaggerated notion of his own hereditary dignity and consequence, and of his rightful claims as representative head of the Mahratta Empire in its brief period of triumph. He gloried in the titles of 'Maharajah Chuttraputtee' and 'Hindooputtee', and always alluded to the Peishwas, especially the last, Bajee Rao, as unfaithful servants of his house, who had abused his confidence, and all of whose acts, their treaties as well as their wars with the Honourable Company, were unauthorised by the legitimate sovereign, and therefore politically of no effect. But these absurd pretensions, though not matters of indifference to me, and duly reported to Government, never, I am convinced, went beyond the small circle of the Rajah's intimate friends and favourite companions. They were mere subjects of talk and dreamy speculation, the Rajah having sufficient good sense and sound knowledge to be fully aware of the altered circumstances of military and political power in India. But when it became known that the Rajah was in trouble with the Bombay Government, and had incurred the serious displeasure of our authorities in 1835, Balajee Punt Natoo, in concert with the Rajah's brother, who was on bad terms with him, and who was put in his place after the deposition in 1839, saw his opportunity had come, and

commenced the calumnies and intrigues which ultimately proved successful.

“What was called evidence of the most preposterous and ridiculous plans of raising rebellion throughout India, with aid from Portugal and Russia, was collected, behind his back and without allowing him, or any one on his behalf, to see or cross-examine the witnesses, these inquisitorial proceedings being spread over three years. The name of this traducer, Balajee Punt Natoo, was concealed throughout the proceedings.”

(Major Evans Bell's *Memoirs of General Briggs*, pp. 92-95).
See also Appendix C.

From the long extract given above, it seems that John Briggs and with him many other Englishmen believed that Balajee Punt Natoo concocted the conspiracy against the Raja which proved so successful. But there are strong grounds to believe that that Brahman was merely a tool in the hands of scheming and designing British officials whose interest it was to ruin the Raja. From the attitude of the Governor, Sir Robert Grant, and his Secretary, Mr. Willoughby, towards the Raja, it must be presumed that they engineered the train of conspiracy against the Raja and they got Natoo to carry it on.

Natoo was in the confidence of the Government of Bombay of that time. The confidence which he enjoyed of these British officers will be evident from the high honor they conferred on him by appointing him as Chief Superintendent of the Poona Duftar which was established for the better security of the Maratha archives. In his letter to the Agent for the Deccan Sirdars dated Bombay Castle, 4th September 1835, the Chief Secretary to Government wrote,

“The Right Honourable the Governor in Council is pleased to resolve that the Superintendence of the Dufter shall be vested in a body of the most respectable Native residents in Poona, in whom the whole responsibility will centre, under the

arrangements subsequently detailed, which you will be pleased to carry into effect.

"The persons whom Government is pleased to nominate as the Members of this Committee are Ballajee Punt Nuthoo, * * * *; they are to be styled "Amanutdars of the Poona Duftar." Ballajee Punt Nuthoo is to be the chief superintendent, and as such he is to be designated "Prudhan Amanutdar."

He was Prudhan Amanutdar of the Poona Duftar while the conspiracy against the Raja was being plotted. It is reasonable to suppose that the Governor instigated this creature of his to conspire against the Raja by means of forged documents which he as Prudhan Amanutdar of the Duftar could very easily do. The business of the Duftar was not considered so important and pressing as not to allow the Prudhan Amanutdar to leave it and go to Satara to help the Bombay Government in ruining the Raja. In a communication under date Poona 7th November 1838, the Acting Agent of the Deccan Sirdars intimated to the Secretary to Government, Bombay, that "the Prudhan Amanutdar had been absent at Satara for the last twenty months." At Satara, he tutored witnesses, forged documents and opened the campaign of calumnies and intrigues against the Raja which were bound to be successful because they were inspired by the "pious" governor and his Christian colleagues.

It would be too tedious to thread our way through the labyrinth of the conspiracies which the genius of the Governor and the cleverness of Nattoo concocted. The folio volumes of the Parliamentary Papers covering over two thousand pages of closely printed matter will give an idea of the doings of the officers of the Bombay Government who were determined to ruin the Raja. A brief account of these affairs is all that will be attempted in the succeeding chapters.

CHAPTER VIII

Colonel Lodwick was the Resident at Satara when the first scene in this tragic drama was enacted. His predecessors, Captain Grant Duff, General John Briggs and Colonel Robertson, used to hear many rumours of the Raja's alleged seditious utterances and treasonable doings, but never paid any attention to them. But Colonel Lodwick was a Resident of a different type. Although in his later life he had to repent for his hasty action, in an evil moment he communicated to the Bombay Government certain information as to the Raja's alleged treasonable proceedings in tampering with the fidelity of certain native officers and men of the 23rd Bombay Native Infantry regiment which was at that time stationed at Satara—information which had been communicated to him by Natoo and one of his creatures. Without himself personally inquiring into the matter, he conveyed to the Bombay Government the information he had received from the above-mentioned Brahmin. But perhaps he was at this time prejudiced against the Raja, for what appeared to him to be unjustified proceedings on the part of that prince in arranging to send an agent to England without consulting the Resident. In his letter dated Satara, 20th June 1836, Colonel Lodwick wrote to the Secretary to the Bombay Government as follows:—

"I have the honor to request you will bring to the notice of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council that, having reason from private intelligence to suppose that his Highness the Raja had, *without communicating his intentions to the British Resident*, either entered into engagements, or adopted

preliminary steps to that end, with a person named Syed Meer, a Mussalman inhabitant of Bombay, to act as his accredited Agent or Vakeel in the settlement of certain disputed points of a political nature arising out of the several articles of his treaty with the British Government, and that it was his Highness's intention to send this Vakeel either to Calcutta or to England, I requested an interview with his Highness, which took place on the evening of the 16th, * * * * *

"It appears, * * that a copy of the treaty, and every document relating to the claims of his Highness supposed to be founded upon that treaty, have been given to Syed Meer, * *

"How far this conduct on the part of his Highness is in accordance with the 5th article of his treaty granted with the territory by the British Government, I am not prepared to give an opinion, but submit the case for consideration. The motive for keeping me in ignorance of the transaction is evident ; for being bound to consult the Resident on all occasions, and to abide by his opinion, his Highness was well aware of the result of such a reference in the present case, and that the consequence of acting in decided opposition to the Resident's opinion might be deemed a violation of the 2nd article of the treaty. * * * * *

"I hope to be honoured with early instructions as to the line of conduct I am to adopt in consequence of the late breach of confidence on the part of his Highness, the first instance within my knowledge, as his intercourse with me has been carried on in perfect good faith and firm reliance on the friendship of the British Government."

In the above letter, the Resident did not strike any note of disloyalty on the part of the Raja ; he did not smell any treason in the conduct of that prince. The Resident asked to be favored "with early instructions", but as long as he stayed at Satara as Resident, the Bombay Government did not consider it necessary to reply to the above letter. But it would seem that the pious Governor and his other Christian colleagues were engaged in con-

cocting those conspiracies which were calculated to furnish "instructions" to the Resident "as to the line of conduct" he was to adopt.

As said previously, Sir Robert Grant must have been alarmed at the prospect of the Raja sending an agent to England. He and his colleagues, in order to save themselves, determined on the ruin of the Raja; or to quote the Raja's own words, he characterised them as "a Government anxious to obtain proof of criminality, to cover their own neglect of my prior just and equitable claims upon them, and to set aside a demand which I had made in virtue of the treaty which placed me on my throne."

The creatures whom the Bombay Government employed succeeded in concocting a conspiracy against the Raja so very effectively that about a month after his letter of the 20th June 1836 to the Secretary to the Bombay Government in which Colonel Lodwick requested "to be honored with early instructions as to the line of conduct" he was to adopt towards his Highness,—a request which the Bombay Government never complied with, the Resident wrote under date Satara, 22nd July 1836 to the Secretary with the Governor as follows:—

"I have the honor to request you will submit the accompanying depositions of two native officers of the 23rd regiment N. I. to the immediate notice of the Right honourable the Governor.

"The deponents are of the greatest respectability, and being invited to attend another interview on Sunday next, with Govind Row, called the Dewan, I defer adopting any measures in the affair until after that date, when it is more than probable additional light will be thrown upon the chief actors in the conspiracy, and I shall be enabled to act accordingly.

"I conceive there is ample evidence against Govind Row,

the Dewan, so called from his father having been Dewan, (he is a personal favourite of his Highness the Raja), and also against the Brahmin, who introduced the parties, to justify their seizure.

"The attempts to seduce the soldiers of a friendly power from their allegiance, if at the instance of the Raja, must, I conceive, be deemed a breach of treaty, and in any other person becomes an offence that calls for an exemplary punishment.

"Should it meet the sanction of the Right honourable the Governor, I propose taking the opportunity of seizing these two persons, and confining them in the camp, and immediately afterwards bringing their offence to the notice of his Highness, and the necessity I was under of acting decidedly, out of respect to his feelings, as they had presumed to make use of his name as their authority; the only alternative being to call upon his Highness to seize and give them up to the British authority, and to enforce this if met by a refusal.

"By the former mode of procedure, all collusion is prevented, and the prisoners may be disposed to make depositions in the hope of obtaining a pardon, which may be important.

"I shall hope to be honoured with instructions as early as possible; the nature of the depositions being known to several persons, there is every chance of publicity."

Colonel Lodwick being prejudiced against the Raja did not consider it proper and necessary to make any inquiries into the truth of the serious charges that were levelled against him and his favorites. He should be held responsible for all the troubles that befell the Raja, culminating in his ruin. It is an old saying in Hindustan that those who dig pits for others, themselves fall into these first. So Colonel Lodwick trying to ruin the Raja was himself first disgraced and removed from his appointment as Resident, of which mention will be made further on. It is not until after his removal from Satara that we hear Colonel Lodwick solemnly declare that the Raja

was an innocent man and could not have been guilty of conspiracy against the British Government, with which he had been charged.

Colonel Lodwick was, to a great extent, the cause of the Raja's ruin. As Resident, he was by one of the articles of the treaty bound to give advice to the Raja on all matters of importance. There would have been no misunderstanding and breach of confidence, had he furnished the Raja with the information he had received regarding the alleged conspiracy, and demanded an explanation from him. But instead of doing that, he wrote to the Government of Bombay proposing certain measures which brought about a "Reign of Terror" in Satara.

The Bombay Government did not let the grass grow under their feet, but being extremely glad at the prospect of the Raja's downfall, bestowed their immediate attention upon and took into serious consideration, the Resident's letter of the 22nd to which an urgent reply was transmitted on the 24th July. On the 15th September 1836, that Government wrote to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, a letter which opened with the following ominous paragraph:—

"We deeply regret to report to your Honourable Committee, that we have received intelligence of a conspiracy existing at Sattara, and, as is alleged, at several other native Courts in India, to seduce our native troops from their allegiance, with the ultimate design, by a combined effort, to subvert the British Empire in India."

Ominous words these, of which as yet the Bombay Government had no proofs whatever. But the following paragraph of the above letter was calculated to prejudice the minds of the Directors against the Raja of Satara :

"No further intelligence of consequence was received until yesterday, when, in a letter dated the 10th instant, the Resident at Sattara communicated to us some further important information, obtained through the two native officers who first denounced the plot, and which, we deeply lament to state, scarcely leaves a doubt that his Highness the Raja of Sattara has proved faithless to his engagements with the British government, and that he is at this moment in league with other powers to subvert our authority in this country."

Such were the views and sentiments of the Bombay Government towards the Satara Raja before they had obtained any tangible proofs of his guilt.* However, they appointed a Commission to ascertain the truth of the charges against the Raja. It was a special and secret Commission convened at Satara, under the authority of the Governor in Council of Bombay, conveyed in a letter from Mr. Acting Secretary Townsend, dated 10th October 1836. This letter is so important, that it should be inserted here *in extenso*. It was addressed to the Resident at Satara and it runs as follows:—

"I have laid before the Right honourable the Governor your despatch of the 7th instant, stating that the Brahmin agent had been seized in the lines of the 23rd regiment, and that the other parties accused of tampering with the native officers of

* Colonel Lodwick, in his representation to the Court of Directors on the 9th October 1840, wrote regarding these measures:—

"The system was now changed. All was energy in devising schemes by which the plot should be matured and detected; for which I should have been at a loss to account, had I not been told that in a *hasty moment*, a report of the case had been sent to the Supreme Government and to the Court of Directors, with an assurance that the Government placed full reliance on the testimony of the native officers; that many persons of weight went so far as to think the Rajah ought to be sent to Bombay to have his character investigated, and that possession should be taken of his country; but that at all events, the affair could not be quashed, and the question was how to make the inquiry most effective, though it was feared nothing more could be expected from the Rajah."

that regiment had, on your demand, been given up by the Raja of Sattara within an hour.

"I am desired to say, in reply, that the Right honourable the Governor approves of the measures you employed to secure these persons, *but it would have gratified him to learn that no communication had been allowed between them and the Raja, which could afford the opportunity of preconcerting a defence,* and that a search had been made for papers in the houses of the Dewan and the perfumer.

"It is not unlikely, that, had the suspected parties been separately examined at the moment they fell into your power, and when their minds were confused by the terror which their sudden seizure must have occasioned, some useful information might have been elicited, but to ensure their being guarded with vigilance the Governor requests you will appoint a European officer to this charge, with instructions not to allow them to communicate with each other, or with any persons whatever, on any pretence.

"The Right honourable the Governor has associated Mr. Willoughby and Lieut.-Colonel Ovans with you on a secret commission for the purpose of carefully investigating and reporting upon all the circumstances of this extraordinary question, and instructions are herewith transmitted for your guidance."

The words put in italics in the above will show the feelings of the "pious" Governor towards those who had been merely suspected of conspiracy, but no proof of whose guilt had as yet been adduced. His object was not to find out the truth or to impartially administer justice, but to establish a reign of terror in Satara.

The Commission was more like a judicial farce meant for the caricature, nay for the murder, of justice, rather than a tribunal to investigate the so-called conspiracy on the part of the Raja.* This will be evident from the

* In a letter to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, dated July 22nd 1843, Sir Harford Jones Brydges, *Baronet*, wrote regarding this Commission :—

personnel composing it. The accusers of the Raja sat in judgment upon him. Colonel Lodwick, the Resident at Satara, who conveyed the intelligence of the alleged conspiracy, was one of the Commissioners. Mr. Willoughby, Secretary of the Bombay Government, who on the 15th September 1836, intimated to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors "that his Highness the Raja of Satara has proved faithless to the British Government," was another Commissioner. These two Commissioners were already prejudiced against the Raja. It might be supposed that the third Commissioner, Lieut.-Colonel Ovans, was in no way prejudiced against the Raja and therefore could be counted upon for doing justice to that prince. But he was the greatest scoundrel that ever disgraced the political service of the Indian Government. Because he was a dishonest and unscrupulous fellow, it seems that it was therefore that he was appointed a member of the Satara Commission, for the Governor could have counted on his support and he must have bought him over before appointing him a Commissioner.

The following is a general outline of the case against the Raja in the words of these Commissioners:—

"On the 11th July 1836 a soobahdar of the 23rd regiment

"If you put such a question to me, I promise you to answer it in a few words when you will please to tell me by what code of laws, and by what rules, this Commission of mock trial of the Prince conducted its proceedings—by the law of England? by the Mohammedan law? by the Hindoo law? No! No! No! With these laws, though I am but scantily acquainted, I defy the most learned amongst you to come forward and disprove the assertions I have now made.

"Some of the gentlemen appointed to sit on this ever memorable commission seem to have adopted for the rule of their proceedings, *sic volo, sic jubes, stat pro ratione voluntas*; and then we come to a code equally memorable with the commission itself,—and then we come to the code of the wolf and the lamb, * * * *".

of Native Infantry, named Sewgoolam Sing, having proceeded on business to the town of Satara, was accosted by a Brahmin, named Untajee, no previous acquaintance having existed between them. The Brahmin first inquired for the Soobahdar Major and the Native adjutant of the regiment, and having bound the Soobahdar by an oath, informed him that a Vakeel had arrived from Scindia, and that all the Native states had combined together for the purpose of expelling the English from India. This conversation occurred under a tree, and the Brahmin having inquired of the Soobahdar where his house was situated, and the same having been pointed out, they parted.

"The Soobahdar, distrusting the Brahmin's story, did not at the time report the interview to his commanding officer, or mention it to any other person.

"On the 21st of July, the same Brahmin visited Sewgoolam Sing's house, in the Satara cantonment, and after having conversed in the same strain as at the first interview, inquired for the native adjutant, and a havildar named Chundee Sing was introduced to him as that officer, before whom he repeated his story of the native states having combined against the English. The Soobahdar continued to instruct the havildar to proceed and report to Lieutenant Stock, the adjutant of the 23rd regiment, what had occurred; and during his absence the Brahmin stated that Govind Row Dewan, an officer in the service of his Highness the Raja of Satara, had sent for the Soobahdar. On the report of the havildar Lieutenant Stock sent for the Soobahdar, and having been informed by him of the invitation to the Dewan's house, the adjutant directed him to accept it, and to take with him the havildar and another native officer named Gooljar Missur.

"Soobahdar Gooljar Missur was now introduced to the Brahmin as the particular friend of the first Soobahdar, and the Brahmin made no objection to his accompanying them to the Dewan's house (the distance from the cantonments to the minister's house may be about one mile), and when on the way the Brahmin informed the Soobahdars that emissaries had been sent to different stations to gain over the native troops, and the

tree under which he held his first interview with the Soobahdar Sewgoolam Sing was pointed out. On reaching the Adawlut the Brahmin, leaving the Soobahdars, went in search of the Dewan, and returning shortly after took them to the Dewan's house. The Brahmin conducted them into a room looking out into the street, when the Resident happening to pass by on his way to the palace, the Soobahdars pretended to be alarmed and left the house, the Brahmin following them. After having visited a pagah, the two Soobahdars and the Brahmin proceeded to the front of the Rajah's palace, and saw his Highness and the Resident examining two small guns. Shortly after the latter went away, when the Dewan, who had also been present, proceeded to his house, which is close by, and the Brahmin with the two soobahdars and the havildar followed him. The havildar remained below, and the two soobahdars were conducted upstairs and introduced by the Brahmin to the Dewan, who having ordered a servant to shut the door directed them to be seated. The Brahmin then explained the reason why the soobahdars had left the house ; upon which the Dewan told them not to be afraid ; that no friendship existed between the Raja and the Resident ; that arrangements were in progress at every place, and that the soobahdars must gain over their regiment ; that when the regiment left, he would correspond with them, and that they should be made great men of. The conversation was here interrupted by the arrival of "Scindiah's Vakeel," upon which the Dewan arose, ordered pawn to be given to the soobahdars, and left the room, telling Untajee to follow with them, that they might be shown to the Raja. Pawn having been given by a servant of the Dewan's named Coosheea, the soobahdars went to the front of the Raja's palace, when the Dewan, having whispered something into the Raja's ear, his Highness turned round, and the soobahdars having twice made their salam, twice received signs of recognition from his Highness. The soobahdars then returned to their lines, repeated what had occurred to their officers, and the following morning their depositions were taken down in writing by Captain Liddell, the interpreter of the 23rd regiment.

"On the 24th of July the Brahmin again visited the lines.

and informed the soobahdars that the Raja was much pleased with them, and had ordered his Dewan to give them a dinner. At this interview he conversed in the same manner as at the previous meetings and stated that Mahrattas and Carnatic Brahmins had been sent to the different stations, and that it had been arranged that each native state should gain over the troops stationed in its territory.

"Between the 24th and 31st July another meeting occurred between the soobahdars and the Brahmin, in the town of Sattara, at the house of a perfumer named Purusham, a nephew of the Brahmin Untajee, but nothing of importance transpired on this occasion. This meeting was sought for by the soobahdars, who had been instructed to appear to enter into the plot, with the view of ascertaining its nature and extent.

"On the 31st of July the Brahmin again came to the lines, and informed the soobahdars that he had been directed by the Dewan and the Raja to bring them in disguise to his Highness, and that the following Friday, 5th August, had been appointed for the interview.

"The Brahmin, however, did not return for many days, and during the month of August only one meeting occurred between the parties, when the soobahdars reproached Untajee for having violated his promise, and he excused himself on account of the heavy rains, adding that the Raja had been much distressed on account of the death of a Vakeel who had arrived on a mission from Oodeepoor.

"On the 8th September the Brahmin again visited the lines, and not finding Sewgoolam Sing at home, proceeded to the house of the other Soobahdar, Gooljar Missur, and informed him his Highness the Raja had sent for them, and that if they did not come that day another opportunity would not soon occur. The soobahdar Sewgoolam Sing happened to be on duty at the Residency, and in order to get relieved, on being apprised of the invitation, pretended to be sick. He was visited by Colonel Lodwick, who, on being informed of how matters really stood, immediately ordered the soobahdar to be relieved.

"About sunset the two soobahdars and the Brahmin proceeded to the shop of the perfumer, Purusham, which is in the

immediate vicinity of Govind Row Dewan's house. The Brahmin went out, and after an absence of about half-an-hour returned and said there were many people at the Dewan's house. He went out a second time, and returned about eight o'clock, bringing with him two European woollen hooded cloaks, which he gave to Purusham ; he went out a third time, and returned about half past eight, when by his directions the soobahdars, having taken off a part of their own clothes, and having disguised themselves in the cloaks above alluded to, were conducted by the Brahmin to the Dewan's house. On this occasion they were closeted for a short time with the Dewan in his sleeping apartment, the door being shut. The soobahdars were instructed by the Dewan, when they were introduced to the Raja, merely to observe that they were ready to obey his Highness's orders. A person, who the Brahmin afterwards stated was a relation of the ex-Raja of Nagpore, now came into the room, when one of the soobahdars pretended to be alarmed lest they should be betrayed. The Dewan gave them assurances, and the stranger made some remarks regarding the fidelity of the Purdesees, giving as an instance the case of two soobahdars and a party of sepoy, who not only allowed the Raja of Nagpore to escape, but also accompanied him. The Dewan and this person retired, and about nine o'clock the former returned alone, and said he would go and see if the Raja was alone, directing the Brahmin to follow with the soobahdars.

“His Highness's palace is only a very short distance from the Dewan's house. The soobahdars having put on their former disguise, were conducted by the Brahmin to the palace, were permitted to enter without molestation by the guards, and finding the Dewan in waiting for them, were escorted by him into an upper room, where his Highness the Raja was seated, smoking a *hooka*. A woman who was in the room was immediately ordered out, after which the Raja alluded to the soobahdars having salamed to him on a former day in the front of his palace, when the soobahdar Sewgoolam Sing asked what were his Highness's orders ; his Highness then mentioned four

events by which the soobahdars might know that he was a party concerned :

1. Disturbances in Bombay.
2. The arrival at Sattara of an army from Hyderabad.
3. Disturbances at Balapore (Belgaum).
4. The arrival of an army from Hindustan on this side of the Nurbuddah.

"The Raja then alluded to his having been deprived of his country and wealth by the English ; to Colonel Lodwick having informed him he would be sent either to Bombay, Calcutta, or England ; to his being a Rajpoot and not a Brahmin ; to the reason why he caused the huts of the sepoys at Mahabuleshwer to be removed, and finally instructed the soobahdars to gain over such of their men as they could rely upon, and that he would reward them. At the end of the interview the Soobahdar Sewgoolam Sing took off his turban and beseeched his Highness not to betray them to their officers. Having received assurances on this point, and having been presented with pawn, the interview terminated. The Dewan gave the soobahdars a sepoy to escort them beyond the Raja's guards, and having returned to the perfumer's shop, and put off their disguise, the soobahdars returned to their lines about 10 o'clock, reported what had occurred and gave the pawn they had received to their adjutant, and the following morning their depositions were committed to writing.

"On the 14th September the Brahmin again visited the lines, and informed the soobahdars that the Raja was much pleased with them, and wished to give them a dinner in a garden near the town, which they declined. The soobahdars on this occasion asked for a token to show to the men they might gain over, and the Brahmin promised that at the Dussera they should receive a turban and shela.

"The Brahmin not returning for several days, the two soobahdars and the havildar Chunder Sing proceeded on the 27th September to the perfumer's shop in search of him. From what occurred on this occasion it would appear that the Brahmin was desirous of avoiding a meeting, but ultimately he made his appearance, and stated that he had been directed by

the Dewan and the Raja not to meet the Soobahdars frequently, in order to avoid suspicion. This conversation occurred near a nullah, in the vicinity of Purusham's shop. The soobahdars requested to be taken to the Dewan's house ; the Brahmin left them and returned in about a quarter of an hour, and said the Dewan was engaged. He went out a second time, and shortly after sent a boy to call Purusham, who returned to the soobahdars and told them the Dewan could not see them that night, but that they must come again on Thursday. Upon this the native officers returned home and reported what had occurred to their adjutant.

"On the 29th September the soobahdars again went to the perfumer's shop, and were told that Untajee had gone to Wacc : they then went to his house and were told a different story, but they did not succeed in finding him.

"On the 30th September the havildar Chunder Sing was directed by Lieut. Stock to proceed alone into the town in quest of the Brahmin, and met him. They proceeded to a retired place, and a long conversation ensued between them, the Brahmin, among other things, informing the havildar that his highness the Raja was downcast, in consequence of the receipt of a letter from a friend at Sholapore. In conclusion, the Brahmin consented to meet the soobahdars at a chokee in the vicinity of the cantonments.

"Accordingly, on the 1st of October, the two soobahdars and the havildar proceeded to the place of rendezvous ; and the Brahmin not appearing, the havildar was sent in search of him, and finding him at the perfumer's shop, sent a man to call the soobahdars, being afraid to lose sight of him. The soobahdars immediately joined him, and a long conversation of a most treasonable kind against the British Government occurred between them and Untajee, the latter now informing them, that the letter which had caused the Raja to become downcast was from Mr. Hand at Sholapore, and made inquiries regarding reported disturbances at Satara. The soobahdars, on their return home, reported the result of their interview to Lieutenant Stock, and their depositions were recorded.

"Finally, on the 7th October, the Brahmin Untajee having

been enticed into the lines by the soobahdars, under the pretence of selling him a cow, he was apprehended; and immediately after his seizure the Resident having informed his Highness the Raja of Satara of the charges preferred against his Dewan and Purusham the perfumer, both were without demur given up, and the Soobahdar Sewgoolam Sing having recognised among the persons who accompanied the Dewan the servant who gave him pawn at the conclusion of the first interview at the Dewan's house, he was immediately apprehended and placed in confinement."

It was to investigate the truth or falsehood of the above-mentioned story that this special and secret Commission was appointed.

None of the Commissioners had any legal training or knew even the elements of law so necessary in sifting evidence in a case like the one they had been appointed to investigate. Had the Government been sincerely desirous of finding out the truth, or doing justice to the Raja, they would have appointed Commissioners whose minds had not been warped by prejudice against the Raja, and who were acquainted with the procedure necessary in investigating cases of law. There was the Supreme Court in Bombay, some of the judges of which could have been constituted into the secret Commission to investigate the charges against the Raja. Such a Commission would have commanded the respect of all and no calumny could have been uttered against such a tribunal.

Not only was the constitution of the Commission bad, but the manner in which the Commissioners conducted their proceedings was highly reprehensible. They acted contrary to law and justice, and in a manner directly calculated to suppress the truth, and to screen from exposure the perjury of the witnesses brought before

them. In their report the Commissioners themselves admitted that the instigator of the plot—a Brahmin of the name of Untajee—was a man of the most worthless and unprincipled character, guilty of the grossest prevarication and deceit, on whom it was impossible to place any reliance. The native officers with whom the Raja was alleged to have intrigued, admitted that they had perjured themselves, when they became the confederates of the Brahmin, by taking an oath of secrecy which they never intended to keep. Colonel Lodwick, one of the Commissioners, some years afterwards publicly declared

“that the witnesses examined before the commission bore false testimony ; and that he should deeply regret, to the latest hour of his life, his act of signing the proceedings of the Commission, without at the time recording his protest against the worthlessness of the evidence taken.”

The witnesses were not subjected to any searching cross-examination, and were throughout the whole proceedings permitted to have unlimited communication with each other. The Raja was not only denied the right of having an agent present during the examination of the witnesses against him, but was also refused copies of their depositions, notwithstanding his request made to the Commissioners, when the Raja was summoned from his palace, and appeared before them, and in violation of a distinct promise given to him by them, that copies should be forwarded as soon as they could be made. Yet, notwithstanding all these, the Commissioners reported to the Bombay Government, that the Raja had “altogether failed to disprove the evidence that had been brought forward.” It is needless to say that the Bombay Government, which engineered the whole train of conspiracy against the Raja, very gladly approved of the

doings of the Commissioners and considered the Raja guilty. In all, the Commission sat for twenty-one days from 12th October to 4th November 1836. The mass of evidence which they collected was so worthless, that no one would have hanged even a cat on it. Yet the Bombay Government of the day considered it so strong that they decided to act on it.

The Raja had another grievance against two of the Commissioners. After the termination of the proceedings of the Commission, Mr. Willoughby and Lieut.-Colonel Ovans, on their departure from Satara, did not come to see the Raja and bid him good-bye. This show of common courtesy these two men lacked, of which the Raja complained very bitterly.

Colonel Lodwick, as stated before, reported on the 22nd July 1836, the alleged treasonable conduct of the Raja to the Bombay Government. Since then he had done things not calculated to make the Raja look upon him as a friend, for he caused the seizure of Govind Row Dewan and confined him in a gun-powder magazine, where he remained under bayonets until the assembling of the secret Commission at Satara; Govind Row was brought before the Commission, where, on learning the charge alleged against him, he solemnly protested his innocence, and demanded to be confronted with his accusers; he was next removed, without trial and as a prisoner, from Satara to Poona. Such proceedings on the part of Colonel Lodwick could not have commanded respect or friendship from the Raja, and no wonder that his influence over the mind of the Raja not only declined but ceased to exist.

Colonel Lodwick was not, however, such an unscrupulous man as to be a tool in the hands of Sir Robert

Grant in plotting the ruin of the Raja. After having reported without consideration the alleged treasonable conduct of the Raja to the Bombay Government, Colonel Lodwick must have felt the prickings of his conscience, and so to make some amends to the Raja it appears that he wrote a letter on the 13th September 1836 to the Right Honourable Sir Robert Grant, a few extracts from which are given below :—

“With reference to my official letter of the 10th instant, on the subject of his Highness the Raja’s extraordinary line of conduct in the attempt to seduce native officers and others from their allegiance, I take the liberty of privately offering my sentiments on a subject which is calculated to excite some compassion, if the view I have, after consideration, taken of the case be well founded ; I may be deceived, but it appears to me that the Raja is acting under the agency of a mind diseased, which may be considered a sort of monomania.

“The one dominant feeling of his mind during the last two years has certainly been the imagined infraction of the treaty by a denial of his rights over his jaghirdars.”

But the breach between the Governor and the Resident, went on increasing every day. The Governor himself was the guilty party for neglecting to settle the question of the Raja’s rights over the jaghirdars, and so the Resident’s allusion to this subject was anything but palatable to him. Sir Robert Grant became determined on the removal of Colonel Lodwick from the Satara Residency. The declaration of the Resident as to his loss of influence over the mind of the Raja served as a pretext to the Governor to carry out his object. In his letter to the Secretary to the Bombay Government, dated Satara, 13th May 1837, Colonel Lodwick, rather indiscreetly blamed that Government for making him lose his influence over the Raja. He wrote :—

"Previously to the excitement occasioned by the nature of his appeals to Government through the Resident, relative to his eventual rights over the jaghirs, the Raja was in the habit of paying me frequent friendly visits, * * *.

"* * * This frequent and friendly intercourse with his Highness, * * gradually declined within the last 16 months, whereas the usual political intercourse remained in full force until June 1836, when the change was instantly brought to the notice of Government, but to this date no reply to my report has ever been received.

"To this want of support on a trying occasion from the Government, I attribute his late line of conduct towards the Resident, * *. It was optional with his Highness to discontinue friendly and familiar intercourse with the Resident, but to appoint clandestinely an agent, not his own subject, for the transaction of political duties, appeared to me an infraction of the treaty, but no notice being taken of my representation, the natural consequences ensued, a contempt for authority unsupported by the power from which it emanated."

General Lodwick told the Court of Directors of the East India Company in a letter dated the 9th October 1840, the manner in which the Governor, Sir Robert Grant, proposed to him to decoy and entrap the Raja. He said:—

"And a paper of hints was sent to me, suggesting 'that the Native officers should ask to see the Raja, tell him they had heard their part of the plot had been discovered, beg that he would protect them, either by advancing money to escape with, or a pass, under his hand and seal, to insure them service; that if he gave them money, the evidence would be strong; if a paper, convincing. If, however, he should give them up to me, with loud complaints of calumny, in this case I was to pretend to secure them, and suspicion being hushed, an opportunity would be afforded of securing the principal agents.'

"Honour and honesty being my motto in public as in private life, I spurned such shifts as these, and left the plot to

develop itself, determining to take no active part in the Raja's ruin."

Because Lodwick was not going to be a tool in the hands of Sir Robert Grant, therefore he was to be removed from his post. In his Minute dated 30th March 1837, Sir Robert Grant wrote :—

"The health of Colonel Lodwick ill fits him to conduct the difficult and delicate investigation required, and I rather believe that he is about to leave Satara for a time."

This was of course not true. Colonel Lodwick was not in bad health and he had at that time no intention of leaving Satara. The wish was father to the thought. The Governor wanted to remove him from Satara and hence invented the pretext of Colonel Lodwick being in ill-health. In a Minute dated 8th April 1837, Sir Robert Grant wrote :—

"The public interests must not be sacrificed to a regard for the feelings of individuals: Colonel Lodwick must be removed from the Residency at Satara, if he stands in the way of the public welfare, and if he cannot be disposed of by gentler means."

The Governor, Sir Robert Grant, having no confidence in Lodwick, determined on his removal. Accordingly, on 6th June 1837, his Secretary wrote to Lodwick :—

"* * It appears that your influence over the mind of the Raja has not only declined, but at length ceased to exist; that his feeling towards you is now one of aversion or hostility, and that in place of conforming to your advice, as he is bound to do by treaty, he acts as if he were totally independent of treaty and of all control. * * * *

"To what cause or causes this state of things is to be ascribed the Governor in Council does not think it necessary, for the purpose of the present communication, to inquire; * * * *

"It is true that if his Highness acts in opposition to the

Resident's advice, he violates the treaty, and that by threatening him with the consequent penalties this Government might induce him to reconsider his conduct, but it forms no part of the policy of employing a British Resident at a native court that he should govern only by the means of terror. The intention is, that by firm, wise, and conciliatory management he should win the affections, or at least should command the respect, of the prince to whom he is attached, and that the compulsory power with which he is armed should be reserved for extreme cases, and should, on all ordinary occasions, be disguised under the reciprocations of a free and friendly intercourse.

“* * The Raja's feelings appear to be in a state of high and almost morbid excitement, and it is quite agreeable to experience, that over a mind thus affected some new person should acquire an influence which is denied to a long known adviser.”

Accordingly Colonel Lodwick was removed, and Lieut.-Colonel Ovans was appointed as his successor at the Satara Residency. Colonel Lodwick delivered over charge of the Residency to Ovans on the 15th June 1837 and then proceeded to Bombay *en route* for England.

CHAPTER IX.

The appointment of Colonel Ovans as Resident at Satara was most objectionable from every point of view. He was one of the Commissioners who considered the Raja guilty of treason, and as said above, had not the courtesy to see and bid goodbye to the Raja, when he was leaving Satara after the termination of the proceedings of the Commission. The avowed reason of Colonel Lodwick's removal was that his influence over the mind of the Raja had not only declined, but at length ceased to exist, and so "over a mind thus affected some new person should acquire an influence which is denied to a long known adviser." But was the appointment of Colonel Ovans calculated to effect the purpose for which Colonel Lodwick was removed?*

The "pious" governor

* In his letter to J. C. Melvill, Esqr., dated, London, December 1837, Colonel Lodwick wrote :—

"I respectfully presume further to ask, whether, in removing me from the residency on the ground of alleged animosity on the part of his Highness the Raja, it was quite consistent or fair, either towards his Highness or myself, to send one of those Commissioners to relieve me, all of whom were hateful to his Highness, as having witnessed the only act of humiliation to which he had ever submitted? In adopting that measure, could it be considered dignified or proper for the Chief Secretary to address a note to a certain Brahmin, requesting him to proceed to Sattara and give assistance to the new Resident, when that person's deposition before the Commission proved him to be in the full confidence of the Raja's brother? So marked a line of conduct on the part of a high functionary of Government too strongly betrayed its bias, and the result might have been readily predicted. In place of that free and friendly intercourse between the Raja and the Resident, deemed by the Bombay Government so essential as to require my immediate removal, I have every reason to believe that the reign of terror has commenced. An outrage which had never previously been adopted was put in force—that of clandestinely sending British troops to seize certain persons within the Raja's capital, and even the Chitnavées, or Secretary of

knew fully well that it was not. Sir Robert Grant was a perfect hypocrite, and in appointing Colonel Ovans he had ulterior designs on the Satara Raj. He knew fully well that Colonel Ovans was not the man to acquire any influence over the Raja's mind, nay, it was not desired by the governor that he should do so. In the letter of instructions to Colonel Ovans dated Poona 13th June 1837, Mr. Willoughby, the Secretary in attendance on the Governor, wrote:—

"In all your communications with the Raja, Government are of opinion that you should be reserved and distant ; * * * *

Now, was this conduct calculated to inspire the Raja with confidence in the new Resident, or could the latter have in this manner acquired any influence over the mind of the prince? No, because Colonel Ovans was an unscrupulous man, therefore he was chosen by the "pious" governor to fully conduct the conspiracy which had been concocted against the Raja by the British officials. This is evident from the following instructions to Colonel Ovans contained in Mr. Willoughby's letter of the 13th June 1837, already referred to above:—

"I am now instructed to call your particular attention to the enclosed original letter, purporting to have been addressed to Government by Girjabae, the mother of Govind Row Dewan, at present a State pensioner at Poonah.

"This letter is dated the 13th December 1836, but was not received by Government until the 6th of March last. It contains information of the most important nature connected

State, was placed in confinement by the Resident. A plot against the British Government, of ancient date, was readily discovered, when the sentiments of the Bombay Government were so evident; and it is probable that, ere this, the Sattara State lies at the mercy of that Government, whilst the unfortunate Raja has not one friend on whom to rely for support, or to plead in his defence."

with the designs of his Highness the Raja against the British Government, and names various persons in his confidence, who, according to the writer, participated in those designs."

The above extracts from the letter of instructions clearly show the reason of replacing Lodwick by Ovens. The Bombay Government kept this anonymous document secret for three months, subsequently proved to be a gross forgery, and then committed it to the hands of Colonel Ovens with instructions to institute immediate inquiries into its authenticity. The question arises, why was not this document handed over to Colonel Lodwick as soon as it was received by the Government in March 1837?*

This question can be answered only in one way and that is that the "pious" governor had strong and good reasons to believe that Colonel Lodwick was not such an unscrupulous man as to be a tool in his hands to cause the ruin of the Raja; for there cannot be any doubt that that governor knew perfectly well that that document was a "forgery" committed (it may be at his own instance) by his creature Balajee Punt Natoo.

* The following extracts from Sir Robert Grant's Minute, dated 30th March 1837, give his so-called reasons for his not having entrusted Colonel Lodwick with the investigation of the petition:—

"I consider the information we have received from Girjabai, the mother of Govind Row, Dewan, to be highly important, and to form groundwork for further inquiry into the mysterious events at Sattara.

"The only difficulty I feel is in devising a mode of inquiry by which secrecy should be observed, which I consider essential to the development of the truth. * * * *

"It occurs to me, however, that it may be desirable to refrain from any attempt to elicit the truth from this person until my next visit to the Deccan. * * * *

"The health of Colonel Lodwick ill fits him to conduct the difficult and delicate investigation required, and I rather believe that he is about to leave Sattara for a time. I will immediately consider what substitute should be appointed; and under these circumstances, a copy of this petition need not be sent to the Resident."

According to one of the articles of the Treaty of 1819, the Resident was to be the Raja's counsellor in the administration of the government; yet on his arrival at Satara, Colonel Ovans adopted measures and pursued a course which clearly showed that he was instructed by Government to set at defiance and violate that important article of the Treaty. He paid ceremonial visits to the Raja, which were duly returned by that prince. Regarding these visits, the Colonel in his letter of the 24th June 1837, wrote to the Secretary, Bombay Government :—

"In the interviews above alluded to the Rajah showed an inclination to put himself into my hands, but as my communications with him at this crisis are necessarily reserved and distant, in accordance with my instructions, this feeling on his part must be expected to wear off."

No language could be clearer than the above in showing that Colonel Ovans was sent to Satara with instructions to provoke the Raja to desperation and thus to hasten his ruin. And that gallant Resident did everything in his power calculated to influence the mind of the Raja against the British Government. He was not to throw oil over troubled waters, but to widen the breach between the Raja and the English. The Raja as an innocent man and in the simplicity of his heart, "showed an inclination to put himself into" the Resident's hands. But this was not welcome to the dishonest Resident bent upon mischief. So it was not the Raja but the Bombay Government which instructed their Resident to violate the Treaty solemnly entered into with the Raja in 1819.

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The hypocrisy, dishonesty and falsehoods which characterize Sir Robert Grant's Minutes were very fully and mercilessly exposed by Colonel Lodwick in his letter to the Court of Directors dated 9th October 1840 and printed in the Parliamentary papers relating to Sattara (pp. 1305-1314).

The proceedings of the Resident were such as to disgrace the history of any nation or clime. His first act at Satara was to instruct his staff officer, Captain Durack, to suborn an obscure individual by name 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.

Regarding this vile transaction of Colonel Ovans, the well known English orator, Mr. Thompson, spoke as follows at a meeting of the Court of Proprietors of the East India Company, held on the 24th of September 1845.

“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 a 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 profered his services, without the slightest knowledge of his character, his avocations, or his motives, Colonel Ovans at once closes with his offer, 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 pre-determination to ensnare, to deceive, and to destroy are exhibited in this one act! * * 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's 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!”

CHAPTER X.

By imprisoning Govind Row Dewan, Colonel Lodwick had merely initiated the reign of terror which was firmly established by his successor. Govind Row was removed without trial, as a prisoner, from Satara to Poona. But to persecute him more mercilessly the new Resident at Satara proposed that he should be removed from Poona to Ahmednagar. In his letter to the Secretary to the Bombay Government dated 24th June 1837 Colonel Ovans wrote :—

“ * * I beg most respectfully to propose that the Dewan be sent immediately under guard to Ahmednuggur, and placed in strict confinement there ; that he only be attended by his own servant, and that all other intercourse with him be for the present prohibited.”

Accordingly, Govind Row was taken from Poona, sent a close prisoner to Ahmednagar, and there kept in solitary confinement for the purpose, as declared by Colonel Ovans in his despatches to Bombay, of obtaining from him, through an emissary, a declaration of the truth of the anonymous document which had been committed by the Council of Bombay to Colonel Ovans for inquiry.

On the strength of the above document, of which Colonel Ovans possessed unquestionable and conclusive evidence of being a fabrication and forgery, the Bombay Government authorised him to imprison a number of innocent persons, all subjects of the Raja of Satara, and empowered him to institute extensive and secret investigations, which he afterwards made the foundation of numerous reports to the Government, all incriminating the Raja.

Colonel Ovans employed and paid persons to collect evidence against the Raja, and these suborned persons forged depositions, and attributed those depositions to parties who afterwards solemnly declared that they had never been examined, and were utterly ignorant of the circumstances which in those forged depositions they were made to narrate.

Let us revert to Govind Row. We can not do better than refer to the speech of Mr. George Thompson, to which allusion has already been made above, regarding the brutal manner in which Govind Row was treated by the Bombay Government at the suggestion of Colonel Ovans. The story is so pathetic, and the mode of extorting confession from Govind Row so singular, and the manner in which Mr. Thompson narrated the doings of Colonel Ovans so vivid, graphic and true, that no apology is needed for giving *in extenso* his speech above referred to, in Appendix D.

CHAPTER XI.

The Raja asked times without number for copies of the evidence of the witnesses who appeared before the secret Commission held at Satara to investigate his treasonable conduct to seduce the native troops. Although the Commission had promised to furnish him with copies of the evidence, yet Colonel Ovans withheld these documents from the Raja, his excuse being that the Commission was a secret one and hence no part of its proceedings could be made public. Both the Government of India and that of Bombay were at one time desirous to let the Raja know the nature of the charges and the evidence in support of them, so as to enable him to prepare his defence, but this Colonel Ovans, "the adviser of the Raja," according to the treaty of 1819, prevented from being given effect to.

The perverse nature of Colonel Ovans would be further evident from the manner in which he trumped up other charges against the Raja. The Raja had been originally accused of tampering with the fidelity of the native troops, and it was to investigate this charge that the secret Commission was appointed, consisting of Colonel Lodwick, Mr. Willoughby and Colonel Ovans. But since his appointment as Resident, the gallant (?) Colonel Ovans brought forward two other charges against the Raja, *viz.*, that he had conspired with the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa for the overthrow of the British Government of India; 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.*

These two additional charges were made known to the Raja only at the time of his being deposed from his throne. Colonel Ovans earnestly solicited the Council of Bombay to grant a free pardon to a notorious gang-robber and a fugitive from justice, with whom he had made a bargain to redeem out of alleged pawn, for the sum of 400 Rupees, a bundle of papers and seals, secreted in the Portuguese territories, and purporting to be evidence to criminate the Raja in treasonable correspondence with the Governor of Goa. Of course, all these documents were concocted and fabricated by a gang of conspirators who knew that the royal road to fortune lay in forging documents criminating the Raja. Knowing how credulous the British Government were, and knowing fully well that the Raja would never be heard in his defence, Balajee Punt Natoo and some of his creatures under the protection, and it may be at the instigation of Colonel Ovans, plied their nefarious trade with impunity, nay with material profit.

The Portuguese Governor of Goa declared that the papers alleged to have been written by him were foul forgeries, and that he never in his life held any political

* In his letter to J. C. Melvill, Esq., dated London, December 1837, Colonel Lodwick wrote :—

“Can it be credited, that had a conspiracy on the part of the Raja really existed at the time, some information would not have been given whilst the Commission was assembled at Sattara? Yet it is notorious, that not one person could be found to depose to that effect but an infamous Brahmin, who acknowledged on a subsequent day that the plot was only in his own imagination, and brought forward from motives of revenge against the Raja and his unhappy Dewan. Indeed, his perjured evidence is a disgrace to the proceedings of the Court.”

correspondence with the Raja of Satara. Similarly the charge brought against the Raja of intriguing with the native powers to overthrow the British rule was entirely disproved by the official reports sent from every court in India at which it was said the Raja had been carrying on intrigues.

But the guilty conscience of Colonel Ovans made him do many other things in order to find proofs of the criminality of the Raja. One of these was his practice of intercepting the Raja's correspondence. Regarding Mazzini's letters being tampered with by the British Government, Carlyle's verdict is so well known, that it need not be reproduced here.

But those who constituted the then Government of Bombay do not seem to have possessed any sense of honor or honesty, for they considered it a meritorious act on their part to thus persecute a "heathen" prince by their inquisitorial proceedings. It is not therefore to be expected that their representative at Satara would be a man of honor or high principles. Regarding this practice of Colonel Ovans in intercepting the Raja's correspondence, Mr. George Thompson's observations in the speech given in Appendix D would be read with interest and profit.

CHAPTER XII.

While the unscrupulous Resident established a reign of terror at Satara which must have gladdened the heart of the "pious" Governor who had deliberately chosen that officer as his instrument for the ruin of the Raja, the Raja himself, quite conscious of his innocence and 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. With this object in view, he sent his agents to Bombay to induce some Englishmen to take up his case and represent his grievances to the higher authorities. All that he asked for and demanded was a fair trial, to be heard in his defence, to be confronted with his accusers and be permitted to cross-examine the witnesses who had borne testimony against him. There was nothing wrong in this, for even the vilest criminal caught with his hands dyed in blood, is given an opportunity to know the nature of the evidence on which he is going to be convicted. This right of the criminal was denied to the accused Raja, who was going to be condemned unheard and on *ex-parte* evidence only.

In Bombay there were many Englishmen of honorable and unimpeachable character, who were quite convinced of the innocence of the Raja, and of his being a victim of foul conspiracies and plots of unscrupulous and designing men. Therefore they sympathized with him, and amongst those who were willing to take up his case, may be mentioned Dr. Milne, *ex-President* of the Medical

Board of Bombay, and Captain Cogan of the Indian Navy. The editor of the *Bombay Gazette*, Mr. Macdonald, was also convinced of the Raja's innocence and so his exposure of the evil doings of the Governor and his creature Colonel Ovans was bitterly resented by them. Dr. Milne wrote, on behalf of the Raja, several letters to the Government of Bombay as well as to that of India, but no attention was paid to them. So the Raja was obliged to send his agents to England.

The duly accredited agents of the Raja, sent to England, were four in number, viz., Syed Meer Afzil Ali, Yeswant Row Rajey Sirkey, Bhugwont Row Wittul, and Rungo Bapoojee. Syed Meer was sent in 1838 and arrived in England in December of that year. Yeswant Row and Bhagwunt Rao left for England in the year 1839. Rungo Bapoojee left separately under the chaperonage of Captain Cogan.

It seems that the deputation of Syed Meer gave great offence to the Indian authorities both in England and in India.* At a Special General Court of the East India Company held on the 5th July 1848, the deputy

* Most preposterous stories were circulated regarding Syed Meer's Mission. He was said to have been entrusted with a letter by the Raja to the Russians, to be delivered in case his negotiations in England proved fruitless. In his letter, dated 25th April 1839, Colonel Ovans wrote to Mr. Willoughby, Secretary to Government, Bombay :—

"It will be re-collected that the Meer, whose real name is Meer Afzul Ally, was the person first selected by the Raja for a mission to England, before the communications with Dr. Milne were set on foot; and it is in evidence that this person was then entrusted with a letter to the Russians, to be delivered in case his negotiations in England proved fruitless.

"It was, however, afterwards understood that this mission was abandoned, and the Karkoon Rungoba, at the instigation of Dr. Milne, was directed to recover from him his papers, and the money, amounting to 10,000 rupees, which had been paid to him by the Raja.

In reply to these instructions, Rungoba informed his Highness that the

chairman of the Company is said to have justified the ill-treatment of the Raja on the appointment of Syed Meer as his agent. Regarding this, Mr. George Thompson spoke at that Court as follows :—

“Under what circumstances was Syed Meer appointed? After the Raja had discovered that his papers had been kept back from the Court of Directors, after the suppression of the dispatch of September 1834, and after he had been treated with systematic neglect for several years in reference to a matter which he regarded as of vital importance, that of his sovereignty over the jagheerdars. It was quite true that the Raja had been referred to the terms of the treaty, but he ably and successfully argued the point with General Lodwick, and proved that it could be no breach of that treaty to send an agent to lay his claims before the authority under this roof. . . . What was the doctrine that would now go forth to the world, and he promulgated throughout India? It was this, that any prince with whom the East India Company had a treaty, and at whose Court they had a Resident, daring to appeal by an agent of his own . . . would be guilty of a crime justly punishable by deposal.”

Meer refused to give up the papers, and subsequently he reported that the Meer had left Bombay, and had gone, it was said, to Mecca; no further notice appears to have been taken of this by the Raja, for, as the result has proved, the above order was only a blind to cover the real design of the Raja to send the Meer as originally intended, as the presence of this person, who by the latest accounts was in London, clearly shows.”

In his petition to the Court of Directors, dated 14th September 1840, Meer Afzil Ali most solemnly declared that the abovementioned allegations were unfounded. He wrote :—

“That your petitioner feels called upon to declare in the most unqualified manner to your Honourable Court, that the statements made by the Indian Government against your petitioner, in reference to the Pasha of Egypt (as appears by the papers now made public), are without a shadow of foundation; * * * *. Your Honourable Court may therefore imagine that if any doubt had existed in the mind of your petitioner as to the innocence of his Highness, it would have been fully removed by finding that these gross and gratuitous calumnies had come from the same sources of accusation as those which have led to the deposition of his sovereign.”

Syed Meer did very little for the Raja in England. This he explained in his memorial dated 14th September 1840, to the Court of Directors as follows :—

“That your petitioner arrived in this country in December 1838, duly accredited by his Highness the Raja of Satara, to bring under the consideration of your Honourable Court the unfortunate differences then existing between his Highness and your Government in India ; but your petitioner did not address your Honourable Court for many months subsequently to his arrival, in consequence of assurances that Sir James Carnac would amicably adjust all the existing differences with the Sattara State.”

Because Syed Meer did little or nothing for the Raja in England, therefore it seems that the latter was compelled to send other agents to that country to represent his grievances. } But these agents were very cruelly treated by the Bombay authorities. Of course the latter had no right to do what they did; but then they delighted in insulting and persecuting the Raja and his servants. . Years afterwards Rungo Bapoojee told the President of the India Board the treatment which his colleagues had met with at the hands of the Bombay Authorities. His statement printed among the Parliamentary Papers relating to the Raja of Satara is reproduced here, for the light it throws on a dark transaction of that period. His statement is headed :—

“Treatment of the Vakeels of his Highness the Raja of Sattara by the Bombay Authorities.”

“A reference to the printed Parliamentary Papers will prove incontestibly that the Raja originally lost the favor and support of the Bombay Government in consequence of asserting his rights of sovereignty over certain jagheers (estates) secured to him by the treaty which placed him on his throne. The Bombay Government assumed some of these estates by means of awards passed by their own local tribunals and their own

judges. The Raja appealed to the Government for redress, expressing at the same time his perfect willingness to abide by the interpretation which the East India Directors might put upon the treaty, whatever that interpretation might be. The Directors decided in favour of the Raja's rights. That decision was sent to Bombay, but was withheld from the Raja by the Government. The Raja, ignorant of the decision in his favor, persevered in his applications for redress, but without effect. He then declared his intention of sending an agent to England to state his case on his own behalf. From that moment his fate appears to have been sealed, and his ruin determined on.

"This was in June 1836. General Lodwick, the resident at the Raja's Court, aware of the consequences which the step would bring down upon his Highness, dissuaded him from taking it. The Raja at once desisted. He then sought counsel and assistance from such English gentlemen in India as he thought capable of advising and aiding him; one of these was Dr. Milne, the retired physician-general of the Bombay army, who was living in Bombay, after a public service of nearly half a century. The Raja wrote to Dr. Milne requesting earnestly to see him at Sattara. All the letters between them to and fro were intercepted, and the following minute upon them was then passed by the Bombay Government, and communicated to Dr. Milne:

"*Minute by the Board, 30 January 1839: 'Dr. Milne may be informed that, as a pensioner of the Honorable Company, he is to refrain from holding any communication, direct or indirect, with the Raja of Sattara, or with his agents.'*"

"This minute is subscribed by Mr. James Farish, who was the acting Governor of Bombay, and by Messrs. Anderson and Dunlop, the two other members of Council, all three civil servants of the East India Company, and appointed to office by the Court of Directors.

"The Raja, cut off by them from all aid or intercourse with any English gentleman, was driven to resume his intention of appealing direct to England. This intention was officially

reported by the resident of the Government in the end of November 1838, who also stated that the Raja meant to place the mission under the charge of a French gentleman, named De Woolmar, then in Bombay, and about to sail for Europe. In the beginning of February 1839 the native agents, consisting in all, with their servants and interpreter, of eight persons, arrived in Bombay, their passage (charge £550 sterling) having been taken and paid for on board a French ship. The Bombay Council immediately assembled, and the members of it passed, at different times, numerous minutes, parts of which only have been published, but the following are extracts word for word from what has been printed.

"Mr. Farish, the Acting Governor, recorded on the 12th of February as follows:—

"*First Minute.*—In regard to the natives, if they state that they are going under the orders of the Raja of Sattara, they might be detained pending inquiry of the Raja, who cannot be permitted clandestinely to send native agents to England.

"*Second Minute*, of the same day, also subscribed by Mr. Dunlop.—'The Raja of Sattara can send no deputation, except through the authorized channel, and no such deputation has been authorized.' 'The ground on which these persons are supposed to be proceeding to Europe from the Raja of Sattara should be reported and their names stated.'

"*Third Minute*, 13th February.—'The reference to the senior magistrate of police (Mr. Elliott) should be made regarding these natives, and the Advocate-General may be consulted as to whether we can detain them on any information we possess, as deputed by the Raja of Sattara? 'Mr. De Woolmar (the Frenchman) is quite at liberty to go to Europe, or to quit India, but not to remain at subordinate stations; and after information, as proposed by me, the authorities at such stations will act on their own responsibility.'

"*Fourth Minute*, without date.—'The Advocate-General may be referred to the treaty.'

"*Fifth Minute*, 17th February, also subscribed by Mr. Dunlop.—'If these persons are allowed to go, ought they not to

be required to make a deposit (in money) to provide against the Company being subject to any expense on their arrival?' 'The Advocate-General has not yet replied to the reference made to him about these persons.'

" 'The senior magistrate should hand up the statement of each individual, which it is presumed he took in writing.'

"*Memorandum* from the acting Secretary (Mr. T. Boyd). 21st February.—'The acting Secretary begs to state, for the information of Government, that, agreeably to the instructions received, he has seen the eight Hindoos, and questioned them upon the necessary points, and now encloses their replies. The Board will observe that Yeshwunt Rao, a relative of his Highness, is the head of the mission, and that he acknowledges two particulars of importance; first, the nature of the service on which he is proceeding to Europe, and secondly, that the mission is provided with the regular credentials from his Highness. They were informed that no ship, with them on board, could get a port clearance until a reply to the reference made to Sattara was received. They were also told that the whole of their movements were of course perfectly known, and the present object was to explain to them how they were situated. They stated that they were afraid only of being prevented from going.'

"*Sixth Minute*, by Mr. Farish, 22 February.—Colonel Ovens's (the resident's) letter of the 18th instant, and the result of the examinations taken by Mr. Boyd (the Secretary), leave no doubt regarding the nature and objects of the mission about to proceed to England on the part of the Raja of Sattara. Mr. Boyd should inform the principal persons that Government are satisfied that, proceeding as they do, without the sanction of this Government, they will find themselves mistaken in the expectation that they will be recognized in any public capacity by Her Majesty's Government, or the Honourable Court of Directors. The Advocate-General may also be informed of the decision in case he has any objection to it, that is, to the agents' departure.'

" 'Copies of all the papers connected with the subject

should be sent to the Secret Committee (of the East India Directors) with our earnest recommendation that the mission may not, on its arrival in England, be recognized either by the Court or by Her Majesty's Government. Their instructions may also be solicited, whether such missions should be allowed or not, to proceed to England.

“The Secret Committee will determine whether this proceeding is in conformity with the Raja's agreement with Government.’

“*Seventh Minute*, 11 March, subscribed by the Board.—‘The senior magistrate of police (Mr. Elliott) may be directed to refer these persons to Government, and it would have evinced greater discretion had he done so of his own accord in the first instance.

“‘If these persons address us, we should refuse to recognize them as the Raja's agents.’

“*Eighth Minute*, without date, subscribed by the Board.—‘Mr. Elliott, senior magistrate, should have made the communication direct; verbally, and not in writing. No special intimations are necessary to be given to the Collector of Customs. This letter may be recorded without further correspondence.’ (What letter? No letter is recorded in print).

“Minutes of Mr. G. W. Anderson, a member of the Council:—

“*The First*, without date.—‘With M. de Woolmar, I consider we have nothing to say; but with the natives, if the agents of the Raja of Satara, I think we have a great deal; and as I have said in a former minute of this day, which former minute has been suppressed, I think we should interfere to stop them.’

* * * * *

“*Fourth Minute*, dated 18 February, subscribed by Mr. Dunlop.—‘The parties declare that they are not the agents of the Raja, and if the Raja disowns them too, they will find themselves in a very false position, if really going there on the Raja's part. But in this case, if they persist, I imagine these

people must be allowed to proceed ; certainly, if repudiated by the Raja.'

* * * * *

"*Sixth Minute*, without date.—'I do not think this has been at all well managed, but it is all over.'

"These are the minutes of the Bombay Council. But these fragments, mostly without dates and without references, reveal sufficient to show what was passing day after day, for six weeks, in the Bombay Council Chamber ; and I think, bears out the declaration that the Raja's original offence was daring to appeal to England by agents of his own against the wrongs done to him by the Bombay Government. You will not fail to observe, Sir, that the whole power and machinery of the Government were immediately arranged in order to defeat his purpose. The senior magistrate of police, a Company's servant, with his force ; the Advocate-General, an English lawyer, and the legal adviser of the Government, with his brief ; the Secretary, the acting-Secretary, Company's servants with their "instructions," which are omitted, and the Collector of sea customs, a Company's servant with "no special instructions" at all, are all set in active motion, in different ways, to assail the agents. But as it is impossible, from the hints and inuendoes of the minutes, for you to understand what these persons were required to do,—for example, what could be possibly wanted on the occasion from a Collector of Sea Customs at a British port,—I must describe, therefore, the parts these officials severally performed at the bidding of their superiors in Council.

"The Government, informed by the resident of the departure of the Agents from Sattara, apprized the Senior Magistrate of Police, Mr. Elliott, of their coming, and ordered him, as the Governor states, "to hand up the statement of each individual in writing, with their names, and the grounds on which these persons are supposed to be proceeding to Europe." The Magistrate has these strangers taken into custody on arrival, brought before him as criminals, and proceeds to interrogate them. The object of thus treating and interrogating them is to terrify and intimidate them, that, from fear of

personal consequences, they may disown the Raja, and repudiate their mission. * * * * *

* * * * *

"The attempt to terrify failed. * * * * *

"The Senior Magistrate was next desired to exact from them a large deposit in money. It was fully expected that the demand would prove an insurmountable bar to their embarking. The money was produced, and paid in the Bombay treasury. The Senior Magistrate was then 'directed to refer those persons to the Government,' Mr. Farish declaring in the very same minute, 'If these persons address us, we should, refuse to recognize them as the Raja's agents.' The Magistrate obeys and does refer them, but it is in writing, on which Mr. Farish says, 'Mr. Elliott, the Magistrate, should have made the communication direct, verbally, and not in writing.' The Magistrate, as well as every other officer, was specially ordered to take down and hand up, in writing, to the Government, every word which fell from the agents, but not a word in writing was to be given to them.

"The Advocate-General was then called upon to use his influence and ingenuity to turn them from their purpose. The Governor says, 'The Advocate-General may be consulted as to whether we can detain them on any information we possess, as deputed by the Raja of Sattara.'

"The Advocate-General may be referred to the treaty.' Mr. Anderson says, 'Does not the treaty forbid such a measure without our consent?' I pray you, Sir, to note well the reasoning, as well as the conduct of these Company's servants. Certain servants are permitted to make a compact with another person, in the name of their absent master. They themselves first openly break the conditions of it, and because the person aggrieved seeks to complain of them to their distant master, they accuse him of breach of conditions by the act. They forcibly arrest his complaint, and seize upon his agents.

"Mr. Farish, the Governor, goes much further even than this; Mr. Farish 'solicits the instructions' of the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, 'whether such missions should be allowed or not to proceed to England?' I would ask

Mr. Farish, this Company's Governor, are the hundred and fifty million natives of India the slaves and absolute property of his masters, the East India Directors? Or are they, as much as he is, however they are treated by the Company's servants, the free-born subjects of the Queen of these realms?

"The repeated examinations and cross-examinations of the agents by the Advocate-General likewise failed of effect; and in reply to the reference so pointedly made to him, relative to the treaty with the Raja, this law officer was compelled to state that there was no part of the treaty under which the agents could be stopped; consequently, that the sending them to England was no breach of the treaty. Driven by this unexpected opinion to the last extremity, the Government now brought into play against the agents the collector of sea customs of the port.

"Mr. Farish, the Governor, says very significantly, 'No special intimations (that is, nothing in writing) are necessary to be given to the Collector of Customs.' Accordingly, when the owner of the French ship, on which the agents had paid for their passage, applied to the customs for a port clearance, to enable the vessel to sail, and produced, as required by the law, the list of the crew and passengers, the collector of customs, on seeing the agents among the passengers, absolutely refused to grant a port clearance; and he repeatedly declared to the owner in person, that he would not grant the paper as long as the agents were on board.

"The captain, the officers, the crew, the cargo of the ship, were above suspicion or objection; the vessel had complied with every regulation in force in a British port, but she had that on board which the Bombay Government had determined to treat as contraband, the native agents of the Raja of Sattara. The owner of the French ship was positively compelled to sail without them; and the agents were thus made to forfeit the whole sum of £550, which the Government knew they had paid for their passage.

"But even the large sum of which they had been mulcted failed in stopping the agents. They took and paid a second

time for their passage ; this time in an English ship bound for Liverpool. The Company's servants would not venture to refuse a port clearance to an English ship. The agents sailed in her, and at length reached London, where they believed their persecutions would end. Arrived there, they presented themselves, suppliants for justice, at the India House. The Directors of the East India Company, though every one of whom had solemnly sworn on the Christian Gospels, 'that he would be indifferent and equal to all manner of persons, so help him God!' refused to recognise them, and bade them return whence they came, unheard."

CHAPTER XIII.

The attempt of the Raja to have his grievances and the ill-treatment he was receiving at the hands of the Bombay authorities, exposed by means of newspapers and his English friends, gave great umbrage to the "pious" Governor and his unprincipled creature, the Resident. The Raja's correspondence was intercepted and his attempt to obtain justice, was thus frustrated.

The Governor, Sir Robert Grant, was extremely glad at the proceedings of Colonel Ovans at Satara, and in the several minutes which he penned, consisting of some 560 paragraphs, he has over and over again referred in highly laudatory terms to the doings of that unprincipled Resident. His minutes 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.

Before Colonel Ovans had been sent to Satara, the only crime with which the Raja was charged, was his alleged attempt to tamper with the native troops, and to investigate this matter the secret Commission was appointed, of which mention has already been made before. On the report of this Commission, Sir Robert Grant wrote a minute, dated 30th January 1837, from which the following extracts are made:—

"In the present situation of matters, * * * * three modes of dealing with the Raja, * *, suggested themselves for consideration.

"1st. To declare that the Raja by his ingratitude, and by having broken the ties of amity existing between the Governments, has altogether forfeited his principality.

"2nd. To pardon his offence altogether, and to content ourselves with reproof and admonition.

"3rd. To adopt a middle course, by inflicting on him some punishment short of total forfeiture.

"To the first and second of these modes of procedure I am decidedly adverse, and disposed to recommend to the Government of India the adoption of the third."

It is necessary here to mention that this minute had been penned before the delegation of Colonel Ovans to Satara. So as yet other charges against the Raja had not been fabricated. So Sir Robert Grant was at this time quite willing "to adopt a middle course" towards the Raja. But later on this "pious Governor" had to change his opinion and recommended the forfeiture of Satara territory and deposal of the Raja. The change to his latter opinion is foreshadowed even in this minute. For he wrote:—

"With respect to the first, I will not pretend to affirm that this prince has not by his gross violation of the spirit, if not the letter of existing treaties, placed himself entirely at our mercy. On the principles of rigid justice, therefore, he could not rightfully complain even were he punished by the extinction of the powers and privileges which he has abused.

"Nor do I doubt that, in the view of many, if not of most politicians, reasons of policy will appear to justify a resort to that extreme measure. An opinion is now very commonly entertained that the erection of Sattara into a separate principality was a mistaken proceeding. It is at least clear that this principality includes the finest part of the Deccan, and by its position most awkwardly breaks the continuity of the British territory. There are those, therefore, who will hail the present crisis as affording an excellent opportunity of repairing the error alluded to, by pulling down the inconvenient pageant we have erected."

Here in the above paragraph then is revealed the hidden spring of all the machinations of the British

officials against the Raja. In January 1837, Sir Robert recommended the adoption of a "middle course" towards the Raja, because the latter was not as yet considered guilty of very heinous crimes. In one of the paragraphs of this very minute, the "pious Governor" wrote:—

"In delivering, therefore, my sentiments on the present subject, I must beg that they may be considered dependent on the result of our recent reference to the Government of Agra, for if it shall be hereafter established that the Raja has held with the ex-Raja of Nagpore, communications of a hostile and treasonous nature against the British Government, a case of exemplary punishment will have arisen, and one in which our motives for inflicting it cannot reasonably be misconstrued."

The above sentiment of the Governor clearly indicates that he was extremely anxious to discover (and if possible manufacture) some offence of the Raja, so as to inflict upon him "exemplary punishment." Can there be any doubt that to gain this object he got Colonel Lodwick removed and Colonel Ovens appointed in his place? It may be that Sir Robert Grant himself with the assistance of his unprincipled creature Colonel Ovens concocted that Goa conspiracy against the Satara Raja in order to make his case one for "exemplary punishment." As will be presently related, Sir Robert Grant a few months after his appointing Colonel Ovens Resident at Satara, recommended the deposal of the Raja and annexation of his principality to the British territory. But his Minute under reference contained the following ominous passage which must have alarmed all the Indian Princes when the Papers relating to the Raja of Satara were ordered by the House of Commons to be printed. He wrote:—

"I am aware that it is the probable course, or, if I may so speak, the natural history of such an Empire as ours in India, that it gradually absorbs all the petty and dependent states

attached to it, nor is there any reason to suppose that Satara will not at length share the common fate."

It would seem that by appointing Colonel Ovans, the Governor tried thus to shape the course of events which would ultimately lead to the absorption of Satara. By concocting the Goa conspiracy and the fabrication of other false evidence against the Raja, he at last seemed to persuade himself and influence his colleagues to believe that the Raja had forfeited his throne and his principality. In his last minute on the subject, dated 31st May 1838, Sir Robert Grant wrote:—

"The delinquency brought home to the Raja consists, first, of the Goa intrigue, and next, that of Jodhpur; but neither even of these, nor both together, can be considered as constituting his deepest offence. His great crime is, that which was at once the effect and in some degree the consummation of these intrigues, the attempt to seduce our troops from their fidelity. That act now stands fully explained, and appears equally without disguise and without excuse. Even when I looked on it as virtually an act of madness, an anomaly rather than a crime, I felt no small degree of misgiving in proposing to visit it only with a mild punishment. At present, all my reserves are removed, and I feel clear that this adoption of one of the worst and wickedest of the offences which cost Bajee Rao his throne and his liberty, by him whom the favor of the British Government exalted on the ruin of that prince, must irresistibly consign him to the same fate."

It was quite a change of front for the Governor. In his first minute he recommended the adoption of a middle course. But now he quite made up his mind to altogether extinguish the Satara State. He would not even allow the Raja's brother to succeed to the throne, for he wrote in the Minute under reference:—

"I am not disposed to recommend him (Appa Saheb) for the throne which his brother has forfeited. The treaty does

not bind us to it, for it was personal with the present Raja, and its advantages have been lost. The very events which have caused this discussion, show the extreme inconveniences bound up in the existence of such a state as Sattara, a state obtruded into the heart of our dominions, intercepting some of the most important of our internal communications, and likely to be ever a hotbed of faction and mischief. * * * *

"In deposing the Raja and annexing the Sattara territories to our own, it would be necessary to issue a proclamation, fully setting forth the perfidious and treasonable conduct of which that prince has been guilty, and referring to that article of the treaty under which, in consequence of his proceedings, his realm has been forfeited."

Such were the sentiments of this pious Christian Governor towards the heathen Raja of Satara. He himself engineered the long train of conspiracy against the Raja, and then to crown all, he wanted to swallow up his territory. His proceedings strongly savour of the story of the Wolf and the Lamb in Æsop's Fables.

But Sir Robert Grant was not content with the prospective annexation of the Satara Raj. He even went to the length of advocating the annexation of Goa. He wrote in the Minute :—

"Whether any and what communication should be made to the Government of Portugal, it is not for me to say ; the determination of that question transcends even the province of the high authorities to whom the Governments of British India are responsible. I do not, however, I hope, venture on absolutely forbidden ground when I express my earnest wish that means could be found to procure to the Company the cession generally of the Portuguese possessions in India. To Portugal these territories are absolutely valueless, except as the shattered and fading memorials of past glory ; *to us they are most inconvenient neighbours, by breaking the continuity of our dominions, and by furnishing in very supposable cases rallying points for the discontent and disaffection of our own*

subjects. The Governor of Goa, in one of his communications with the Raja of Sattara, observes, that the port of Goa is the only door now open by which his Highness may gain European allies against the British power, and certainly it is our obvious policy to seize the earliest opportunity of barring up this most inconvenient and possibly mischievous inlet."

The words put in italics in the above extract are curious reading. It was proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that the documents on which the alleged intrigues of the Raja with the Goa authorities were based, were foul forgeries. Don Manuel de Portugal e Castro, the Portuguese Governor, declared that the papers alleged to have been written by him were foul forgeries, and that he never in his life held any political correspondence with the Raja of Satara.

The question naturally arises, who forged all those documents in the name of the Portuguese Governor. We do not think that Balajee Punt Natoo possessed the requisite ability to do this. He did not know Portuguese and was not acquainted with European politics. Had he been the forger of these documents, he would have done so in the time of Colonel Lodwick and before the appointment of the secret Commission so that that Commission could have investigated this charge against the Raja. The very fact that this alleged Goa conspiracy was detected after the appointment of Colonel Ovens as Resident at Satara shows that he was, somehow or other, connected with the authorship of these forged documents. It may be that he did so at the instigation of, or in partnership with, the Governor himself. From the extract from the Governor's minute given above, it is quite evident that he would have been glad to see Goa converted into a British territory. Is it not therefore a reasonable con-

jecture that, wanting to see Satara and Portuguese dominions as British possessions, he thought the opportunity of the Raja's alleged tampering with the fidelity of the sepoy a golden one which ought to be seized and improved upon by forging documents to accomplish his vile end? It seems to the present writer that the pious Governor tried to kill two birds with one stone—tried to absorb the two States of Satara and Goa for alleged conspiracy against the British rule by himself manufacturing or abetting others to manufacture, forged documents.

It was perhaps the guilty conscience of Colonel Ovans and his patron Sir Robert Grant which prevented the Raja from gaining a fair trial. From the Parliamentary Papers, it is evident that down to a later period of 1839, all the authorities were of opinion that it would be unjust to inflict any penalty upon the Raja until he had had a full and a fair hearing in reply to the evidence taken against him; and the Raja offered to surrender his territories to Government pending any inquiry, provided a fair hearing was granted. Upon the Supreme Government requiring that a statement should be prepared and placed in the hands of the Raja, from which he might learn the nature of the crimes with which he was charged, and the evidence of the several witnesses in support of them, Colonel Ovans prepared a statement, in which he suppressed all mention of the three most important documents connected with the evidence against the Raja. Having prepared this statement with the important omissions referred to, Colonel Ovans addressed a long despatch to his Government, with the express object of inducing the Government to withhold the statement from the Raja, and thus successfully prevented him from having the only means of establishing his innocence. In

consequence of this despatch the statement was accordingly withheld, the Raja never received it, nor received any document whatever from which he could learn the nature of the offences charged against him, the names of his accusers, or the evidence procured to incriminate him.

It is necessary here to mention that in 1837 Lord Auckland and his colleagues constituting the Government of India, after going through the evidence alleged to prove the criminality of the Raja, were of the opinion that no case had been made out against that prince. Mr. Macnaghten, Secretary to the Government of India, in his letter to Mr. W. H. Wathen, Chief Secretary to the Governor of Bombay, dated 2nd October 1837, wrote:—

“The Governor-General, in Council, had mainly relied on the result of the investigation which might be instituted, consequent on the alleged petition of the Dewan’s mother, for a solution of any doubts which might be entertained as to the accuracy of the conclusions formed by the Commission on the occasion of the previous inquiry, and for something more of intelligible precision on its results. By the report of the Commission the Raja of Sattara was left subject to the imputation of every shade of guilt, * * * *. Much of the evidence by which even this imperfect result was obtained, was uncertain and unsatisfactory, and *whilst his lordship was willing to place confidence in the judgment of the Commission, he felt that the case was incomplete*, and that to justify the government in any strong and final measure, further information was absolutely necessary. But, from all the papers which have since come before him, he has *increased reason to doubt whether any certain grounds of action can possibly be obtained*, amidst the intrigues, the personal animosities, and the exaggerated rumours of all descriptions, by which the investigation into the petty and obscure details of the supposed treasonable proceedings of the Raja has been surrounded and embarrassed.



"The Governor-General, in Council, *sees little or nothing in the evidence recorded, in the documents which accompanied your letter of the 4th ultimo, to inculpate the Raja.* * * * *

* * * *

"As for the alleged combinations with the Portuguese, and with Arabia, alluded to in the documents which accompanied your letter of the 30th ultimo, the Governor-General, in Council, could not but regard such plots (even had the accounts which had been furnished of them seemed less improbable than they do) to be too extravagant to be entertained for a moment by any person in his senses—while it appears, from the report of the Commission, that the Raja of Sattara is by no means deficient in understanding.

" * * * * In the hopelessness that all further evidence will be otherwise than inconclusive, and looking to the utmost degree of criminality which, in any view of the testimony before the Commission, may be regarded as clearly and absolutely established; looking, too, to the interval which has since elapsed in inquiries leading to no further definite and important disclosures, his Lordship in Council would gladly find that the Right honorable the Governor in Council is disposed to concur with him in opinion, and would close the proceedings, apprising the Raja that, although several suspicious circumstances regarding his Highness have been elicited during the progress of this inquiry, yet the British Government is unwilling, without the clearest proof of guilt, to condemn any of its allies, especially one who has been so pre-eminently the object of its favor and generosity; that further investigation is deemed inexpedient, with reference to the general inconvenience it creates; and that the Right honourable the Governor in Council is therefore pleased to close the inquiry, with the expression of his hope that the Raja will so conduct himself for the future as to avoid the predicament (no less painful to the British Government than to his Highness) in which he has recently been placed.

"As regards the Dewan, who is now understood to be in confinement at Ahmednuggur, his Lordship in Council observes,

that if the suggestion contained in this letter should be adopted, the liberation of the individual in question will probably follow the cessation of further inquiry into the conduct of the Raja."

This letter of the Governor-General was not agreeable to the Governor and his colleagues, who had been in all probability concocting and engineering the long train of conspiracy against the Raja. In a Minute dated 30th October, 1837, subscribed also by Mr. Farish, Sir Robert Grant wrote:—

"I have perused with equal surprise and regret the letter from the Government of India, dated the 2nd instant; for I conceive that if the course suggested in the concluding paragraph be pursued, the credit of the British Government will be seriously impaired.

"I think that letter should now be simply acknowledged. * * * *. Copy of our letter to Lieutenant-Colonel Ovens, and of that Officer's reply, of the 23rd instant, should at the same time be submitted for the information of the Governor-General of India in Council."

On the 16th October 1837, the Secretary to the Government of India, again addressed a letter to the Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay, in which the proceedings of the Bombay Government against the Raja of Satara were more or less condemned. He wrote:—

"I am desired by the Right honourable the Governor-General of India in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your several letters * *, on the subject of the inquiry into the conduct of the Raja of Sattara.

"The proceedings reported in the communications now acknowledged are not, I am desired to state, such as to meet the approbation of his Lordship in Council.

"That the Raja of Sattara, forgetful of all former obligations, and nettled by an alleged grievance, is disaffected to the British Government, and that he has been led by the designing people, enemies either to him or to the British Government, into acts intended to be injurious to that Government, may be

conceded ; but the result of the late proceedings of the Right honourable the Governor in Council has, I am desired to add, tended rather to weaken than to strengthen the case against him, for they prove either the extent of the falsehood which is mingled with these accusations, or the imbecility with which the Raja is capable of entertaining projects of so wild a description. * * * *

"Adverting to these considerations, I am desired to state that the papers now acknowledged have strongly confirmed the Governor-General in Council in the opinion already expressed, that this perplexed and protracted scrutiny should be at once brought to a conclusion, * * *. His Lordship in Council is sorry at feeling himself compelled to add, that in the present instance, the idea of mistrust and insecurity on the part of the British Government may have been widely spread, from Rajpootana to Madras and Malabar, though the affair is one of no real importance to our power.

"Against the further prosecution of these hazardous proceedings, the Governor-General in Council deems it incumbent upon him to interfere, so as to prevent any further aggravation of this evil. * * * *"

Regarding this letter, Sir Robert Grant indited the following Minute on the 7th November 1837 :

"I think a copy of this letter should be immediately sent to the Acting Resident at Sattara, with orders to act as far as practicable in conformity with the wishes of the Government of India, namely, to bring inquiries already commenced to an early conclusion, and to abstain from further inquiries of a collateral nature.

"On this letter I reserve to myself the liberty of future remark."

Although the Parliamentary papers relating to the Raja of Satara contain lengthy minutes from the pen of Sir Robert Grant, yet it is a significant fact that no attempt was ever made by him to offer any remarks on the last two letters of the Governor-General. On the contrary, in

defiance of the clear and distinct orders of the Governor-General, Sir Robert Grant and his vile creature, Colonel Ovans, continued their inquisitorial proceedings against the Raja whose ruin they had determined to accomplish. Sir Robert Grant did not care for the warning of the Governor-General, but pursued his own course in a manner which makes one believe that he was personally interested in the downfall of the Raja. His extraordinary conduct can only be satisfactorily explained on the ground that he it was who concocted or abetted the concoction of all the conspiracies against the Raja.

It was not to his interest to allow the Raja a fair trial. So he wrote in the Minute dated 31st May 1838:—

"It will be asked, however, whether he is to be condemned without the opportunity of defending himself. The Raja has not been told of the evidence taken by Lieutenant-Colonel Ovans, and undoubtedly has a right to be heard in his own vindication. I have never meant otherwise, although *I do not think that he will vindicate himself successfully.* * * * *

"What sort of trial should it be, is a question which may divide opinion. Some may think that it should be modelled on the practice of an ordinary Court of Criminal justice, sitting perhaps with open door, and with the advantage to both the accused and the accusers of being attended, if they please, by professional advisers or advocates. In such a case Lieutenant-Colonel Ovans might very well fill the post of a prosecutor and I doubt not that the Raja would be supported by English counsel and attorneys from Bombay. Before such a course, however, is adopted, I trust that it will be well considered. States are bound to act justly, in dealing with their allies or tributaries, but there are a thousand cases in which it may be impossible for them to adapt their course to the ordinary forms of judicial procedure; *I must, therefore, regard a precedent as highly inconvenient, if not highly dangerous, which would establish the rule that the British Government cannot depose any prince not taken flagrante bello, except through the*

medium of a formal trial. If we are to go so far indeed, I know not why we should not go further. The Raja might ask that half the Commissioners should be subjects of Sattara, or of some other native country. He might claim a right of challenge. He might insist on being tried by his peers. There is no end to the demands and difficulties that might arise."

The above paragraph, and especially the sentence put in italics, clearly shows why the "pious" Christian Governor was averse to the Raja being given a fair trial before deposal. Had he been given a fair trial, the conspiracy which Sir Robert Grant had engineered against him would have been exposed in all its hideous nakedness. It was not the Raja who feared the light, but it was the British officials who preferred to work in the dark. Sir Robert Grant, therefore, proposed the following alternative:—

"It would be more agreeable to ordinary practice, and would at the same time satisfy the ends of justice, if the Raja were supplied in writing with the nature of the facts brought forward in evidence against him, and were called to meet them with any defensive or explanatory statement which he might think fit to offer."

But Colonel Ovans prevented even this. It was he who by his machinations succeeded in withholding from the Raja the statement which Sir Robert Grant proposed he should be furnished with. Colonel Ovans knew that even this would expose all his villanies, and so he prevented the Raja from getting any justice or fair trial.*

* In his letter dated the 12th December 1844 to Sir Henry Hardinge, the Governor-General of India, Raja Pratap Singh wrote:—

"On the 15th of November 1838, the resident, Colonel Ovans, forwarded to the Secretary of the Bombay Government the draft of a statement of the principal charges against me. This statement the resident accompanied by a long letter, extending to 30 paragraphs, written with the avowed object of determining the Government to withhold from me the document which

The Raja was to be punished, because he was said to be an ambitious prince, as he used to style himself *Hindoo-pud-padshaha* or king of the Hindoos. His offence was somewhat similar to that of Christ, who was called king of the Jews. And if Christ was punished for his alleged ambition, why should not the Raja? So must

Sir Robert Grant and Lord Auckland had considered it proper should be placed in my hands, and strongly recommended the suspension of my authority as the only course by which the difficulties of the case might be overcome. The feelings and principles actuating the writer of this letter may be judged of from the contents of the letter itself. In the 19th paragraph, the agents whom I had in my ignorance and helplessness, sent to Bombay to aid me, if it were possible, in obtaining an honest inquiry into my conduct, are accused of cherishing 'wicked purposes,' although the only crime which the writer can lay to their charge is that of directing me to avoid all 'verbal communications,' to 'demand copies of all evidence against me,' and to protest against any committee, unless composed of gentlemen not connected with recent proceedings against me. In the 6th paragraph of Colonel Ovans' letter, it is stated, that in the event of being made acquainted with the nature of the evidence collected by the Government to criminate me, I should immediately seek to effect the ruin of the mother of Govind Row Dewan and her family, and it is also insinuated that they would not be safe from personal violence at my hands. I am throughout this letter represented as entertaining the most vindictive feelings towards all who had furnished the Government with evidence, and my unaided efforts to obtain a knowledge of my accusers, and the nature of the testimony they had borne against me, are stigmatised as 'contumacious proceedings, intrigues,' and hostility to the British Government; and yet, it is evident from the official papers now printed by order of Parliament, and open to the inspection of the whole world, that my accusers were at that very time, and had been long previously, carrying on a secret system of the most extraordinary character, intercepting every communication passing between Sattara and Bombay, opening the letters of all my correspondents, offering rewards and indemnity to persons to come forward and give evidence against me, imprisoning whomsoever they pleased, and, in fact, employing the unlimited machinery and power of the entire Government of India to collect the proof of my guilt."

"The letter on which I have now remarked, unhappily prevailed with the Government of Bombay and Lord Auckland to withhold from me, at the time, both the knowledge of the charges against me, and the opportunity of defending myself.. * * * *"

have argued the Christian officials who were determined on the destruction of that virtuous Hindoo sovereign. But whether the Raja was ambitious or not, it is quite certain that Sir Robert Grant was. The latter's bitter animosity against the Raja and his strong advocacy of the extinction of the Satara principality can be explained only on the supposition which some Scotch papers of that time gave expression to. It was stated that Sir Robert Grant was to be raised to the peerage under the title of "Earl of Satara."

But the pious and ambitious Christian Governor had not the satisfaction to see the desire of his heart fulfilled. It would have given him great pleasure to see the Raja deposed and the Satara principality annexed. But he did not live to see either the one or the other of these events. He was not to reap the benefits of the conspiracies which he had concocted and engineered. Ambitious as he was, he died at Dapuri on 9th July, 1838 without his ambition being gratified.*

* Mr. James Douglas, author of *Bombay and Western India*, speaks of the Dapuri Ghost. He writes:—"We will now speak of the Dapuri Ghost, and for an account of this apparition we are indebted to Sir Bartle Frere. * * * *"

"The Ghost that appeared here, and it may still do so, is stated to be that of Mountstuart Elphinstone, * * * *"

In a footnote to the above, the author writes:—"Sir Robert Grant, Governor of Bombay, died at Dapuri, July 9th 1838 * * * *; and the fact suggests to us that it must be his ghost. * * * *". If it is anybody's ghost, it must be that of Sir Robert Grant, the treacherous Governor of Bombay who encompassed the ruin of the innocent and virtuous Raja Pratap Singh of Satara. Those who believe in ghosts are of opinion that it is the spirits of evil persons that haunt the places of their death as ghosts. Professor Alfred Russell Wallace, who believed in ghosts, writes:—"Some spirits are condemned to haunt the places where they committed crimes as a kind of penal servitude, even continuing to reproduce some incidents connected with it." On this hypothesis then, the Dapuri ghost must be that of Sir Robert Grant.

CHAPTER XIV

Sir R. Grant was succeeded in the Governorship of Bombay by Sir James Rivett Carnac. Sir James had been an old servant of the East India Company. After being in the military employ for some years, he was transferred to the Political Department, and was assistant to the Political Resident at Baroda when Gangadhar Shastree was murdered and the Peishwa was involved in the war with the English. In those days the Company's servants never kept their hands clean. Their object in coming out to India was to shake the pagoda tree, accumulate wealth, make money by hook or by crook, and then to return to England to play the "nabob." They were, as Burke described them, "birds of prey and passage in India," and their prey was lodged in England. Sir James Rivett Carnac was no exception to this general rule. Even as Governor of Bombay, his character was not above suspicion, nay his corruption, the large amount which he pocketed as a bribe from the native State of Baroda, were well known and common topics of conversation in the bazars and all towns of importance in the Bombay Presidency.

Before he came out as Governor of Bombay to succeed Sir Robert Grant, he was a director and sometime Chairman of the East India Company. The letter dated 29th December 1835 (already quoted above) which accompanied the sword meant as a present to the Raja of Satara bore his signature as Deputy Chairman of the Court of the Company. It was in his capacity of Chairman of

the above-mentioned Court that the letter dated so late as 7th Feb. 1838 was written to the Governor-General of India in Council in which the Raja's claim over the disputed jagheers was again recognised and censure was passed on the Bombay Government; one of the paragraphs in the letter ran as follows:—

“We have seen these marks of negligence on the part of the Bombay Government with great disapprobation.”

In justice to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, it must be admitted that they did not approve of the methods by which the Bombay Government delighted to persecute the Raja. Down to the month of January 1839, the Court of Directors, in their despatches to the Council of India, declared that the proceedings against the Raja were a waste of time, and seriously detrimental to the character of the British Government in India. They wrote—

“We have no hesitation in giving it as our decided opinion, that it would be not only a waste of time, but seriously detrimental to the character of our Government to carry on any further inquiry in the matter.”

Wise words these, and it is a pity that these fell on the unheeding ears of those who were charged with conducting the Government of this country.

On the appointment of Sir James Rivett Carnac to the Government of Bombay in 1839, he was charged to assure the Raja of the anxious wish of the Court of Directors 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, and to put an end to the persecutions against his Highness. Sir James Carnac was for sometime Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company and hence the Home authorities

had vested him with full powers for the settlement of all the questions relating to the Raja of Satara.

But, as will be presently shown, he abused the powers that he had been vested with. In the interval between his appointment and the dethronement of the Raja no fresh evidence had been collected, nor had any event occurred to prove that the Raja was less loyal or friendly than he had ever been during the period when the best understanding existed between him and the British Government. Such being the case, Sir James Carnac acted beyond his instructions in calling upon the Raja, as a condition of pardon, to acknowledge, by his own signature, that the violations of the treaty with which he had been secretly charged had been committed by him, and that he had been guilty to an extent which would fully justify the British Government in depriving him of his throne and dominions.

Perhaps Sir James Carnac was led to the course he adopted by the members of his Council, who had been all thirsting for the Raja's blood and may be, had helped Sir Robert Grant in concocting the foul conspiracies against the Raja. It was to be expected that he would show more independence of character and judgment in the matter and as instructed by the Home Authorities would bury in oblivion all the proceedings against the Raja, rather than call upon him to acknowledge his guilt under his own signature. But Sir James was not a strong-minded or honest man. Notoriously corrupt as he was, perhaps he was bought over by the enemies of the Raja to force such conditions upon that Prince, as they knew he would not accept and thus precipitate his ruin. The conduct of Sir James Carnac is surprising especially in the light of the opinion of Mr. John Forbes, one of the

directors of the East India Company, who in his minute of dissent, recorded at the India House, 8th April 1840, said :—

“He (Sir James Carnac) took out with him no instructions to depose the Raja. On the contrary, the universal impression at the India House, confirmed by his own known opinions on the subject, was, that the new Governor was empowered not only to suppress all further inquiry, but to consign the entire question to complete oblivion.”*

The only reasonable supposition, therefore, which would satisfactorily explain Sir James Carnac’s conduct is the one hinted at above, *viz.*, that he was bought over, notoriously corrupt as he was, by the enemies of the Raja and thus he did not scruple to ruin that prince.

Sir James Carnac went personally to Satara and had three interviews with the Raja on the 23rd, 24th and 26th August 1839.

The conditions on which amnesty was to be granted to the Raja were embodied in the following memorandum, in Marathi, which the Raja was required to sign :

“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

* Mr. John Forbes in his Minute of Dissent also wrote :—

“The new Governor, on his landing, fell under evil influence; poison was poured into his ear by some insidious adviser; the idea of conditional pardon took the place of perfect oblivion, and the Raja, under circumstances in which his personal dignity appears to have been little consulted, was required to return to the confidence of the British Government, on terms which the sequel will show to have been equally harsh, uncalled for, and unwise.”

clemency towards your Highness and your family, the British Government has resolved entirely to overlook what has passed, on the following conditions, namely,

"First, That your Highness now binds yourself strictly, and in good faith, to act up literally to all the articles of the treaty of the 25th September 1819, and especially to the second article of that treaty, which is as follows :—

"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."

"Second, that your Highness binds yourself to pay your brother Appa Sahib Maharaj whatever allowances he has heretofore received, and to put him in possession of all his private property ; and should any dispute arise on this subject, the same is to be referred to the Resident for adjustment. Appa Sahib Maharaj is also to be permitted to reside at any place he himself may choose, under the protection of the British Government.

"Third, That Bulwant Rao Chitnavees be dismissed from your Highness's Counsels, and not permitted to reside within your Highness's territory without the sanction of the British Government.

"Fourth, The persons whose names are inserted in the separate list having been guaranteed by the British Government, in person, property, and allowances of every description, as the same stood in July 1836, this guarantee is to be binding on your Highness, and all complaints against them are to be referred to the Resident. Should it appear necessary hereafter to the British Government to add the names of any other persons to this list, the same guarantee is to be extended to them, and it is to be acted upon in good faith by your Highness in any manner that may be pointed out by the British Government ; all complaints against these persons are also to be referred to the British Resident for his adjustment.

"The above are all the terms to be agreed to by your Highness, and these conditions are to be considered as

supplemental to the treaty of the 25th September 1819, and to be signed and sealed as such by your Highness ; and while it is announced to your Highness that there can be no modification in these terms, as your Highness's sincere well-wisher the British Government offers them in the confidence that your Highness's penetration will recognise their moderation, and the expediency of a prompt acquiescence. It is confidently expected also that the clemency of the British Government in preserving your state (raj) will be duly appreciated by your Highness, as it cannot fail to be by the general voice of this country, and induce your Highness, for the future, scrupulously to maintain the relations of friendship and mutual confidence, by acting up to the provisions and principles of the treaty."

Had the Raja been guilty of the crimes with which he had been charged, he would have gladly embraced the offer of amnesty made to him under the conditions mentioned above. But Raja Pratap Singh was true to himself, true to the traditions of the great house to which he belonged, and true to the illustrious ancestor whose descendant he claimed to be ; hence he very indignantly refused the conditions offered to him and he repeatedly declared that he had not committed any breach of alliance. Let us now hear what the Raja himself said regarding these conditions in his letter dated Benares, 12th December 1844 to Sir Henry Hardinge, the Governor-General of India.

"During the progress of my interviews with the Governor and the Resident, * * I was distinctly informed that the consequence of my refusal to agree with the terms proposed would be the forfeiture of my throne. I could not, however, consent to retain my sovereignty at the expense of my honor. Convinced of my innocence, and of my ability to demonstrate that innocence before any equitable tribunal, I could not agree to terms based upon the assumption of my guilt, and by so doing make myself a party to my own degradation.

Suffer me, Right honorable Sir, to ask the question, whether my conduct during the period of Sir James Carnac's visit to Sattara, was that of a guilty man? By a tacit admission of guilt I might have kept my throne, and have been restored to a good understanding and friendship with the British Government; and, if really guilty, such terms, it is natural to suppose, would have been eagerly and gratefully embraced by me. A demand for inquiry and a compliance with such a demand, could only lead to the public exposure of my hypocrisy and perfidy, and to the inevitable loss of my possessions, with indelible disgrace and infamy stamped upon my character. It will be seen in the printed reports of my interviews with the Governor that I repeatedly expressed my willingness to deliver up my Rajaship, pending an inquiry into the truth of the allegations brought against me, a circumstance demonstrating, as I conceive, the little estimation in which I held my power and wealth when placed in competition with truth and honor. Let me put it to your Excellency whether you would have acknowledged yourself guilty of crimes such as those with which I am charged, when you knew yourself to be innocent? Let me again ask you to presume for a moment that I am innocent, and then say whether I could, consistent with self-respect and truth, subscribe either to the preamble or the conditions dictated to me by the Bombay Government. And let me finally ask, whether such a man as I am described to be in the papers now printed would have hesitated to obtain an oblivion of the past, and favor and friendship with the British Government for the future, on such terms as those which I inflexibly rejected?

"An examination of the papers in my case, and especially of those which relate to the circumstances which transpired during the visit of Sir James Carnac to Sattara, will prove to you, as they will prove to the world, that I have lost my throne, my name, my property, all, but *the inward consciousness of my innocence and my rectitude*; not because I was, before the 23rd of August 1839, an ungrateful dependent prince, an insidious and wicked enemy, and a violator through years of a solemn treaty; but because I would not, at the sacrifice of my

conscience, declare myself to be what my enemies had represented me ; because, instead of accepting mercy, I demanded justice."

The words put in italics show that he fell a martyr to truth. Sir James Carnac was unsuccessful in his attempt to get the new conditions signed by the Raja. Pratap Singh refused to agree to the terms proposed to him. It was the first, and unfortunately the solitary instance of an Indian Prince having the courage of not accepting the terms offered to him by his Christian allies. By the attitude he took up Pratap Singh showed himself to be a hero whom Indians would do well to worship and keep his memory green by those means which the civilization of the modern times has taught us how to properly do.

Sir James Carnac was peremptory in his demand upon the Raja to subscribe to the preamble and articles which had been prepared, and the Raja remained steadfast in his refusal to do that which would prove him, by his own act, unworthy of the throne which was offered to him upon such conditions.

On the 5th September 1839, he was dethroned, and his unnatural, ungrateful and wicked brother Appa Sahib was elevated to the Satara throne.

Thus ended the regime of the noblest, the best and the greatest of the Satara Rajas. Except Sivaji, no other Maratha Prince had evinced such administrative capacity and highly virtuous character as Pratap Singh. Because he was a capable ruler, therefore he became an eyesore to the then Government of Bombay, who successfully plotted his ruin.

In deposing Raja Pratap Singh, Sir James Carnac was guilty of an illegal act, but as by so doing he added something to the revenues of the East India Company,

for by the new treaty which he forced on Appa Sahib, the disputed jaghirs were taken away from the jurisdiction of the Satara State and placed under the control of the Company, his conduct was never censured by the higher authorities as it fully deserved. That this high-handed act on the part of the new Governor was altogether an illegal one is borne out by Sec. 43 of the 33rd Geo. III. Chap. 52 :—

"It shall not be lawful for the Governor of Bombay 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."

In his Minute of the 4th September 1839, Sir James Carnac not only justified his conduct, but lured the Government with the prospective pecuniary advantages that would result to the East India Company on the death of the Raja. Unfortunately, his high-handed and illegal act was approved of by the Governor-General of India as well as by the Authorities of the East India Company. In the Political despatch to the Governor-General dated 1st April 1840, the majority of the Directors expressed their "warm commendation of the conduct of Sir James Carnac." But there were a few honest and conscientious Directors who dissented from the Political despatch to the Government of India approved of by the majority of their colleagues.

The Court of Directors never attempted to answer the arguments against the deposition of the Raja advanced by those who did not approve of the decision of the

majority. But one of the directors, Mr. N. B. Edmonstone, who had been a long time in India as a public servant of the East India Company, submitted on the 20th April 1840 a letter to the Court of Directors containing his observations on the case of the Raja of Satara. As his observations were approved of by the majority of the Directors, his letter may be considered as an answer to the arguments of those who were opposed to the deposal of the Raja. His observations do not call for any remarks, since their absurdity will be evident to all those who have gone through the previous chapters of this book. It is not necessary to reproduce his long letter, the trend of which may be inferred from the concluding paragraph given below :—

“Finally, I must maintain, that in political questions involving the rights, interests and conduct of its allies and dependents, the ruling power is the sole and proper judge, and that, in the case now under consideration, the British Government was not required to put the Raja on his trial, and to be governed by the issue of it,”

CHAPTER XV

Raja Pratap Singh was considered to be a spirited and ambitious sovereign and therefore he was deposed and his brother elevated in his stead. Appa Sahib was chosen because he was a man of low morals and weak character and, as such, was a mere puppet in the hands of the unprincipled and unscrupulous Resident. That Appa Sahib was a treacherous and mean fellow and possessed no abilities of any description was a fact admitted by all before his elevation to the throne of Satara. In one of his minutes on the Satara affairs, Sir Robert Grant referred to Appa Sahib in the following words:—

“I am not aware of anything in his (Appa Sahib's) character or service which should induce us to make any material sacrifice in his favor.”

As far back as 23rd March 1819, Captain James Grant-Duff in his official Report on Satara to the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone wrote regarding Appa Sahib as follows:—

“The name of the younger brother is Syajee, familiarly, Appa Sahib; he is an obstinate, ill-disposed lad, with very low vicious habits, which all the admonition of the Raja cannot get the better of; * * * *”

That he never reformed his character afterwards is evident from what appeared in a monthly journal fourteen years after the above had been penned by Captain Grant-Duff.

In May 1833, the *Asiatic Journal* in reporting the visit of Lord Clare to Satara, wrote:—

“The Bombay papers, English and native, contain long accounts of the intercourse between the Earl of Clare and the

Rajah of Sattara, who is said to be very grateful for the favors conferred on him. 'His people,' it is added, 'are happy and contented, and enjoy peace and security; they love their sovereign, and speak highly of him.'

"Appa Sahib, his brother, is a heavy looking man, of no expression of countenance. He is not held in high estimation. He will probably be heir to the throne; *so at least people fear, for he has few qualities to fit him for governing any people.*"

The words put in italics in the above extract clearly show what sort of man Appa Sahib was. Yet the Resident at Satara made it appear by his reports that Appa Sahib was the paragon of all virtues and there was no sovereign in the world equal to him in intelligence or administrative capacity. Such is the love of truth possessed by politicals!

After deposal, Raja Pratap Singh was not allowed to stay at Satara or in any part of the Deccan. He was exiled and kept a prisoner at Benares. His imprisonment recalls to memory that of Napoleon at St. Helena. The Maratha prince pined for his native hills like the Corsican upstart for his French home. Pratap Singh complained of the climate of Benares as undermining his health; so did Napoleon of St. Helena, which he said was killing him by inches. Both complained of the shabby manner in which they had been treated by the British Government. But there was this difference between the keepers of the two, that the keeper of Napoleon, the man who had been placed in charge of the French Emperor, was a brute who took great pleasure in insulting, abusing and ill-treating his charge, while the keeper of Pratap Singh was a man full of sympathy for the fortunes of the fallen Maratha Prince and for which sympathy he got reprimanded by his superiors, of which mention will be made later on.

Raja Pratap Singh was deposed and sent as a prisoner to Benares with a monthly allowance of Rupees ten thousand for his maintenance. When he was sovereign of Satara, he established two treasuries—one public for the State and another his own private one. He was not an extravagant or despotic prince and so by his economy he was enabled to save from his private income nearly 30 lacs of rupees besides landed property, jewels, &c., at the time of his dethronement. He was assured at the time of his deposal, that if he would peacefully submit all his private property would be restored to him. Sir James Carnac, Governor of Bombay, wrote to the Resident at Satara on the 30th August 1839:—

“You will inform him (the Rajah) that an annual allowance will be assigned from the Sattara revenues for the support of himself and his family—further that all property belonging to him, bonafide private, and not appertaining to the State, will, on his peaceable submission, not be interfered with.”

But to the everlasting dishonor of the British name, the private property was not surrendered to the Raja.

In the House of Commons in August 1850, Sir John Cam Hobhouse, President of the Board of Control, in answer to a question put to him by Joseph Hume, Esq., M. P., relative to the detention of the Raja's private property, stated—

“No guarantee had been given with regard to the private property of the ex-Rajah.”

Such was the regard for truth possessed by those who were charged with the affairs of India!

After his dethronement, the Raja with his family remained for some months at Neemb, a village a few miles distant from Satara, till he was permitted to proceed to Benares.

He set out with his family under the political charge of one Lieutenant Cristall on the 7th of December 1839 and arrived at Benares on the 25th March 1840.

This journey from Satara to Benares was not remarkable except for two events which cast reflection on the British officer in whose charge were placed the ex-Rajah and his retinue. Raja Pratap Singh's cousin, Balla Sahib Sennaputtee, was forced by the Resident Col. Ovens to accompany the Prince in his exile. Regarding this Sir James Carnac in his Minute dated September 7, 1839 wrote :—

"As regards the Sennaputtee, the Resident has acted wisely in requiring him to accompany the ex-Rajah to his residence, though it is not my intention that he should be hereafter regarded as a prisoner, but that as soon as circumstances admit that he shall be allowed to go where he pleases."

At that time the Sennaputtee himself was not in good health and his wife moreover was *enceinte*. However, he and his wife had, at the risk of their life, to accompany the ex-Rajah, because they had been forced to do so. The Sennaputtee died of grief and disappointment. Lieut. Cristall was a brute and must be held responsible for the death of the Sennaputtee. The Court of Directors in their letter to the Government of Bombay dated 2nd September 1840, wrote :—

"We regret to learn the death of Balla Sahib Sennaputtee, while accompanying the ex-Rajah on his way to Benares.

"We cannot pass without an expression of our serious displeasure the following statement by Lieutenant Cristall, the officer in charge of the ex-Rajah.

"He (the Sennaputtee) had been unwell, it appears, a few hours before leaving our last ground, but I received no intelligence of his illness until yesterday midday, when several of the Raja's people waited on me, requesting a halt, as the

Sennaputtee was in so dangerous a state that he could not be moved. I gave a denial to the request, imagining it only an excuse for loitering on the road, knowing by experience how great is their dislike to our system of continuing the journey on which we are bound. The tents, &c., which are daily sent in advance, were accordingly despatched, but at three o'clock, P.M., the Carcoons and others of the ex-Rajah's people came to me with the news of the Sennaputtee's death.

"We cannot consider Lieutenant Cristall to have been justified in taking for granted that the representation of the Sennaputtee's unfitness to travel was without foundation. In the absence of the medical officer, he ought either to have consented to the halt, or to have requested a personal interview with the patient, and formed his judgment thereupon."

Lieutenant Cristall exhibited his brutality not only in killing the Sennaputtee, but also when the widow of the latter was seized with pangs of labour, he did not order a halt. In his letter to Lord Russell, dated January 22nd, 1849 Rungo Bapoojee wrote:—

"I remind your Lordship that when, on the same journey, the wife of Balla Sahib was seized with the pangs of labour, a halt was also denied to her—a woman! and that she gave birth to her infant by the road-side."

Could anything have been more brutal than this treatment of an innocent and helpless woman by one who piqued himself on being an officer and a gentleman? But it seems that the Britishers then in the service—whether Civil or Military—of the East India Company took pleasure in ill-treating those who were in any way connected with the ex-Rajah of Satara.

Excepting the above two incidents no events of any importance occurred in the journey, which must be looked upon as monotonous and tedious.

From the day of his arrival at Benares till the day of his death there on the 14th October 1847, he was

engaged in a struggle which may be termed truly heroic, in order to clear his conduct, which had been traduced by the Government of Bombay and their underlings.

Before his deposal, the Raja had sent his agents to England. These agents were ill-treated by the Government of Bombay as well as by the authorities of the East India Company in England. Not discouraged by the persecutions they met with at the hands of the officials at Bombay and notwithstanding the large sum they had been mulcted in, for they were made to forfeit £550 they had paid for their passage in a French ship, they were determined to sail for England. They took and paid a second time for their passage, this time in an English ship bound for Liverpool. The agents sailed in her, and at length reached London, where they believed their persecutions would end. But no, the Directors of the East India Company refused to recognize them, and bade them return whence they came, unheard.

Raja Pratap Singh after his dethronement and exile to Benares, was unable to regularly remit money to his agents in England. His private property was confiscated, and the stipend allotted to him was merely a pittance, taking into consideration the number of mouths he had to feed and the faithful followers who voluntarily shared his fate he had to support. Consequently the agents in England were reduced to great straits and they had to borrow money from their English acquaintances for their maintenance. Reduced to such straits they had no other alternative but to return, however reluctantly, to India. Strangers and penniless as they were in the inhospitable region of England, starvation was staring them in the face. The religious laws and social customs of the

nations of the East and especially of India are calculated to minister to the wants and comforts of all strangers. No sojourner in the East need be afraid in ordinary times of dying of starvation. But this can not be said of Christian Europe in general, and of England in particular. Not receiving their usual remittance from India, the agents of the Raja were in an awful predicament. They had incurred debts in England and were consequently afraid of being, at any moment, made inmates of the gaol. Under these circumstances, the agents of the Raja were obliged to appeal to the Court of Directors of the East India Company to advance them money to liquidate their debts in England and enable them to return to India. In their letter of the 16th March 1841, to the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company, they wrote :—

“The arrival of the last packet from India without the expected remittance or a prospect of assistance, has had the effect of destroying our credit, depriving us of the means of subsistence, and placing us not only in absolute want and degradation, but with the legal consequences of arrest for debt added to our deplorable condition.

“Under these circumstances, to whom can we appeal for the alleviation of our immediate personal distress, but to that authority whose Governments, in the exercise of their power, have not only deposed our unfortunate sovereign, but have confiscated every rupee of his treasure and every description of his property ; and whose Resident at Sattara did send, in conjunction with Ballajee Punt (the Sattara minister), to the house of Norothumdass Balmukund, in Bombay, and actually convey from thence jewels to the amount of about 40,000 rupees, thereby leaving us, as we are at this present moment, utterly destitute of the means of subsistence, and with the miserable anticipation of being incarcerated in gaol for debt?

“We therefore trust to the kindness of your Honourable

Court, to your respect and consideration for men who are faithfully endeavouring to obtain a hearing for their beloved and unfortunate prince, that you will advance us the sum of about £2,000 to defray the immediate and just claims against us. * * * * "

But the hard-hearted directors were not to be so easily moved by the tale of sorrow and woe of these strangers whose only fault was that they were faithful to their own sovereign and were trying to seek redress for his wrongs. To their letter, the secretary of the East India Company, who, by the bye, was brother-in-law of Colonel Ovens, was directed to reply "that the Court see no reason for complying with your request."

The laconic and unsympathising reply of the Court engendered in the minds of the agents, as strangers in that foreign Christian land, feelings of the most poignant distress. They again appealed to the Court for assistance, adding that they were in absolute distress, without the means of subsistence, and which, if not relieved by that Honourable Court in the course of four or five days, they should be reluctantly compelled to throw themselves for advice and assistance upon the chief magistrate of the city of London, should they not before that time be arrested for debt.

This threat had its desired effect. The Court of the East India Company were alarmed that they would be scandalised before the English public if the agents of the Satara Raja were to carry out their threat into execution. Moreover, the agents had proved a great nuisance to them by the agitation that they had set on foot in England.

The agents had secured the services of that well-known orator, Mr. George Thompson, to expose the wrongs which the East India Company's Government in

India had inflicted upon the Satara Raja. Besides, the agents had secured the sympathy of a monthly periodical in England known as the *British Indian Advocate*.^{*} The motto of this paper was "Justice to India—Prosperity to England—Freedom to the Slave." Its avowed object, moreover, was to agitate for the ex-Raja of Satara, for each and every issue of the paper was devoted to seeking redress for that unfortunate prince.

The Court, on reconsideration, found it to their advantage, if the Raja's agents were to leave England for good. Accordingly, in reply to their renewed application for assistance, the Court agreed to advance them sufficient funds to enable them to liquidate their pecuniary liabilities and to afford them the means of departure from England on condition that the advance would be payable on their having engaged their passage for India, and made arrangements for the application of the remainder of the amount to the satisfaction of their creditors.

The helpless and disappointed agents left England on 1st July 1841. But one of them, Rango Bapoojee, had proceeded as far as Malta, when he received orders from his master, the ex-Raja of Satara, to return to England and prosecute his claims to the Satara throne. Accordingly towards the beginning of 1842, he returned to England, and intimated the fact of his having done so to the Court of Directors, forwarding at the same time to that

^{*} Raja Ram Mohan Roy's friend Mr. Adam, better known by his nickname of "the second-fallen Adam," on his return to England in July 1839 established with the help of Lord Brougham a society there under the name of the British Indian Society. In 1841 this society started the monthly journal known as the *British Indian Advocate*. Mr. Adam was its editor. There can be little doubt that it was the Raja of Satara's money which principally supported the society and the journal.

body a letter dated Benares 29th August 1841 written by the ex-Raja Pratap Singh requesting the Board to recognise Rango Bapoojee as his agent and to protect him and pay his expenses in England, "my kingdom, power and property being now yours."

From the date of his return to England in January 1842 down to the day of his departure for India in 1853, for a period of 12 years, Rango Bapoojee was engaged in a struggle in which he did not succeed. Yet he deserves our admiration for his earnestness and sincerity of purpose and the fidelity he showed to his unfortunate master. He should be considered the first and the pioneer Indian agitator in England, and his failure shows the futility of so-called "constitutional agitation" on the part of Indians for their rights and privileges.

CHAPTER XVI

On his return to England, Rungo Bapoojee addressed a letter dated 24th January 1842, to the Chairman and the Court of Directors of the East India Company, which is so important that it is given here in extenso. He wrote:—

“Agreeably to the orders of my master, his Highness Maharaj Pertaub Sing, Raja of Sattara, I have the honour to forward the accompanying letter, which his Highness has addressed to your Honourable Court, and commanded me to deliver to you.

“This letter will explain the obligation under which I find myself, as the accredited agent of his Highness, translated once more to England during the rigours of this inclement season. Three times during my stay at Malta did his Highness repeat his commands that I should return, and again entreat your Honourable Court to do unto his Highness as you desire may be done unto yourselves, namely, having heard his accusers, to listen to his defence.

“From the days of the great Seevajee, now 200 years since, down to the present time, my family has eaten the salt of the Rajas of Sattara; how, then, could I disobey his Highness? If your Honourable Court be of opinion that I have, by coming back, intentionally departed from the pledge to return straightway to India, which you exacted in April last from my late colleagues and myself, as the condition on which alone your Honourable Court would relieve us from the utter destitution in which we were plunged, I will refund whatever portion of the money so advanced as you may consider due, as the share allotted to myself and two servants for our passage and expenses.

“His Highness (my master) observes to your Honourable Court, that the British Government is a just Government. The British Government will not disregard its own documents and orders, nor the Court of Directors disregard treaties and

established rights. Laying this conviction to my heart, I derive comfort and confidence.'

"Your Honourable Court will suffer me to say that, so long as my master survives, no circumstances that can happen to him, not even the unheard-of malice, the cruelty, and personal indignity with which his Highness and his principal adherents have been treated, will shake this, the conviction of his virtuous and honourable mind, in the final triumph of British justice ; nor can dethronement, imprisonment, or exile diminish 'the comfort and confidence' with which he steadfastly looks forward to the day when his innocence will be so publicly proclaimed throughout India as it is now universally acknowledged throughout India and England by all honest, impartial, and unprejudiced men, who, lovers of truth, and unswayed by intrigue, by malevolence, and by sinister or party interest, have consulted the documents which have been published by your Honourable Court as the 'Sattara Papers,' one-sided, defective, and mutilated as those documents are.

"His Highness specially recommends me, in his letter, to the protection of your Honourable Court. I crave that protection. It is my painful duty to inform your Honourable Court that certain of your officers, late my fellow-passengers in the steamer 'Oriental,' from Malta, conducted themselves in language and manner so offensively towards me, as to render necessary this representation of their behaviour. I had hardly been an hour on board, on the evening we sailed, when, as I was ascending to the deck, these persons came up and accosted me in the Hindostanee language. On learning my name, and hearing from me that I was one of the agents of the dethroned Raja of Sattara, returning to England on his Highness's behalf, one of the members, who afterwards refused to give his name, commenced grossly to revile my master, called his Highness 'liar,' to my face ; then deriding and ridiculing me, he asked me what good I expected I should be able to do by returning to England ; said that the gallows there awaited me, or, at the least, that your Honourable Court would cause me to be driven or transported out of the country. Had I known English,

I would have appealed on the spot to the Captain, * * * * That night I slept not. I am a Hindoo by birth and allegiance ; a subject of Sattara, not a British subject. I am a man of rank in my own country, have been for many years high in office and in the confidence of my absent calumniated master ; what crime do I commit deserving of insult or reproach at the hands of your officers, or of threat and ignominious death and transportation by coming to England to plead his innocence? * * * *

"This conduct and the treatment are the natural sequel, permit me to say, of the example which was publicly set by your Acting Governor in Council when my late colleagues, the agents of his Highness, first arrived in Bombay, deputed by him to proceed to England and appeal to the justice of your Honourable Court. The minutes and fragments of minutes published by your Honourable Court record the fact that, by orders of your Acting Governor in Council, these native gentlemen and strangers were hunted out by the police, seized in their house as criminals, carried before the senior magistrate, interrogated and kept in custody by him ; and that the opinion of the Advocate General, the law adviser of the Government, was taken, whether it was not possible to detain their persons altogether, 'as deputed by the Raja of Sattara.' Further ; a French ship, in which they had taken their passage, was refused a port-clearance, and afterwards compelled to sail without them, by which they forfeited their passage-money, amounting to £500 ; and when they were at length liberated, your Honourable Court was earnestly recommended not to recognise them, nor permit them to be recognised by Her Majesty's Government, in any public capacity. Is it possible thus to treat British subjects or foreigners in any other part of the British dominions but in India?

"If by coming to England to complain of a wrong or oppression, a native of India, whether a British subject or the subject of a dependent prince, is in effect guilty of a heinous crime, and is to draw down upon himself as a fitting punishment every personal indignity that can be heaped upon him by officials and non-officials, from the hour he ventures to set

out until the hour he returns, his sojourn in this generous land excepted, let me beseech your Honourable Court, in accordance with the justice and benignity ascribed to your paternal sway over the natives of India, and in consideration of their ignorance, to cause this sentiment to be made known throughout the vast territories subject to your uncontrolled authority, in order that my fellow natives, 'the turbaned gentry', as they are styled, may be deterred from seeking justice in England, and be saved from the humiliations and indignities it has been the lot of my late colleagues and myself to suffer, in the discharge of the painful trust which duty and gratitude imposed upon us; humiliations and indignities which, I venture to assert, not the meanest Englishman would have suffered in any native state, much less English gentlemen innocent of offence, clothed with an official character, and holding in their country and at the Court of their sovereign that rank and station which, in happier times, birth and office conferred upon us at the Court of our fallen master, Maharaj Pertaub Sing."

But the Christian directors, every one of whom had, before entering upon the office, taken the following oath :

"And I do further faithfully *promise* and *swear*, that in the office of a Director of the said Company, I will be indifferent and equal to all manner of persons, and will in all things faithfully and honestly demean myself, according to the best of my skill, and understanding. So help me God."

thought they were doing their duty by condemning the Raja of Satara unheard and insulting his injured agent Rungo Bapoojee. The Secretary of the East India Company, who was no other than James C. Melvill, brother-in-law of that notorious Resident Colonel Ovens, was "commanded to state, in reply, that the Court having distinctly refused to advance any sum of money in order to facilitate the departure of a portion only of the ex-Raja's Vakeels, they cannot consider your return to this country compatible with the pledge given by yourself and col-

leagues, nor can they under such circumstances in any way recognise you as an agent of the ex-Raja of Satara."

This reply drew forth from Rungo Bapoojee a rejoinder which thoroughly exposed the hypocrisy of the Court of Directors of the East India Company—men who boasted of being Christians. He wrote under date, 12th March 1842;—

"Your Honourable Court will permit me to observe that there is nothing new in this your reply. Your Honourable Court, contrary to what is implied by your words, never did recognize my late colleagues and myself as the agents of his Highness the Raja of Sattara, any more than you now recognize me individually; only the reasons given in the two cases are just opposite the one to the other. In the first case you grounded your refusal upon my colleagues and myself having come to England; in my case it results from my not having gone back to India (as if your recognizing me there could be of any possible service to his Highness!). Would it not have been more decorous not to have assigned any reason at all, or to have avowed the real one, namely, that your Honourable Court, having condemned and deposed my master without trial, and carried him captive away, you are determined to silence him for ever, and make the grave hide him alike and his wrongs?

* * * * *

"Your Honourable Court call yourselves Christians. Many among you are hastening to your last account. Present yourselves when you may at Heaven's gate, my belief teaches me that these acts will be heaped up and await you there, when Honourable Directors no more, you crave admission to where the good and the just alone enter.

"With respect to the individual insult sustained from one of your officers, of which I complained in my first letter, I ought not, after this, to be surprised at your utter contempt of it. When his Highness, my master, and all his faithful friends have been thus hunted down, punished and tortured, as out

of the pale of all law, human or divine, it would be something singular if your Honourable Court did not deem me as beyond the pale of society and your officers as privileged to insult and abuse me as the agent of the Raja of Sattara, whensoever they may meet me out of England. Fortified as they now are with your warrant for their conduct, I must, as a native of India, submit in silence, and learn, as heretofore, to bear with resignation the brand of oppression set upon our race and colour by that very body whom the British people have chartered, as they most delusively believe, for our special defence and protection."

Rungo Bapoojee was untiring in his exertions for getting justice done to his unfortunate sovereign. He was allowed two thousand rupees a month for his expenses in England and this amount was spent in publishing periodicals and other methods of carrying on agitation in England. He got all the past residents at the Court of Satara interested in the Raja's fate, and, moreover, secured Mr. George Thompson and Mr. Joseph Hume to plead the Raja's cause before the British public and also the Court of Directors and the House of Commons.

It was principally at the Raja's expense, that Mr. George Thompson came out to India in 1843.* From this visit of that renowned orator dates the commencement of constitutional agitation in India. It was at his suggestion that the British Indian Association was established at Calcutta, which is the oldest—if not quite the first—political association in this country.

Mr. George Thompson had two interviews with the Raja of Satara at Benares—on the 16th of June and 24th

* Mr. 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. An account of his visit to India and what he did by his visit to India is given in Appendix E.

of November 1843, at the house of, and in the presence of, Major Carpenter. In an article which appeared in the *British Friend of India Magazine* for December 1843, Mr. George Thompson described the impressions produced on his mind by the interviews. This is reprinted in Appendix E.

As a member of the House of Commons, Mr. Joseph Hume left no stone unturned to get justice done to the Raja. With this object in view, he moved over and over again for the production and publication of the papers relating to the Raja of Satara. At last he succeeded. In conformity with a resolution of the General Court of Proprietors of East India Stock of the 17th June 1840, papers respecting the case of the Raja of Satara were printed for the use of the proprietors of the East India Company. But, as was to be expected from the interested Christian members of the East India Company, these papers were mutilated, partial and unfavourable to the Raja,—all papers in the least favourable to that prince were deliberately suppressed. Such was the sense of honor possessed by those to whose hands were consigned the destinies of the princes and people of India.*

* Mr. J. C. Marshman, C.S.I., although he edited the *Friend of India*, was no friend of India or of the Indian princes and people. He was a most unscrupulous Anglo-Indian who advocated the spoliation of states Governed by Indian princes. The present writer suspects him to have been in the pay of Dalhousie, for he supported all the high-handed and unjust measures of that Scotch Governor-General. Even Mr. Marshman is compelled to bear testimony to the manner in which Parliamentary papers relating to India were garbled. In an article on the Second Punjab War, published in the *Calcutta Review* for December 1847, he wrote:—

"It has been usual to mistrust these Parliamentary records, as having been compiled to subserve a political purpose, and not to support the cause of truth. The official functionary entrusted with their compilation, has been repeatedly charged, and not without apparent justice, with having suppressed some of the most important documents." (P. 238).

The publication of the Parliamentary papers relating to the Raja of Satara marked a new era in the history of India. To all impartial and unprejudiced persons these papers showed the rotten state of affairs in the Government of India, the insecure tenure of the throne of Indian princes, who were then, and unfortunately even now, at the mercy of Residents who were mostly unscrupulous and unprincipled men of the type of the notorious Col. Ovans. These papers were an eye-opener to many. Their publication did immense good to the Raja. On their strength he wrote his celebrated letter dated 12th Dec. 1844, in vindication of his honor and character to Sir Henry Hardinge, the then Governor-General of India. For the first time the Raja came to know the nature of the evidence on which he had been condemned unheard. That which the Christian despots in India most dreaded, came to light. Colonel Ovans and his ilk had refused to let the Raja know the nature of the evidence against him, because then the foul conspiracies which they had concocted against the Raja would have been all exposed.

CHAPTER XVII

The Raja's letter to the Governor-General is a document of great historical importance and a masterpiece of defence. The concluding paragraphs of this letter are given below :—

“Having placed the opinions, judgments and declarations of so many eminent, high-minded and honorable men before you, I leave you to decide, whether in accordance with the principles of justice I can be continued in a state of punishment and suffering, with the stigma of an enemy and a traitor resting upon me, without a trial. Let it be borne in mind, that the opinions cited above are founded upon an examination of evidence wholly *ex parte* ; evidence obtained frequently from the vilest of men, by means the most questionable, and under circumstances of impunity and indemnity to the parties concerned in obtaining or giving it ; let it likewise be borne in mind, that it has already been demonstrated that many of the most important portions of the evidence given against me, are false and perjured. His Excellency, Don Manoel, formerly the Governor of Goa, has denied the charges in which he has been implicated.

“The petition of the mother of my Dewan, Govind Row, has been proved to be a forgery.

“Govind Row himself has voluntarily deposed, that the confession made by him in the prison at Ahmednuggar, was extorted from him, and is utterly false, and the seals stated to have been used by my authority during the existence of the Goa intrigue have been proved to be forgeries.

“Having now laid my case before you and stated such arguments, drawn from the highest authorities, as I conceive to be amply sufficient to establish my claim to a hearing before a just and equitable tribunal, I await your decision.

“Compensation for past injuries I cannot receive. Full reparation it is not in the power of the British Government, or

any earthly power, to grant me. The sufferings I have endured through a departure from the principles of fair and upright dealing on the part of those who have conducted proceedings against me, can never be atoned for. For more than five years I have been an exile from my native hills, and subjected to the miseries of captivity in a strange and unhealthy region ; and worse than all besides, I have been made to feel tortures inflicted by the knowledge of the infamy with which my name has been branded. No wealth or prosperity, therefore, which I can venture to hope I may hereafter enjoy, can be any adequate compensation for such inflictions. Nevertheless, if permitted to rescue my character from the disgrace which has been heaped upon it, and to establish my innocence to the satisfaction of the British Government, I shall be ready to forgive the wrongs I have endured, and be ever grateful for the magnanimous interference, though late, of the head of the Indian Government in my behalf.

“Until I receive your reply I shall draw comfort from the belief that an unjustly deposed and exiled prince, though fallen in his fortunes and injured in his character, cannot make an appeal to you in vain.”

Poor Raja, he could have as well addressed a stone or a tree. The Governor-General knew that it was impossible to reply to the Raja's letter without acknowledging the discreditable part played by the Christian servants of the East India Company, both in India and in England. Therefore he acted on the maxim that “silence is gold” ; he adopted the policy of conspiracy of silence towards the unfortunate Raja. His letter was not forwarded to the Home authorities till after his death. The Raja's letter is dated 12th December 1844. No notice of it was taken, no reply to it given, and it was transmitted to the Court of Directors of the East India Company on 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.

The Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, convinced as he was of the moral certainty of the Raja's innocence, and thus unable to either reply to, or transmit to higher authorities the Raja's letter, pursued a course which would not have come to light but for circumstances which will be presently narrated. About September 1845, when Lord Hardinge reached Benares, the Raja urged the Governor-General's agent, Major Carpenter, to solicit an audience for him, in order that he might appeal to the Governor-General in person, and especially entreat an answer to his letter of the 12th December 1844, offering to prove his innocence, and to be relieved from his pecuniary embarrassments. Major Carpenter told the Raja that he was afraid his request would not be complied with. But Major Carpenter took an opportunity of speaking to Lord Hardinge about the Raja, with reference to his wretchedness and his debts. What was the actual conversation between the Governor-General and his agent at Benares is nowhere officially stated; but Mr. Thompson in a lengthy article under the heading "The morality of the Indian authorities," in which he charged them with suppression of the proofs of the innocence of the Raja of Satara, published in the *Indian Examiner and Universal Review* for April 1847, wrote as follows:—

"That the interview with the Rajah, referred to, and the propositions submitted to the Rajah's consideration during that interview, originated in a confidential conversation with the Governor-General, while his Lordship was at Benares; at which time the Governor-General gave an assurance, that he would explain everything to the Court of Directors."

From the above it is evident then that Lord Hardinge,

knowing that the Raja was innocent, and that the agitation which had been set on foot on his behalf in England, was lowering the prestige of the British administration in India, and exposing the hypocrisy, perfidy, chicanery, perjury and forgery of certain Christian officials in this country, thought it best to instruct his agent to sound the Raja if he would come to terms and accept the following conditions :—

First :—That he should acknowledge that after having tried and exhausted every means in his power for a period of six years, in his efforts to obtain justice, he has at last retired, perfectly hopeless of receiving any acknowledgment of his rights ; he has, therefore, relinquished all his claims to the Sattara throne and territories.

Secondly :—That he would withdraw his agent in London, and discontinue the agitation of his case in England.

Thirdly :—That he would solicit for some suitable place of retirement—for the restoration of his private property—for an increase of the monthly allowance made to him and for the Government to approve of the adoption he had made.

The Raja was alleged to have replied to the above propositions as follows :—

“I am neither a Mahajan (Shopkeeper), nor a Sowcar (merchant), nor a Baboo (Bengali gentleman), nor a Zemindar (landholder or rather farmer), nor is it likely that I should forego my *rights of sovereignty*, for the conditions you have to offer for my acceptance. I shall act conformably to the manner in which my ancestors have acted, and I hope my successors will so act. This is only in accordance with what is enjoined in our religion.....I would rather perish than subscribe to the terms you propose.”*

At a meeting of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, held on 18th March 1846, Mr. George Thompson read the document from which extracts are

* *The Indian Examiner and Universal Review* for April 1847 pp : 162-163.

given above and then proceeded to address the Court as follows :—

“It is quite impossible to believe that such counsel as is here tendered to the Rajah, would be offered without some antecedent understanding with those parties who alone had the power to make the concessions the Rajah was advised to solicit.....In the present state of affairs, I shall say no more than that I trust the Rajah will, to the latest hour of his earthly existence, adhere inflexibly to the course of conduct he has hitherto pursued.”

The reading of the above document as well as Mr. Thompson's speech created great sensation in the Court. To quote Mr. Thompson's own words :—

“It will not be denied by any of the Directors then present, that on the breaking up of the General Court, and the retirement of the Directors to their own room, it was observed by several of their number, that the document I had read was a most important one—that it put a very different complexion on the case—and that if it should turn out to be true, it would alter the conduct of some who had been accustomed to vote in opposition to the friends of the Rajah.”

The Court, on the 24th of March 1846, forwarded the paper which Mr. Thompson had read to the Governor-General for explanation. Lord Hardinge passed it on to Major Carpenter at Benares to report thereon without delay.

The gallant officer in charge of the ex-Raja of Satara replied to the Governor-General's letter on the 25th May 1846. He admitted that the statement made by Mr. George Thompson at the India House, on the 24th March 1846, relative to a conversation between himself and the ex-Raja of Satara was substantially correct, though there were some inaccuracies in the translation. Major Carpenter had the courage and honesty to declare his opinion as to the absolute innocence of the Raja. He wrote :—

“When the Raja was consigned to my charge, early in 1840, I considered it necessary, for the efficient discharge of my duties, to make myself fully acquainted with the causes of his dethronement, his general reputation for intrigue, and other circumstances connected with his character and conduct, to enable me to form a just estimate of the man with whom I had to deal, and to guard against the consequences which might arise from any laxity of *surveillance* on my part. To this end I carefully studied the whole of the voluminous documents connected with his case, and the result was a belief in his innocence ; and this belief has been confirmed beyond a doubt by subsequent disclosures, and by his pledging himself to prove it, if permitted to do so, in his letter to Sir Henry Hardinge, of the 12th December 1844, forwarded through me, and which pledge I am fully persuaded he is able to redeem.”

For this declaration of his honest opinion, Major Carpenter was severely reprimanded by the Governor-General, who made his Secretary to write to him that his (Major Carpenter's) “conviction of the ex-Raja's innocence of the charges of which he was convicted, and of his ability to prove his innocence, is as unbecoming as it is uncalled for.”

It was the first time in the official career of that gallant officer that he was reprimanded, not for the neglect of any duty, but for the expression of his honest opinion of one who was entrusted to his care. He wrote to the Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General a letter in vindication of himself. This letter is dated Benares, 2nd July 1846; and it so thoroughly cleared his conduct that Lord Hardinge or his Secretary did not, or rather could not, venture to reply to it or to take Major Carpenter to task for the expression of his opinion. In the course of this letter, Major Carpenter wrote :—

“About the period the Raja was consigned to my charge,

with a very large retinue, without any specific or definite orders regarding his treatment and position, it was universally believed that a feeling of hostility to, and combination against, British rule, existed in various parts of India, and especially in the Deccan, where the Raja of Sattara was considered to have been the principal conspirator; and in a large and populous city like Benares, the general resort of all classes from every part of India, he might have found a fertile field for intrigue with almost any native Court in the country. I therefore conceived it indispensable to the vigilant discharge of my duty, to be fully acquainted with the Raja's character, and the nature of the intrigues for which he was dethroned, in order to counteract any attempt he might make to renew them in Benares; and if evil consequences had arisen from my having allowed myself to be lulled into a false security by apathy or ignorance of the Raja's declared habits of intrigue, I appeal to his Lordship whether I should not have justly rendered myself obnoxious to the censure of the Government."

He concluded his letter as follows:—

"During an almost uninterrupted service of 26 years, whereof more than 12 have been passed in the Political Department, I have endeavoured to perform my various and oft-times difficult and delicate duties with zeal, fidelity and honour, and hitherto happily without reproach; it is therefore peculiarly painful to me to find myself censured for the first time in my career, and that any part of my proceedings regarding the Raja of Sattara should have unfortunately incurred the displeasure of the Right Honourable the Governor-General, to whom I solicit you will be pleased to submit this explanation, which, I trust, will remove it."

Of course, the Directors of the East India Company were averse to publishing the above correspondence, because it was favorable to the cause of the Raja and was calculated to establish his innocence and show to the world the unjust treatment he had met with at the hands of the Indian authorities both in India and England. The

existence of this correspondence would not have been known but for certain circumstances which Mr. George Thompson has referred to in the article already alluded to above. In this article he wrote :—

"I will now frankly confess, that in the month of August 1846, I came into possession of the following particulars respecting a secret correspondence arising out of the document I had read and handed to the Chairman. While I make this confession, let me also state in vindication of my own honour, that the information I obtained was unsought, unsolicited, unexpected. Let me also state, that if I were compelled to reveal everything I imagine as well as know respecting the manner in which this information was obtained by others, I should make no mention of the Rajah of Sattara, or of the honourable officer, who fills the post of the Governor-General's Agent at Benares.

These particulars were the copies of the letters that passed between the East India Company, the Governor-General of India, and the latter's agent at Benares, that is, Major Carpenter. Extracts from these letters have been already given above. It appears that some one from Calcutta transmitted copies of the letters above referred to to Mr. George Thompson, according to whom in "the middle of August (1846), when, on entering my chambers on a particular day, I found a sealed packet, addressed to myself."

Mr. Thompson and the other friends of the Raja were highly delighted on the receipt of the above correspondence. What followed next, and how the authorities of the India House tried to burke the whole correspondence may be better described in the words of Mr. George Thompson.

"My motion is for "copies of all correspondence," &c. The order of Sir John Hobhouse is, 'for the correspondence,' &c., 'SO FAR AS THE SAME HAS BEEN COMMUNICATED TO THE COURT

OF DIRECTORS.' This alteration, therefore, was designed to exclude that portion of the correspondence which, in the knowledge of the President of the Board of Control, tended to establish the innocence of the Rajah. When issued in a printed form by order of the House,.....it was discovered that the correspondence arising out of the document read by me in the Court of Proprietors, on the 18th of March, 1846, had been withheld, and then, for the first time that the motion.....had been interpolated for the purpose of suppressing that correspondence.....Sir John Hobhouse, on looking at the paper, said, 'these are in the secret Department, and cannot be produced.' (On being pressed) Sir John Hobhouse consented to give them, adding that he personally had no wish to withhold any papers, or to do injustice."

It was with the greatest difficulty that Sir John Hobhouse, after lying, prevaricating and what not, prevailed upon to print the letter of Major Carpenter addressed to the Secretary to Government of India, dated Benares, 25th May 1846. The motion for this letter was made on 28th August 1846, but it was not printed before 21st July 1847, that is, nearly after a year and about three months before the death of the unfortunate Raja. Such was the morality and sense of justice possessed by the Christian gentlemen connected with the management of Indian affairs in those days.

CHAPTER XVIII

The publication of the Satara papers also showed in their hideous nakedness the vile deeds of the notorious Colonel Ovans. Mr. George Thompson was not slow in framing charges against Colonel Ovans and appeared several times before the authorities at the India House to impeach that officer. But almost all those connected with the East India Company, with a few honourable exceptions, had made up their minds not to do justice to the Raja of Satara. "Birds of the same feather flock together." Their sense of honor and honesty was no better than that of Colonel Ovans and naturally they sided with him. It is not improbable also that these so-called honourable gentlemen were bought over by Colonel Ovans, as that officer was known to have bought evidence against the Raja.

At a meeting of the Court of Proprietors held in August 1845, Mr. G. Thompson made a speech in which he demanded that inquiries should be made into the charges brought against Colonel Ovans and his adviser Balajee Punt Natoo. But the directors and the proprietors refused all enquiry into these charges. In reply, Mr. Thompson is reported to have said that

"the directors would vote for themselves, and they had sent out their emissaries, and whipped in their supporters. Justice would be for the time defeated—but only for a time. The Raja would as surely regain his throne as that he (Mr. Thompson) was living at that moment. Corruption and oppression might for a short season prevail within those walls, but when the facts of the case were known, as they should be, to the British public, a feeling would be aroused, that would

not only give the Raja his own, but visit upon the heads of his relentless persecutors, the punishment they merited."

Again on the 24th September 1845, before a general Quarterly Court of Proprietors held at the India House, Mr. George Thompson appeared to impeach Colonel Ovans. He brought twelve grave charges against that officer, charges so grave and serious, that certainly, in the name of decency and at least for the sake of keeping up appearances, some notice should have been taken of them. But Sir Henry Willock, the Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, did not blush to tell a lie and assure all those present that "every charge against Colonel Ovans had received the fullest investigation."

Of course it was a down-right and bare-faced lie. Mr. Thompson solemnly denied the truth of the Chairman's assertion, he deliberately proclaimed that no investigation had ever taken place, and he defied the Chairman to name the time when, or the place where, any enquiry had been instituted. But the Chairman was silent.

On the 17th December 1845, before the General Quarterly Court of East India Proprietors, Mr. George Thompson again preferred his grave charges against Colonel Ovans. His speech was so violent that every one thought that the Court and Colonel Ovans would at least to clear their character and name take some notice of it. But no, the Christian directors had no sense of honor and honesty. At the conclusion of Mr. Thompson's address, his motion "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 Satara," etc., was put from the Chair, and negatived without a division.

On the decision of the Court being declared, Mr. Thompson 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 falsehood upon your souls."

So ended the impeachment of Colonel Ovans before the India House.

It was to be expected that Colonel Ovans would clear his conduct by prosecuting Mr. George Thompson and the Editors of those papers which had published Mr. Thompson's speeches with comments, for libel and defamation of character. But that officer with a guilty conscience did nothing of the sort. He asked the Court of Directors of the East India Company to take legal steps against Mr. Thompson. He knew they would never do such a foolish thing, for then their hypocrisy, and their dishonesty would be exposed to the world. Colonel Ovans' brother-in-law, as unscrupulous and unprincipled as he himself, was Secretary of the Company. So to whitewash Colonel Ovans, James Cosmo Melvill wrote on 25th October 1847 to his brother-in-law :

"that whilst the Court adhere to the opinion expressed in their despatch to the Government of Bombay of the 30th of May 1843, 'that the investigations and discussions which have taken place have left not the slightest stain on your character, public or private, nor have tended in any way to lower the reputation which you have justly acquired by your previous public services,' they must decline to undertake or be parties concurring in any legal prosecution of Mr. Thompson."

Colonel Ovans was quite satisfied with this certificate of whitewashing given to him by his brother-in-law. But certainly the public were not so easily gulled. They

believed that Colonel Ovans was a criminal and therefore did not dare to face a court of justice to clear his conduct. What a contrast between him and the Raja Pratap Singh ! While the latter courted enquiry into the charges brought against him, Colonel Ovans shunned enquiries into his conduct, although such a course was open to him. Hence it is not difficult for the public to infer the guilt of the Christian Resident and innocence of the heathen Raja.

Some of the poems and correspondence which at that period appeared in some of the periodicals, regarding Colonel Ovans, are so interesting reading even at this period of time that no apology is needed for inserting the following as specimens :

AN INITIAL-ATORY ODE

ON THE LETTER O ; ADDRESSED TO LLEUT.-COLONEL C. O * * * s

O ; and in sooth 'tis an ominous letter,
 And the sooner the alphabet's rid on't, the better,
 For it holds high revels in blood and gore,
 And so it *has* done, since days of yore.—
 Powder and shot,
 And bombs, would rot,
 And booming cannon, and bright sword-blade,
 Would give up their calling, forget their trade,
 And turn dumb and rusty without its aid.—
 This hideous O,
 In the midst of woe,
 Noisy and forward is always found,
 And your direst foe
 To a boon would grow,
 If bereft of its savage hollow sound.—
 It lurks in dungeons, holes, and gaols,
 And to meddle in tortures, it never fails ;
 Bolts and locks,
 Scaffolds and blocks

Deprived of its help would useless be ;
 The groans of the pain-worn,
 The moans of the death-torn,
 The howlings and shouts of agony,
 Unaided by O,
 Would fall seldom and slow,
 On the harrow'd, quicken'd and anxious ear.—
 Oh! odious, obese, vowel of fear!
 But a mightier sin it perpetrates,
 It commences a name that all India hates,
 As the type of the vilest, the foulest fraud,
 That was ever concocted at home or abroad :—
 Devoid of all honest, respectable shame,
 It forms the first letter in O * * * s's name ;
 That "malum in se,"
 That grim effigy,
 That device for the standard of treachery!
 A name that will *Burke* ye
 "Satis et superque",
 A motto befitting the gallows-tree!
 So, for forming a portion of O * * * s's name,
 To our mercy, this O has abandoned all claim ;
 Let the emblem be treated as surely it ought,
 And stand for the future as *nothing* but *naught* ;
 As a vowel, outlaw it, until it knows better,
 And not until then, welcome O as a letter.

Z.

A PROGNOSTIC.

When WILLOCK—doughty WILLOCK—he who won,
 The Persian Order of "the *Shere* and Sun",
 Laugh'd at by Lewis and by Gordon gor'd,
 Forsakes his lodgings, and resigns his "board ;"
 Gives up his patronage and fees,
 And just for *once*, conducts himself with ease,
 Looks unconfus'd before the Court-room gaze,
 And utters *one* intelligible phrase :—

When MELVILL, sated, fails to reimburse
His countless kindred from the public purse,—
That plenteous purse—wrung with voracious hands,
From India's broad and treasure-teeming lands ;
Wrung with hot haste, by peculating knaves,
From her oppress'd and too submissive slaves ;
Wrung by war's terrors, by ensanguin'd swords,
From her high-lineaged, higher-minded lords ;
Wrung from the cowering child, the wailing wife ;
Wrung from the age-bowed priest, his God, his life ;
Wrung without pity, fear, regard, remorse,
In one huge, unrestrained career of force ;
When COSMO's scions fail to throng that house,
The nest of jobb'ry, and of gross carouse,
That dismal labyrinthian Leaden-Hall,
Within whose gloomy walls, the spirits pall ;
Within whose Council rooms, the learned say,
"Concordia discors" reigns with potent sway,
When over-dext'rous, he exceeds his part,
And his "right hand forgets" his crafty art :—
When OVANS—craven with th' excess of guilt—
Levels the edifice of crime he's built ;
When his small heart with manly courage swells,
He creeps from out his hole at Tonbridge Wells,
Flings from his name, all foul, unwholesome stain,
And walks the world an honest man again,
Shuns truckling treachery, as mean and base,
And dares confront George Thompson face to face :—
When THORNTON's scribblings are accounted great,
And as a miracle escape their fate,—
The common fate of all false, stupid, tomes—
Of fitting decently their long, last, homes,
And with pure instinct, act their destined parts,
Of lining trunks and covering stale tarts ;
When like a hungry, mercenary scribe,
Hired by each venal fee and dirty bribe,
He writes another huge six-volumed lie,

And nations style th' abortion—history!—
 When GOLDSMID, reeking from his tailor's taste,—
 A petty pinch of animated paste,—
 Dare strut with smirking smile the busy streets,
 And not be laughed at by the crowd he meets ;
 When on the subject of his life's long lease,
 All speculations die, all wranglings cease,
 When men enlightened, and by reasoning, bold,
 Pronounce "the thing" not *quite* so very old,
 And spite of prepossessions, doubts and fears,
 Lop off two centuries from his lengthened years ;
 When on his scanty, brazen-buttoned coat,
 Our ill-clad citizens no longer gloat,
 Nor strive with curious, microscopic, eye
 One scintillation of a fold to spy,
 When this poor coxcomb, *caprine*, yet so hoar,—
 This ancient wardrobe-worshipper,—no more,
 Thrusts himself daily our applause to win,
 A moul'dring, macaronic, mannikin :—
 When THOMPSON'S burning eloquence shall fail
 To bring bright blushes on the coward, pale,
 And turgid cheeks of that voracious brood,
 Who won by gifts, by zesty victuals woo'd,
 With hearts of granite, heads of heavy lead,
 O'er paid, o'er-grown, o'er-rated and o'er-fed,
 Lounge, gape, and gossip, idle, save at feast,
 And style themselves "Directors" of the East !
 When these—poor India's ulcers—yet endure,
 The torrent of his speech, so bold, yet pure,
 So redolent with truth and high disdain,
 So unencumber'd with the hireling's gain ;
 When these poor crouching slaves to fee and vail
 Forget to tremble—hesitate to quail ;—
 When with unflinching heart, unfault'ring voice,
 He proffers them an equilibrious choice,
 To grant Sattara's Prince, his just demands,
 Bring him to trial, or restore his lands :

When in those accents, noble, lofty, brave,
 He sears, and nigh annihilates the knave,
 That rank-fed parasite, who, gorg'd with guile,
 Betrayed the Prince, he feigned to aid the while ;
 And when that knave dare face his honest foe,
 And not to kindred filth submerge below :—
 When these untoward incidents appear,
 When BRIGGS betrays a creeping, selfish, fear ;
 When SULLIVAN speaks nonsense, FIELDER sense,
 And WEDDING's recitations seem less dense ;
 When spite of truthful and appropriate hints,
 HOGG keeps his temper—SMITH conceals his flints ;—
 Then, and then only shall we truly fear,
 India's great cause, debarr'd the public ear ;
 Then shall we dread her rulers may prolong,
 Their present reign of misery and wrong ;
 Then and then *only*, deem it ne'er shall be
 That India's Empire be at peace and FREE.

Z.

The authorities of the East India Company did not recognize Rungo Bapoojee as the Raja's agent; nor did they listen to the reasonable prayers of Mr. George Thompson and several other friends of the Raja in England to give a hearing to that unfortunate prince in his own defence and inquire into the grave charges brought against Colonel Ovens. But neither the Maratha agent of the Raja, nor Mr. Thompson and his English friends were to be discouraged and cowed down by the unfair treatment they experienced at the hands of the Indian authorities. They knew that the East India Company derived its authority from the British public and the British Houses of Parliament. Hence they resolved to appeal to them and expose the scandalous manner in which the Raja had been treated.

And nations style th' abortion—history!—
 When GOLDSMID, reeking from his tailor's taste,—
 A petty pinch of animated paste,—
 Dare strut with smirking smile the busy streets,
 And not be laughed at by the crowd he meets ;
 When on the subject of his life's long lease,
 All speculations die, all wranglings cease,
 When men enlightened, and by reasoning, bold,
 Pronounce "the thing" not *quite* so very old,
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 Nor strive with curious, microscopic, eye
 One scintillation of a fold to spy,
 When this poor coxcomb, *caprine*, yet so hoar,—
 This ancient wardrobe-worshipper,—no more,
 Thrusts himself daily our applause to win,
 A moul'dring, macaronic, mannikin :—
 When THOMPSON'S burning eloquence shall fail
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 And turgid cheeks of that voracious brood,
 Who won by gifts, by zesty victuals woo'd,
 With hearts of granite, heads of heavy lead,
 O'er paid, o'er-grown, o'er-rated and o'er-fed,
 Lounge, gape, and gossip, idle, save at feast,
 And style themselves "Directors" of the East !
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 The torrent of his speech, so bold, yet pure,
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 So unencumber'd with the hireling's gain ;
 When these poor crouching slaves to fee and vail
 Forget to tremble—hesitate to quail :—
 When with unflinching heart, unfault'ring voice,
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 Bring him to trial, or restore his lands ;

When in those accents, noble, lofty, brave,
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 When these untoward incidents appear,
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 When SULLIVAN speaks nonsense, FIELDER sense,
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 When spite of truthful and appropriate hints,
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CHAPTER XIX

Here it is necessary to refer to an extraordinary step which Mr. George Thompson took in impeaching the Court of Directors of the East India Company. This was something like bearding the lion in his own den, for it was at the India House that on 23rd September 1846, Mr. Thompson condemned the Directors in a speech which will not compare unfavourably with some of the speeches of the best orators of Great Britain. For its eloquence, for its mastery of facts and figures, for the exposure of the nepotism that prevailed in the administration of the East India Company, this speech should be as widely and popularly known as any of Burke or Bright on Indian affairs.

It is, therefore, that the speech has been reproduced in Appendix F.

At almost the commencement of his speech, he referred to the disgraceful manner in which the Court of Directors had behaved towards the deposed Raja.

Then he described the India House as an "Augean stable of corruption" and assigned true reasons for its being so.

Whenever Mr. Thompson or any other friend of the Raja wanted to discuss the case of that unfortunate prince before the Court Directors, the Chairman of the Court was in the habit of playing a very low and mean trick by moving for the adjournment of the Court. Mr. Thompson next narrated what took place on the 29th July 1842.

He alluded to the cowardice of Colonel Ovens and the Directors of the Company for not taking any legal steps

against him for deliberately calling him and them "liars," "perjurers", etc.

He concluded his powerful speech by stating why an appeal to the people of England should be made for doing justice to the Princes and People of India.

At the conclusion of his speech, he moved :—

"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 Satara, it is the opinion of the Court of 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."

But, as was to be expected, his motion was negatived. Those Christian Directors had no sense of honor or honesty in them. They knew the art of fleecing India, to make themselves and some of their co-religionists and compatriots rich at the expense of the natives of India. Such being the case Mr. Thompson's cry was in the wilderness.

CHAPTER XX

Mr. Thompson and Rungo Bapoojee were not disheartened by the ill-treatment they received at the hands of those who were entrusted with Indian affairs. They decided on appealing to the British public. After the prorogation of the British Parliament in August 1846, a series of meetings were commenced, with a view to drawing public attention to the conduct of the Indian Authorities, in the case of the deposed Raja of Satara, and to petition for the restoration of that prince. These meetings were attended by crowded and highly respectable audiences. *The British Friend of India* for October 1846 reported:—

“At all these gatherings, the deepest sympathy has been manifested with the Raja, and the strongest expressions of indignation uttered against his oppressors. If the East Indian authorities have a grain of wisdom, they will lose no time in ordering an inquiry into this case. If they do not, we will venture to predict, that, the continued agitation of the Raja’s case, and such exposures as Mr. Thompson is accustomed to make, of the *acts of the Company and their servants*, will raise a storm which will shake the monopoly of power in Leadenhall-street to its foundation, and ultimately work its entire overthrow.”

The words put in italics in the above extract are a curious reading, for what happened eleven years after they had been penned? It was the Raja of Satara’s case which exposed the evil deeds of the Company and ultimately brought on its extinction.

These meetings were principally addressed by Rungo Bapoojee and Mr. Thompson. That Maratha agent of the Raja did not know a word of English when he se

his foot on English soil. But he applied himself so assiduously to learn the English language, that he obtained such a command over it as to be able to express himself fluently and intelligently in it.

In these meetings, Mr. Thompson used to hurl his severe onslaughts on the Indian authorities in his usual style of calling a spade a spade. The following extracts are made from one of his powerful speeches delivered on the 27th August 1846, in the Theatre of the Literary Institution, Portman Square, Mary-le-bone.

"In the evidence before us, in these blue books, we find that the treaty of 1819, which placed the Raja on the throne, was violated by the Bombay government. The object of that government was, to wrest from the Raja his sovereignty over the estates of certain feudal chieftains, which, by the express terms of the treaty, were to lapse to the Raja. For several years prior to 1836, the Raja had in vain endeavoured to obtain justice. He was deceived, cajoled, and put off, until at last, tired of the insincerity and falsehood of the local authorities, he determined upon an appeal, by an agent of his own, to the authorities in this country. Then it was that the parties at Bombay, who had actually suppressed from the knowledge of the Raja a decision of the Court of Directors, in his favour—fearing the exposure of their misconduct—entered into a league with certain religious enemies of the Raja, for the purpose of crushing the individuals they had injured. Their despatches to the Court of Directors contained the most monstrous perversion of facts. The commissioners violated in their proceedings all the principles of law and justice. The report of those commissioners was at utter variance with the facts brought out in evidence. The Raja was never permitted to reply to, or even to see a copy of a single deposition. (Shame). When the first charge was declared by the supreme government to be unsupported by credible testimony, it was resolved to get up new ones. The then resident at the Raja's court was dismissed, to make room for a man whose official crimes are, I

would fain hope, without a parallel in the history even of British India—a man with all the vices, but without one of the atoning or extenuating characteristics of Warren Hastings. This man seems to have sold himself to work mischief and inequity. His first act was to suborn false testimony ; his next, to furnish to his government information directly falsified by the evidence in his possession, but which evidence he suppressed. His next act was, to imprison every faithful and attached individual near the person of the Raja, with a view of extorting testimony of a criminatory kind. His next act was, to enter into a compact with a gang of robbers, for the purchase of forged documents and seals—and thus, by furnishing evidence which was false, and suppressing that which was true—by granting rewards and indemnity to perjurers, and keeping in solitary confinement those who could and would have exposed the conspiracy, he succeeded in accumulating a mass of evidence, which his employers hoped would secure the sanction of the Government of India to the adoption of extreme measures against the Raja. (Shame). In this, however, they failed ; and at last, (determined by any means to put out of the way a man who was too just to be endured), they came to the resolution of calling upon the Raja to confess his own guilt ; assured that if he did so, their own misdeeds would be covered, and resolved, if he did not, to make his refusal a pretext for hurling him from the throne. The Raja, without a moment's hesitation, preferred the loss of all things to the sacrifice of his honour, and a departure from truth. (Continued cheers.) Whereupon, he was deposed, beggared, banished, and branded as a traitor—not because he was guilty of the acts charged against him, but because he would not screen his perjured accusers and their base employers, by a voluntary acknowledgment of imputed guilt. How came it to pass, you will ask, that these diabolical acts received the countenance of the home authorities ! For this reason. Sir James Cornac, the Governor, who proposed these infamous conditions to the Raja, had twice sat in the chair of the Court of Directors. He had been the bosom friend and boon companion of the majority of the directors, and their all-powerful secretary, on whom and his connexions he had been

lavish of the gifts of his patronage. It was therefore determined that, right or wrong, his act should be upheld ; and hence, a despatch, approving his conduct, commending his zeal, and declaring the Raja deserving of his fate, because he had not consented to the terms submitted. (Shame!) It never, of course, entered into the dreams of the directors, that there would be those who would year after year prosecute the work of dragging to light the horrible deeds of the persecutors and destroyers of the Raja. No. They cherished the idea that this prince, like a hundred others, would perish without the notice or pity of a single individual in this country. They were mistaken. We have obtained, through parliament, hundreds of documents which were intended for oblivion. We have, by the aid of these documents, dragged every deed of darkness into day. Still, we have not obtained justice. For six years we have been discussing this question, and have demonstrated the innocence of the Raja out of the very evidence taken against him ; but the directors voting for themselves, and commanding by their enormous patronage the votes of others, have on every occasion decided that their proceedings shall not be reviewed or disturbed. We have gone to Parliament ; but, hitherto, other questions have interposed to prevent or to postpone the discussion of this. We have had to deplore, too, the ignorance and indifference of the members in reference to all Indian subjects, and we have had also to witness the too successful efforts of parties connected with the government of India, to mislead and deceive the persons around them. I confess, my hope is, in the honest and unbiassed feelings of the people of this country. (Cheers.) I know that they abhor oppression. I have seen too much of the generous zeal of my countrymen in the cause of the injured, to doubt for a moment their willingness to defend the rights of the princes and people of India. (Repeated cheers.) I know, too, the power of truth, and the weakness of error. In a good cause "one can chase a thousand," and I feel confident, that the bare publication of the wrongs of the Raja will have the effect, not only of obtaining redress for him, but of preventing other and similar enormities. Our earnest request to you who are here, is, that you will aid

us by petitions to parliament—by letters and memorials to your representatives, and by giving still wider circulation to the facts which have been brought before you this evening. By thus acting, you will be contributing to promote the welfare of millions, brought by the sword of conquest under the government of this country. Remember, they are despotically ruled. They have no representatives, no advocates. Aware of the difficulty of obtaining the redress of our own wrongs, we may judge of the almost hopeless condition of those who are ten thousand miles away from the seat of legislation, and are ruled by men who have no interest in the country—no tie to bind them to it—who are there only to drain it of its resources, and return enriched by the spoils. I trust you will adopt with unanimity the resolutions about to be submitted, and set an example which will be followed by every part of the kingdom. Of one thing be certain, that the Raja of Sattara will be cheered in his captivity by every expression of your sympathy ; and, should he, through your kind efforts, obtain justice, will for ever be grateful to those who, when he was in suffering and exile, were mindful of his condition, and laboured in his behalf. (Protracted cheers.)

The following will show the nature of the resolutions un-animously passed at the three meetings :—

“That in the deliberate judgment of this meeting, the treatment which the Raja of Sattara has received, is, in the highest degree, discreditable to the British Government. That the question now pending, respecting the Raja of Sattara, is one of national importance, and demands the earnest consideration of the British public ; involving as it does, the inalienable right of every man, whether prince or peasant, to be heard in his own defence when accused of crime ; and this meeting, therefore, pledge themselves to use whatever proper means are within their power, to obtain a full and impartial investigation into the facts of the case, with a view to the attainment of the great ends of truth, and equity, and good Government.”

“That, while this meeting would suspend their judgment upon the question of the guilt or innocence of the Raja of Sattara, they do authorize Rungo Bapoojee to convey to his

Highness an assurance that they regard, with patriotic shame, and unqualified indignation, the wrong done to the Raja, by condemning him unheard ; that they, at the same time, view with sincere admiration the manly decision of the Raja, to submit to the loss of his throne rather than comply with the degrading terms offered him by the Bombay Government ; and this meeting would also express their confident belief, that the Raja will not appeal in vain to the justice and magnanimity of the British people, and their hope that a speedy investigation into the circumstances of his case, may issue in his restoration to the throne he so long and so worthily filled."

"That this meeting respectfully and earnestly request the attention of their representatives in Parliament to the case of the deposed Raja of Sattara, and trust that those gentlemen will use their utmost exertions to rescue the English name from the stigma which has been cast upon it, by the unjust and illegal proceedings of the Indian Authorities, against a friend and Ally of the British Government.

"That the following gentlemen, with power to add to their number, be a Committee to prepare a petition to Parliament, praying for enquiry into the case of the Raja of Sattara, and to request the attention of the members of the borough to the case, and, also, to take such other steps as they may deem advisable, to carry out the wishes and intentions of this meeting, viz. :—&c."

The British Friend of India Magazine for October 1846, in publishing the above address, wrote :—

"Again, we say, let the Indian authorities, beware ! Such addresses as we have given above, delivered by such men as George Thompson, and the Native Ambassador of the plundered Raja, will, ere long, create a feeling in this country which will not be satisfied by the restoration of Pertaub Sing, but will demand the punishment of those by whom that illustrious man has been betrayed, and the annihilation of that power which enables corrupt men, like Colonel Ovans and his employers, to work such infernal mischief as this black case has brought to light. To those who are agitating this question, we say, go on

in your course : you have truth, justice, and humanity with you ; and, therefore, fear not that you will invoke a spirit that will right the Raja, and visit upon the heads of his enemies the retribution due to their crimes !”

The case of the deposed Raja of Satara had been several times brought before Parliament ; but absorbing topics of domestic interest had prevented the full discussion of the question. Baffled by the trickery of the authorities of the India House, the friends of the Raja made up their minds to bring the case of that prince before Parliament with as little delay as possible. But it took time before the case could be brought before Parliament. It was not possible for them to avoid delay in order to get all the necessary informations from India. The Parliamentary session of 1847 was allowed to pass without the Raja's case being discussed. The Raja's agent, the ever active Rungo Bapoojee, wrote to the President of the India Board a letter dated 11th November 1847, from which the following extract is given below :—

“In the prospect of a speedy renewal of the discussion of the case of his Highness the deposed Raja of Sattara in the Imperial Parliament, I deem it my duty to myself and my sovereign to bring under review the treatment which I and other agents of his Highness have received, during a series of consecutive years, at the hands of the authorities in this country and in India.”

Then Rungo Bapoojee 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.

“To the letter of the Court I replied, under date 12 March 1842, and informed the Court, in answer to the ground assigned for the Courts' refusal to recognise me as his Highness's agent, that the Court had never previously recognised either myself or colleagues ; having in the case of the latter, refused to

recognise them because they came from India, and in my case, because I refused to return to India. That there is room to doubt the sincerity of the reason given by the Court for declining to recognise me, will, I think, be apparent on a perusal of a statement which I have appended, relative to the proceedings of the Bombay authorities, at the period when his Highness first attempted to send agents to this country to bring his case under the notice of the supreme authorities,—proceedings which I am not aware have ever been disapproved by the Court of Directors, whose entire conduct has been in keeping with the acts of their governments abroad.” * * * *

“I have now laid before you, as the Minister of the Crown at the head of the department specially constituted to review and control the affairs of India, and to obtain for that country and all its inhabitants the administration of good government and the redress of grievances, the proof of the fact, that for 12 years the appointed agents of a dethroned sovereign prince have been unable to fulfill the duties assigned them, in consequence of the refusal of the Court of Directors to acknowledge them either in their official or any other capacity. I have also placed before you, in their own words, the only reasons ever given by the Court for their denial of a right declared to belong to the meanest criminal in the land.

“I have further to allege, that the treatment I have received at the hands of the Court of Directors has been imitated and followed up in the course of my several applications to the department over which you preside ; and further, that while I have been denied all access to the authorities here, the prince whom I represent and serve has been prevented from forwarding from India documents which he deemed essential to the elucidation of his case, including his letter to the Governor-General of India, dated 12th December 1844, which the agent to his Lordship at Benares, Major T. D. Carpenter, declares in a despatch, dated 25th May 1846, was duly forwarded, and which has been twice ordered by votes of the House of Commons. * * * *

“I have now respectfully to represent, that having during the years of my exile from my native country endeavoured to

make myself acquainted with the nature and intentions of those statutes of the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain which relate to the affairs of India, * * * * and having also studied to the best of my ability the spirit and genius of the laws and institutions of England, it has appeared to me that the treatment I have systematically received at the hands of those in this country charged with the administration of the laws relating to India has been utterly at variance with the spirit and provisions of those laws, and in direct violation of the maxims laid down for the administration of Government throughout every part of Her Majesty's dominions. * * * *

"It is now more than eight years since my sovereign was hurled from his throne because he would not obey the mandate of a Governor of Bombay, who, to shield the functionaries of that presidency from the consequences of a course of injustice against the Raja, extending through six preceding years, called upon the Raja to admit his participation in acts which it had never entered into his imagination to commit. Previous to his Highness's dethronement he was never permitted to see the evidence taken against him, or to receive so much as a copy of the charges. * * * The Raja however having obtained, through the medium of the printed Parliamentary papers, copies of various documents and depositions recorded against him, addressed the letter referred to [above], to the Governor-General, * * * *. In this document will be found his Highness's declaration of his ability to demonstrate the absolute falsehood of every charge brought against him ; "a pledge," says Major Carpenter, "which I am fully persuaded he is able to redem."

The last paragraph of the letter ran as follows :—

"The latest intelligence received from my dethroned prince describes him as rapidly sinking under the baneful influence of the climate to which he has been banished, and God only knows whether, whatever may be the feelings with which you may peruse this letter, any efforts now made on his behalf will avail. But whether my master survives to witness the issue of the exertions now making to obtain justice for him, or falls a

martyr to the plots of his enemies, and the denial of his right to be heard by the governing authorities, I shall remain, while my own life is spared, to urge his claims, in the full belief that the redress which may be long withheld by those in power will at last be won by the British people, whose history proves that they are ever inclined to generosity and justice."

CHAPTER XXI

England had not been so intimately connected with India as she is now when Rungo Bapoojee wrote the letter extracts from which have been given in the last chapter. Steam, electricity and the excavation of the Suez Canal have brought England much closer to India than it could have been dreamt of in the days of the Raja of Satara. It was want of these facilities which delayed the transmission of news from one country to another. Otherwise Rungo Bapoojee would have known when he was penning the above letter that the prince whose unfortunate condition he was bringing to the notice of the President of the Indian Board had quitted this earth with all its troubles and woes for the Happy Land beyond the reach of his unscrupulous persecutors. The Raja of Satara died on the 14th October 1847.

The gallant and humane Major Carpenter, far above the average Christian officers of those days, transmitted the sad news of the Raja's death to the Government of India in a letter dated Benares, 15th October 1847, extracts from which are given below.

"I regret to report, for the information of the Right honourable the Governor-General, that the ex-Raja of Sattara expired yesterday afternoon at 3 O'clock.

"The Raja's health had been declining for sometime, * * * * ; I was therefore fully prepared for the result, and during the last three or four months repeatedly urged his Highness to consent to my obtaining European medical aid, expressly stating to him my conviction that no other human means could save his life ; my arguments were supported by his chiefs and attendants, but proved utterly unavailing, and to the last hour he positively declined any European assistance, assuring me

day by day that he was recovering under the treatment of his own hukeems, although the very reverse was too perceptible to all around him ; still, to within a short period of his decease, he continued to receive me, sitting in a chair, and was evidently unwilling to believe his illness had become more than usually serious."

Even the day previous to his death, when he was fully conscious that the last hour was not far distant, he protested his innocence in a letter to the Governor General, a document so important that it is reproduced below :—

"The Bombay Government having placed me in such an unfavourable situation, that there were but faint hopes of my life being prolonged, a letter, together with my last will and testament, stating my views and wishes, was therefore submitted to your Lordship on the 29th November 1845, and similar documents were also forwarded to the Honourable the Court of Directors, and to the Right honourable (the President of) the Board of Control.

"The climate of this place has injured my constitution, and reduced me to extremity, so that I know not what may befall me ; but my principal object is to retain the friendship of the British Government, notwithstanding all that has happened, and I desire that it should continue to increase.

"In the event of my suit in England being favourably decided during my life-time, I trust to your Lordship to carry the necessary arrangement into effect ; but if, on the contrary, my present illness proves fatal, then I beg that the monthly allowance granted to me may be continued without any deduction for the support of my adopted son, my Ranee, and my faithful followers and servants, until my case is finally disposed of in England. * * * *

"I trust that, when my case in England is favourably decided, Your Lordship will make every arrangement for my adopted son according to ancient and established usage, and I confidently rely upon this being done (by Your Lordship.)"

That was the last letter the Raja ever wrote to the British Government in India and if the confession of a

dying man is considered true and valid in a court of law, the above letter proves the innocence of the Raja and exonerates him from the foul charges brought against him by unprincipled and unscrupulous scoundrels.

The death of the Raja—the greatest and noblest descendant of Shivaji—was hailed with delight by all his persecutors. They believed that the agitation set on foot in England in favor of that prince would now be stopped, and there would be no longer any scathing exposure of the evil doings of any officials, including those of the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

The name and memory of Raja Pratap Singh are not of parochial interest, confined to the Deccan only, but should be widely known and revered by all the inhabitants throughout the length and breadth of India.

The idea of constitutional agitation was imparted to the people of this country at his expense. The arrival of Mr. George Thompson in this country led to the foundation of the British Indian Association from which dates the era of constitutional agitation for our rights and privileges. As said before, Mr. Thompson was enabled to visit this country chiefly at the expense of the Raja of Satara.

Then again, if we have to depend for the grant of our rights and privileges on the people of England, India is again indebted to the Raja of Satara for showing us the way. 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. The establishment of the British Indian Society, the starting of the *British Indian Advocate* as well as of the *British Friend of India* and of the *Indian Examiner* were mainly due to the sinews of

war supplied by him. Those papers were conducted and published as long as he was alive, because it was his funds which supported them. It cannot be denied that those periodicals served their purpose in enlightening the natives of England regarding the Government of India and diffusing among them a true and correct knowledge of Indian affairs. The necessity of the existence of such a journal in England is recognised by the educated public of India by the fact of their establishing and maintaining *India** which might be looked upon as the successor of the *British Indian Advocate*, &c.

It was the Raja's Maratha agent, Rungo Bapoojee, who was the first Indian agitator in England. No Indian before him had addressed any public meeting of the natives of England on Indian questions. It was he who did so and it was because he was in the pay of the Raja that he was enabled to do so. In his footsteps have followed Dadabhai Naoroji, Lalmohan Ghose, Surendra Nath Banerji and several others in recent years.

But the greatest of all the services for which the Raja's name should ever be remembered was the full and thorough exposure of the mis-government of India by the East India Company, to which should be ascribed the final abolition of that company. 'Tis distance which lends enchantment to the view. It is this perhaps which makes Indians regret the abolition of the East India Company's Government. But an examination of the Government which prevailed in this country during the *regime* of that Company will reveal the fact that India has not lost much by the abolition of that company of merchants who were sucking the life blood of India. The

* This was written about a couple of decades ago. The *Journal India* is now defunct.

Company's Government was based on the principles of robbery and jobbery and although exposed by Burke and others in their impeachment of Warren Hastings, no material improvement had taken place in the constitution of that Government. Regarding the failure of the impeachment of Warren Hastings, Lord Morley in his life of Burke, said:—

“Though the offender was, in form, acquitted, yet Burke succeeded in these fourteen years of laborious effort in laying the foundations once for all of a moral, just, philanthropic, and responsible public opinion in England with reference to India.”

But it is a delusion to believe that any improvement ever occurred in the administration of this country while these British merchants were at the helm of Indian affairs. Truly has Mr. Digby observed on Mr. Morley's views quoted above:—

“Alas! the historian is too sanguine. The facts do not fit his description.”

It is true that Indian affairs were reviewed after the lapse of every twenty years while the East India Company swayed the sceptre of India. But all those reviews did not improve the condition of Indians.* At the periodical review of 1833, the Company was deprived no doubt of its power of trade and in the Act of 1833 was embodied the following article which is considered the *magna charta* of Indian liberties:

* Mr. John Dickinson, *Jun*, in his work on the Government of India under a Bureaucracy wrote as follows:—“Can we then affect to believe that a sham inquiry once in twenty years, with almost total neglect in the interval, is sufficient to redress the grievances of India? Can we pretend to think that the despotic administration of 150 millions of men, conducted at a distance of many thousand miles from us, by a few hundred foreigners, having little intercourse with the natives and no permanent stake in their country, and directed by irresponsible home authorities who betray the utmost anxiety to conceal the truth from the public, can we pretend to

"That no Native of the said Territories, nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Company."

But the question arises, did India profit in any way by the passing of that Act? For the reply, let us see what competent authorities have said on the subject. Mr. Digby says in his *Prosperous British India* :—

"III. Conquest by 'Pousta' ;

"A show of Fair Dealing accompanied with the Continuance of Indian National Inferiority—1833 to—?"

"Amid the glow of self-satisfaction which came to every British heart from the freeing of Negro slaves, and with the anticipations which were then widely prevalent concerning the improvement of the human race by political enfranchisement and general reform, the East India Company's charter was renewed in 1833. * * * *"

In a footnote, Mr. Digby quotes the opinion of a well-known Viceroy of India :—

"Lord Lytton, in a despatch addressed to the Secretary of State, said :—

"No sooner was the Act (1833) passed than the Government

think that such an Administration has done or is doing justice to the people of India, without being checked by a particle of anything like political representation? Would not any man who had studied history or human nature, divine all the injury to the natives which I have described, from merely knowing the conditions of our irresponsible Indian Government?

"Let the reader conceive any one English question—parliamentary reform, legal reform, free trade, any one of them—being turned over to the Ministry of the day and their successors for twenty years, to give or withhold, at their pleasure, without hearing one word of explanation, or information of our interest in the matter, and our sufferings for want of a legislative remedy. Would not this seem monstrous in our own case? Why then do we unscrupulously apply it to India? Why do we treat, not one, but all, of her vital questions and dearest interests in a manner which seems monstrous when applied to ourselves?"

began to devise means for practically evading the fulfilment of it. * * * * We have had to choose between prohibiting them and cheating them, and we have chosen the least straightforward course * * * * are all so many deliberate and transparent subterfuges for stultifying the Act and reducing it to a dead letter. * * * * I do not hesitate to say that both the Government of England and of India appear to me up to the present moment unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear."

It was high time then that the Company should have been held up and its doings exposed to the public. Of all their evil deeds the deposal of Pratap Singh was the worst. In it, the Company showed, as pointed out by one of their directors, John Forbes, their fickleness of character. And fickleness of character is sure to be followed by fickleness of fortune. The perseverance with which Raja Pratap Singh fought his case not only exacts our admiration for that sovereign but proves to demonstration that there must have been something rotten in the Government of the country which dreaded giving that prince a fair trial and condemned him without hearing him in his defence. Raja Pratap Singh demanded to know the charges that had been preferred against him, and the nature of the evidence on which they were based. But the Indian authorities both in India and England refused to do so. When they were compelled to publish the papers regarding the Raja's case, they did so not in their entirety but mutilating some and suppressing others which were favorable to the Raja's case. When the Raja based his defence on these published papers and wrote to the then Governor-General of India his letter, dated 12th December 1844, which contained his declaration of his ability to demonstrate the absolute falsehood of every

charge brought against him,—“a pledge” said Major Carpenter, “which I am fully persuaded he is able to redeem”—that letter was very carefully and deliberately suppressed and was not published till after the Raja’s death—*i.e.*, three years after the Raja had penned it.

The Raja’s agents Rungo Bapoojee and Mr. Thompson impeached the conduct of Colonel Ovans as well as that of the Directors and other officials of the East India Company and for the space of eight years and more they were never tired of condemning the Indian Authorities. They used very strong and violent language. They thought that by so doing they would so exasperate the authorities of the East India Company that the latter would be driven to clear their conduct by bringing the matter before some court of law. But the very fact that neither Colonel Ovans nor any of the officials connected with the East India Company sued Mr. Thompson or Rungo Bapoojee or the editor or publisher of any of the periodicals in which they were deliberately called “liars” “forgers”, “perjurers,” showed to the British public the dishonest and dishonorable men with whom the Company and their services were filled. They did not care for their honor, they did not care for their good reputation, but were bent upon fleecing India to enrich themselves and their kith and kin. Silence was of course to them gold; for had they taken any step to vindicate their character, they would have been hurled down from their official pedestals and in all probability perhaps committed to prison as vile criminals.

Raja Pratap Singh’s money set on foot that agitation which exposed the robbery and jobbery by the East India Company and created public opinion in England against that body of merchants who were draining the resources

of India. Of course, all that agitation did not benefit him, on the contrary did him great harm, for it is not improbable that had he kept quiet his private property would have been restored to him and he would have been removed to a healthier station than Benares. But because he did not himself benefit, therefore, that is the very reason why he should be revered as a martyr for the incalculable good he did to India by setting on foot the agitation in England which thoroughly exposed the East India Company and finally brought about its extinction. There are other remarkable traits in his character for which we should honor and respect him. What these remarkable traits are have already been mentioned before. As long as India can produce men like Pratap Singh there is still some hope for her future.



RAJA APPA SAHIB

THE LAST DAYS OF THE SATARA RAJ.

CHAPTER I.

After the dethronement and exile of Raja Pratap Singh, his brother, Appa Sahib, ascended the throne of his ancestors and ruled at Satara for nearly nine years.* He hardly possessed any qualities or virtues of a successful administrator; his time was devoted to debauchery and the pursuit of sensual pleasures. The administration of the state was vested in the Resident, in whose hands Appa Sahib was a mere puppet. The Resident was at this time the notorious Colonel Ovens and he forced on the Satara State as its minister, Ballajee Punt Natoo, through whose instrumentality the ruin of Raja Pratap Singh had been effected. The British Government concluded a new treaty with the Satara State; this treaty was in all respects exactly the same as that of September 1819,

* Appa Sahib was enthroned by the Governor, Sir James Carnac, on the 18th November 1839. For this purpose the Governor went to Satara on the 16th and stayed there till the 22nd November 1839. In his Minute dated 25th November 1839, the Governor wrote:—

“Early on the morning of the 18th instant, the Raja was conducted in state from his residence near the Residency to the palace and seated by myself on a throne prepared for the occasion. A public Durbar was then held, at which the whole of the Sattara Jagheerdars, many of the Poona Sardars, and a numerous assembly of other persons of minor rank, were present. On this occasion I made a present to the Raja, and delivered to him a copy of the treaty ratified by the Governor-General of India, with suitable remarks. The display of the Raja's military forces was respectable * * and altogether, I should think, they must have exceeded three thousand men. * * * Everything passed off without interruption or accident, and the procession was conducted with the greatest order and decorum, and, as far as one can judge from outward demonstrations, all seemed well pleased and satisfied with the peaceful change which has been effected in this Government.”

except that the Jahgirs or feudal tenures which by the first treaty were placed under the sovereignty of the Satara Raj were now taken away from the jurisdiction of that state and placed directly under the Bombay Government.

Politics and morality are very often divorced from each other, and so it was political expediency which dictated the Resident Colonel Ovens and the Bombay Government to represent Appa Sahib as the paragon of all virtues. If one were to pin his faith to the Administration Reports of those years during which Appa Sahib was the ruler of Satara, he would come to believe that the world had never seen a more capable and virtuous sovereign than that imbecile prince of low morals who intrigued and conspired against his own brother in order to gain his selfish ends.

Appa Sahib possessed one great virtue which made him the favourite of the British Government of the day. He was less than a mediocre,—a non-entity—and not being a tall poppy and suffering himself to be used as a puppet in the hands of the British, his destruction was not desired, and he was therefore flattered and praised by them.

The Resident, imitating the administration of the provinces that were under the control of the British, introduced certain measures into the Satara State which he called Reforms. These he led the people to believe were the doings of the Raja of his own accord. Thus the Raja was credited with the abolition of *Suttee* and of slavery within his own dominions. The so-called improvements and reforms which occurred in the Satara State, are detailed in the Parliamentary Paper relating to Satara for the year 1849. An abstract of these measures is given below from the Rani's Appeal, pp. 359-374 :—

b. The Hon'ble Mr. St. George Tucker in the latter part of the 6th section of his Minute for continuing our sovereignty, dated the 10th January, 1849, observes that the professions of the East India Company, that their territories are governed and administered as well as the sovereignty of Sattara by the Maharajas Partap Sing and Appa Sahib, are far from being true. The portion of the section is as follows:—

(*Extract No. 271.*)

* There are persons who fancy that landed possessions in India cannot be successfully administered by native agency. In proof of this notion, I would point to the Rampoor jagheer in Rohilcund, which was a perfect garden when I saw it long ago, and which still remains, I believe, in a state of the highest agricultural prosperity. Nay, I would point to the principality of Satara itself, which appears to have been most successfully administered, both by the ex-Raja Pertaup Singh, and his brother and successor, the late Raja Appa Sahib; who have done more for the improvement of the country than our own government can pretend to have done in any part of its territory.

* Parliamentary Papers, Sattara Raj., p. 128.

c. Sir Bartle Frere, in para. 15 of his report to the Bombay Government (No. 106, dated 23rd September, 1848), observes as follows, concerning the government and administration of the state by my husband, the late Maharaja Chhatrapati—(*Parliamentary Papers, Sattara Raj, p. 120.*)

(*Extract No. 272.*)

15. The late Raja having been a just and humane, a liberal and popular ruler, any supposed want of equity in the appropriation of his dominions, whether by absorption into the Company's dominions, or by transfer to a rival and inimical party, will lack the popularity which a similar measure, whatever its grounds, would always find among the industrious and peaceful inhabitants of a state, delivered from anarchy and oppression. Moreover, as he was celebrated for his attachment and submission to the British Government, the measure will not

find the excuse which all men make for a power ridding itself, even by means they disapprove, of a troublesome or dangerous neighbour, and which was certainly made by a large number of the ex-Raja's own friends, on the occasion of his deposition.

d. The following is the substance of some of the letters received from time to time from the Bombay Government and the East India Company testifying to the friendly relations, which my husband during the period of his reign from 1839 to 1848, kept with the British Government, the assistance rendered by him to them, and the just and humane manner in which he ruled his subjects—

(*Extract No. 273.*)

* Abstract of Correspondence and Quotations of Letters from the Government of Bombay, the Government of India, and

Honourable Court of Directors, communicated to His Highness the late Raja of Sattara, in the Yads from the Resident, referred to in the Yad from the elder Rancee, No. 3, dated 9 May, 1848.

* Parliamentary Papers, Sattara Raj., pp. 44. 54.

1838.

Khoomanpooree Gossain having been ejected from his Muth, and deprived of the enam village belonging to it, by the ex-Raja of Sattara, in 1837, the Resident remonstrated with His Highness in vain.

Redress of Grievances, No. 372, 24 February, 1840.

On the accession of the late Raja, in 1839, he investigated the case, and directed the restoration of the muth and village, which, being reported by the Resident, that officer was informed "that the Honourable the Governor in Council had derived satisfaction in learning the circumstance."

Wishwanath Nilkunt Katray's enam village of Helgaum having been attached by the ex-Raja, he petitioned the

Governor in Council, and the petition No. 325, 20 Feb., 1840.

having been referred to the Resident, the Resident stated his opinion that the attachment was unjust. On the accession of his late Highness,

he (the Rajah) inquired into the case, and directed the restoration of the village. The circumstance having been communicated by the Resident to the Government, the Resident was directed "to communicate to His Highness the Raja of Sattara the satisfaction of Government at His Highness having restored the village of Helgaum to Wiswanath Nilkunt Katray, its rightful owner."

Another similar case having been reported to Government, the Resident was informed "that the Honourable the Governor in Council has derived much satisfaction in learning that His Highness the Raja of Sattara has issued orders for the discontinuance of the exaction of the sum of 180 Rupees per annum, formerly made under the orders of the ex-Raja, from Rugoonath Gopall Despanday, on account of his enam village of Mouze Wuzurday, and directed that the village in question shall be restored to him, on the terms on which it was enjoyed by his ancestors."

Another similar case having been brought before Government by a petition, representing that enams amounting to upwards of 5,000 Rupees per annum, held for many generations by the family of Bokeel, and confirmed to them by Captain Grant, had been sequestrated by the ex-Raja, and restored after due investigation by his late Highness, the Resident was informed that the "Honourable the Governor in Council has derived satisfaction in learning the circumstance."

The ex-Raja having stopped some wurshasuns in the Beejapoor district, which had been enjoyed for many generations, and been recognised and guaranteed by the British Government previous to the transfer of the district to the ex-Raja, as part of an exchange of territory, Government three several times repeated a positive injunction that the ex-Raja should respect the allowance, with which demand His Highness has often refused to comply.

On the accession of the late Raja (Appa Sahib) he restored the allowance, paying arrears, and the circumstance having been reported to Government, Mr. Secretary

No. 1,782 of 17 October, 1839.

No. 2,320 of 13 August, 1841.

Willoughby was directed to state that Government considered the settlement effected by His Highness as "quite satisfactory"; and the case having been reported to the Court of Directors, Mr. Acting Secretary Blane was directed to communicate an extract of a despatch from the Honourable Court, expressing their "gratification at the claims having been satisfactorily settled by His Highness."

The Honourable Court stated, "we are glad that the claims of these petitioners, which we agree with you in considering to be just, and such as you were bound to enforce, have been fully satisfied by the present Raja of Sattara."

Para 33, of No. 10. dated 21 April, 1841.

1839.

The Resident having reported the Raja's anxiety to found a hospital for the benefit of his poorer subjects, the Resident was

Foundation of a Free Hospital G. L., No. 2,029 of 9 December, 1839.

requested "to communicate to the Raja the high satisfaction experienced by Government, on being informed of His Highness's resolution to establish an institution which is calculated to be of the greatest benefit to his subjects, more especially the poorer classes."

With reference to the establishment of this institution, the Secretary in attendance on the Governor-General informed the Government of Bombay "that the circumstance has afforded great satisfaction to His Lordship."

Shortly after the accession of his late Highness to the Sattara Gadee, he expressed to the Resident a wish to reform the Sebandee corps in his service by selecting from it 500 or 600 men, who were to be armed, dressed and disciplined under the superintendence of

Military Reform.

a European officer, and took occasion to mention his intention to provide for those that might remain in some other way.

The concurrence of Government to the proposition having been obtained, Mr. Secretary Willoughby was directed "to express the gratification of the Honourable the Governor in Council at the laudable intention of His Highness the Raja to provide in some other mode for such men as may be found unfit for service in the corps on new footing."

The Resident having reported His Highness's intention to undertake several very extensive works of great public utility, Government informed the Resident that they were "highly gratified to learn the laudable intention of His Highness to appropriate a portion of his revenues to works of general improvement and utility."

The completion of many of these works having been reported to Government, the Resident was informed by Mr. Chief Secretary Reid :—

"In reply, I am desired to inform you that the Honourable the Governor in Council considers this to be a highly gratifying and interesting report. His Highness the Raja of Sattara has set a noble example to the native chiefs of India, in thus appropriating a very considerable portion of his resources to works of great public utility, tending to the comfort and convenience of his subjects.

"I am further instructed to state that the Honourable the Governor would have felt great pleasure in addressing His Highness on this occasion, expressive of his satisfaction on receiving the above report, but that as his Excellency expects to have the pleasure of meeting His Highness shortly, he will take advantage of the opportunity of doing so in person."

The Resident having reported that His Highness the Raja

had issued a proclamation abolishing Suttee and transit duties, and making the Company's rupee the currency of his dominion, and stating that the first of these measures was an entirely spontaneous act on His Highness's part, Mr. Acting Chief Secretary Reid was desired to observe :

Abolition of Suttee and Transit Duties; establishment of the Company's Rupee as the Standard Currency.
No. 1,531, 4 Oct., 1839.

"In reply, I am desired to observe that the abolition of the inhuman rite of Suttee in the Sattara territory, where it has been hitherto so prevalent, will be hailed with satisfaction by every friend of humanity.

"It is evident that this measure has been resolved on by His Highness the Raja, from the knowledge which he possesses of the abhorrence with which the rite of Suttee is held by the British Government. As it is, however, his spontaneous act, it reflects the highest credit on him, an example which, it is hoped, will soon be followed by other native chiefs under this presidency.

"The abolition of transit duties is likewise considered by the Governor in Council very satisfactory, and it is in accordance with an article of the treaty between the British Government and the Sattara State.

"The introduction of the Company's currency in the Sattara territory is also considered a satisfactory proof of the Raja's desire to co-operate in the views of the British Government."

The correspondence having been forwarded to the Government of India, Mr. Secretary Maddock stated in reply, that "the circumstance had afforded much satisfaction to his Lordship."

1840.

The bad state of roads between Sattara and Belgaum having been brought to the notice of Government, they directed the Resident to inquire how far His Highness was willing to co-operate in the improvement of that portion of the line which lay within his own territory. In reply the Raja undertook to erect travellers' bungalows at the three

Travellers' Bungalows.
No. 685, 27 Feb., 1840.
General Department.

villages of Dewar, Sap, and Kurregaum, on the road to Belgaum, *via* Tasgaum; and Government directed the Resident to "express to His Highness the gratification of Government at the ready manner in which His Highness has intimated his willingness to co-operate in the measure of affording accommodation for travellers along the line of road from Poonah to Belgaum."

On the subject of the proceedings adopted by his late Highness, with the view of dispersing a band which had assembled for the purpose of disturbing the peace of the Sattara territory, the Resident was directed "to communicate to His Highness the satisfaction with which the honourable the Governor views the proceedings he has adopted."

Suppression of an In-
surrection.

No. 18 of 21 April,
para. 2.

And subsequently, on the complete dispersion of the band Mr. Secretary Reid was directed to state, that "the energy and activity displayed by the Sattara Government in suppressing the band, and in apprehending so many of the parties concerned, is highly satisfactory to this Government, and it has every confidence that the leaders still at large will soon be apprehended."

No. 306 of 5 June,
para. 3.

The *ex-Raja* of Sattara having unjustly sequestered certain villages and rights enjoyed by Gunga Bae Duffley, of Juth, she appealed to Government for their restitution, and although the Resident interfered on her behalf, no redress was granted.

Redress of Grievances.

On the accession of his late Highness, however, the villages and rights alluded to were directed by him to be restored to Gungabae, and to be continued to her as enjoyed from former times.

The Government, on being informed of the circumstance, stated, "that the Honourable the Governor in Council has derived much satisfaction in learning that His Highness the *Raja* of Sattara has restored to Gungabae Duffley the villages and rights of which she had been deprived by the order of the *ex-Raja*."

G. L. No. 434 of March,
1844.

1841.

Abolition of Slavery.
 G. L. No. 2,493, 4 September, 1841.

His Highness having issued a proclamation, declaring the buying or selling of slaves in his country to be illegal from the 16th August, 1841, the Resident was directed "to communicate to the Raja the great satisfaction of Government at this proof of his co-operation in so good and humane a cause."

This circumstance having been reported to the Government of India, Mr. Secretary Maddock was directed "in reply to observe, that it is very gratifying to the Governor-General in Council to find the present Raja of Sattara enforcing those principles of Government which display liberality of sentiments and general philanthropy.

G. L. No. 2,926, 21 October, 1841.
 No. 2,613, 29 Sept., 1841.

Public Works.
 Mr. Secretary Willoughby's letter No. 947 of 6 April, 1841.

Two field pieces, 6-pounders, were presented to His Highness "as a mark of the approbation of Government for the highly useful and praiseworthy works under construction at Sattara, which are equally beneficial to the British territory and to his own."

This step and the arrangements connected with it met with the "approval of the Right honourable the Governor-General of India in Council."

Mr. Sec. Maddock No. 464 of 26 April, 1841.

The guns were forwarded, with a letter from the Governor, stating, "I have the pleasure to inform your Highness that Government have sent two guns, with carriages and limbers complete, for the purpose of being presented to your Highness; and I beg your acceptance of them as a mark of the favour and friendship of the British Government, and of its general approval of the mode in which your Highness is represented to conduct the administration of your country."

Dated 5 July, 1841.

In reply to the Resident's first annual report on the State

of Satara territory, Mr. Secretary Blane was desired to inform him "that the Governor in Council considered it highly satisfactory," "and that the improvements effected through the liberal policy of His Highness in the Sattara territory, and the ameliorated condition of the people, from the improved circumstances of the country form a great consolation for the measures which the Government was compelled to adopt towards his predecessor."

General Administration,
No. 2,331 of 14 August,
1841.

The report having been communicated to the Governor-General in Council, Mr. Secretary Maddock was directed to state, that "the Governor-General in Council fully concurs in the opinion expressed by the Bombay Government, and that his Lordship would have much pleasure in drawing the particular attention of the home authorities to the amelioration which has been produced in the condition of that country since the accession of the present Raja.

No. 57 of 14 Oct., 1841.
Paras. 47 and 50 of Hon.
Court's Despatch, 18 Ja-
nuary, 1843.

This was done in a special despatch; and in reply the Court stated that they considered the report "extremely favourable," and noticed with approbation the measures of abolition of Suttee, transit duties and slavery, the introduction of Company's Rupees, the reform of various public departments, and introduction of greater regularity in the administration of justice, the reduction of expenditure, the commencement of many works of public utility, and observed that "the subsequent conduct of the Raja had been governed by the same desire to meet the approbation of the British Government."

In forwarding the extract from this despatch, Mr. Chief Secretary Reid instructed the Resident "to inform His Highness that this Government has derived the highest satisfaction in learning that His Highness's enlightened policy is so fully appreciated by the Honourable Court."

No. 2,162 of 12 Sept.,
1843.

The Resident having reported to Government the result of

his labours in respect to the release of the Juth Jageer, which has been brought to a close after much trouble and difficulty, Mr. Secretary Willoughby, in the course of his remarks on the subject, stated that "the Honourable the Governor in Council is therefore pleased, in so far as concerns this

Redress of Grievances.

G. L. No. 1,425 of 26
May, 1845.

Government, to approve and confirm the arrangements reported by you. All the subsidiary arrangements proposed by you are also approved of by Government."

With reference to the foregoing, the Resident reported to Government the due restoration to the Duffley Byee of the Jagheer, the adoption by her of a son, and the restoration by the Byee to Ram Rao Duffley of the six villages belonging to him, thus satisfactorily setting at rest this long-pending dispute.

In reply, Mr. Chief Secretary Willoughby stated "that the Honourable the Governor in Council is gratified to learn from your present communication the final and satisfactory adjustment of the claims regarding this Jagheer."

G. L. No. 2,623 of 18
Sept., 1841.

His Highness the late Raja having intimated to the Resident his intention of directing his troops to continue at Kolapoor until the agitation caused throughout the country by the insurrection had been completely set at rest, the Government were pleased to inform the Resident that the Honourable the Governor in Council "considers the precautionary measures adopted by His Highness the Raja of Sattara to be highly satisfactory."

Kolapoor Insurrection.

No. 1,738 of 25 June,
1841.

The late Punt Pritty Niddy having rendered himself obnoxious to the ex-Raja owing to causes enumerated in his memorandum to the British Government, dated 1st December, 1837, the latter resumed certain grants belonging to that chief, and subjected him otherwise to much annoyance, by undue interference in the management of his concerns.

Redress of Grievances.

Shortly after the accession of his late Highness to the

throne, at the instance of the Resident, all the points complained of by the Pritty Niddy were satisfactorily adjusted.

In acknowledging the receipt of the Resident's report on this subject, Mr. Acting Chief Secretary Reid was directed to state, "that the Governor in Council deems the settlement of these long pending disputes to be highly satisfactory;" and the Honourable Court states, "we are glad to learn that all the grievances of this respectable chief have been redressed by the present Raja."

On the death of Sukoowar Bae jageerdar of Eetey, in the Sattara territory, the ex-Raja seized upon her personal property, and certain money payments due to her estate, belonging strictly to the chief of Veeshalgur, the adopted son of the deceased.

His late Highness having, shortly after his accession, settled with the Veeshalgur chief for the money payment due to him on account of the six villages belonging to the Sattara Government, the Honourable Court expressed themselves as follows on the subject: "the claim of the same chief to certain money payments, amounting to 270 rupees, from six villages in the estate, was established, and has, we are glad to learn, been satisfied by the present Raja of Sattara."

On a subsequent occasion His Highness the late Raja refunded to the Pritty Niddy of Weeshalgur the amount of the personal property of the late Sukoowar Bae of Eetey, amounting to 17,289 Rupees, which the ex-Raja had seized upon, by instalments of 3,000 Rupees per annum, an arrangement which met with the approval of the Honourable the Governor in Council.

An exchange of certain umuls, which had been the occasion of much dispute, having effected between his late Highness and the Punt

Sucheo, the Resident communicated the circumstance to Government. In reply, the Officiating Chief Secretary to Government was instructed to state, that "in the opinion of the Honourable the Governor in Council the arrangement seems very satisfactory and likely to prove advantageous to both parties."

G. L. No. 2,836 of 16
October, 1841.

1842.

The Resident having been instructed to communicate to His Highness the Raja the Governor-General's proclamation of the 31st January, 1842, stating the course which the Government of India were determined to pursue to retrieve our disasters in Affghanistan, the Raja begged the Resident to place all his military means at the disposal of the British Government for service, wherever the Honourable the Governor in Council might be pleased to direct.

In reply, Mr. Secretary Willoughby was desired to express "the satisfaction of the Honourable the Governor in Council at this proof of His Highness' attachment to the British Government."

No. 449 18 March, 1842.

The correspondence having been forwarded to the Government of India, Mr. Secretary Maddock was instructed to state "that this proof of the Raja's devotion to the British Government is highly praiseworthy and is very gratifying to the Governor-General in Council."

No. 142 of 30 Mar., 1842.

In reply to the Resident's annual report for 1842, that officer was informed that his description of the internal management of the country was considered by the Governor in Council "to be very satisfactory." The testimony borne by the Resident to the zeal and activity evinced by His Highness in the general management of the affairs of his State was "highly gratifying, and reflects great credit upon His Highness," the mildness of whose administration was in particular favourably noticed. The Resi-

General Administration.

No. 2,276 of 23 Sept.,
1843.

dent's account of the progress made in works of public utility which His Highness had so generally undertaken was considered by Government, "very satisfactory;" and the Resident was desired to communicate to His Highness "the high satisfaction of Government with the public spirit he has evinced in the prosecution of these works."

Para. 8.

"The general results reported in the last paragraph of your report are, I am directed to state, highly gratifying, and the amelioration which has been made in the condition of the subjects of the Sattara Government, and the general improvement which has taken place in the circumstances of that country under the enlightened administration of the present Raja, aided by your judicious advice, diminish in a great degree the regret of the Governor in Council on account of the measures which the Government of Sir James Carnac was compelled to adopt towards His Highness's predecessor."

Maharaja Junkojee Scindia having, in the year 1833, urgently solicited the Government of India to obtain for his uncle Krustnarao Kuddum, alias Mama Saheb, the village of Sap, in the Sattara territory, in exchange for which a village on the British frontier was offered, with the view of accommodating His Highness, the Government of Bombay was requested to use their interest with His Highness the (ex)-Raja of Sattara in the matter. In accordance therewith, the proposition having been made to His Highness, it was negatived on the plea of the litigious disposition of the party on whose behalf the applicaion had been made.

Compliance with the wishes of the British Government.

An attempt to review the negotiation was subsequently made (in 1838) by the Resident at Gwalior, but owing to the position of our relations with the Sattara State at the time, the Government considered it unadvisable to revive the question.

No. 425, 8 March, 1839.

In 1840, however, His Highness having succeeded in the interim, the application was for the third time made, through the Governor-General, for the village in question, when the Resident having communicated it to his late Highness, it was

readily acceded to, and ultimately (in 1842) the village of Sap was formally made over to an accredited agent of the Mama Saheb.

On this occasion Mr. Chief Secretary Reid was directed to convey to the Raja of Sattara an expression of "the deep sense which his Excellency in Council entertains of His Highness's cordial co-operation in the views of the British Government in respect to the transfer."

No. 2,655 of 14 Sept.,
1842.

1844

In reply to the annual report for 1843, the Resident was informed that, "the information of the continued prosperity of the Sattara State was very satisfactory." Government noticed that the Resident bore "the most gratifying testimony to the zeal and activity which His Highness the Raja continues to evince in the general management of the affairs of his State." The results of the management of His Highness's hospital were considered to "afford a gratifying proof that the valuable boon which His Highness has conferred upon the inhabitants of the Sattara district by the establishment of this hospital is fully appreciated by all classes of His Highness's subjects."

"Adverting to the 24th and 25th paragraphs, I am desired to request that you will inform His Highness the Raja of Sattara that the British Government views with the highest gratification the good example which His Highness continues to give to other princes in India by his mild and enlightened administration, by the anxiety which he evinces for the welfare of his subjects, and the deep interest which he takes in the improvement of his country by liberally bestowing so considerable a portion of his revenues to the reconstruction of works of great national importance; while His Highness should at the same time be informed that Government will have much satisfaction in drawing the attention of the home authorities to the amelioration which has taken place in the condition of the subjects of the Sattara State since His High-

ness's accession to the gadee, and the improvement which has been made in the general circumstances of that country under His Highness's enlightened rule."

"I am further directed to observe, that the total extinction of slavery, and the suppression of suttee throughout the Sattara territory, is highly gratifying; and it is in the highest degree satisfactory to find that the prohibition against both of these practices promulgated by His Highness, in September, 1839, has proved completely effectual."

These proceedings having been reported to the Honourable Court, were considered "as being of a highly satisfactory character." They noticed his adherence "to the laudable practice of confining his ordinary expenses so far within his income as to leave a large surplus applicable to works of public utility."

Those works reported by Colonel Ovans were considered to "reflect great honour on His Highness's administration"; and other measures were noticed with approbation.

The Resident at Sattara having paid a visit to the ancient city of Beejapoor, while on a tour through the eastern districts of the Sattara State, in January and February, 1844, the Mahomedan inhabitants were very urgent in entreating him to take steps towards preventing the further desecration of the principal buildings at that place, by travellers putting up in them, as well as to make a small outlay for their repairs. The Resident drew the attention of His Highness to the subject, when the Mamlutdar of Beejapoor, who happened to have been present at the time the communication was made, was immediately directed by His Highness in person to cause the necessary repairs to be made to the buildings indicated, and to provide a separate place for the accommodation of European and other travellers, contiguous to the Goornuz of Sooltan Mahomed, called the Nugarkhana. Measures were at the same time adopted by His Highness for securing the service of a Portuguese medical practitioner residing at Beejapoor, at 15 Rupees per mensem, to vaccinate the children there, vast numbers of whom used to fall a sacrifice to the

small-pox ; medicines and vaccine matter being supplied to Mr. Mendos, gratis, from His Highness's hospital.

These circumstances having been reported to Government, Mr. Chief Secretary Willoughby was directed to state as follows: In reply, I am desired to inform you that the Honourable the Governor in Council entirely approves of your proceedings, and to request that you will be pleased to communicate to His Highness the satisfaction of Government at observing that he has adopted measures for preserving these buildings, and his humanity in appointing a subordinate medical officer to remain at Beejapoor, for the benefit of its inhabitants.

In acknowledging the receipt of the Resident's letter, reporting the seizure of Luximon Crushna Josee, in the Furidurpoor district, Mr. Chief Secretary Willoughby stated, "I am desired to inform you that this information is satisfactory, and to request that you will be pleased to convey to His Highness the Raja the acknowledgments of the Honourable the Governor in Council for having caused that individual to be apprehended."

Consequent on a representation made by the Political Agent in the Southern Mahratta country relative to the refractory conduct of the Gudkurrees of the forts of Sawunghur and Bhudurghur, his late Highness having issued orders for despatching a body of sowars and seebundees to the borders of the Sattara territory, with instructions to apprehend any turbulent adventurers or seditious persons who may either enter the Sattara territory or proceed from it towards Kolapoor, Government were pleased to state, "that this precautionary measure appears to the Honourable the Governor in Council to be very proper."

On the receipt of intelligence from the Resident of the

G. L. No. 2,837 of 12
Sept., 1844.

Arrest of offenders.
G. L. No. 1328 of 16
Nov., 1844.

Kolapoor Insurrection.
G. L. No. 860 of 9
October, 1844.

dāk communication between Sattara and Belgaum having been interrupted, of the insurrectionary state of the Kolapoor State, and of the chief minister having been wounded and placed under restraint, together with the proceedings adopted in consequence thereof, Mr. Chief Secretary Willoughby, in paragraph 3 of his letter in reply, requested the Resident to "communicate to His Highness the Raja of Sattara, in the strongest terms, the high satisfaction of Government with the zeal and attachment which His Highness has on the present occasion evinced towards British interests, and at the same time to inform you that a letter will hereafter be addressed by the Honourable the Governor to His Highness, expressive of these feelings."

Kolapur Insurrection.
G. L. No. 860 of 9
tober, 1844.

His Highness the late Raja having placed 100 of his best cavalry at the disposal of the Resident, consequent on a requisition from Lieutenant-Colonel Brough, Mr. Chief Secretary Willoughby was requested to state, "that another letter will immediately be addressed by the Honourable the Governor to His Highness the Raja of Sattara, expressive of the high satisfaction which Government has derived from the further proofs His Highness has evinced of his zeal and attachment towards British interests by the readiness with which he has co-operated with you in facilitating the measures in progress for restoring tranquility in the disturbed districts, and at the same time inform His Highness that Government will have much satisfaction in bringing His Highness's praiseworthy conduct to the notice of the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India in Council, and of the Honourable the Court of Directors."

The arrangement made for the transit of the mails of Belgaum, they having been detained at Kurwar, were approved of by the Honourable the Governor in Council, and a request at the same time con-

Kolapoor Insurrection.
G. L. No. 922, 14 Oct.
1844.

veyed "to cause every precaution to be adopted to ensure the safe transit of the dāk through the Sattara territory."

In consequence of His Highness having directed a further detachment of 100 of his best cavalry, and two companies of infantry, to be held in readiness to accompany the squadron of dragoons and Her Majesty's 22nd Foot, under orders to proceed to Sattara, Mr. Chief Secretary Willoughby was further required to request the Resident "to communicate to His Highness the Raja of Sattara the renewed satisfaction of Government at this further proof of His Highness's desire to co-operate with the British Government in suppressing the disturbances in the Southern Mahratta country."

On the fort of Weeshalghur surrendering, Major Boyd, who was detached to receive charge of it, in a letter to Major-General Delamotte, pays the following compliment to His Highness the Raja's officers: "I beg to bring to the Major-General's notice that the guards for the protection of the fort were most admirably arranged by the Raja of Sattara's rissaldars, and the Karbharees have expressed to me their gratitude for the kind treatment they have received from these officers."

Kolapoor Insurrection.
No. 150 of 12 December, 1844.

1845.

The Resident in his annual report for the year 1844, enclosed a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Brough commanding second Brigade Kolapoor force, expressing the high sense he entertained of the exemplary manner in which the troops of His Highness, both cavalry and infantry, at all times while under his command on field service in Kolapoor had carried on their duties.

In commenting on this annual report, the Court of Directors noticed with approbation the progress made by His Highness in the construction of public works; and they instructed the Government of Bombay, "you will inform the

Despatch, No. 28, 10
Dec., 1845, para 4.

Raja of the satisfaction with which we have learned his cordial co-operation in furnishing a timely supply of baggage cattle for the use of our army, in keeping open the dāk communications, and in supplying a quota of regular infantry and irregular horse to act in concert with our troops, in quelling the insurrection in the Kolapoor state.

In connexion with the subject of remunerating Lieutenant Schneider for the charge of the detachment of troops belonging to His Highness the Raja while under his command in the Southern Mahratta country, Government were pleased "to state that the exemplary manner in which the troops of His Highness the Raja of Sattara have conducted themselves in the Southern Mahratta country is highly satisfactory." The Honourable the Governor in Council requests that you "will be pleased to inform His Highness that this Government has derived much satisfaction from receiving this report."

On the return of the detachment of troops furnished by His Highness the Raja of Sattara from Kolapoor, in a letter to the Resident, Mr. Chief Secretary Willoughby was instructed to state to His Highness "the high satisfaction of the Honourable the Governor in Council with the exemplary conduct of this detachment of his troops while serving in the Southern Mahratta country during the recent disturbances."

On the announcement to Government of the apprehension of the notorious rebel, Soobana Nikum, and two of his companions, of his late Highness's officers, Mr. Secretary Townsend was instructed to state, for the information of the Raja of Sattara. "The Governor in Council is of opinion that great credit is due to His Highness the Raja for the prompt measures he adopted to effect the apprehension of this outlaw, on receiving information that he had entered the Sattara territory. You are accordingly requested to communicate to His Highness the satisfaction with which Government has received this intelligence."

Apprehension of notorious offenders.

G. L. No. 3277 of 8 July, 1845.

1846

In reply to Colonel Outram's report for the year 1845, Government observed that "the information he had submitted was highly satisfactory, and reflects great credit on His Highness for the efficient manner in which he conducts the administration of his State, and directed that the Resident should make an intimation to this effect to His Highness."

General Administration.
No. 864, 3d.

His Highness having been instrumental in dissuading the wife of Raojee Waknees from becoming suttee on the death of her husband, Mr. Secretary Malet was instructed "to inform His Highness the Raja of Sattara of the gratification of the Honourable the Governor in Council with his successful interference to prevent the widow of the late Rowjee Waknees becoming suttee."

Prevention of Suttee.
No. 2,960 of 10 July,
1846.

The Resident having submitted to Government a yad from His Highness the Raja of Sattara, expressing a wish to comply with the request of the Punt Prittyniddy to be allowed to adopt a son, Mr. Secretary Malet was instructed to state in reply, "that the Governor in Council has the gratification of permitting His Highness to carry into effect his liberal intentions towards the Pritty Niddy, who is the representative of a very ancient family, and bears personally a very high character."

No. 2,816 of 17 July,
1846.

On the subject of the liquidation of the amount (1,00,000 rupees) advanced to the ex-Raja from the treasury "at Benares, Mr. Secretary Malet stated, I am at the same time instructed to request that you will be pleased to inform the Raja that the ready assent given by him to the wishes of the Honourable Court in this instance is very creditable to him."

G. L. No. 4621 of 10
Dec., 1846.

In reply to the Resident's annual report for 1846, Government observed, "The testimony borne by you to the

efficient and mild rule which is exercised by His Highness the Raja over his subjects reflects the highest honor upon His Highness, and I am desired to enclose, for delivery to that prince, a letter from the Honourable the Governor, conveying the expression of the extreme satisfaction of Government with his conduct, and informing him that it will have high gratification in being able to submit so satisfactory a report to the Honourable the Court of Directors."

General Administration
No. 1,521 of 24 April,
1847.

"The interest which the Raja continues to evince in the school and hospital at Sattara is very creditable to His Highness, and the Governor in Council observes with satisfaction that the prejudice against vaccination is rapidly decreasing in the Sattara State."

In commenting on the report for the previous year the Court of Directors observe, that "it is highly creditable to the Raja's administration." And in commenting on the report for 1846, the Honourable Court observe that "it is in almost every respect extremely favourable."

Hon. Court's Despatch,
No. 1 of 27 Jan., 1847.
No. 20 of 18 August,
1847.

1848.

In adverting to the Resident's annual report for 1847, Mr. Chief Secretary Malet observes that "the Governor in Council has the highest gratification in recording his opinion, founded not only on your present report, but on his own personal observations and inquiries in the Sattara territory, that His Highness the Raja was a good and philanthropic ruler, and deserved all consideration from the dominant power in India.

General Administration.
No. 1,562 of 13 April,
1848.

And in noticing the death of His Highness, "I am further desired to state that the Governor in Council deeply regrets that His Highness has not survived to reap the fruits of the many praiseworthy and benevolent acts of his energetic ad-

ministration, and to hear the sentiments of respect which this Government entertained for his worth."

(True extracts.)

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE,

Resident at Sattara.

e. The following is the copy of a letter addressed upon this subject to the Government of Bombay by the Honourable Sir Bartle Frere, the then Resident at Sattara, No. 55, dated 27th May, 1848.

Parliamentary Papers,
Sattara Raj, pp. 41—43.

(Extract No. 274.)

I have the honour to forward a copy of a memorandum from the elder widow of His Highness the late Raja of Sattara, enclosing two statements which she wishes to submit to Government, as illustrative of the character of her late husband's administration.

No. 3, dated 9 May,
and two Enclosures.

2. The first statement is a list of the cases in which His Highness received any expression of the approbation of Government.

Accompanied No. 2.

3. Of all memoranda containing expressions of this kind His Highness was naturally very proud; and he was in the habit of sending copies to the public records, preserving the originals in a private repository with the sunnuds of the emperors of Delhi, the treaties with the British Government, and the other archives of his family to which he attached peculiar value.

4. The enclosure to the Ranee's memoranda is an abstract of such of these memoranda as communicated to the Raja the approbation of the British Government. As they were all translated from English letters to the address of the Resident, I have, in place of retranslating the Mahratta into English, drawn up an abstract from the English correspondence referred to, quoting at length from the original the expressions of approbation, which had in each case been translated as literally

as possible in the yad from the Resident communicating to His Highness the decision of the British Government.

5. The following is a brief summary of the documents referred to :

6. Sixty-two memoranda from the Resident are quoted in the enclosure to the Ranees's memorandum. Of these, the correspondence referred to in four has been omitted in the abstract, as the communication made to His Highness was in each of these cases merely the sanction of Government to a particular measure, and not, strictly speaking, an expression of commendation.

7. Of the remaining 58 memoranda, 55 conveyed an expression of special approbation and satisfaction from the Government of Bombay, six from the Government of India, and seven from the Honourable Court of Directors.

8. The subjects of approval in these memoranda were as follows :—

9. The grant of redress by his late Highness in cases in which it had been refused by his predecessor the ex-Raja 12 memoranda.

Abolition of suttee, of slavery, and transit duties, and introduction of the Company's rupee as the standard currency of his dominions 5 ditto.

Establishment of a free hospital and dispensary for pauper sick, and arrangements for promoting vaccination, and giving medical aid to his subjects ... 3 ditto.

Execution of valuable public works, such as making roads, bridges, aqueducts, &c. ... 5 ditto.

Reform of his troops 1 ditto.

Assistance given during the campaign in the Kolapoor country, and offer to place his military resources at the disposal of the British Government during the period of the disasters in Afghanistan ... 10 ditto.

Suppression of insurrectionary movements, and arrest of notorious offenders ... 5 ditto.

General good management of His Highness's dominions, including commendation of his proceedings in several of the above specified particulars	...	12	ditto.
Miscellaneous, including instances in which His Highness had met the wishes of the British Government with regard to exchanges of territory, &c. (negated by his predecessor)	... ..	5	ditto.
TOTAL		...	<u>58</u>

Making a Total of 58 communications expressive of the approbation of Government received during a reign of 8½ years.

10. For further particulars of the subjects of commendation of His Highness's administration, I would beg to refer to the enclosures: the following are some of the most prominent:

11. Suttee had become very common during the latter years of his predecessor's administration; British subjects had been allowed to come to Sattara for the purpose of performing the rite. The strong remonstrances of the Resident were in vain, and the sacrifices, three of which were reported in two months, usually took place at night, so as to render it, as reported by the Resident, "impossible to say what means may have been resorted to."

Vide Resident's reports to Government, of 10 February, 17 March, and 23 March, 1838,

12. On his accession, the late Raja entirely, as was reported, of his own accord abolished suttee by proclamation, and personally and effectually interfered at a later period to dissuade a woman who was anxious to immolate herself.

13. He was informed by the Resident that the Government of Bombay declared "that the measure would be hailed with satisfaction by every friend of humanity;" that "his spontaneous act reflected the highest credit on him and afforded an example which it was hoped would be followed by other native chiefs under this presidency."

14. The establishment of a free hospital elicited strong expressions of the approbation of the Government of Bombay, the Governor-General and the Court of Directors; and the efficiency with which it has been kept up and its operations extended has been since repeatedly noticed as worthy of high commendation.

15. On His Highness's offering to place his military resources at the disposal of the British Government after hearing of the Cabool disasters, he was informed "that this proof of his devotion to the British Government is highly praiseworthy, and very gratifying to the Governor-General in Council."

16. The comments of the Government of Bombay, the Governor-General, and the Honourable Court of Directors on the general good management of His Highness's country, the admirable state of the police, and the mildness of his rule, have been uniformly of the most flattering description, and, even in a condensed form occupy a large space in the annexed abstract.

17. The perfect peace and order maintained by His Highness in his own territory at a period when the neighbouring Zillahs were disturbed, and Kolapoor in open rebellion, as well as the effectual aid he gave in putting down that insurrection, and in arresting the leaders of it whenever they took refuge in his territory, called forth frequent strong expressions of praise. On the measures taken by His Highness at the commencement of the Kolapoor insurrection being reported, the Resident was directed "to communicate to His Highness in the strongest terms the high satisfaction of Government with the zeal and attachment which His Highness has on the present occasion evinced towards the British interests;" and similar expressions of approbation at the assistance given in furnishing detachments of His Highness's troops, in keeping open the communication, and in forwarding supplies, were constantly repeated, till the Kolapoor and Sawunt Warea country was effectually pacified, and the field forces withdrawn.

18. In his public works, such as aqueducts, bridges, and roads, His Highness was told by the Government of Bombay he had set "a noble example to the native chiefs of India," and he was subsequently informed that the Honourable Court

of Directors considered that these works "reflected great honour on his administration." A pair of field pieces were presented to him by Government, with the concurrence of the Governor-General, as a mark of the general approbation of Government at the mode in which he had conducted the administration, but especially of his liberality with regard to useful public works. The guns were forwarded with a letter to the Raja from the Government of Bombay expressive of these sentiments.

19. The second enclosure to the memorandum of His Highness's widow is a statement of sums expended by His Highness during his reign on these works of public utility. The following is an abstract statement of the mode in which the money has been expended:—

Bridges, including two very large ones on the Poona road, over the rivers Crishna and Yenna,	1,97,727
Roads	11,690
Aqueducts and tanks in the city of Sattara and elsewhere, for supplying water, &c. ...	1,96,865
Free hospital	6,000
Palace (darbar room unfinished) and building for His Highness's own use	5,75,867
Barracks for His Highness's regular regiment, and stables for the drilled rissalla of horse, parade bungalow, and other military buildings ...	74,486
Travellers' bungalows for European travellers ...	9,000
Temples	5,661
TOTAL ...	10,77,296

20. Among these, the two bridges over the Yenna and Chrisna are the handsomest stone bridges in the Deccan, and I believe I may say on this side of India. The aqueduct is the finest work of its kind I know of built of late years. Of the darbar room the same may be said; and the other buildings are all excellent of their kind.

CHAPTER II.

From the administration reports the outside people believed that Satara was the best governed dominion in the world. This belief was not to be easily dissipated even from the minds of the visitors to Satara. During the last days of the Satara Raj, many roads, bridges, tanks and caravan serais were built in the State for the convenience of the public which at least gave the appearance of the state being prosperous and well governed. In favor of even the worst governed native states this much can be said without the fear of contradiction, that the greater portion of the revenues raised from the subjects of the state, are spent in the state and thus indirectly enrich the people of the state. That rank poverty which is the lot of the subjects of British provinces is almost unknown in Native States. So Satara under that imbecile ruler presented the aspects of prosperity which outsiders easily mistook as indicating its good government.

Appa Sahib, as said before, was merely a puppet in the hands of the Resident. The *de facto* rulers, then, of Satara were the notorious Colonel Ovans and Ballajee Punt Natoo. Under their administration the people were oppressed and harassed in a manner which they had no experience of before. The Parliamentary Papers throw a lurid light on the oppressive government which reigned supreme in Satara during the Ovans *cum* Natoo regime. This oppressive government is fully exposed in the petition of Krishnaji Sadashiva Bhiday presented to the Bombay Government as well as to the authorities of the East India Company in England. The petitioner

demanding an enquiry into the grave charges he had preferred against Colonel Ovans and Balajee Punt Natoo. But as no inquiry was ever instituted, it naturally follows that those charges and allegations were so true that the British Government were afraid to investigate them and thus expose the misdeeds of their favourites.

The following extracts from the petition will reveal the oppressions and cruelties practised on the subjects of Satara by Colonel Ovans and Natoo. This petition, addressed to the Governor and President in Council, Bombay, is dated 29th September 1843. He wrote :—

“Your honourable Board is aware, that during the late inquiry into the charge of treason against the *ex-Raja*, Ballajee Punt was actively employed under the Resident. His position and influence, therefore, gave him an ample opportunity, on the dethronement of the late Raja, to impose upon the new Raja, his jageerdars, enamdars and other subjects, and by his threats and bullying, frightened them into a compliance with his exorbitant demands, both for specie and land, &c. The British Government, as is well known, removed Purtab Sing from the gaddee, and raised to it his brother, * * Appa Sahib, that the prosperity of the country may be promoted. But instead of the change which the humane intentions of Government had suggested being attended with all the good effects expected, it opened a wide door to Ballajee Punt, as will be perceived from the sequel, for a systematic course of bribery and corruption, and for burthening the finances of the Sattara State with expenses of a permanent, nay, a greater portion of a perpetual nature, having for their object merely the filling up of the coffers of the Natoo, his family, his retainers, friends and favorites. The British Government, your petitioner presumes, did not ever intend that so great a portion of the revenues of the Sattara State should be so applied, but on the contrary, it desired that it should be laid out solely upon improving the state of the country, and bettering the condition of the inhabitants.”

Then the petitioner referred in detail to twelve principal cases in which Ballajee Punt Natoo had received large bribes, and committed great extortions. The petitioner was quite prepared to prove them both by oral evidence and written documents before a commission of inquiry.

Then he mentioned twenty-one other instances in which Natoo had shamefully abused his position and enriched himself at the expense of the subjects of the Satara State. He wrote:—

“Having mentioned the most serious of the charges of bribing and extortion, your petitioner would now proceed to detail some instances which, if not amounting in the opinion of your honour to undue exactions, may at least serve to show that Ballajee Punt has most shamefully abused his personal influence, to the great detriment of the Sattara State, for the sake of lucre.

* * * * *

“Having thus set forth the principal points impugning the honesty and good faith of Ballajee Punt Natoo, your petitioner begs most respectfully to observe, that it will be doing a great injustice to the subject, merely to prefer the statement for the report of the Resident ; for that officer, who has received so much assistance from the Natoo, is, as may be naturally expected, much biassed in his favor, and therefore little can be expected from him in tracing the track. He will, in all probability, do no more than declare the whole of the 12 charges, * * to be fallacious and malicious ; and that the circumstance of Ballajee Punt having been concerned in the late inquiry has made him many enemies ; for, were the truth of them established, the fact will go to show culpable neglect on his part for having so long taken no trouble to check the system of bribery and corruption passing under his nose. * * Your petitioner respectfully submits, whether it will not unbecome the high character of the British Government to refuse to institute a proper inquiry into charges of so criminal a

nature, and charges which your petitioner offers to prove by regular evidence. He begs also to remark, that before he became acquainted with the frauds and villainies of Ballajee Punt Nattoo herein detailed, he had been persuaded that the system of bribing and corruption which prevailed under the Marhatta Government had ceased with the overthrow ; to be obliged to arrive at a different conclusion, to wit, that it has continued in all its forms under the British rule. In order, therefore, to clear the high character of your Government, so reflected upon in the eyes of the people of the Sattara State, and prevent the observations of the public, to which the British representative at his Highness the Rajah's Court has laid himself open by the conduct of Ballajee Punt, a British subject and pensioner ; your honourable Board cannot but deem itself called upon to adopt energetic measures to sift the matter to its very bottom.

* * * * *

"Your petitioner trusts that the circumstances of Balajee Punt having staunch friends, both in the secretariate and the Presidency, will not lead to this representation being treated with indifference ; let not, honourable Sir, such crimes as bribing and extortion, whoever may be the offender, pass with impunity."

The petitioner could have as well appealed to a stone or a tree as to the Governor of Bombay, whose honesty was not above suspicion. The petition was forwarded to Col. Ovens for report, who, as was naturally to be expected of him, wrote that those accusations were "false and malicious". On the receipt of this report, the Governor indited the following minute on the 13th November 1843 :—

"I do not think any answer should be returned to this petition, and any further representations should be returned by endorsement."

But the petitioner was not to be so easily cowed down. He appealed again to the Agent for the Sirdars in the Deccan, as well as the Court of Directors of the East India

Company in England. Mr. Warden, the Agent for the Sirdars, wrote to the Chief Secretary to Government Bombay in a letter dated, Poonah, 19th August 1844 :—

“Several months ago, I received by the post, a Maratha paper of which the enclosed * * is a translation.

“As it has been usual for the Agent for Sirdars to communicate with the Government on alleged misconduct by Sirdars, as the mode of inquiry asked for in the present instance by Krishnaji Suddasheo, is that ordered by Government in the case of Dadajee Appajee Seweya, excepting only that the Committee on him was a native one, and as Ballajee Punt Natoo, is not only a Sirdar of the second class, and a pensioner of the British Government, ‘during good behaviour,’ but is the most favored of all those who on the accession of the British Government to the Deccan, were styled ‘British adherents’ ; it did not appear right that I should disregard such serious complaints against him, and so earnest an appeal to me, as the Agent of Government in immediate communication with the Sirdars, although those complaints relate to the acts of Ballajee Punt Natoo when employed in the Sattara country ; and I, therefore, as a preliminary step, called on Krishnaje Suddasheo to state the grounds on which he preferred these charges of extortion, fraud and abuse of authority.

“The enclosure No. 2 is the answer he has brought me, in which he has introduced two additional charges against Ballajee Punt Natoo, as well as matter relating to the Resident at Sattara ; and I feel that I only perform my duty in laying both papers before the honourable the Governor in Council.

“As, however, it would be most unjust to the Resident and Ballajee Punt Natoo to allow Krishnaje Suddasheo Eheeday to prefer these accusations without confirming such facts as are within his own knowledge, by legal solemn affirmation, and placing himself within the jurisdiction of a British Court, empowered to punish him for defamation ; I have taken the solemn affirmation of which the Enclosure No. 3 is a translation, and obtained from him security to the amount of 1,000 rupees, besides his personal recognizance to the amount

of 5,000 rupees for his appearance at Poonah, till the inquiry which may be ordered shall have been completed."

In one of the enclosures referred to above, the petitioner preferred the following charges against that gallant Resident, Colonel Ovans, *viz.* :—

1. "The Resident represented to his Highness that, as the case of the *ex-Rajah* was pending before the authorities in England, it was necessary that counsel should be nominated on behalf of his Highness, and on this plea, he got his Highness to consent to the payment of a sum of 1,500 rupees per mensem to his (the Resident's) father-in-law; on whose death, he caused the payment to be continued to his brother-in-law, who receives it to this day.

2. "At the time the Resident's lady and children proceeded to England, gold bullion and Venetian necklaces were purchased and given to the Resident to the value of 50,000 rupees."

All these charges against Colonel Ovans and Ballajee Punt Natoo were very serious and detrimental to the best interests of the British Government, for they degraded their prestige in the eyes of the Indian public. The Government of the day should have enquired into the conduct of their employees by means of a Court of Enquiry or a properly constituted commission. But this they refused to do, and resorted to subterfuges which to any unprejudiced mind would unquestionably show that the charges were so well-founded that any investigation or inquiry into them would have irreparably blasted the character of the notorious Colonel Ovans and Ballajee Punt Natoo.

The Governor Sir George Arthur's Minute of 21st November 1844 shows the subterfuges he resorted to, in order to stifle all investigations into those charges. He wrote :—

"It will also be observed, that accuser, in support of his

charges, refers chiefly to persons residing in the Sattara territory, and consequently beyond our jurisdiction. Further, that the acts charged were committed in a foreign jurisdiction, and at a time when Ballajee Punt Natoo was not in the service of the British Government. These are all facts which require to be considered before we determine how the case shall be dealt with ; for if we have not jurisdiction, and do not possess the power of enforcing the attendance of witnesses, and punishing them for perjury, it would be vain to go into the inquiry, even if we had strong *primâ facie* grounds for believing in the truth of the petitioner's statements, * * * * * †

How dishonest and hypocritical the Governor showed himself to be when he penned the above lines ! He talked of want of jurisdiction and such like non-sense. What jurisdiction had the British Government when they appointed the Commission that assembled at Satara to inquire into the alleged treasonable conduct of the Raja ?

† Major J. Oliphant, a member of the Court of Directors, in a Minute dated 26th August 1845, wrote regarding these transactions :—

"It is not my intention to dwell upon the discrepancies and impossibilities contained in many of the statements regarding Geerjabae's petition. These are matters which ought in my judgment to be sifted elsewhere ; but when I find positive proof that Kristnaje's evidence was not made known to Government at the time the matter to which it had reference was under inquiry, but was kept for nearly 11 months in the possession of Colonel Ovens ; that Government demanded no explanation of this conduct, and that they now refuse to listen to charges preferred by this Kristnaje in the usual manner, after bringing himself within the jurisdiction of a British Court, entering into heavy recognizances, himself in 5,000 rupees, and a friend in 1,000 rupees, to prosecute the charge, with the certainty of severe punishment if found guilty of defamation ; that the proof of the charge is not to rest on his testimony, but on that of witnesses, a list of whom he duly furnished to Mr. Warden ; and that the plea for refusing to hear him is the inexpediency of reopening the whole case of the Raja of Sattara, 'even if these assertions were not solely dependent on the veracity of a person, who, by his own confession, has proved himself to be utterly unworthy of credit ;"

"I consider it my duty to enter my protest against proceedings which appear to me derogatory to the character of Government, and an improper interference with the due administration of justice."

What jurisdiction had they in imprisoning Govind Row Dewan—a subject not of their own but of the Satara territory under the Act of 1827? Again under what jurisdiction did they imprison Bulwant Row Chitnavees? And now when it was the question of trying their own creature Balajee Punt Natoo—the bosom friend of Elphinstone and the right hand man of Colonel Ovans—for serious offences, high crimes and misdemeanours, then all of a sudden, the Governor realized the truth that the British Government did not possess any jurisdiction over the subjects of the Satara State! Can any argument be more dishonest than this?

Regarding the charges preferred against the notorious Colonel Ovans, the Governor wrote:—

“These charges being now, at the eleventh hour, added to those previously urged against Ballajee Punt Natoo, confirm my distrust in the petitioner’s statements; and strengthen that petitioner is merely a tool in the hands of others; namely, the party who have been displaced from power by the deposal of the *ex-Raja* of Sattara.”

None but a fool or a knave would have advanced such an absurd argument as the above in order to stifle an enquiry into the dishonest and dishonourable conduct alleged against Colonel Ovans.

But the very refusal of Government to investigate the charges preferred against Ballajee Punt Natoo and Colonel Ovans demonstrates that those two persons were guilty of the crimes which Krishnajee Suddasheo Bhiday on oath solemnly accused them of.

The Court of Directors of the East India Company had forwarded Krishnajee Bhiday’s petition to the Bombay Government for enquiry and report. It was necessary for that Government to investigate the matter

very thoroughly. But instead of that, the Governor wrote the following Minute, which was concurred in by the Board:—

"I conclude, as the papers have been sent us by the Court, the best course we can pursue is, in the first instance to send them in original to Colonel Ovans for his remarks.

"In regard to the Bhidday's complaints and accusations, Colonel Ovans may be informed that Government, taking into consideration all the facts of the case, had dismissed them as unworthy of the slightest credit."

Fortified by such a certificate of his character, it was easy for Colonel Ovans 'to record my decided conviction that they are all utterly false.'

The Bombay Government in their letter to the Court of Directors dated 30th November 1844, instead of trying to refute the charges which Krishnajee preferred against Nattoo and Colonel Ovans, merely abused Krishnajee, by raking up old matters and thus tried to show that he was not a man whose statements were worthy of credit. Even admitting for the sake of argument that Krishnajee Bhiday was as great a blackguard as he was represented to be by Sir George Arthur, Colonel Ovans and other Bombay officials, it does not necessarily follow that the charges which he had so solemnly preferred were false. According to Mr. Warden, Krishnajee had placed "himself within the jurisdiction of a British Court, empowered to punish him for defamation". Why were no steps taken by Col. Ovans and Ballajee Punt Nattoo to institute legal proceedings against him for defamation? Is this not an additional argument tending to prove that those charges were not false?

Of course, the Rajah of Satara, the imbecile Appa Sahib, had no jurisdiction over Colonel Ovans and thus could not touch him, but he did what he could with

Ballajee Punt Natoo. That Brahmin having been convicted of peculation, was dismissed from office by Appa Sahib. The Raja was so disgusted with Natoo, that in his memorandum dated 2nd April 1848, *i.e.*, 3 days before his death, he wrote to the Resident :—

“Ballajee Punt Natoo was employed by this Government during the time of the late resident, Colonel Ovans, at which time he was on bad terms with our family (mundulee). Colonel Ovans then sent a message by Natoo to the Sirkar (his highness), that no person should act as intermediate agent between him and Maharaj Sirkar. All matters connected with business should be communicated personally, whereupon Natoo was removed from his office ; it is therefore desirable that he should not be permitted again to interfere in the affairs of the Satara State.”

Such was Natoo whom the Bombay Government had under their protection and against whom they did not institute an inquiry into the charges preferred by Krishnaje Bhiday.

The misgovernment that reigned supreme in Satara, the oppression and tyranny that were practised on the people—the subjects of Satara who could not make themselves heard and were kept in submission by the British bayonets—could be easily imagined from the petition of Krishnaje Bhiday, during the nominal sovereignty of Appa Sahib, but the *de-facto* rule of Colonel Ovans and Ballajee Punt Natoo. After the departure of these two curses from Satara, perhaps for sometime the people of that state were happy and prosperous.

CHAPTER III.

On the 5th April 1848, Appa Sahib paid the debt of nature and joined his brother in the other world. By his death, the throne of Satara was once more vacant, for he had not left any male issue of his own body. But a few hours before his death, he had adopted according to the Hindoo custom a son to whom he wished that the Satara Raj should be transmitted. The Resident at Satara at this time was Mr. (afterwards Sir Bartle) Frere. But at the time of the Raja's death, he was away from Satara. The Civil Surgeon, Dr. Murray, was present and was on the morning of the 5th April 1848, called for by the Raja to attend on him and also to witness the ceremony of the adoption. In a Memorandum dated Satara Palace, 5th April 1848, and published in the Parliamentary Papers relating to Satara for 1849, Dr. Murray has very graphically described all that took place on that memorable day. It is necessary to reproduce this important document *in extenso*. Dr. Murray wrote:—

MEMORANDUM BY DR. MURRAY.

Sattara Palace, 5th April, 1848.

A Little after eight o'clock this morning, I received a message from the Raja, that he wished to see me at the palace as soon as possible. I set out without loss of time, and on the road I met a second messenger, who stated that His Highness was very ill, and was very anxious for my arrival.

On reaching the palace, I was informed by the Furness who met me at the centre gate, that His Highness had been taken very ill in the night, and that he had become much worse since morning. On entering the apartment where he was lying, I was much shocked at the great change which had taken place in his

appearance since I last saw him, six days ago. He was exceedingly weak ; his breathing embarrassed, and his countenance collapsed, and indicating approaching dissolution.

He was, however, perfectly sensible, although he spoke with difficulty. In answer to his anxious inquiry as to what I thought of his state, I said that I was exceedingly sorry to see him so very ill, but that he had recovered from two or three previous alarming attacks of illness, and that I hoped he might yet be spared to his family and subjects. He shook his head, and said, "No, I will never recover from this." In the course of the next hour he rallied somewhat, and about 11 o'clock he seemed disposed to sleep.

Having retired to the adjoining apartment for a few minutes, His Highness sent the Furness to call me, stating that he had something which he wished particularly to communicate. Having gone in, I observed that a change for the worse had taken place during the short time I had been absent. In the course of a few minutes, His Highness having had himself raised in bed with some difficulty, and having ordered every one out of the room with the exception of the Furness and Row Sahib, desired the former to bring the copies of two yads given to Mr. Frere two days ago, and to read them over to me. They were produced accordingly, and read by Row Sahib. His Highness now called me close to him, and said, that the contingency adverted to in that yad (pointing to it) had now arrived, and that he was about to adopt a son ; that he had an hour or two ago sent for the boy whom he had selected, who was now present in the palace, and that he wished the adoption to take place before me.

This announcement took me by surprise, as I had not received the slightest hint of it before. I said that I hoped His Highness would excuse my taking the liberty of urging the advisability of postponing this ceremony till Mr. Frere's arrival ; that the formal adoption of a son appeared to me to be a matter of too great importance to be performed during the Resident's absence ; that he was sure to be here early in the evening, and that I earnestly hoped His Highness would postpone carrying out his intention till then. To this he replied that he felt quite convinced he would not live till evening and that what was to be

done must be done now. I then begged him to delay for an hour or two, and that, if after that interval, he should appear to be getting worse the ceremony could then be performed, but he shook his head, and said that no time was to be lost.

Finding that I could not prevail with him, I took the Furness and Row Sahib aside, and after explaining the reasons which made me so exceedingly anxious that no adoption should take place until the Resident's arrival, I begged them separately, to urge the point upon His Highness once more, and to endeavour to prevail upon him to consent to the postponement of the measure. This they at once did, but with the same want of success as myself.

It being now evident that further resistance was hopeless, I apologised to His Highness for the importunity with which I urged this point, and trusted that he would not consider that I had been presumptuous or disrespectful towards him in having thus ventured to obtrude my opinion and wishes in a matter which was quite beyond my sphere of duty, and which was so intimately connected with His Highness's domestic arrangements. To this he replied, with his usual kindliness of manner, No ; you have done quite right, you have done your duty.

His Highness now put a pen and paper in my hand, and desired me to write the exact words he was about to dictate. I suggested it would be better that Row Sahib should write the words in Mahratta, but he replied that he wished me to write in English as he spoke in Mahratta. He then spoke slowly, but distinctly, as follows :—

"I have not the slightest hope of living till the Resident's arrival ; I, therefore, now adopt this boy (calling the boy into the room), Venkut Row, son of Amboojee Bhoustay Shergam-walla." Having finished, he said, "keep that paper, and give it to the Resident." His Highness now ordered the Ranees to be called, and gave some other orders, which I did not hear, whereupon I left the room, and walked out into the Courtyard. In a few minutes His Highness sent for me again, and said he wished me not to leave him. There were now assembled round His Highness's bed the three Ranees, the mother and sister of the late Baghoo Bye, Bala Sahib Raj Adnya, the Furness, Row

Sahib, the Maha Sahib and his sons, the eldest Rancee's father, the boy about to be adopted, with his grand-father, and probably between 40 and 50 of His Highness's durbar. In a few minutes the ceremony of adoption commenced, and lasted about a quarter of an hour. On its conclusion His Highness was lifted up in bed, and having had a turban put on his head, and a shawl thrown loosely over him, the adopted son made his obeisance to him ; and afterwards (at His Highness's request) ate sugar out of my hand, and from the hands of some half a dozen others standing round. On the question being asked (by the Furness, I think,) as to the name by which the boy should hereafter be called, and several names having been suggested (such as Sewajee, Shao Maharaj, &c.), His Highness, after two or three minutes' silent deliberation, answered, "Wenkutjee Rajee," being the name of one of Sevajee's brothers. His Highness being much exhausted by his exertions, I requested him to lie down, and begged that the room might be cleared of all except his relations and immediate attendants, in the hope of his being able to sleep ; but he soon called me again to his bed-side, and said (speaking now with a good deal of difficulty, but with perfect intelligence) "I wrote 11 paragraphs (kulum) to the Resident, of these, one has just now been completed (poorahoo), the other ten must be completed by the Resident (Resident sahib ne pooraa kuma)." He then said, "with regard to the kamdar boy, the Furness knows everything ; he will communicate my wishes to the Resident ; he is to be trusted."

On his making some observation relative to myself, I took the opportunity of thanking him for the great and unvarying kindness I had experienced at his hands. He took my hand and said, "I have now told you all ; you must mention to Mr. Frere all that has passed, and all that I have said ; Mr. Frere must arrange, and manage everything after my death ; from him all my people are sure to receive justice and kindness." He then alluded to the great kindness Colonel Ovans had shown to himself and his people ; but his words were now scarcely audible.

Once or twice after this, not observing that I was present (though still by his bedside), he asked for me, and on seeing

me, seemed satisfied, though he said nothing, and indeed never spoke to me again.

He expired, with scarcely a struggle, at half-past one o'clock, amid the general, and (I feel assured) the sincere lamentations, not only of his family and attendants, but also of the numerous assemblage of people who were congregated within and around the precincts of the palace.

(Signed) J. MURRAY.

The Raja died under the belief that all his wishes and intentions would be given effect to by the British Government, for the acquisition and maintenance of whose friendship, he had made so many sacrifices, including that of effecting the ruin of his brother. But that Government had got their purpose served and were not therefore willing to carry out the wishes of their deceased ally. His death gave them the opportunity for which they had been long desiring, *viz.*, the annexation of Satara.

This annexation of Satara is an important landmark in the history of British India, for it can be safely asserted that the policy which led to the absorption of this native state was the principal cause of the Indian Mutiny. This non-recognition of the adopted son as heir to the Satara Principality gave rise to the controversy, the echo of which is audible even to our own day.

Mr. (afterwards Sir Bartle) Frere, the Resident at Satara, as well as the then Governor of Bombay, Sir George Clerk, were of opinion that the British Government must confirm the adoption made by the Raja, immediately before his death, of a son from the cognate house of Shedgaom, and allow that son to succeed to the principality.

But the Councillors of the Bombay Government, as well as the Governor (Viscount Falkland) who succeeded

Sir George Clerk, the Governor-General of India and the Court of Directors were all opposed to the recognition of the adopted boy as the Raja of Satara. There is no doubt now that the President of the Board of Control, Sir John Hobhouse, ordered the annexation of Satara and so all the so-called 'honourable' members invented specious arguments and pretexts for this great spoliation.

Sir William Lee-Warner in his *Life of Lord Dalhousie*, Vol. II, page 158 writes :—

"It must also be noted that while Lord Dalhousie's mind was yet open, the very first letter which he received at Calcutta from Hobhouse, dated the 24th of December, 1847, contained this obvious incitement to annexation :—

"The death of the ex-Raja of Satara certainly comes at a very opportune moment. The reigning Raja is, I hear, in very bad health, and it is not at all impossible we may soon have to decide upon the fate of his territory. I have a very strong opinion that on the death of the present prince without a son, and no adoption should be permitted, this petty principality should be merged in the British Empire ; and if the question is decided in my day, "day of Sextonship," I shall leave no stone unturned to bring about that result. * * *"

"Did ever Governor-General enter upon a line of policy with stronger pressure from higher authority? * * * * On the 7th of May (1848), Hobhouse wrote to say that George Thompson and other members were agitating in favor of an adoption, and he added, 'I am tired and never wish to hear Satara mentioned for the rest of my day.'"

With these so-called "honorable" gentlemen, the words of the solemn treaty of 1819 counted for nothing and they tortured such clear expressions of that Treaty as "Perpetual Sovereignty," "heirs" and "successors" in a way which, removed as we are, from the heat and controversy of the day and judging the whole affair in a dispassionate mood necessary for a critical historian, must

be pronounced as extremely discreditable and dishonourable to their authors.

The authorities of the East India Company had little sense of honour or honesty left in them: Perfectly selfish as they were, they were actuated by what was termed by Sir John Malcolm as a "Grasping Policy," in all their dealing with the Indian Princes. The mean and low trick which the Company played in annexing Satara has been very well described by Mr. John Sullivan, who writes:—

"We have an interest in denying to one Rajah of Sattara the inheritance which he claims from us, and to another, the private property which we confiscated. And not long ago, the interest which we have in deciding such questions in our own favor, was manifested in a manner that was anything but creditable. When a majority of Directors—seeing from the impression that the strong protests of some of their colleagues had made, that a vote was likely to pass in the Court of Proprietors, repudiating the annexation of Sattara—called for a ballot; and the question was accordingly decided, according to their wishes, by the votes of some hundreds of ladies and gentlemen, who knew no more of its merits, than they did of a 'terra incognita.' "*"

Thus then was brought about the extinction of the Satara Raj, by that Power which made the usual exuberant profession of a wish to act in the matter "with the purest integrity, and in the most scrupulous observance of good faith. If even a shadow of doubt can be shewn, the claim should," it is said, "at once be abandoned."

"At the moment that the British Government was making this ostentatious profession of their determination to abandon their claim, if a doubt could be cast upon its justice, they had under their eyes a reasoned opinion of Sir George Clerk, the

* Remarks on the affairs of India: with observations upon some of the evidence given before the Parliamentary Committees by John Sullivan Esq. London: E. Ingham and Wilson, Cornhill, 1852, p. 114.

Governor of Bombay, that they had no right whatever to the territory—that the British Government had ceded it in perpetuity to the Rajah of Sattara, his heirs and successors, and that it belonged, therefore, clearly to his heirs, they had at the same time before them a declaration from the political agent Mr. Frere that there were those who would be able, and who were ready, to establish their rights as heirs under the treaty before any court of justice. They were entreated to allow these claimants to be heard—they were urged to refer to Mr. Elphinstone, who had made the treaty, and to Captain Grant Duff, who had been engaged officially in explaining it to the first Rajah, for information as to the meaning of the terms used in it, if any doubt could be entertained of their meaning. "But to me," said Sir George Clerk, "they appear to be remarkably distinct and perspicuous." That Government, however, who were so anxious to act with unspotted integrity, and scrupulous good faith, turned their backs upon these appeals to their justice—they refused to hear the claimants—they declined to refer to the negotiators of the treaty—they seized upon the territory; and the authorities at home—in a despatch of a dozen lines, in which there is not the slightest reference to the right—solemnly and repeatedly recognized by themselves—of a Hindoo sovereign to adopt an heir, and only a passing allusion to the treaty, by which they had ceded it to him and his heirs for ever, sanctioned the confiscation for their own benefit of a principality which yielded a revenue of near £200,000 a year.

"If this had been a transaction between individuals * * * * we should not scruple to brand the individual so acting as a hypocrite, as well as a tyrant. The hypocrisy is not the less, or the tyranny a jot abated, because they are shared amongst many."*

One of the grounds for annexing Satara was what was called "Financial Expediency", *i. e.*, it would increase the revenue of the State. But that it was a delusion, that

* *Are we bound by our Treaties? A plea for the Princes of India.*
By John Sullivan Esq. London: Effingham and Wilson, Cornhill. 1853.
pp. 19 and 20.

instead of increasing the revenue, the annexation entailed heavy expenditure on the state, is fully borne out by the following statement quoted from the India Reform Tract No. IV, entitled the Native States of India :

"Revenue is then the motive for this change. But revenue does not always include profit. 'By incorporating Sattara with our possessions we shall increase the revenue of our State,' joyfully, if immorally, anticipated Lord Dalhousie in 1848. 'We were not prepared to find that the annexation of Sattara would prove a drain on the general revenues of India,' gravely and sadly replied the Court of Directors, after four years' experience of the expectations, in 1852.' "

To Hobhouse, Dalhousie and all those who brought about the extinction of the Satara Raj must be applied the words of the immortal Burke:—"The tribe of vulgar politicians are the lowest of our species."

RUNGO BAPOOJEE.

CHAPTER I.

Inseparably connected with the dynasty of Sivaji stood the family of Rungo Bapoojee. The founder of the Mahratta Empire was, as is well known, an altogether illiterate man. But he was gifted with great administrative capacity and genius for military operations. With something like intuition, he knew the right man for the right place and it is a fact that in his life time at least he was not betrayed by any one in whom he had reposed confidence. Illiterate as he was, he had to depend for all his correspondence on one whose hereditary profession was clerical and known in Western India as Purvoe. This caste of Purvoe is subdivided into two sections, *viz* :— Patane and Kayastha. Sivaji's clerical Secretary belonged to Kayastha Purvoe class and bore the surname of Chitnavees.

Rungo Bapoojee was descended from this Chitnavees and was connected by marriage with that Bulwantrao Chitnavees who enjoyed great confidence of Raja Pratap Singh and wrote that "bukhar" or historical sketch which exposed the deception successfully practised by Elphinstone on the Raja of Satara. This historical sketch gave great offence to Sir Robert Grant and other members of the Bombay Government and served as a handle to them to charge the Raja with sedition, treason, ingratitude and what not. Bulwantrao was supposed to have excited the mind of the Raja against the English Government and hence his removal from Satara was considered expedient. He was not only removed from Satara, but was incarcera-

ted in the Poona gaol as a political prisoner. The Chief Secretary to the Bombay Government wrote to the Judge and Sessions Judge of Poona, on the 25th September 1837, the following letter :—

“I am instructed to acquaint you, that Government having resolved on the detention of Bulwunt Rao Chitnavees as a state prisoner in the gaol of Poonah, under the provisions of Regulation XXV of 1827, the Right honourable the Governor in Council is pleased to authorize your receiving him, agreeably to the warrant of commitment which you will receive with the prisoner, from the Acting Resident at Sattara.

“Agreeable to section II of the above Regulation, an allowance of one rupee per day for his support is fixed.”

One of the conditions on which Sir J. R. Carnac was going to overlook the past conduct of the Raja was the dismissal of Bulwunt Rao Chitnavees from his Highness's Counsels and not to permit him to reside within his Highness's territory without the sanction of the British Government. What became of Balwaunt Rao after his confinement at Poona is not known. Perhaps he died of grief and a broken heart, for the cruel treatment inflicted on him was quite undeserved and uncalled for.

Rungo Bapoojee, as said before, was related to Bulwunt Rao Chitnavees and as such was also in the confidence of the Raja. When the latter decided on sending agents to England to represent his wrongs to the authorities of the East India Company, Rungo Bapoojee was selected to be of one of them. He was sent to Bombay to communicate with Dr. Milne and Captain Cogan, who were helping the Raja by representing his case to the Government of India. Rungo Bapoojee tried to keep his Highness informed of all that was passing in Bombay. But unfortunately all the letters to and fro

were intercepted and so the attempt of the Raja to get justice done to him was frustrated.

Rungo Bapoojee was such a great confidential servant of the Raja, that he was entrusted with funds necessary to carry the Raja's case to England. The following extract from the Parliamentary Papers relating to the Raja of Satara (Vol. I. p. 633) shows the confidence which the Raja placed in Rungo Bapoojee.

"Translation of the Interrogation of Bulwant Rao Chitnavees.

1. *Question.* State the particulars regarding the direct communication going on between Bombay and Sattara, and who are employed at Bombay for that purpose? *Answer.* As regards the boundary line, he (the Resident) does not say, "Here, positively within such and such time, an answer will be procured from the Governor Sahib, and an arrangement effected"; therefore, in order to depute to England and Calcutta to explain the whole of his (Raja's) case, and for the purpose of going, two Mussulmans were brought, to whom the case was explained; Rungoba was appointed to accompany them; * * * * *

* * * * *

"3. By whose means, at Sattara, was the correspondence with Bombay conducted?—The letters that went to Rungoba, or yads, containing the case to the Doctor (Milne) Sahib, I was made to write and send; to write and despatch (letters) the duties of the Dawk, the hereditary office itself, is vested in me; according to order I acted.

4. To whom were the letters sent to Bombay addressed, * * * * *—Letters and yads addressed to Rungoba, and some letters to the Doctor Sahib, also went, * * * * *

"5. Was any sum of money or jewels, &c., ever sent for the expenses of the persons employed at Bombay; if so, by whose means were they sent?—Rungoba came, he himself taking the jewels and money; he returned, bringing the jewels himself; * * * * *

The above interrogation took place on the 1st September 1837. The Mussalman agent left for England under very peculiar circumstances.* But Rungo Bapoojee did not accompany him. The Mussalman Agent did little or nothing for the Raja in England. He was given to understand that the difference then existing between the Raja and the Bombay Government would be amicably settled by Sir James R. Carnac, who had then been appointed Governor of Bombay. It was on this account that the Mussalman Agent kept quiet, and enjoyed his pleasant life in England at the expense of the Raja.

Seeing that the Mussalman agent did nothing for him, the Raja decided in the beginning of 1839 on sending other Agents to England. This time he selected Hindoos as his agents. Crossing the sea meant ex-communication to the Hindoos. It was on this account perhaps that the Raja had chosen Syed Meer, a Mussalman, as his Agent. But his failure compelled him to choose men of his own religion. We cannot sufficiently admire the courage of those Hindoos who, sacrificing all caste prejudices, determined to sail for England. True it is that they were not the first Hindus from Western India to proceed to that forbidden land. Towards the close of the Eighteenth Century, the father of the last Peishwa, Raghoo Nath Rao, had sent a couple of Hindoos to England to represent his case to the authorities of the East India Company. But that had become merely a matter of tradition in the

* Knowing that the Bombay authorities would not allow any agent of the Raja to proceed to England and would rather throw obstacles in his way, Syed Meer, it appears, left Bombay, ostensibly for Mecca. According to the Satara Resident, Syed Meer, in addition to the representation with which he was charged to the English Government, took with him a Persian paper to be taken to the Russians! Syed Meer was given 10,000 rupees for his journey.

Western Presidency. For since the time of Raghoonath Rao—for over sixty years and more—no other Hindoo of high caste from amongst the various races and tribes inhabiting the Bombay Presidency had undertaken a voyage to England.

But these Hindoo Agents of the Raja were mercilessly persecuted by the Bombay authorities. Years afterwards, Rungo Bapoojee told the authorities of the East India Company the treatment which was meted out to these Hindoo Agents. They were hunted down like criminals, and were not allowed to sail in a French vessel in which they had engaged their passage. By this high-handed procedure of the Bombay authorities, they were mulcted of £550, being the amount which they had paid for their passage in the French vessel. But they were not discouraged by this procedure on the part of the Bombay officials. They sailed in the middle of March 1893, in a British vessel named *Reliance*, which was bound for Liverpool.

Rungo Bapoojee did not accompany this mission. He was still in Bombay, acting as the Raja's Agent there, helping Dr. Milne and Captain Cogan in their attempt to get justice done to that unfortunate prince. But after the visit of Sir James Carnac to Satara, when there was no prospect of the Raja getting any justice in this country, it was decided to send a capable and able man to England as the Raja's Agent. The Raja's choice naturally fell on Rungo Bapoojee.* On the 4th September 1839, that prince wrote the following letter to Captain Cogan:—

* Raja Pratap Singh wrote the following letter to Rungo Bapoojee on 30th August 1839:—

"Our ancestor Sewajee Maharaj, founded the Mahratta Empire by his own valour, and protected the Hindoo religion as it exists to this day. Our

an arrangement as regards papers and existing practice. As for what reason inimical people have got up treasonable fabrications, as to how they have secured evidence for the same, copies of all the papers as to such of them as were got hold of by us, have already been transmitted to Rungo Bappoojee, which circumstances will be communicated by Rungo Bappoojee. As to this, it should be so done that the authors of such things may be punished; and an arrangement may take place, and your Honour should return, and a meeting should take place. As our mundulee, together with papers, have gone through the medium of Forbes and Co., it is desirable that that Sahib may not be offended, and that he and your Honour may be of one mind, and whether the representation be made through one and the same channel, or through any other in your acquaintance, it will matter not. But there should be

of your being molested on your way. As human life is uncertain, and we depend upon Providence, I deem it of sufficient importance that you should be made acquainted with my apprehension as to what may happen with reference to the future.

"As long as I am spared, there may be nothing very much to dread; but in the event of my death, my two Ranees will have to be guarded against all machinations, in consequence of their incompetency, as females, to understand affairs of State, and owing to the possibility of their being tampered with and imposed upon. The charges set up against me must be either proved, or rebutted. Whatever difficulty may arise with respect to the possibility of the Princesses being unfairly dealt with, you must be prepared, if you are alive, to grapple with and remove. You must be on your guard against any papers or oral communications which may purport to proceed from them, directly at variance with my own interests, or contradictory to their duties to me. You are fully aware that what is pretended to emanate from females or minors, is neither legal nor valid.

"As I have no son, it is my intention to adopt one from the family of my nearest relative, as my heir and successor. The wife of Bulwunt Rao Raje Bhonsli Senaputtee, my first cousin, is now pregnant. If she has a son I shall be well pleased; if not, I must seek elsewhere for an adopted son.

"As you have sworn to serve me with fidelity, I expect you will strictly fulfil my instructions. This letter you must keep privately. Should ever occasion require it, you must then explain its purport."

The sequel will show how strictly the instructions contained in this letter were carried out by Rungo Bappoojee.

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 Mundullee who have gone in advance,

urge any further for means of expense, it is not likely they can be supplied by us. You should also inform in this manner the Mundullee who have gone, and show them this very letter * * * *; and the former 25,000 rupees are with you, and hoondees for 25,000 [more] are now sent from hence. You should receive the above sums of money when you have taken your departure for England and embarked in a ship. * * * *"

Rungo Bapoojee was thus furnished with 50,000 Rupees and sailed for England on the 12th September 1839. Out of this sum 24,000 must have been paid to Captain Cogan as his twelve months' pay in advance. And after paying for the passage money and other incidental charges, it does not appear that Rungo Bapoojee was in possession of more than 20,000 rupees when he arrived in England. The Raja, who was given to understand that the business would be accomplished within five months from the day of the departure of Captain Cogan from Bombay, must have thought the sum at the disposal of Rungo Bapoojee quite sufficient to meet all the necessary expenses during his and the other agents' stay in England.

Rungo Bapoojee arrived in England towards the end of the year 1839. He, together with his other colleagues set to work and represent the case of their sovereign to the authorities of the East India Company. But that Company refused to recognise them in their public capacity as the Raja's agents. The year 1839 passed away and that of 1840 commenced to wear on, but the Raja's case was not paid any attention to, by those to whom his vakeels represented the matter for enquiry and redress. In the meanwhile all the money which the agents had with them was expended and they were placed in extreme difficulty and contracted debt for providing necessaries for

themselves. The Raja was dethroned and all his private property confiscated and was thus unable to regularly remit any money to his agents in England.

Reduced to great straits, the first to solicit the help of the Company in order to extricate him from the pecuniary difficulties in which he was involved was Meer Afzil Ali. In his petition to the Court of Directors of the East India Company dated 14th September 1840, he wrote :—

“That the extreme disappointment which your petitioner has officially met with in England, together with a residence in this climate of nearly two years, has so affected the health of your petitioner, that he is compelled, as the only chance of recovery, to return in sorrow to India, a step which, situated as the Sattara Government now is, your petitioner has not the means of undertaking without your Honourable Court will kindly advance to him, on account of the Sattara State, the sum of seven hundred pounds (700£), to pay the travelling expenses of himself, Secretary, and three servants, and to discharge certain debts that have been unavoidably contracted in providing necessaries for your petitioner and his establishment ; and which your petitioner had every hope he would be able to fully discharge on holding communication with his sovereign. But even that your petitioner understands, by his letters from Bombay, if not prohibited, is rendered almost impracticable. Your Honourable Court may therefore imagine the extreme difficulty in which your petitioner and his people are placed in this foreign land by the recent decision of your Honourable Court.

“ * * * * * Your petitioner therefore trusts that your Honourable Court will render him that aid which he now prays for, and which is absolutely necessary, not only to enable him to return to India, but to extricate him from actual want and degradation in England.”

But it was not the interest of the East India Company to enable one of the agents alone to leave England. The remaining agents would agitate for the Raja and bring

his grievances to the notice of the English public, which was not very agreeable to them. Hence the Secretary of the East India Company was directed to reply to the above petition as follows :—

“Your petition, dated 14th September, requesting an advance of 700 £., to enable you to return to India, has been laid before the Court of Directors, and, in reply, I am commanded to inform you that the Court cannot take into consideration any such proceeding from one only of the individuals at present residing in this country as agents of the late Raja of Sattara.”

But the other agents were not at that time willing to leave England. So the Muhammadan agent was compelled on account of his failing health to bid farewell to England. Sir George Forbes advanced him money which enabled him to secure a passage to India.

In January 1841, with the pecuniary assistance from the Raja of Satara through his agents in England, was started the *British India Advocate*, which was the first paper of its kind to ventilate the grievances of the inhabitants of India. It was a monthly publication and was in existence as long as the Raja lived.

The other Hindoo agents also had soon to follow the example of their Muhammadan colleague and appeal to the East India Company for help to enable them to return to India. In their letter of 16th March 1841 to the Court of Directors of the Company, they wrote :—

“From a considerable period previously to the departure of Meer Afzil Ali, up to this date, we have been living in monthly expectation of remittance from India for our support, and we have, under the conviction of its arrival, obtained credit and contracted debts consequent on the frugal subsistence of ourselves, Secretary, and 11 attendants, to the amount of about seventeen hundred pounds (1,700 £).

"The arrival of the last packet from India without the expected remittance or a prospect of assistance, has had the effect of destroying our credit, depriving us of the means of subsistence, and placing us not only in absolute want and degradation, but with the legal consequences of arrest for debt added to our deplorable condition.

"Under these circumstances, to whom can we appeal for the alleviation of our immediate personal distress, but to that authority whose Governments, in the exercise of their power, have not only deposed our unfortunate sovereign, but have confiscated every rupee of his treasure and every description of his property; and whose Resident at Sattara did send, in conjunction with Ballajee Punt (the Sattara minister), to the house of Norothumdass Balmuchund, in Bombay, and actually convey from thence jewels to the amount of about 40,000 rupees, thereby leaving us, as we are at this present moment, utterly destitute of the means of subsistence, and with the miserable anticipation of being incarcerated in gaol for debts?

"We therefore trust to the kindness of your Honourable Court, to your respect and consideration for men who are faithfully endeavouring to obtain a hearing for their beloved and unfortunate prince, that you will advance us the sum of about 2,000 £, to defray the immediate and just claims against us. In respectfully soliciting this favor from your Honourable Court, we feel that the large amount of our unfortunate prince's property will amply repay this trifle, which is absolutely and immediately essential to our subsistence and freedom. * *"

But no, the object of the East India Company was to bleed India, and, in this particular case, to burke all inquiries into the conduct of their servants in India who conspired against the Raja and got him into trouble. Under the circumstances, of course, they were not going to grant any favor to the Raja's agents. On the 7th April 1841, the Secretary of the Company wrote to the Raja's agent:—

"Your letter, dated 16th March, respecting your pecuniary

difficulties, and request of an advance of 2,000 £, has been received and laid before the Court of Directors, and I have it in command from them to state that the Court see no reason for complying with your request."

Of course this was a foregone conclusion. But the agents were really in a very sad plight. So they again wrote to the Court of Directors on the 10th April 1841:—

"We have received with feelings of deep pain and disappointment your Secretary's letter of the 7th instant, in reply to our appeal to your Honourable Court of the 6th ultimo relative to our pecuniary difficulties.

"The laconic and unsympathising reply of your Honourable Court has engendered in our minds, as strangers in this foreign land, feelings of the most poignant distress.

"We arrived in Great Britain the representatives of a nominally independent prince, in alliance with your Government, with a view to obtain a hearing and redress of certain wrongs which had been inflicted upon his Highness the Raja of Sattara by your Governments; and whilst conscientiously and zealously persevering in these duties, your Indian Government, in the exercise of its power, has deposed, imprisoned, and banished our unfortunate prince; and it has, by the confiscation of his property, deprived him of the means of rendering us any assistance, thereby leaving us paupers on the bounty of your Honourable Court or the British nation; whilst your Honourable Court's reply, 'that you see no reason to comply with our request,' and that request being only for pecuniary assistance from those private funds of our unfortunate prince, which, in violation of the pledge of your Government, have been confiscated, gives us but little hope of any assistance whilst continuing in Great Britain, beyond what the nature of our duties and deplorable situation might claim from the sympathy and consideration of the British public, an appeal to which would be alike painful to us and ungenial with the duties with which we have been entrusted.

"Adverting, however, to your Honourable Court's letter to our colleague, Meer Afzil Ali, of the 7th October last, and

finding that our departure from this country has become a matter of necessity, it is with feelings of deep mortification we throw ourselves on the bounty and protection of your Honourable Court, to enable us to leave in sorrowful disappointment for our native land by the first convenient opportunity, *viâ* Egypt, a course which we of necessity pledge ourselves to adopt in that spirit of sincerity which we trust has invariably marked our proceedings."

This was exactly what suited the convenience of the Company. By the departure of the agents from England, there would not be any more agitation on behalf of the Raja in England, and no scathing exposures of the misdeeds of the Indian Governments. Those revelations were dangerous for the moral lepers who constituted the East India Company and their Government in India. These revelations were calculated to create that healthy public sentiment for right and justice which is always evinced when agitation unmasks a great wrong. The presence therefore of these agents in England was anything but welcome to the evil-doers and mischief-mongers who constituted the authorities of the East India Company. In reply to their letter, the Secretary of the Company wrote to them on the 15th May 1841 :—

"I have received and laid before the Court of Directors of the East India Company the letter of the 10th ultimo, in which you renew your application for their assistance to relieve you from your present embarrassments, on the grant of which you pledge yourselves to return to India by the first opportunity.

"In reply I am commanded to inform you, that in consideration of your distressed circumstances, the Court have resolved to advance you a sum not exceeding two thousand five hundred pounds (2,500£) to enable you to liquidate your pecuniary liabilities. * * and to afford you the means of departure from this country.

"This advance will be payable on your having engaged

your passage for India, and made arrangements for the application of the remainder of the amount to the satisfaction of your creditors."

The sum of £2,500 not being sufficient to liquidate their debts in England and to pay for their passage to India, the Court of Directors afterwards agreed to advance them an additional sum of fifteen hundred pounds, thus bringing up the total to £4,000. Of course, every farthing of the sum thus advanced was recovered from the Satara treasury.

The agents left England in the beginning of July 1841. Yeswunt Rao Sirkey and Rungo Bapoojee embarked on 1st July 1841, on board the "Oriental" steamer at Southampton, for Bombay, *via* Alexandria, while Bhugwunt Row Wittal, with his followers embarked on the 2nd July 1841, on board the "Bucephalus" at St. Helen's, for Calcutta, *via* the Cape of Good Hope.

But Rungo Bapoojee instead of proceeding direct to Bombay broke his journey at Malta and waited there for further instructions from his master, the ex-Raja. The latter, of course, at once told him to go back to England. As Rungo Bapoojee himself in his letter of the 24th January 1842 wrote to the Chairman and the Court of Directors of the East India Company :—

"Three times during my stay at Malta did his Highness repeat his commands that I should return, and again entreat your Honourable Court to do unto his Highness as you desire may be done unto yourselves, namely, having heard his accusers, to listen to his defence."

Rungo Bapoojee was a faithful servant to his master and bore all hardships, insults and injuries, but never faltered in discharging his duties to the best of his ability to his deposed and exiled sovereign. From Malta, he

wrote to his younger brother, Raojee Bapoojee, the following letter, which indicates his nobility of character :—

“After I had despatched letters for yourself and the Surkar yesterday, a letter has come in the evening from London, from the Captain (Cogan) Sahib to one of his friends, stating, that he was to come immediately, but owing to some business he remained there ; that he would embark by the steamer of November, when he and Rungoo Bapoojee will proceed to Bombay. This may be made known, but nothing has been stated in that letter as to the case of the Surkar being either successful or unsuccessful, but he writes vaguely ; from what motive he writes so, or what is the difficulty, this cannot be known without his visit. He does not state as to the success of the object in view, but merely mentions about going together. Under these circumstances I entertain great fear : the Almighty God knows what endeavours have been made for my remaining there, and he now writes thus, from which I am again in distress and am entertaining great fear. I wrote to the Surkar, to yourself, and to my father, that I would not return. God alone can preserve one from this disgrace, otherwise it would be better if God should make me die, than to return without effecting the object in view. What is the use of communicating these numerous difficulties and troubles ; it will be just as God may decree ; it is still in the power of God to provide bread and water. It is my intention, even if the object be successful, and I am desired to return, *not to return until the Swarree of the Surkar arrives at Sattara* ; but this depends on the advice of the European gentlemen ; in case we go contrary to their opinion, it will occasion their displeasure, but I would not return unless the matter is effected, and after exerting myself to the utmost of my power, I will let you know the result by a communication. • • • ”

The words put in italics show how determined Rungo Bapoojee was to fight for the cause of his master in England. The Raja was almost wholly destitute of funds and hence unable to support his agents and numerous

servants in England. Truly did the younger brother of Rungo Bapoojee, Raojee Bapoojee, write to the ex-Raja of Satara on the 15th November 1841 :—

“The Court of Directors persist in repeating that the proceedings adopted by the Bombay Government are firm, and they make their representations in different ways to support their cause ; it is therefore necessary that the Surkar should endeavour to supply some funds at such a time as this ; *the European friends there will not supply money* ; had they supplied money for expenses, no departure should have taken place by obtaining 40,000 rupees from the Directors. The Bhaoo (Rungo Bapoojee) feels assured that on the case proving successful, the Surkar would provide funds, but no money could be procured in England ; how can he help this ? Finding no remedy, he sent me to make supplication to the hoozoor.”

The Raja was anxious that Rungo Bapoojee should return to England ; and in order to be able to maintain him there, he borrowed money from some one of his old bankers. In his letter to the Court of Directors dated 2nd January 1843, Rungo Bapoojee wrote :—

“On my arrival at Malta, I received letters from my exiled prince, directing my return to London, and stating that he had procured a small sum from a gentleman in India, that would support my expenses for a time, as it appeared indispensable that some person should be present on his Highness’s behalf to explain his grievances to the British authorities. His Highness was the more anxious I should resume these duties from the conviction that justice must ultimately prevail in this enlightened nation.”

Accordingly, Rungo Bapoojee left Malta and returned to England early in 1842, bringing with him a letter which the ex-Raja had addressed to the Court of Directors of the East India Company and commended him to deliver it to them. In this letter, his Highness wrote :—

"Although my Government acted in all things in conformity with the letters which passed between the Bombay Government, its officers and myself, and in accordance with treaties, and with the orders of the Court of Directors, unfounded disputes were raised about boundaries by the British authorities at Poonah ; regarding which I made representations to the Bombay Government, and likewise to the Calcutta Government, but without success.

"In consequence of this, and for the purpose of bringing the circumstances to the knowledge of the Court of Directors, the Court of Proprietors, the Board of Control, the Parliament, and Her Majesty in Council, I sent native agents to England. On this account evil minded persons, considering the British authorities (at Bombay) to be unfavourably disposed towards me, deemed it a fit opportunity for their purposes, and persuaded the authorities to believe false statements which were made regarding me. Thereupon, on the report that an alleged traitorous plot had been concocted, the officers of the British Government, without taking into consideration my position, my uniform conduct, and past friendship, brought upon me the evils and sufferings I have undergone ; evils and sufferings surpassing those inflicted even upon a criminal. The highest of my servants have been treated in the same manner, without any regard to their rank or respectability.

"To represent this in England, Captain Robert Cogan and certain native agents were sent, and they went and made known the circumstances. Afterwards the native agents could not defray their ordinary expenses, owing to the officers of the British Government having embarrassed me in every way, by confiscating all my private property, in order that I might not be able to make my appeal heard in any quarter, or obtain redress. Thus I was unable to support my native agents.

"They therefore petitioned your Honourable Court, both about my case and their expenses. About the former they could obtain no answer whatever ; but they were told that if they all returned to India their expenses would be paid. They then wrote to me, saying that being helpless they were obliged

to take the money for their expenses, and return. On learning this, I wrote to one of them, Rungo Bapoojee, who was on his way hither, to go back. The British Government is a just Government. The British Government will not disregard its own documents and orders, nor the Court of Directors disregard treaties and established rights. Laying this conviction to my heart, I derived comfort and confidence, and desired one of those agents (who being without the means of paying their expenses, were obliged to come away) to go back.

“ * * * * I request you will cause my agent, Rungo Bapoojee, to return, protecting him in the meantime while away and paying his expenses ; my kingdom, power and property being now yours.”

The Court of Directors were not moved by the above appeal of the Raja ; they also did not recognise Rungo Bapoojee as his agent. Not daunted, not discouraged by the Court's reply, the latter addressed to them a letter dated 12th March 1842, in which he wrote :—

“Your Honourable Court, contrary to what is implied by your words, never did recognize my late colleagues and myself as the agents of his Highness the Raja of Sattara, any more than you now recognize me individually ; only the reasons given in the two cases are just opposite the one to the other. In the first case you grounded your refusal upon my colleagues and myself having come to England ; in my case it results from my not having gone back to India (as if your recognizing me there could be of any possible service to his Highness!). Would it not have been more decorous not to have assigned any reason at all, or to have avowed the real one, namely, that your Honourable Court, having condemned and deposed my master without trial, and carried him captive away, you are determined to silence him for ever, and make the grave hide him alike and his wrongs?”

Then narrating the grievances of his master, and the wrongs and injuries inflicted on that virtuous prince, and also the insults he (Rungo Bapoojee) himself had received

at the hands of certain British officers in the service of the East India Company, Rungo Bapoojee wound up his letter in the following memorable sentences :—

“Your Honourable Court call yourselves Christians. Many among you are hastening to your last account. Present yourselves when you may at Heaven’s gate, my belief teaches me that these acts will be heaped up and await you there, when, Honourable Directors no more, you crave admission to where the good and the just alone enter.

“With respect to the individual insult sustained from one of your officers, of which I complained in my first letter, I ought not, after this, to be surprised at your utter contempt of it. When his Highness, my master, and all his faithful friends have been thus hunted down, punished and tortured, as out of the pale of all law, human or divine, it would be something singular if your Honourable Court did not deem me as beyond the pale of society, and your officers as privileged to insult and abuse me as the agent of the Raja of Sattara, whensoever they may meet me out of England. Fortified as they now are with your warrant for their conduct, I must, as a native of India, submit in silence, and learn, as heretofore, to bear with resignation the brand of oppression set upon our race and colour by that very body whom the British people have been chartered, as they most delusively believe, for our special defence and protection.”

But all these produced no effect on the Directors of the East India Company. They turned a deaf ear to all the representations of Rungoba, and took no notice of the grievances of the Raja.

But notwithstanding all the slight and contumely, Rungo Bapoojee experienced at the hands of the East India Company, he did not cease to ventilate the grievances and wrongs of his master by petitioning the Court of Directors and writing in the press. In his letter of the 2nd January 1843, to the Court of Directors, he wrote of the measures which the Indian authorities adopted towards

the Raja in order to prevent him from having his grievances brought to the notice of the English public :

“His Highness encourages the hope, that such incontrovertible proof of his entire innocence, together with the kind sympathy evinced by various public meetings and philanthropic societies in England, Scotland, and Ireland, (by their petitioning the British Parliament for inquiry into his Highness’s sufferings,) with the unprecedented length and numerous discussions that have been held in the Court of the East India Company, to obtain the same end, together with the motions now standing on the books of both Houses of Parliament, having in view the same object, must lead to an inquiry into the case. Under these circumstances my sojourn in this country is indispensable to the ends of justice or fair inquiry, in order that I may have the opportunity of pointing out facts and giving such explanations as may be required by Members of the British Legislature or your Honourable Court.

“With the view of enabling me to effect these ends, his Highness intended curtailing his personal expenses, that he might be enabled to remit to me the means of support in this country. It will, however, I should hope, not be with pleasure that your Honourable Court will learn that, by a letter which I lately received from Benares, I am informed that, bereft (in violation of Sir James Carnac’s pledge) of his private property, his Highness has lately had his stipend reduced, in order to repay certain contingent expenses consequent on his journey to Benares, and to erect buildings at the latter place which had been destroyed by accident, or by design of his enemies, and by which conflagration much of the little property his Highness and family possessed was destroyed.

“Their Honourable Court will be equally surprised to hear that, after the arrival of his Highness at Benares, a list was taken of the little property and the few trinkets that he and his family possessed ; and he was informed that no part of such property could be disposed of, or pledged, without permission, and that his Highness must be prepared to produce them when required.

* * * * * But his Highness feels confident that such uncalled for severity and indignity could never be sanctioned by your Honourable Court, and that they have emanated from those functionaries connected with the Bombay Government, who, throughout these proceedings, have been his Highness's judges and persecutors, and who have been most zealously active to prevent his Highness having the means of supporting an agent in England for the purpose of obtaining an inquiry into his alleged crimes, and, consequently, an exposure of of their own *ex-parte* judgment and secret proceedings. Were additional proof required of the truth of these observations, it will be found in the recorded facts, that by the papers printed in March last by resolution of the East India Company, Mr. Willoughby was addressing the supreme Government of India, with the view of preventing direct intercourse between the exiled Raja and his agents in London; whilst Colonel Ovens, in his character of Resident at Sattara, was imploring the authorities at Bombay to make further reductions in the Raja's stipend, by charging him with the 40,000 rupees, which had been previously granted by your Honourable Court for the transmission of the destitute vakeels to India.

"Such turpitude of feeling on the part of these two functionaries, who appear on the face of these proceedings as the *ex-parte* judges of the conduct of the Raja (and by whose judgment the authorities in India and England have been guided), is unprecedented in the administration of British justice. Had these gentlemen solicited or encouraged inquiry into their impugned decision, they might have been justly awarded a purity of intention; but their conduct has now obviously in view, not only to suppress all information on behalf of his Highness touching their proceedings, but to stultify the intention of Members of the British Parliament and the East India Company, of being enlightened on certain points which may be indispensable to a fair adjudication of this important case, upon which the character of the British Government, the purity of its justice, and its humanity, are so deeply involved."

To this communication, Rungoba received the stereotyped reply that the Court of Directors did not recognize him as agent of the ex-Raja of Satara.

But Rungoba never caring for the snubs of the "Jacks in office" of the East India Company went on agitating and agitating and exposing the wrongs inflicted on his sovereign by communications to the press, by addressing public meetings, and also the members of the Courts of Proprietors and Directors of the East India Company. Never was a master served so faithfully as was Raja Pratap Singh by Rungoba, and never in the history of India, or for that matter, in the history of any country, misdeeds of high officials were so mercilessly exposed as in this concocted conspiracy against the Raja. Of course, this exposure was not palatable to those despots who then ruled India. The Bombay Government in their letter dated 30th of September 1842 wrote to the authorities of the East India Company in England:—

"The repeated discussion of the questions at issue, must have, even in England, an effect highly injurious to the character of your Government, and, we need hardly point out, that the reaction in *this* country is productive of still more prejudicial effects, in unsettling the minds of the native population, and creating a distrust of the justice and consistency of our measures."

The minds of the native population would not have been unsettled, had justice been done to the Raja; and had he not been condemned unheard. Regarding the passage quoted above, the *British Friend of India Magazine* for March 1843, truly observed:—

"* * * * this is the very effect intended by the charter, that the General Court should watch over misrule, detect it, expose it, denounce it, and redress it. Every court and camp in India should take its temper from the General

Court, and that is the intention of agitating the crime of great Indian delinquents, in that court, whether they burn widows or rob rajahs."

Although Rungo Bapoojee was not recognized as agent of the ex-Raja and although his communications to the authorities of the Company were never attended to, yet he attended meetings of the Court of Directors and Proprietors held at India House and it seems that he was allowed to address these meetings. He did not know English sufficiently well to speak in that language; so he addressed them in Marathi. At the Special General Court held at the India House on the 8th of February 1843, Rungo Bapoojee spoke for his master. Regarding this the *British Friend of India Magazine* for March 1843 wrote:—

"An ordinary session of the parliament of India is one hour every three months, merely to mock the people of India with pretending to govern them; but, in reality, solely to devour them. However, now, the steam-engine is grinding down the Company, and exposing its frauds upon the people of India to the people of England. * * * * Rungo Bapoojee, the Rajah's vakeel, has been compelled to qualify himself to speak in behalf of his royal master in India's mock parliament; and, bursting with indignation, he uttered a few sentences which were translated into English, sentence by sentence, as uttered. He said he had come over to the Company to seek justice, but he was not only denied access to the Court of Directors, but also insulted by them: he begged for justice for his master."

Regarding the above speech of Rungo Bapoojee, a correspondent, signing himself W. B. H., wrote to the *British Friend of India Magazine* (for March 1843, pp. 146 and 147):—

"The discussion respecting the injustice practised towards the unhappy Rajah of Sattara, was, I perceive, resumed on the 8th of February, and I was pleased to learn that Rungo

Bapoojee, His Highness's Vakeel, addressed the Court of Proprietors in his native tongue, which it is a pity was not generally understood, the force of any address being considerably lost by means of interpretation, however skilful and learned the interpreter. * * * *

"To prove how little the injured, the accused party is ever thought about in Leadenhall Street, the Chairman is only anxious about those who have committed the injustice ; for he says, 'he regrets the discussion concerning the Rajah having been resumed, because it is so injurious to the character both of the Government at home and abroad !'" This is very like saying, that both Governments ought to be ashamed of themselves, and wince beneath the upraised voices of the accused, and his friends. The meaning of this, however, is that the character of an accused and innocent party is of no consequence ; it is the character of his oppressors that is to be studied and defended, and made to be, in every particular, correct, upright, and just, from first to last. This, doubtless, is much to be desired by the Chairman ; but in the case of the Rajah of Sattarah, I fear it will be no easy task. * * * *

The Chairman answers not a word to any of the speeches of the proprietors, friends of the Rajah, much less to the translated speech of poor Rungo Bapoojee, who, no doubted, was not wanted in that Court, and had the immaculate twenty-four possessed the power, he would most probably have found himself at the tread-mill for his audacity in coming there. Indeed, I marvel at his having been suffered to speak at all, not being a proprietor of stock to the specified amount, and can only account for the indulgence by presuming, that as the Directors had long ago made up their minds to uphold the Bombay Government, *right or wrong*, it mattered not who spoke, black man or white man, provided their speeches would not be of such length as to keep them from their dinners."

He also tried his best to enlist the sympathies of other eminent Englishmen on behalf of the Raja. Several members of Parliament and of the East India Company, as well as many renowned and retired Anglo-Indians were

persuaded by Rungo Bapoojee to carefully study the case of his unfortunate sovereign and thus they came to believe in the Raja's innocence. It was in no small measure due to his exertions that the correspondence and papers relative to the Raja of Satara were printed, although reluctantly, by the authorities of the East India Company as well as Parliament. What frauds, tyrannies, cruelties and oppressions were brought to light by the publication of these papers! 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. By their own showing the Company stood condemned in the sight of the thinking portion of the natives of England. The Parliamentary papers revealed a state of affairs in India no better than what Burke denounced in his impeachment of Warren Hastings and earlier still on the occasion of the passing of Pitt's Bill. Instead of any improvement or reformation in the conduct of those charged with governing India—whom Burke described as "birds of prey and passage in India,"—they were encouraged by the connivance of their patrons—the authorities of the East India Company—to practise refined brutalities on the helpless princes and peoples of India.

CHAPTER II

Rungo Bapoojee did not know English when he left India for England. But he set himself to learn that language in order to be better able to plead the cause of his deposed sovereign before the people of England. He was so successful in mastering that language that he was able to address public meetings in it.

Rungo Bapoojee's stay in England was not a bed of roses for him. In his statement made at a Special General Court of Proprietors of East India Stock, on the 26th May 1847, he said :—

"I have been in this foreign land for six years, suffering privations which are known but to few. I came for the sole purpose of obtaining inquiry into the grievances of my exiled, though innocent, sovereign. I came, in the hope of the justice of the British Government and her people. I was led to believe that one of the most sacred laws of your institutions was, that every man should be heard in his defence before punishment. I leave you, Sir, to imagine my disappointment, when I find that not only is the Raja of Sattara to remain an unheard exile, but, in order to effect this, I see that every unfair means is resorted to, to deprive the proprietors of their legal rights, and thus screen the conduct of one or two of your misguided countrymen."

He narrated that day all the wrongs and injuries that had been inflicted on his deposed sovereign in a manner which would have melted any heart ; but so stony-hearted were the authorities of the East India Company that it had no effect on them. Regarding the dodges which the Indian authorities played in not forwarding the Raja's letter to Lord Hardinge dated Benares, 12th December 1844 to England, Rungo Bapoojee observed :—

“* * the Raja, on December 12, 1844, wrote a long letter to the Governor-General, praying his Lordship to take his case into his favorable consideration, which letter the Raja signed and sealed, and placed in the hands of the Governor-General's Agent, with strict orders that it should be sent to the Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, in the hope that an early reply might be returned.

“The Court will bear in mind that the Raja's letter, as I have already shown, was dated 12th December 1844, and that on the 10th June (six months having elapsed) Mr. Hume, in his place in the House of Commons, moved the following motion :

‘Copy of a letter from his highness the deposed Raja of Sattara to the Right Hon. Sir Henry Hardinge, Governor-General of India, dated Benares, 12th December 1844, together with all minutes and correspondence connected therewith.’ To this Mr. Hume obtained an order from Parliament for the production of these important documents, also an order that they should be printed and laid before the Members of that House. Subsequently, on a return being made to this order, there appeared a letter attached, under the signature of your Honourable Court's Secretary, Mr. Melvill, dated 27th June, in which it is thus stated : ‘This is not a perfect return to the order ; that part which calls for a letter from his highness the deposed Raja of Sattara to the Right Hon. Sir Henry Hardinge, Governor-General of India, dated Benares, 12th December 1844, &c., cannot be complied with, the documents referred to in it not having been received in this country’.

“Having thus learnt that the papers had not arrived in this country, I again, on the 23rd of October, called the Raja's attention to the fact, when, immediately on receipt of my letter in December 1845, his Highness sought an interview with the Governor-General's Agent, and in a formal manner brought the subject to his especial notice, and at this interview gave him distinctly to understand that he (the Raja) must again address his Lordship the Governor-General on the subject, calling his attention to the order of the last Session of Parliament.

“To this urgent entreaty the Raja received the following

reply :—'That the Governor-General had proceeded to the scene of disturbance with the Seikhs, therefore there is difficulty in troubling him now with such matters, and even should I write there will be no reply.'

"On the Raja being thus informed, he replied, through his Secretary, that he must again write to me the Governor-General's sentiments, when the agent replied by saying, 'That he was sure the letter of the 12th December 1844 was not kept in this country ; that it was not the practice of the Governor-General to keep such letters of importance.'

"On receipt of the above intelligence I again informed Mr. Hume of what had taken place, when that gentleman a second time placed a motion on the books of the House of Commons, on the 13th of March 1846, calling for the production of the said letter of the 12th December 1844, together with all minutes and correspondence connected therewith ; which was ordered.

"Thus I have shown the Court that after 15 months having elapsed, instead of these important documents being produced every impediment has been thrown in the way ; consequently justice has been impeded, law and custom violated, and the only reply to this second order of Parliament was by a note to Mr. Hume, dated 21 May 1846, from the late honorable Chairman, as follows :—

'My dear Sir,

'The two orders made on the 13th March in your motion, and returns have been made to both. In one case the papers were presented, in the other a return was made stating they had not been received ; nor have they been received since.

(*Sd.*) 'J. W. Hogg.'

* * * * *

"I am at a loss to understand why papers dated so far back as 1844 should have been so long suppressed, and kept from the Proprietors and from the House of Commons, when it was supposed that the Raja's guilt had been established. Papers of all departments, secret and others, were abundantly

produced ; but now, when the Raja's innocence has been forced on the generous public of this country, every effort is made to withhold its publicity, whilst every technical objection is raised to thwart justice being done.

"The Raja, a prisoner in exile, sends his case to his representative in England, accompanied with a request that the whole shall be immediately placed in the hands of the Minister of the Crown, whom the sovereign entrusts with the control of the British Indian Government, when the appeal is returned, on the ground that it has not gone through the required formalities, and under the subterfuge that I cannot be acknowledged the agent of his Highness, it goes back to the sufferer whose grievances it represented, and passes through all required and technical formalities ; but because it exposes facts opposed to every principle of Government and morality, it is withheld from the British public, on the plea that it has not arrived in this country."

But Rungo Bapoojee was crying in the wilderness. The persons whom he was addressing had no sense of honor and honesty and their hearts were not surely overflowing with the milk of kindness and humanity or generosity. Hard-hearted as they were, Rungo Bapoojee's statement produced no effect on them. But Rungo Bapoojee was not disheartened by the contempt with which the authorities of the India House treated him. On the 11th November 1847, he again addressed a letter to the President of the India Board in which he recapitulated the ill-treatment he had received at the hands of the Indian authorities. He wrote :—

"In the prospect of a speedy renewal of the discussion of the case of his Highness the deposed Raja of Sattara in the Imperial Parliament, I deem it my duty to myself and my sovereign to bring under your review the treatment which I and other agents of his Highness have received, during a series of consecutive years, at the hands of the authorities in this country and in India. • • • •

"I have now laid before you, as the Minister of the Crown at the head of the department specially constituted to review and control the affairs of India, and to obtain for that country and all its inhabitants the administration of good government and the redress of grievances, the proof of the fact, that for 12 years the appointed agents of a dethroned sovereign prince have been unable to fulfill the duties assigned them, in consequence of the refusal of the Court of Directors to acknowledge them either in their official or any other capacity. I have also placed before you, in their own words, the only reasons ever given by that Court for their denial of a right declared to belong to the meanest criminal in the land.

"I have further to allege, that the treatment I have received at the hands of the Court of Directors has been imitated and followed up in the course of my several applications to the department over which you preside ; and further, that while I have been denied all access to the authorities here, the prince whom I represent and serve has been prevented from forwarding from India documents which he deemed essential to the elucidation of his case, including his letter to the Governor-General of India, dated 12 December 1844, which the agent to his Lordship at Benares, Major T. D. Carpenter, declares in a despatch, dated 25 May 1846, was duly forwarded, and which has been twice ordered by votes of the House of Commons.

* * * *

"I have now respectfully to represent, that having during the years of my exile from my native country endeavoured to make myself acquainted with the nature and intentions of those statutes of the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain which relate to the affairs of India, and more particularly with such as set forth the objects and define the duties and functions of the Board over which you preside, and having also studied to the best of my ability the spirit and genius of the laws and institutions of England, it has appeared to me that the treatment I have systematically received at the hands of those in this country charged with the administration of the laws relating to India has been utterly at variance with the spirit and provision of those laws, and in direct violation of the maxims laid down for

the administration of government throughout every part of Her Majesty's dominions.

* * * * *

"I have now, Sir, for the present, fulfilled the duty I owe to my sovereign and to myself, as his agent and representative. The latest intelligence received from my dethroned prince describes him as rapidly sinking under the baneful influence of the climate to which he has been banished, and God only knows whether, whatever may be the feelings with which you may peruse this letter, any efforts now made on his behalf will avail. But whether my master survives to witness the issue of the exertions now making to obtain justice for him, or falls a martyr to the plots of his enemies, and the denial of his right to be heard by the governing authorities, I shall remain, while my own life is spared, to urge his claims, in the full belief that the redress which may be long withheld by those in power will at last be won by the British people, whose history proves that they are ever inclined to generosity and justice."

Rungo Bapoojee did not know when he was penning the above letter, that his sovereign, whose cause he was so enthusiastically pleading, had died a month before. Raja Pratap Singh paid the debt of nature on the 14th October 1847 at Benares,—the holiest spot in the estimation of all devout Hindoos, and death at such a holy place is ardently wished and prayed for by them. The telegraph and the Suez Canal were not in existence at the time of the Raja's death, and so that melancholy event was not known to his friends and admirers in England till the beginning of December 1847.

But the death of the Raja did not damp or cool the ardour with which Rungo Bapoojee was advocating his cause in England. True to the words with which he concluded his letter, extracts from which have been given above, he remained in England after his sovereign's death to urge his claims.

CHAPTER III

During the lifetime of the Raja, Rungoba 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 Rungoba was desired to return to India. But true to the promise he had made to his late master, he remained after his death for about six years in England, urging his claims as well as those of his wife and adopted son on the notice of the Indian authorities and the English public.

Raja Pratap Singh died on the 14th October 1847. His brother Appa Sahib, who was elevated to the throne of Satara after the deposal, survived him for only six months, as he died on the 5th April 1848. Neither Pratap Singh nor Appa Sahib had any male issue; both of them, however, had adopted a son each before their death. But the Indian Government did not recognize the adoptions and in violation of their solemn treaty with the Satara State, confiscated that principality and annexed it to the British territory.

This policy of absorbing native states under the pretext that an adopted heir had no right of succession 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.* Sir James Rivett Carnac was fully acquainted with this policy when he was dethroning Raja Pratap and elevating his brother Appa Sahib in his place. So he wrote:—

* *Vide* Major Evans Bell's *Memoir of General John Briggs*, page 277.

"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, 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."

It was on the above consideration that Sir James Carnac did not annex the Satara principality. He said so in the Minute from which the above extract is made. He wrote:—

"I apprehend that, by a pressure of circumstances entirely beyond our control, the whole of the Native States of India are perhaps destined ultimately to fall within the vortex of our rule."

Then again,

"I have been supported in the view I have taken of this case, by the consideration that if it is deemed erroneous by the Superior Authorities who will have to judge of it, the course of events will, in all human probability, afford a fair opportunity, in a few years, of rectifying what may be deemed erroneous."

The above extracts undoubtedly expose Sir J. R. Carnac to the charges of hypocrisy, dishonesty and perfidy. It was Talleyrand who said that "language was given unto us to conceal our thoughts." Diplomats do not doubt act upon it. But Sir J. Carnac was not a diplomatist in the proper sense of the word; he was an administrator and as such he could not have laid his hand on his breast and said that he had done a right thing by concluding the Treaty of Alliance with Appa Sahib.

What did 'perpetual alliance,' 'heirs' and 'succes-

sors' in the first article of the Treaty mean if the Governor looked with expectation and eagerness for the annexation of Satara at not a very distant future? Sir James knew fully well the sense in which the other contracting party, i.e., the Raja of Satara, understood the above words in the Treaty. Therefore it is not too much to say that the Governor of Bombay was guilty of perjury when he was solemnly confirming the Treaty of 1819 with the new Raja of Satara.

It was during the Governorship of Sir James Carnac that effect was given to the wishes of the conclave of Whig Ministers by confiscating Angria's Colaba on the Bombay Coast. The chief of this small principality died without any male issue, and his state was annexed to the British dominions on the plea that there was no heir to the Colaba throne. It was a most flagrant violation of the rights and customs of the Hindus to deprive the Angria family of their possessions.

But the Governor was contemplating the violation of the solemn treaty with the Raja of Satara when he penned the above Minute. Unhappily the Governor's prediction came to be fulfilled. Both the brothers died childless and their adoptions were not recognized and Satara was annexed. To justify this spoliation, Lord Dalhousie indited a long Minute, from which the following extracts are given:—

"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 Right, until the adoption so made has received the sanction of the Sovereign Power (the British Government), with whom it rests to give or to refuse it.

* * * * *

"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."

Appa Sahib was ruler of Satara from September 1839 till his death on the 5th April 1848. He was childless and it was a few hours before his death, that he adopted a son in the presence of the Civil Surgeon, Dr. Murray. As in his life time, Appa Sahib did not ask the sanction of the British Government for this adoption, it gave a loophole to that Government not to recognize the adoption as set forth in the Minute, extracts from which have been given above.

The question here naturally arises that for the long period of nine years during which time Appa Sahib ruled Satara, why did he not make an adoption earlier and ask for the sanction of it from the British Government? From the speech of Rungo Bapoojee delivered in Marathi before the Special General Court held at the India House on the 8th February 1843 and reported in the *British Friend of India Magazine* for March 1843, it appears that at one time towards the end of 1842, Appa Sahib applied for an adoption. Rungo Bapoojee is reported to have said :—

"He (Rungo Bapoojee) had that morning received a letter from India, informing him that the present Rajah was in a dangerous state of health, and that he had applied for an adoption. He (Rungo Bapoojee) trusted that would not be

permitted till after his injured master had a fair opportunity of proving his innocence."

Regarding this part of the speech of Rungoba, one of the Directors of the East India Company was reported to have said as follows :—

"Mr. Weeding said that the Vakeel had told them that the *de facto* Rajah, Appa Sahib, is ill, and has applied to the Company for leave to adopt a son ; but he hoped the Company would seize upon the inheritance for themselves and that they will not stop there, but also assume possession of the whole of Central India. He mocked the idea of such assumptions being restrained by the forms of justice ; * * * * "

There can be no doubt then that the Indian authorities having determined to annex Satara on the death of the Raja, made him, under some pretext or other, postpone the adoption till the very moment of his death. Appa Sahib was not a man of business,—a drunkard, a debauchee as he was, he was merely a puppet in the hands of the Resident and therefore it is not strange that he did not adopt a son long before his death, and get the adoption sanctioned by the British Government. He must have been, moreover, dissuaded by the Resident and Balajee Punt Natoo from adopting a son and getting sanction from the British Government.

Even after Appa Sahib's death, when Satara was annexed, no protest was made by his widows against the annexation or any effort made to get the adopted boy recognized as the heir to the throne of Satara. They seem to have calmly and quietly suffered the great spoliation to take place. But the Memorial to Her Majesty the Queen from Her Highness Suguna Bai Saheb, Rani of Satara, —a document drawn up by the late well known lawyer

* The British Friend of India Magazine for March 1843, page 114.

and scholar of Bombay—Viswanath Narayen Mándlik, throws curious sidelight on the subject. This memorial, dated March 14th, 1874 and forwarded to the Government of Bombay and India, 24th September and to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, 25th September 1874, is not so well known as it deserves to be. In it are mentioned the reasons why no appeal had been preferred against the annexation till 1874. These are so important that they are reproduced here below :—

14. It is possible your minister may plead certain points against entertaining and enquiring into the appeal. I consider it, therefore, necessary to anticipate here some of those points, as far as is possible, and what I have to say against their admission. The first point is that my husband died on 5th April 1848 and the Honourable East India Company decided upon annexing the sovereignty on 24th January 1849 ; why then has no appeal been preferred up to this time? 2nd, Why should your Majesty entertain and consider an appeal from a decision of the East India Company? 3rd, What rights and grounds have accrued to me to present an appeal at this time?

15. As regards the 1st point, why has no appeal been preferred up to this time, the reasons are here given in the following paragraphs 16 to 22 :

16. Though descended from ancestors that ruled for a long time in India enjoying the sovereignty of the whole country, I and His Highness, my deceased husband, conducted ourselves towards the Hon'ble East India Company in good faith with unswerving devotion and a pure heart, looking upon them as my allies, and we reposed in them most implicit confidence. And that Company, I was perfectly confident, would honourably render me assistance as an ally in case any wicked power through ill will should be inclined to deprive me of my sovereignty and would protect me like a turtle dove. Instead of this, I say, that Honourable Company was bent upon falling on their own ally and thus gratifying their greed like a cruel tigress that falls upon her own offspring to appease her hunger.

They quietly accomplished this their cruel desire by shutting my mouth and preventing even the groan of my sorrow and anguish which was effected by them—though through the humane and experienced Resident, the Hon'ble Sir Bartle Frere, but altogether disregarding his weighty opinion—in consequence of which I was all fear ; and I was sorely afraid lest an expression of my sorrow should tend vastly to increase the oppression of that dark day. The grounds of my fears were shortly these. Like a fish that is deprived of water, its means of existence, the Hon'ble East India Company unjustly deprived me at once of my dignity and comfort, the very means of my existence, and offered me a fixed allowance, which I naturally declined. I was about setting myself to lay a complaint before the Bombay Government against the annexation of my sovereignty by the East India Company ; but the officers of the Company seemed opposed to any attempt of the kind, as they immediately stopped the allowances of eleven of our kinsmen, viz., 1 Tanaji Raja Shirke, 2 Laxmanrao Raja Shirke, 3 Raghunathrao Raja Shirke, 4 Bahirji Raja Shirke, 5 Chitkojee Raja Shirke, 6 Gopaljee Raja Shirke, 7 Govindrao Raja Shirke, 8 Ramojee Raja Shirke, 9 Laxmonjee Raja Shirke, 10 Munajee Raja Shirke and 11 Sonojee Raja Shirke ; and seizing several of our officials, clerks, servants, both men and women, confined them for about a month and a half in the Sattara Residency. Moreover, some of our dependants were forced to leave Sattara and dwell elsewhere. These were 1 Sakharam Ballar Mahajani, the karbhari, 2 Wasudev Krishna Mahajani, the chitnis, 3 Bal Joshi Atlekar, 4 Ganesh Chintamon Mahajani, 5 Vishnu Gunesh Mahajani, 6 Wamonrao Vithal Furnavis, 7 Purushottam Narayan, 8 Balajee Raghooonath, 9 Ramchandra Vishvanath, 10 Vinayek Nilkant, 11 Pandu Sunkpal Hoozre, 12 Mahadu Sinda Hoozre, 13 Khandu Shirka, 14 Sajina Shirka, my maid and other servants and dependants were ordered not to enter my palace. What little ancestral *Inam* I enjoyed was confiscated, and so also my gardens, (*Inams with miras hakks*) *sheris*, meadows, *Jalamandir* (water-houses) and other chattels real. As I had refused the allowance offered to me, and all my private revenue was confiscated, I had nothing for my own

subsistence and that of my servants, and for a period of 13 months was obliged to live by selling my personal property. At last seeing no redress and hoping to lay my case at some favourable time in future before Government, I was constrained to accept the allowance under protest. Hence Your Majesty will perceive that under such most unfavourable circumstances it was useless to appeal from the all-powerful and sovereign East India Company who seemed prejudiced against my appealing. This was the cause of preferring no appeal before. In corroboration of this statement I beg to refer your Majesty to the Hon'ble Sir Bartle Frere who being in constant attendance on your Majesty will also satisfy you as to the veracity of many other statements made in this Memorial, and will inform your Majesty that the East India Company was not justified in depriving me of my sovereignty; and that the annexation was forcibly and harshly effected though he protested against it. Here I deem it my duty to assure your Majesty that if the Hon'ble Sir Bartle Frere had not been the Resident of Sattara at the time, my lot and that of my family would have been even worse than it is.

17. The death of my beloved husband to my great misfortune overwhelmed me with profound sorrow which was heightened by the death one after the other of the two younger Ranees of my husband from whom I expected words of advice and encouragement. Nay more, my son, an illustrious scion of our family (No. 107 of the genealogical tree) whom my husband adopted and gave me permission to adopt, if necessary, also died,—he who was the protector of our sovereignty, and on whose behalf any attempt at restitution was to be made. The old *Durbarees* (superior officers of state) left me one after another either by death or other causes. Hence I was at a loss what to do under such extreme difficulties.

18. Almost all records of the Durbar by means of which I might support my prayer for redress at your Majesty's hands were taken away from our Durbar by the officers of the notorious Inam Commission under the orders of the East India Company. What few remained being in a confused state, I found no means of getting access to information as to why my

sovereignty was annexed and what means I should adopt for its restoration.

19. There was not a ray of hope as to meeting with justice from the policy of that Company who annexed our sovereignty unjustly. Hence no appeal was preferred.

20. When the Company's object to deprive me of my sovereignty became quite manifest, I was indeed apprehensive that they would not like me to lay my claims before them and seek redress, or that they might consider my memorializing them a political offence.

21. Though our sovereignty was independent,—a fact to which strong testimony has been borne by the Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone, Sir Thomas Munro, Lord Hastings, Captain Grant Duff, and several other statesmen and the records of the Court of Directors, the Court of Directors annexed it on erroneous ground of its being dependent. As to this great error I was very long quite ignorant. Besides, I feared since the Company annexed my sovereignty, no door was open for redress.

22. Utterly ignorant of the policy and Government of the Honourable East India Company, ignorant also of the various channels in England open to me and to all subjects through which to seek redress, and being without well informed and experienced *mutsadis* (advisers) I was unable to make any attempt on my behalf.

While Appa Sahib's widows and adopted son were silenced by the oppression and cruelties practised on them by the officers of the East India Company and were thus unable to make themselves heard, the deceased Raja Pratap Singh left in Rungo Bapoojee a man who, hoping against hope, championed the cause of his adopted son, with a vigour and earnestness which exacted the admiration of even his direst enemies.

Raja Pratap Singh, unlike his brother Appa Sahib, was a businesslike man. According to Hindoo Law, he adopted his nephew, the son of his cousin, Balla Saheb

Senaputtee, in 1845. He then informed all the authorities of the adoption he had made. Thus his keeper, Major Carpenter, wrote on the 12th December 1845, to the Secretary to the Government of India a letter from which the following extracts are made:—

“The ex-Rajah of Sattara having delivered into my hands the undermentioned documents, I have the honor to forward them to you, for submission to the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India.

1. “The original will of the ex-Raja, with translation annexed, and a letter, with translation thereof • • •”

This letter of Major Carpenter was forwarded by the Governor General to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, on the 6th January 1846. Neither the authorities in India nor those in England raised any objection to the adoption which the Raja had made.

The will of the Raja dated Benares, 10th day of October 1845, ran as follows:—

“Having no sons by either of my wives, I have adopted, according to the custom practised in our Hindoo religion, as my son and heir, Trimbukjee Rajey Sisoday Bhoslay, the son of my kinsman, Bulwant Rao Rajey Sisoday Bhoslay. This adoption has been acquiesced in by his mother, Gunawantabai, to whom the choice of adopting another son in his place has been given.

“It is my wish that on my death he, Trimbukjee Rajey Sisoday Bhoslay, may succeed me in my right to my kingdom, throne, property (private and public), titles, and in everything appertaining to my rank, station, and person.

“In the event of redress not being obtained for me, or my case prosecuted by my agents, and now pending in England, not being ultimately decided during my lifetime, it is my wish that my case may be prosecuted, in his, Trimbukjee Rajey Sisoday Bhoslay’s name, as my lawful heir and representative, and that the British Government will restore my rights to him as such; and that the same friendship may be shewn to him

and his heirs for ever as has been experienced by my ancestors from ancient times, and by myself formerly."

As no objection was raised against this will by the Indian authorities, either in India or in England, Raja Pratap Singh died under the belief that, after his death, his adopted son would be recognized as such by the British Government, and as such at least all his private property and the pension which he was enjoying during his life time would be granted to him pending the final decision of the case which was then being pursued in England by his agents. But the treatment which his adopted son and widow received after his death at the hands of the East India Company's Government in India was, to say the least, most disgraceful. What this disgraceful treatment was will be fully understood from the following extracts from a letter from Her Highness the widowed Maharanee of Pratap Singh to the then Governor-General of India, dated Benares, 7th December 1849.

"A period of more than two years has elapsed since my husband, the late Rajah Pertaub Sing of Sattara, died, and I have been suffering under a great pressure of pecuniary difficulties and other domestic inconveniences. On the 13th October, 1847, his late Highness submitted a letter to your Lordship's predecessor, through the then agent, Colonel Carpenter, in which His Highness importuned that the British Government might, on his death, continue his allowances without deduction to his adopted son and myself until a final order was issued for the recovery of his rights ; * * * *

"Subsequent to the death of His Highness, my adopted son and I addressed the then Governor-General on the 3rd November 1847, through Colonel Carpenter ; but the letter was repudiated by his Lordship, and the following verbal order was conveyed to me through Major G. H. MacGregor : "That a personal allowance of 800 rupees per month would be

continued to me, and 2,500 rupees per month for my establishment, besides 500 rupees per month for my daughter.' To which I verbally replied that, the late Maharaja's personal allowance from the Government was 10,000 rupees, which was barely sufficient to support the retinue and establishment of my family compatible with the exalted rank and dignity of the late Maharajah ; how was it possible, then, that I could manage with so small a sum as 3,300 rupees per month? I therefore begged that the Government would have some consideration, and pay some attention to my husband's letter of the 13th October 1847. Major MacGregor then received and communicated to me the following instructions, in a letter dated the 8th January, 1849: 'That I could receive my allowance of 800 rupees per month if I desired to have it—that the late Maharajah left great wealth behind him,' which much astonished me. I made a verbal reply to the following purport: 'That my enemies were busy in propagating such reports: that His Lordship must be well aware how my enemies have been busily at work to ruin my family, and how they fomented dissensions between me and my daughter; that if the Government are desirous of satisfying themselves as to the truth, or otherwise, of the malicious reports about the late Maharajah's wealth left with me, let them make every search, and I will remain aside with a single coverlid.' The Agent's answer was, that he had no orders to make any search; to which I expressed my astonishment, that it was very hard such false rumours should reach the ear of the Governor-General, and no means should be adopted to satisfy His Lordship of the truth, or otherwise, of such prejudicial reports against me.

"In October last, Major MacGregor informed me that he had received orders to pay me 50,000 rupees for the funeral expenses of the late Maharajah, and the balance of my allowances accumulated at 800 rupees per month. I received the former, and disbursed the same for the purpose intended; by paying up the Mahajuns, with interest, from whom the money was borrowed; but I declined to receive my personal

allowance of 800 rupees, and assigned my reasons for so doing in the body of the receipt I granted for the 50,000 rupees."

In this letter, the Rani also solicited permission to return to Satara.

Lord Dalhousie, who was then the Governor-General, was notoriously hard-hearted, for he came out with the special object of extending the boundaries of the British Empire in India by force and fraud and other means which would effect that end. Lacking in courtesy, not to say chivalry, he considered it beneath his dignity to reply to the pathetic letter of the Rani—nay, he was using refined brutality towards her to break down her spirit and make her submit to his terms.

On the 7th December 1849, His Highness Shahoo Maharaj addressed a letter to the Governor General in which he stated:—

"The late Maharajah Pertaub Sing, Rajah of Sattara, according to the Shaster of the Hindoos, and their rights and ceremonies, formally adopted me as his son and heir, in the same manner as his predecessors had done heretofore; and the circumstance was duly announced to your Lordship's predecessor the Court of Directors, and the Board of Control, through Colonel Carpenter, who was the Agent of the Governor-General.

"Two years after, the Maharajah died here, and his brother Shahjee, also departed his life at Sattara, six months after; and the British Government declared the Sattara State as having lapsed to the State that bestowed, or created the principality, as there was no legal heir to assume the reins. I therefore beg to make it known that I am the rightful son and heir to the kingdom of Sattara, by adoption, by the late Maharajah Pertaub Sing, and by relationship, as nephew to his younger brother, Maharaj Shahjee, independent of adoption, and request the favor of your Lordship's submitting my claim to the Court of Directors, and the Board of Control.

who will, I hope and trust, instal me into my rights, and maintain them inviolate, according to the Treaty of 25th September, 1819.

"My Mother has addressed you a letter containing sundry grave matters for your Lordship's personal attention, confidently relying on your Lordship's sense of right and justice to comply with the Maharanee's requests and appropriations.

"The British nation pride themselves in being lovers of justice and equity to all their dependants. I hope, then, I shall not be the only one to whom that justice and equity shall be denied."

At Benares the Governor-General's agent was no longer the humane and kind-hearted Colonel Carpenter, but an officer named Major Stewart who was not far above the average Anglo-Indian Politicals of those days in morals and manners. Of course, he had no sympathy with the adopted son of the ex-Raja Pratap Singh and so he declined to forward the above letter to the Governor-General. Hence that prince was obliged to forward it direct to Lord Dalhousie. And, as was to be expected, no notice of the letter was taken by that Governor-General.

Copies of the above two letters were forwarded to Rungo Bapoojee, who transmitted them to the authorities of the East India Company with a letter of his own, dated February 7th, 1850, in which he wrote:—

"I respectfully beg leave to transmit to your Honourable Court copies of two letters received by the last Mail from India, addressed by Shahoo Rajah and the Ranee of Sattara to the Governor-General of India. I am instructed by their Highnesses earnestly to call your attention to the representation of the condition of themselves and their dependants which they are once more compelled to make. They invite your Honourable Court to satisfy yourselves, by any inquisition you may be pleased to institute, of the truth of the representations,

which have been privately made to you, and which you have credited and countenanced, relative to the treasures left by his late Highness Maharaja Pertaub Sing. If you find these representations to be utterly false, and learn that His Highness died a beggar as well as a prisoner, they hope you will not outrage humanity, and continue to bring shame on the name of Englishmen, by persisting in starving the widow, the son, the family and dependants of a deceased Prince, who never, even in thought, was so much your enemy, as your treatment of him unto death will prove you to be the enemies of the best interests of the British nation in India. For two years and four months, not a rupee have these captive persons of royal descent received for subsistence, either from the revenues of Sattara, which your Honourable Court have appropriated, or from the frugal accumulation of private property, which his Highness the deceased Maharaj left at Sattara, and which was acknowledged to be his, both under the hand of his brother, and of your own Resident, Colonel Ovans."

No answer was returned to this letter, simply because the Court could not controvert the statement of facts.

Again, on the 17th June, 1850, Rungo Bapoojee addressed a letter to the authorities of the East India Company, in which, he wrote :—

"On the 15th June instant, I had the honor to receive a letter from my revered master, His Highness Shahoo Maharaj, Rajah of Sattara, dated Benares, 2nd May, an abstract of the contents of which I beg to submit to your Honourable Court :—

"Up to the present period we continue much embarrassed for want of money, and our lives are worn out from the unhealthy climate of this sad place ; and under all circumstances, it will be difficult for us long to survive here. We are urgently pressed by our creditors. I and my followers have nothing to subsist on, or wherewithal to clothe ourselves. No alternative remains to preserve our honour but voluntary death.

"I desire you, therefore, on the receipt of this letter, you will address the Honourable Court to this effect.

"You have, without fixing upon us any crime, brought

us to Benares, kept us in confinement, treated us with great harshness, and without any adequate support.

“You have broken the Treaty of Sattara, confiscated the territory, and appropriated its revenues, and have withheld from us the monthly allowance as formerly granted.

“The court is aware that the Rajah never meditated war, or engaged in treacherous intrigues against the British Government, and we have been submitted to so much cruelty.

“Both myself and my revered Mother, the Ranee, addressed a letter on the 7th December, 1849, to his Lordship the Governor-General, a copy of which was forwarded to you, and I desire you will endeavour to effect the arrangement alluded to therein.

“You will apply to the Honourable the Court of Directors, that we may receive our monthly allowance of 10,000 rupees as granted in the life-time of my parent the late Rajah Pertaub Sing, together with all arrears, and that we may have restored to us our private property—and permitting us to retire from this unhealthy climate, enable us to proceed to Sattara, by advancing money for the journey.’

“The above is the substance of the letter just received, and which I beg to lay before your Honourable Court.

“On the 14th October, 1847, His Highness Pertaub Sing departed this life. From that day to this, now two years and nine months, a correspondence has continued between the Honourable Court and the Governor-General, but nothing has been done for His Highness’s family.

“This does appear most extraordinary. I therefore earnestly entreat your Honorable Court to comply with the solicitation of his Highness and his family, for the fulfilment of the arrangements for which they have made application.”

Of course, as was customary with the Court of Directors, no reply to the above letter was returned to Rungo Bapoojee. But the Governor-General and the Court of Directors were busy in corresponding with one another on the subject of the stipends to be allowed to the Ranee and adopted son of the ex-Rajah Pratap Singh.

The Government of India, on the 6th April 1850, wrote to the Court of Directors as follows:—

"We submit, for your Honourable Court's early orders, the question of the allowance to be made to the Ranee, and to the adopted son of the ex-Rajah of Sattara.

"On the Governor-General's late journey, his Lordship received a letter from the Ranee, and another from the adopted son.

"The Ranee asked for an increase of her pension, and for permission for all of them to return to Sattara.

"The boy wrote in the character of 'Rajah'.

"No reply was returned to these letters, but their substance was brought under the notice of the Governor in Council while the Governor-General was at Bombay.

"As anticipated, the Government of Bombay strongly objected to either one or the other being allowed to return to Sattara at this time.

"The Government of India has always advocated the grant of an ample stipend to the adopted son of the ex-Rajah, and is still of opinion that he should be liberally treated, as well as the Ranee. Such is evidently the wish of your Honourable Court, which we infer from your having lately directed us to make payments to which these persons had forfeited all fair claim.

"But we apprehend that you cannot wish this Government to confer a pension on the adopted boy at Benares, at the time that, by persisting in designating himself Rajah of Sattara, he is virtually disputing the right of the East India Company to the territory of which it has assumed possession.

"Nor do we suppose it can be your wish that we should increase the pension of the Ranee, while she is recognising and maintaining these sovereign rights in the adopted son.

"The Government of India is prepared to propose the grant of a pension to the Ranee equal to that given to the daughter of the ex-Rajah by the Bombay Government, *viz.*, 1,200 rupees per mensem.

"We would further propose to give a like sum to the boy during the lifetime of the Ranee ; * *

* * * * *

"But we do not feel ourselves justified in making these grants, unless both the Ranee and the boy at Benares renounce all right to the Raj of Sattara, or, at all events, unless the use of the designation and all marks of sovereignty are abandoned by both of them."

In reply to the above letter, the Court of Directors wrote on the 10th July 1850 :—

"You propose that, instead of 800 rupees per month, the pension hitherto allowed to the Ranee, but not accepted by her, she should receive 1,200 rupees, * * * *

* * * * * We approve of your granting the proposed pensions, * * * *

"You, however, recommend that the grant of these pensions should be conditional on the renunciation, by both the Ranee and the boy, of all claim on his part to the Raj of Sattara, or at all events, on the discontinuance of the designation of Rajah, and of all marks of sovereignty.

"We do not attach any value to the renunciation alluded to, and are of opinion that the enforcement of it would invest the pretensions of the parties with an undue importance. It is also, in our opinion, a matter of indifference what designation they may assume in private. It is sufficient that in official correspondence they do not receive any title to which you do not admit their rightful claim, and that no receipt for money under any such unauthorized designation be admitted.

"You inform us that the Bombay Government strongly objects to the return to Sattara of either the Ranee or the adopted son at the present time. Their detention should not, however, be unnecessarily prolonged. We presume that the return of all other adherents and dependants of the family will be permitted and encouraged."

For three years every coercive measure was resorted to, to crush the spirit of the Rani and the adopted boy and to reduce them to submission. They held out as long

as they could. But flesh and blood could not endure long. They were starving and were pressed by their creditors. At such a juncture, the evil genius of the Satara State made his appearance at Benares. Who else could it have been but that scoundrel Ballajee Punt Natoo? He came as if to proffer his good offices to the Ranee and the adopted boy to bring about better understanding between them and the British Government. There can be no doubt that he was employed again as a tool by the British Government to foment dissensions between the Rani and her daughter, and then also try to make her submit on terms offered by that Government. On June 13th, 1850, a friend of Rungo Bapoojee wrote to him a letter which shows how that vile creature, Balajee Punt Natoo, came to Benares and tried his best to induce the Rani to employ him as her agent to negotiate terms with the Indian Government. The letter proceeded as follows :—

"Her Highness the Ranee caused the Durbar to be assembled, when it was declared on the part of her Highness to all present, that Balajee Punt Natoo had arrived at Benares, and had sent an oral communication to the Ranee, to the effect that if Her Highness would place confidence in him, and would be guided by his Counsel, he would exert his best endeavours with the Government to effectuate a favourable arrangement of her claims.

"The Ranee then referred the matter to the officers of her household then present. We all replied that Her Highness was reduced to very great distress from the stoppage of the monthly allowance for so long a period and should the authorities in England send orders for the payment of these allowances, very well ; but if not, Her Highness should communicate her wishes to the Governor-General's Agent, and through him, effect some arrangement or other. The Ranee then observed that Balajee Punt Natoo's counsel should be followed ; because he was interesting himself in her behalf with the Bombay Govern-

ment, and because Sattara had been annexed to the Bombay Presidency. I here explained to Her Highness that the Governor-General's authority extended to the three Presidencies ; that therefore Her Highness ought to communicate with his Lordship through the established Agent, and not through Ballajee Punt Natoo, who was the greatest enemy of his late Highness the Maharajah, and by whom the overthrow of the family and ruin of their country were brought about, and who was the cause of their present exile and misfortunes.

"I then represented to the Ranee that, shortly before the death of his late Highness, he had sent Sieveram Shastri to Udepoor, for the purpose of entering into some arrangements with his kinsman, the Rajah of Udepoor, in reference to the marriage of Shahoo Rajah ; His Highness had anticipated that on his demise some intrigue or difficulty might possibly occur, in consequence of the extreme youth of his heir, and the inability of the Princess, as a female, to support the requirements of his rank, family, and station. He even apprehended the possibility of Ballajee Punt perpetrating something again injurious to his family. He was naturally anxious as to the result of your endeavours in London to obtain redress. * * * * . I told the Ranee that, all this having taken place, which she well knew, I could not think of allowing her to be guided, in any manner, with the advice of Ballajee Punt Natoo. Such being my determination, I said Her Highness might act as she pleased. The Ranee said, 'All this is very true, but it is now thirty months since we received any allowance from the Government ; we must, therefore, follow his advice.' I observed, that if Her Highness had any communication to make to the Governor-General, it should be done through the channel of the Political Agent ; and not through Ballajee Punt Natoo, as I would never consent to be guided by his Counsel. I further added that, should she be cajoled by Natoo, I would, in future, pay my respects to her once a day, and retire from the management of her affairs.

"In consequence of the anxiety which afflicted the Rajah's mind on this subject, and, in order to be prepared for any contingency of the sort, His Highness had a document written,

to which he attached his state seal and his signature, to the effect that (after his decease) the Ranee and all the household should not listen to the Counsels of Natoo, or other enemies; that rewards and a suitable promotion should be made to the most faithful of his followers; that I (as the Dewan) should superintend the management of his affairs."

In one of his letters addressed to the Chairman and Court of Directors of the East India Company, published in the *Sun* of London dated 7th November 1850, Rungo Bapoojee wrote :—

"That Ballajee Punt Natoo, the pensioned traitor and conspirator had suddenly appeared at Benares, from Bombay, in the very height of the widow's distress, and was secretly tampering with her near relatives and servants, with the design of stifling her complaints, and awing her into silence and submission to the wishes of Marquis Dalhousie and his Council. The relative whose instrumentality was employed was the Ranee's own father, who was dispatched from the Court of Nagpore, where he had been residing for many years, for the express purpose, there can now be no doubt, of securing the success of the scheme.

"It has succeeded. The last Indian mail, it appears, brought a despatch, stating that the Ranee, worn out by three years' want and incessant threats and persecution, has at length been starved into compliance; that she has been starved into signing and despatching to the most noble Marquis Dalhousie a document, prepared and dictated to her by the Brahmin, (Ballajee Punt Natoo), in which, as the Governor-General exacted, *'both the Ranee and the boy at Benares renounce all right to the Raj of Sattara, and abandon the use of the designation and all marks of sovereignty.'*"

The document in which the Ranee renounced all right to the Raj of Satara possesses historical importance and hence it is quoted here *in extenso* :—

"My late husband Sreemun Maharaj Pertaub Sing Maharaj Chutturputty having incurred the displeasure of the British

Government, was sent to Benares in the year 1840. As he did not concur in the justice of his sentence, he appealed to London. From this measure he derived no benefit, and I now write this yaddasht to say, that I leave my case entirely in the hands of the British Government, in whose clemency I can safely rely.

"It is well known that the Raj of this family was once very extensive, but that it had been usurped by its own servants. It is to the generosity of the British Government we owe the restoration of the little that remained, and we received it with thankfulness. The reasons which led to the displeasure of the British Government, and the loss of our country, are unknown to us poor women.

"The Maharajah had adopted a son, and given him the name of Shahoo Maharaj, according to the customs of our religion, and made him the heir of all his rights and property ; under these circumstances, I trust the British Government will take his case into consideration, together with mine and all other dependants on the establishment, who are now reduced to a state of utter destitution.

"I shall issue the necessary order for the withdrawal of my agents from London, and forbid them to continue any further agitation on my behalf. If they continue any further agitation hereafter, it will not be through any wish of mine."

This yaddasht was dated Benares, 24th June 1850. It was forwarded to the Secretary to the Government of India by Major Stewart, the Governor-General's Agent at Benares, on the 17th July, 1850. In forwarding it, he wrote :—

"I have the honour to forward for submission to the Most noble the Governor-General, an original Yaddasht in Mahratta, with English translation annexed, from the ex-Ranee of Sattara, throwing herself on the mercy and consideration of the British Government, expressing her determination to put a stop to all factious agitation in England against the acts of this Government, and agreeing to acquiesce in any final measure his Lordship may be pleased to adopt on her behalf, and that of

the boy Shahoo Maharaj, said to have been adopted by the late Rajah some time previous to his death.

"The above resolution has been the result of much deliberation on the Ranee's part, and may be considered entirely her own act and deed. To assure myself that she perfectly understood the contents, the paper was carefully read over and explained to her in my presence, after which she delivered it to me with her own hands, stating that she left the case entirely to the mercy and consideration of the British Government.

"As the paper does not contain a decided resignation of all claims on behalf of the so-called adopted son, I suggested to the Ranee, that in my opinion, if she wished her case to be taken into favorable consideration, she should have been more explicit on this point, and have stated distinctly that all claims on his part to the sovereignty of the Sattara State were at an end.

"She replied, that by resolving to withdraw the London agent, and stop all further agitation of the boy's claims in England, she considered his claim virtually abandoned, and his case entirely in the hands of the Governor-General, whose decision must be final; at the same time she urged that the adoption of the boy was so complete according to the rights and usages of her religion, and could not, so far as the act itself was concerned, be vitiated by any act or declaration of hers. * * *

"After considerable discussion on this subject, I left the Ranee's presence, impressed with the conviction that her objection to disclaim the adoption of the boy are insuperable. She is passionately attached to him, and will hear of no compromise by which the fact of adoption is called in question; * * *

"With regard to the proposed cessation of all agitation in England, and the abandonment thereby of all claims to sovereignty on behalf of the boy, I believe the Ranee to be perfectly sincere. Two days after my conference with her, a Mahratta letter was brought to me by her agent, Dowlut Row,

to the address of Rungo Bapojee, agent of the family in London, informing him that in consequence of the Ranee having made up her mind to abide by the decision of the Governor-General, his functions were at an end, and that he was to return immediately to this country.

"It was the Ranee's desire that this letter should be forwarded to the London agent by me, that I might be assured of her good faith, but I informed Dowlut Row that the matter was one in which I must decline to interfere ; * * *"

"The letter was accordingly taken back to the Ranee by her agent, who assures me that it was immediately forwarded to the address of Rungo Bapojee direct.

"It would be unreasonable to doubt that this act on the part of the Ranee is prompted, partly by despair of being able to succeed in her views by continuing the agitation in England (this is indeed admitted in the enclosed paper), and partly from having exhausted all available means of support in keeping up so large an establishment for the last two and a half years on her own resources.

"I am aware that my predecessor, Major MacGregor, in consequence of information given him by Goozera Sahiba, daughter of the late ex-Rajah, was at one time inclined to believe that the Ranee was in possession of considerable wealth in cash and jewels, and reported the same in his letter to your address, No. 22, of 8th April, 1848 ; but it is now certain that Goozera Sahiba, who was then on the point of leaving the Ranee's protection, and wanted her share of the family jewels, exaggerated the amount for her own purpose, and that the story she told of buried treasures had no foundation in fact.

"The jewels and other property must, no doubt, have been considerable to have enabled the Ranee to carry on the expenses of so large an establishment, unassisted, for so long a period ; but whatever may have been the amount, it is now apparent, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that the source from which the establishment derived its support is exhausted, and that neither money nor credit remains, while it is equally

certain that a debt of the late ex-Rajah, amounting to upwards of 70,000 rupees, is still unliquidated.

* * * * *

“The Ranee further requests me to add, that it is her earnest desire that the whole family and establishment be permitted to return to Sattara, as the climate of Benares is prejudicial to their health, but this, as well as other matters, she leaves with confidence to the decision of the Most Noble the Governor-General.”

The poor widow was a Hindoo by religion, and the traditions of that religion show that generous terms are always given to those who submit themselves to the mercy of their conquerors. ‘Do not ill-treat the fallen foe,’ is the tenet of practical Hinduism. She expected that after having made her submission, the Governor-General would treat her generously. But she was mistaken. The Scotch ‘laird of the cock-pen’ who was at the head of the Indian affairs possessed a heart which never could sympathize with the troubles and misfortunes of others; nay, on the contrary, he delighted at the miseries and sorrows of those who did not belong to his religion and country. Cruel and hard-hearted as Lord Dalhousie was, he also lacked in all feelings of chivalry, and knowing, as he did, that the Rani was now at his mercy dictated to her terms which were anything but liberal. In his Minute of the 7th August, 1850, he wrote:—

“The Governor-General’s agent at Benares has transmitted a letter from the widow of the ex-Rajah of Sattara, in which she throws herself on the mercy of the Government of India, and prays for its consideration.

“The Agent reports that the Ranee has sent a letter to Rungo Bapoojee, the agent of the family in London, recalling him from England; and intimates that all agitation there, and all claims to the sovereignty of Sattara on behalf of the boy adopted by the late ex-Rajah, are to be abandoned by the

Ranee. The Agent adds the expression of his conviction that the Ranee is sincere in these professions.

"As to the condition of this cessation of agitation in England, the withdrawal of claims to the throne of Sattara, the Ranee stipulates for the grant of an allowance sufficient for the fitting maintenance of herself, the adopted boy, and the followers of the late ex-Rajah. The Agent at Benares intimates that the expectations which her Highness has formed are very high, and he suggests that a stipend should be granted of 5,000 rupees a month, which he considers would be sufficient for the maintenance of the whole family, although it would be 'far short of the Ranee's hopes and wishes'.

"It is now more than two years since the final resolution of the Government of India was communicated to the Ranee and family. * * ; that the Ranee would receive a stipend of 800 rupees a month, which had previously been settled upon her; and that 50,000 rupees would be granted for the funeral expenses of the ex-Rajah.

"The Ranee refused to receive the 50,000 rupees on the conditions attached; she refused the stipend as inadequate, and on all occasions has put forward the boy as the rightful sovereign of Sattara.

"These orders of the Court, restricting the offer to the sum of 800 rupees, render it impossible for me to consent to the terms proposed by the Agent without further instructions. Moreover, the sum suggested is out of all proportion to the amount of pension granted to the family of the actual Rajah; and the concessions to be made by the Ranee are not of such value as to induce me to recommend the expenditure of 60,000 rupees a year to obtain them.

"Further, the withdrawal of Rungo Bapoojee from agitation in London, though it would afford relief from a tiresome and useless importunity, cannot be regarded as an object of any moment; and if it were of much more consequence than it is, the object will shortly be obtained without any of the sacrifice by which the Agent proposes to effect it; for it is very evident that the means of supporting the Agent are no longer forth-

coming, and that his mission must, of necessity, come to an early end.

"For these reasons I can not recommend to the Honourable Court to grant the proposed allowance of 60,000 rupees a year.

"But I formerly expressed an opinion, that good policy and compassion would alike suggest that the treatment of the adopted boy at Benares should be indulgent and liberal ; and the Court appeared to concur fully in that view. It may be convenient, too, to conclude an arrangement by which the future agitation of any supposed claims on behalf of the boy at Benares will be averted ; while the extinction of all hope of success in the minds of the members of the ex-Rajah's family by their own act, may probably be considered by the Court as worth some sacrifice.

"With this view I submit to the Court, that if the Ranee at Benares should at once and in good faith put an end to all agitation of the worthless claims of the adopted boy on the sovereignty at Sattara, and if she should consent, together with himself, to renounce formally all claims upon that principality, the Court might advantageously sanction the grant of a pension for the maintenance of herself and of the adopted boy at Benares during her life time, equal to that of the Second Ranee at Sattara, being 30,000 rupees per annum. * *

* * * * *

"If the Ranee and the boy should refuse to execute a renunciation of claims above mentioned, she should receive nothing more than the sum of 800 rupees a month, as already allotted to her, or the sum of 1,200 rupees, if the Court should assent to the increase proposed in despatch of 6th April, 1850."

The widowed Ranee had to submit to the terms dictated by the unfeeling Governor-General. In December 1850, she wrote to the Governor-General's Agent at Benares :—

"I bow and submit to the orders of Government in all truth and sincerity. I resigned all claims, and threw myself on the mercy and consideration of Government, in the hope that my case should be taken into merciful consideration."

Thus ended, in India at least, the Satara Raj controversy by the submission of the widowed Ranee of Pratap Singh.

Rungo Bapoojee, although commanded by the Rani to cease agitating, did not obey her orders, but went on as usual with his accustomed vigor and energy to address the Indian authorities in England urging the claims of his late master and his rightful heir. He had good reasons for not obeying the Rani, for Raja Pratap Singh, ten days previous to his death, in a letter to Rungo Bapoojee, dated Benares, October 5th, 1847, wrote :—

"The present state of my health from the climate of this place as well as from mental anxiety is such, that I despair of ever recovering from this affliction ; I am therefore desirous of communicating to you two especial objects which I wish to be carried into execution in the event of my decease. The first is, that you will continue to prosecute my case, that is my rights, to the kingdom and sovereignty of Sattara in England, in conjunction with my English friends for and on behalf of Shahoo Maharaj, my adopted son and heir, in order to obtain the lawful acknowledgment and restoration of his rights.

"Secondly, it is my wish that my son Shahoo Maharaj should form a matrimonial alliance with some princess of a suitable regal family, through the medium of the Maharana of Udepoor. * * * *

* * * * *

"Thus I have appointed Eshwunt Rao my executor here, as I have appointed you in a similar capacity in England, both for the purpose of fulfilling my wishes—I need scarcely remind you, that, antecedently to your departure from India, you swore to observe the same fidelity towards me.

"It is possible, after my decease, that the Agents of the Company will avail themselves of the opportunity of tampering with the weakness of a woman, and by menaces, or promises, by direct or tortuous means as may best suit their purpose, may prevail on the Princess to waive or renounce her rights.

It is with a view to obviate any such misfortune that I now announce to you that in case, which God forbid, the Ranee should so far forget the respect she owes both to me and herself, as to be instrumental in signing either for herself or for my son any paper involving the renouncement, or sacrifice of any portion whatever of my rights connected with the territory and sovereignty of Sattara, I as the sovereign and husband of the Princess hereby disclaim and reject any such proceeding on her part ; and I enjoin you not to acknowledge any such unauthorized document which may purport to emanate from her. Such an act would clearly involve the destruction of my name and house. I have cautioned the Princess to be on her guard against this, and she has promised to follow my counsel."

The Rajah was a very wise man, and with a prophetic vision into the future, he correctly predicted the calamities and misfortunes that would befall his family after his death. In order to obviate these, he made, as it were, the dying request to Rungo Bapoojee not to cease urging his claims on the Indian authorities in England after his death. To the credit of Rungo Bapoojee, it must be said that he, for six long years after the Raja's death, remained in England, to carry out the last wishes and requests of his sovereign.* For the long period of eight

* On hearing of the death of Raja Pratap Singh on 31st January 1848, Rungo Bapoojee wrote to the Court of Directors :—

"Previous to the decease of his late Highness, of lamented memory, his Highness commanded me that justice should be demanded and obtained in the name of his Highness Shahoo Maharaj Chuttraputtee, and that I should still carry on this affair; but it does not appear to me in what time this affair will be adjusted and settled; therefore I will write and send letters to, and beg for money in this affair, of kings, rajas, princes, nuwabs, and of the old servants of the Raja of Sattara, and of the chieftains, nobles, feudal chiefs, and holders of grants and tenures, both great and small, Hindoos, Mussulmans, and other persons in Hindostan; I will beg for expense in this affair, and I will obtain money by writing and sending letters to them, and I will receive and take of them who will give of their own free goodwill and pleasure. But should there be any trouble,

years, Mr. George Thompson had advocated the cause of the Raja on the public platform, through the press and before the bar of the Court of Directors of the East India Company and the House of Commons. But he was handsomely paid for his troubles. But after the death of the Raja when the means of supporting him were no longer

or any difficulty or impediment, which the Company's Government in Hindostan may make, or cause to be made, to those persons who may give money or send answers to my letters, or whatever else may arrive on account hereof, I cannot foresee, and have great doubt and anxiety in my mind. Should it be asked for what purpose is this expense or money begged for, in reply I will travel from town to town in England, and make every one acquainted with the whole state of this affair, and have petitions got up to be laid before Parliament, and the papers relative to this affair shall be printed and published. The rent of this place, and of other places in going thereto, and the hire of conveyance in going to and fro; and I will obtain money for other expenses attendant on this account of my begging from the aforesaid persons in India.

"In reference to the above head, I first make my request to your Honourable Court, that according to the last commands of his late Highness, of lamented memory, to me to carry on this affair of the State, as my fortune has become that of begging, the Court will not deny or refuse me this work of begging; it does not appear to me that they will; therefore, I will write and send letters, either by post or by messengers, to the circle of the said old chieftains, and others, and beg money of them. Those who may be pleased to give money will give it to his Highness Shahoo Maharaj Chuttraputtee, at Benares, or to his servants, or to those who transact his Highness's business there, or may send it to me here by proxy, through other hands; but there must not be any impediment or annoyance on the part of Government to those who may give money, nor to those who may send answers to my letters; therefore I beg your Honourable Court will do me the favor to send out instructions to your Government in India, and to whatever places there may be your residents and agents, and other officials, that they are not on any pretence to offer any molestation or hindrance to such as may be induced to give money. On this account first make this understanding and arrangement in my request to your Honourable Court, that on the subject of begging money from the aforesaid personages in India, what is your pleasure and orders? But the Court must not understand that I shall return to India while this affair is not adjusted and settled; as long as I cannot obtain justice so long will I remain here, demanding justice. • • • • •"

forthcoming, his services had to be dispensed with. The last occasion when Mr. Thompson appeared in public to urge the claims of the late ex-Raja was on the 5th July, 1848 when he delivered a speech at a Special General Court, an extract from which is given below :—

“The papers recently laid before Parliament would show that Appa Sahib had acted in direct opposition to the advice of the Resident, Mr. Frere, in this matter (of adoption).....
..... Every circumstance connected with the case pointed to the boy at Benares as the person entitled to succeed to the vacant gaddee..... If any child in India was above all others, a fit successor to the throne of Sivajee, it was the child of the late Bala Sahib, Senaputtee. That child had been formally adopted in 1845, and the adoption duly notified to all parties concerned.”

But there were other English friends of the late ex-Raja who did not desert his cause to the very last, that is, till the day Rungo Bapoojee remained in England to prosecute the case of his deceased master. Among these Englishmen, the names of Mr. John Sullivan and Mr. Joseph Hume must be prominently mentioned.

CHAPTER IV

The annexation of the Satara Raj was carried out on the assumptions that that principality was subordinate to the British Empire in the East, and secondly, that no adopted heir could succeed to the throne of any State in India without the previous sanction of the British Government. All the agitations after the death of the Rajah were directed to the consideration of these two questions.

Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Hume both argued and proved from the documentary and other evidences that the Satara Raj was an independent sovereignty and not a fief of the British Government. Such being the case, according to the Law of Nations, the succession to the Satara throne was to be governed by the customary laws and usages of the Satara people and the British Government had no right to interfere or annex that territory. A few extracts from their views are given below :—

"But the Raja of Sattara was not a "subject" of the British Government, nor a dependant upon it in any sense of the word. He (Mr. Sullivan) would assert, upon irrefutable authority, that he was not even a dependent "prince" of the British Government. True it was that he agreed to hold his dominions, not in subordination to the British Government, but in "subordinate co-operation" with the British Government, and the meaning of those terms was clearly explained in the treaty, which defined what he was and was not allowed to do. But in agreeing to that restriction upon his powers as a sovereign prince, he did not abandon for a moment one iota of his character as a sovereign prince ; for, upon all occasions, and under all circumstances, he retained his character as a sovereign prince. He never placed himself in the same situation towards the British Government in which his own dependants stood

towards himself. The preamble of the treaty stated that it was concluded by virtue of powers delegated to agents of the respective Governments, showing, beyond dispute, that, in point of character, the Raja treated with the British Government upon a footing of perfect equality, just as the King of Saxony or the King of Wirtemberg treated with Napoleon, upon a footing of perfect equality ; for there was the same relative difference in the powers of these petty German Princes and the power of Napoleon, as there existed between the power of the Raja and that of the British Government. By the first article of the treaty, the British Government ceded the territory of Sattara to the Raja in perpetual sovereignty. The first proclamation issued by Mr. Elphinstone, in February, 1819, stated "the Raja of Sattara, who is now a prisoner in Bajee Rao's hands, will be released and placed at the head of an independent sovereignty." Lord Hastings, in his letter to Mr. Elphinstone, expressed himself as follows :—"The Governor-General has already signified to you his entire assent to the force of those considerations which induced you to extend the original objects of the establishment of the Raja of Sattara in an independent sovereignty." There was, therefore, a distinct recognition, both by Mr. Elphinstone and Lord Hastings of the Raja as an independent sovereign. Upon all occasions, under all circumstances, and in all documents, the British Government had treated with him in that character ; that, therefore, was the bond against the Government, and that was the obligation they were bound to fulfil ; more than that the treaty required not, and less than that they could not refuse to concede without a gross imputation on their good faith. Were there any persons present who would again take up the note which had been formerly sounded, that the blood of the late Raja was tainted, that the alleged crime of the father vitiated the claims of the son? If so, then he (Mr. Sullivan) demanded upon what authority that statement was made. Was that authority found in the treaty? The fifth article of that treaty made it penal for the Raja to hold correspondence with foreign states, but it expressly limited the penalty to the Raja himself who had so

offended. That article ran thus :—“The Raja for himself, and for his heirs and successors, engages to forbear from all intercourse with foreign Powers, and with all sirdars, jagheerdars, chiefs, and ministers, and all persons, of whatever description, who are not by the above articles rendered subject to His Highness’s authority ; with all the above persons His Highness for himself, and for his heirs and successors, engages to have no connexion or correspondence with foreign Powers ; any affairs that may arise with them relating to His Highness are to be exclusively conducted by the British Government. If (for the purpose of forming matrimonial connexions for His Highness’s family, or for any similar purpose) His Highness has occasion to communicate with persons not rendered subject to his authority by this agreement, such communication is to be made entirely through the Political Agent. This article is a fundamental condition of the present agreement, and any departure from it on the Raja’s part shall subject him to the loss of all the advantages he may gain by the said agreement.”

The attempts, therefore, that were made to invalidate the adoption of the Raja, by reference to the case of the Guicowar and other sovereign princes of India with their jagheerdars, had no bearing whatever upon the question. It had been attempted to be said that because the Raja agreed to the curtailment of his sovereign power as a prince, under certain circumstances, that, therefore, he forfeited his right to be treated as a sovereign prince. With great truth had the Hon. ex-Chairman stated, in his minute, “that, admitting the Raja was guilty of an infraction of the treaty, it did not follow that it was such as to cause his blood to be attainted. If the Raja should have no legitimate issue it was competent to him to adopt, and his heir might be perfectly innocent, and be justly entitled to the inheritance under the treaty.” But, it might also be said, that the Raja was a creature of the bounty of the English Government, which, as it had raised him from a prison to a throne, was at liberty to put him down whenever it pleased ; that he held his dominions during his own good behaviour, or during the good pleasure of the Government. That was an error, as had already been shown by a citation from Mr. Princep’s

History of Lord Hastings' Administration, in which the Raja was avowedly alluded to as an independent sovereign in the treaty which regulated the political affairs of that day. In confirmation of that citation, he (Mr. Sullivan) would read two extracts, one from a letter of Sir Thomas Munro, and the other from a letter of Mr. Elphinstone, which would put that matter beyond all question. On the 9th of March, 1818, Sir Thomas Munro thus wrote to Mr. Elphinstone:—"I am anxious to hear that the ceremony of placing the Raja of Sattara on the musnud has been performed, because it would probably hasten the termination of the hostilities and the settlement of the country. The limits of his principality might be defined for the present. He should be required to summon Bajee Rao, and his principal chiefs, to his presence, and, in case of their not obeying, to proclaim Bajee Rao, and, all who adhere to him, rebels; though the natives would understand perfectly well the relation between the Raja and the British Government, and the motives which dictated this proclamation, this would not prevent it from having the desired effect. The chiefs who have left Bajee Rao, as well as some of those who still follow him, have, in their communications with us, always brought forward the disgrace they would sustain from the charge of rebellion and ingratitude, were they to abandon them, and have often called upon us to point out how their character might be saved from such a reproach. The orders of the Raja of Sattara will, I have no doubt, be received both by the chiefs who have already deserted Bajee Rao, and by those who wish to leave him, as a full justification of their conduct; and those orders will also, I think, have a considerable effect in intimidating even those few chiefs who are really attached to Bajee Rao, and in inducing them to forsake his standard, and it might likewise be advisable to send them to the Killedars of all forts, commanding them to surrender." Mr. Elphinstone, in addressing Lord Hastings upon the 18th of June, 1818, wrote as follows:—"Your Excellency's instructions left me the choice of giving him (the Raja) a jagheer or a small sovereignty, and I was inclined to adopt the latter plan for various reasons at the time when I had to decide. The

Mahrattas showed no disposition whatever to quit the Peishwa's standard, and it appeared not improbable that the dread of the complete extinction of their national independence, and still more that the entire loss of their means of subsistence, from the want of a Government likely to employ them, would induce them to adhere to Bajee Rao with an obstinacy that could never have been produced by affection for his person or interest in his cause. It therefore seemed expedient to remove those grounds of alarm by the establishment of a separate Government. Your Excellency will have observed, from General Munro's letter, the opinion of that experienced officer, that a state like that of Mysore should be formed for the Raja; and although I did not think myself at liberty to act on this plan to its full extent, I was deeply impressed with the same arguments that had occurred to General Munro, on the importance of leaving for part of the Peishwa's subjects a Government which could afford them service in their own way." Was it not then evident that both those eminent persons saw in the Raja a most important political card, upon the skilful playing of which depended the success of the political arrangements which were then forming? The restoration of the Raja was in fact the pivot upon which all those arrangements turned. It was, confessedly, through the medium of the Raja's restoration that they hoped to arrest the war then raging, to conciliate the Mahratta people, and reconcile them to the change then about to take place in their condition. With as much justice might the Allied Powers of 1815 have called Louis the Eighteenth the creature of their power, and have claimed the right, as they put him up, also to put him down, as the British Government might with justice put the Raja down. They might have done it upon the same principle, and even with more reason, for the restoration of the French monarch was as distasteful to the French people as the restoration of the Raja of Sattara was grateful to the whole Mahratta people. In fact that was the very reason which induced the Government to place him on the throne. These, then, were in brief the reasons which had induced him (Mr. Sullivan) to submit the resolution, which had been read,

affirming the fact, that the alienation of the Sattara territory would be a violation of the treaty of 1819.—(Mr. Sullivan concluded a most able speech amidst considerable applause).

Mr. Hume wrote in the course of a letter to the *London Times* of the 23rd November, 1848:—

I am ready to join issue as to the above assertions, and to show that the Sattara State was the ancestral inheritance of the late Rajah; that the late Rajah had no suzerain, or lord paramount; and that the adoption of the present Shahoo Rajah was valid without any confirmation from the British Government or other suzerain whatsoever.

And, in the first place, it cannot be disputed that the Sattara State originally descended to the late Rajah as his ancestral inheritance from the great Mahratta Seevajee Bhosla, and so continued down to 1817 at the very least. The Mahratta empire, like the empire of Alexander, or the first Mussulman caliphs, had, indeed, virtually fallen to pieces, several satraps or sirdars having virtually made themselves independent of the legitimate sovereign; still, titularly and nominally, the Rajah of Sattara was the supreme head of the Mahratta empire, and suzerain of Scindia, Holkar, the Rajahs of Berar and Nagpoor, the Guicowar of Guzerat, and other Mahratta powers; Scindia owing him fealty by his title of his valet and slipper-bearer, the Rajah of Nagpoor as his standard-bearer, a third as his nowkra or menial servant, and so on. Down to the outbreak, therefore, of the Deccan war in 1817, the Rajah of Sattara was indisputably an independent sovereign, owing no fealty to any superior or lord paramount. But your correspondent proceeds to argue, "at that period, and for some time previously, the Sattara Rajahs were merely pageant kings, without power or authority, the prisoners and the puppets of the nominal prime ministers of the empire, the Peishwas. With the Peishwas, as the real head of the State, the British for many years treated and allied and went to war; and when eventually the power of the Peishwa was conquered and overthrown, the whole of the hereditary territories of the Rajahs of Sattara passed into the hands of the British;" and that the rightful independent

sovereign of Sattara thenceforward became the vassal and feudal inferior of the British Government, while "the relation of the Sattara state to the British Government became that of a subordinate to, or dependent on, the superior or paramount power." Now, instead of commenting on the *morale* of this argument, let me illustrate it:—In 1841, and previously, the Sovereign of the Turkish empire, in respect of Syria, had become "a pageant Sultan," the puppet of the nominal vizier of the empire, the Pasha Mehemet Ali; and when after the bombardment of Beyrout and Acre, the power of the Pasha was conquered and overthrown, the whole of the hereditary territories of the Sultan in Syria passed into the hands of the British, and the Sultan thenceforth, in respect of Syria, ceased to be an independent sovereign, and became, in fact, the vassal and feudal inferior of the Court of St. James's—a parallel which at all events sufficiently illustrates the preposterousness of the original argument. I, therefore, maintain that the conquest of the Peishwa, an usurping Minister of the Rajah [now the Peishwa's letter, acknowledging in the humblest terms his "appointment to the situation of Peishwa," is still extant, *Parliamentary Papers*, p. 903], in no way abrogated or discontinued the rights of the Rajah as an independent Sovereign, holding the state of Sattara by virtue of "ancestral inheritance" from the Great Seevajee Bhosla; and I find it admitted by your correspondent that when the British colours (which had been hoisted by mistake on the surrendered fort of Sattara) were "next day hauled down," "the standard of Seevajee and his descendants was with due forms hoisted in its place"—to which I may append the words of Prinsep (*Transactions of India*, vol. 2, p. 176) as follows:—"Immediately upon the capture of Sattara the Mahratta flag was again hoisted on its walls, and a proclamation issued inviting the Mahrattas to rally round their rightful hereditary Sovereign."

In the second place, it may be shown that we never made war on the Rajah of Sattara, but, on the contrary, made war against the Peishwa on behalf of the Rajah, then a young man, and "a prisoner of the Peishwa's;" just as in 1841 we made war against the Pasha Mehemet Ali on behalf of the Sultan,

then under deprivation of his rights in respect of Syria ; and, consequently, that the fortune of war, by which the person of the Rajah fell into the hands of the British, or the right of conquest achieved over the Peishwa, gave the British Government no rights as against the Rajah, but merely vindicated and established his rights as against an usurping Minister. The words of the proclamation issued by Mr. Elphinstone on the 11th of February, 1818, which was the first regular declaration of war (*Parliamentary Papers* p. 1,153) ran as follows :—"The Rajah of Sattara, who is now a prisoner in Bajee Rao's hands, will be released and placed at the head of an independent sovereignty ;" and Mr. Elphinstone's letter of the 18th of June, in the same year, may be referred to as clear proof that "the setting up the Rajah of Sattara" was then regarded as one of "the best means" to "conciliate the Mahrattas," and the main machinery employed by us to detach from the Peishwa the Jagheerdars of the Poonah State, and, by the possession in our camp of the recognized head and national standard of all the Mahratta tribes, to prevent the powerful State of Nagpoor, Scindia, Holkar, and Guicowar, then already in arms, from joining the Peishwa, and thus protracting a war which at that time threatened not only to become harassing and ruinously expensive, but perhaps even to prove doubtful in its result.

In confirmation of this we may quote the letter from Sir Thomas Munro to Mr. Elphinstone, of the 19th of March, 1818, observing—"I am anxious to hear that the ceremony of placing the Rajah of Sattara on the Musnud has been performed, because it would probably hasten the termination of hostilities, and the settlement of the country." "He should be required to summon Bajee Rao and his other chiefs to his presence, and in case of their not obeying, to proclaim Bajee Rao and all who adhere to him rebels, and those orders will, I think, have a considerable effect in intimidating even those chiefs who are really attached to Bajee Rao, and in inducing them to forsake his standard, and it might likewise be advisable to send them to the kelladars of all forts, commanding them to surrender." In fact, when it is remembered that Bajee Rao, isolated from all other Mahratta chiefs, and proclaimed a rebel by the head

of his nation then in our camp, nevertheless for several months defied the whole power of the British Government—and that with three commanders-in-chief and 200,000 men in the field—and at the expiration of that time could still obtain “a personal allowance amounting to no less than 100,000*l.* a year for life” (*Prinsep's Transactions of India*, vol. 2, p. 278), some idea will be formed of the then importance to the British Government to be able to range themselves on the side of the independent Rajah of Sattara, the recognized head of all the Mahratta tribes, and of the total error into which your correspondent has fallen in stating that the Sattara territory was a principality gratuitously conferred on the Rajah's family by the British Government. On this point I refer confidently to the recollection and judgment of every British officer then in the field as to what he believes would have been the result of the affair if the influence of the Rajah's name could have been brought to bear against us, and if Bajee Rao, instead of being discountenanced and denounced as a rebel by the Rajah, had by him been encouraged, or only suffered, to gather to his standard the powerful Mahratta tribes then already in arms; indeed, I feel confident that there is no such officer who will take upon him to say, if such a general rising of the Mahrattas had openly been countenanced by the Rajah, that we should at this time have been holders of one single square mile of the whole Mahratta country.

De jure, therefore, I maintain that the Rajah of Sattara never ceased to be an independent Sovereign. I am not ignorant, however, that rights of sovereigns are little regarded either by Christians or heathens when they have might sufficient to disregard them; and consequently, when the *faineant* Rajah fell into our hands, and his territories into our power, and the dread of a general Mahratta war had passed over, I am well aware that the Rajah became *de facto* something different from what he was *de jure*; and that the British Government claimed a right to set up and establish a Rajah and a state, which had never ceased to exist, and to vindicate and continue which it had originally professed to levy and wage the war. At the same time I am prepared to show that it professed to establish,

and established an independent sovereign, with whom it afterwards made treaties on equal terms, and whose natural, national, and religious right of adopting a son, in case of failure of issue, it by those treaties neither questioned nor abrogated.

The proclamation issued by Mr. Elphinstone on the 11th of February, 1818, as above mentioned, ran as follows:—"The Rajah of Sattara, who is now a prisoner in Bajee Rao's hands, will be released and placed at the head of an independent sovereignty of such an extent as may maintain the Rajah and his family in comfort and dignity;" and on the 26th of September, 1818, the Governor-General (*Parliamentary Papers*, p. 556) signifies to Mr. Elphinstone, "his entire assent to the force of those considerations which induce you to extend the original objects of the establishment of the Rajah of Sattara in an independent sovereignty, and the consequent enlargement of the territory to be conferred on that Prince." In respect of this point I cannot quite feel satisfied with what your correspondent describes as "the avowed objects for which the Sattara principality was originally constituted in 1819. These are described by Grant Duff to have been the comfort and dignity of the imprisoned Rajah of Sattara, the raising up a counterpoise to the remaining influence of the Brahmins, the conciliation of the Mahratta nation, and the opening for the employment of many persons, whom it would have been expensive to suit [sustain] and who could not obtain a livelihood under the English administration." Now, among this list of avowed objects there is a remarkable omission, *viz.*, that of the nationality of the Mahrattas, and the necessity for our then purposes and welfare of enlisting their national feelings on our side in the person of their political suzerain, and without attempting to apportion the *onus* of that omission between Grant Duff and your correspondent (a point which there has, indeed, been no time to investigate), I will simply refer to the original letter from Mr. Elphinstone to the Governor-General on the 18th of June, 1818.—(*Parliamentary Papers*, pp. 497, 498). In the earlier part of this letter Mr. Elphinstone observes—"The name of the Mahratta country shows us that we have more to apprehend from it. The whole popula-

tion are Mahrattas, and all have some attachment to their nation and feel some interest in its greatness ;" to which he afterwards adds—"At the time when I had to decide, the Mahratta showed no disposition whatever to quit the Peishwa's standard ; and it appeared not improbable that the dread of the complete extinction of their national independence, and still more that of the entire loss of their means of subsistence, from the want of Government likely to employ them, would induce them to adhere to Bajee Rao with an obstinacy that could never have been produced by affection for his person or interest in his cause. It, therefore, seemed expedient to remove their grounds of alarm by the establishment of a separate Government," or, as he otherwise terms it in the same letter, "the setting up the Rajah of Sattara." In fact I am justified by the whole tenour of the then letters and despatches in asserting that it was not then in the contemplation of the British Government to establish merely a dependent and temporary sovereignty, although the immense increase and consolidation of our power in India during the last 30 years has now rendered the latter notion familiar. The only arrangements which were intended to be temporary were, the cautious watching of the new state, and the tutelage under which the released Rajah was put, upon which your correspondent so strongly insists, as though it invalidated the independence of the sovereignty of the Rajah ; and in proof of this nothing more concise or more conclusive can be offered than the words of Mr. Elphinstone in the same letter to the Governor-General of the 18th of June, 1818 (*Parliamentary Papers*, p. 498), in which he says,—"The Rajah is young and totally inexperienced." * * * * The "Government ought, however, to be emancipated as soon as circumstances will admit of it, and be placed on the same footing of independence as other allies."

Abandoning, however, for the purpose of argument both the *de jure* character and rights of the late Rajah, and the proclamations and professed intentions of the British Government, and confining ourselves solely to the treaty of September, 1819, which then became, and has since been, the contract, between the two parties, I am prepared to maintain that under that

treaty the Rajah continued to be an independent Sovereign, capable of adopting children without needing any suzerain's confirmation. And with reference to the character of the treaty itself, and the manner in which it is to be regarded and construed, I must say I do not think the remarks of your correspondent calculated to leave a fair or correct impression. "Indian treaties," says he, "are seldom framed with the same clearness and precision as documents of the like kind in Europe ; they are frequently drawn up in the hurry of war and conquest, when there is little leisure for the calculation of future contingencies and combinations not immediately to be foreseen." Now, what impressions these observations would be likely to make on the mind of a reader with reference to the Sattara treaty, I leave to each reader to judge ; in commenting on them I will only observe that on the 11th of February, 1818, a proclamation was issued, declaring the intention of the British Government to place the Rajah at the head of an independent sovereignty ; that on the 20th of February, 1818, the person of the Rajah fell into our hands ; that on the 18th of June, 1818, Mr. Elphinstone reported to the Governor-General (*Parliamentary Papers*, pp. 498 and 555), "The Rajah is desirous to have a treaty concluded with him ; but there is no urgency in the case, and I shall therefore await your Excellency's instructions regarding it ;" that no less than 15 months afterwards—on the 21st of September, 1819—Mr. Grant "waited on the Rajah, and delivered to him the Mahratta translation of the draught of the proposed treaty, and requested that His Highness would deliberate for a day or two upon the several articles ;" that Mr. Grant "saw the Rajah daily on the 23rd, 24th, and 25th days of that month, and was several hours with him at each time, and explained and talked over every part of the treaty."—(*Parliamentary Papers*, pp. 501, 502). Truly, if this is the way in which treaties are made "in the hurry of war and conquest" one is puzzled to imagine how they will be made "in the leisure of peace and amity."

In reference, however, to the independence or vassalage of the Rajah under the treaty in question, it seems to me that the preamble establishes conclusively, that the two parties

treated on equal terms, not as suzerain and vassal ; and bears on the face of it that it was made by two independent powers treating on equal terms, and not by a suzerain dictating terms to its vassal, as follows :—“Treaty of perpetual friendship and alliance between the Hon. East India Company and His Highness Maharajah Purtaub Singh, his heirs and successors, concluded at Sattara, the 25th of September, 1819, by Captain James Grant, Political Agent, on the part of the Hon. East India Company, and Wittul Punt Furnawesse, on the part of the Rajah, by virtue of full powers from their respective Governments.”

It is true that by the treaty “certain conditions and obligations” were imposed by the stronger on the weaker, but this in nowise invalidates the independence of either party. It is of the essence of all treaties to establish conditions and obligations ; and if the fact of the stronger imposing conditions on the weaker abrogated the title of the latter to independent sovereignty, not only should we be obliged to deny the independent sovereignty of the King of Oude, of the Nizam, and of every other native Prince ; but also we should be obliged to maintain that France in 1814 and 1815 become the vassal of the allies of the time, or, in language analogous to your correspondent’s, “a fief as it were of the allied Empire in Europe”—a position too preposterous to require further comment.

It appears to me, therefore, that by the very form of the treaty the British Government acknowledged the Rajah of Sattara to be an independent Sovereign ; and as the treaty contained not only no positive stipulation, but even no implied or inferable condition that the Rajah’s natural right of adopting his successor should thenceforth be contingent upon the consent and confirmation of the British Government, I beg to differ *toto cælo*, from your correspondent, and to maintain that “it is manifestly not open to the British Government to acknowledge or reject.” at their pleasure, the present Shahoo Rajah, “the adopted son of the late Rajah, as the heir to the throne of Sattara.”

Finally, conceding to your correspondent, for the sake of argument, all he asserts, and even more—supposing, for

instance, that the late Rajah had never made any adoption of the present Shahoo Rajah at all—still, as the sovereignty of Sattara was granted to the late Rajah, his heirs and successors in perpetuity, and as Shahoo Rajah is the first cousin's son, and unquestionably the right heir of the late Purtaub Singh, the present Shahoo Rajah in his own right succeeded to the sovereignty of the State of Sattara on the death of the late Rajah. The first article of the treaty of the 25th of September, 1819 (which in respect of this first article is distinctly confirmed by the treaty of the 4th of September, 1839) cedes the Sattara territories to the Rajah, his heirs and successors, in perpetual sovereignty; subject, no doubt, to the right of the stronger to interfere on the breach of certain specified conditions. Those conditions, however, never were broken by the late Rajah; on the contrary, the breach of those conditions was on the part of the Bombay Government, in their rapacity and eagerness to appropriate to themselves, in violation of the treaty, and in contumacious defiance of the orders and authority of the Supreme Government, and the Court of Directors, certain of the Rajah's jageers. By him, I repeat, those conditions never were broken * * * * *

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

JOSEPH HUME.

Barnley-hall, Norfolk.

When it became known in England that the Rani had signed away the rights of Shahoo Maharaj to the Satara sovereignty, Rungo Bapoojee did not let the grass grow under his feet to set on foot a strong agitation against this. He induced Mr. John Sullivan to write a letter to the President of the Board of Control, who bore the name of Sir John Hobhouse. This letter is dated Brighton, 30th October 1850. In this letter he wrote:—

"It appears from accounts recently received, that the family, having been kept without ostensible means of support from the date of the Raja's death—a period of nearly three

years—have been starved into a compliance with the Governor-General's demand.

"I need not observe that if the Ranee had the power, which she has not, of signing away the rights of her infant son, a resignation obtained under such circumstances would be considered, in any Court of Law, or of Equity, as an *Extortion*, and would not therefore be binding, and even if binding on the part of the Rajah—it could not in the least degree affect the rights of those who are heirs after him to the territory under the Treaty of September, 1819.

"But the Governor-General appears to have entirely forgotten that the young Prince is not *Rajah of Sattara* by virtue of that Treaty, but by hereditary right, and that he has no power whatever to give himself any other designation. As Rajah of Sattara, and by no other title, will he be known and designated by the people of India.

"The Mahrattas when they held the blind Emperor Shah Alum in strict durance, although they had seized upon all his territory, did not attempt to extort a surrender of his title or of his rights. On the contrary, they acknowledged both, and when the British Government conquered the territory from the Mahrattas, Lord Wellesley, in assigning a portion of it for the support of the Emperor, expressly disclaimed any 'intention to solicit a cession of his Majesty's rights and claims, as a condition of this arrangement.' Far from this he expressed his desire, 'of leaving his Majesty in the unmolested exercise of all his usual privileges and prerogatives.'

"We have assumed possession of the territories of nine-tenths of the Native Princes of India, but have never up to this moment, thought of extorting from them a surrender of their titles, or of the insignia of sovereignty. The Nabobs of Bengal and of the Carnatic, the Rajahs of Mysore and Tanjore, are still recognised by us, and addressed by us, as sovereign Princes; as are many Princes whom we have conquered and deposed, for example the Peshwa and the Rajah of Coorg, both of whom are permitted to retain their titles. * * The retention by these Princes of their hereditary titles has never

been considered to be 'virtually disputing the right of the East India Company to territory of which it has assumed possession.'

"The differences between these princes is that, in the one case, territory had been assumed by virtue of treaties, in the case of the Rajah of Satara, in defiance of a treaty. The Raja had avowed a determination not to renounce the rights which, he thinks, that treaty gives him, and the Governor-General has starved him into a surrender of those rights.

"It was bad enough—that the Governor-General should, in defiance of a right which had been held sacred by his predecessors and which had been formally and repeatedly recognized by yourself, viz., the right inherent in every Hindoo sovereign prince to adopt an heir, in failure of heirs male of his body ;—it was bad enough that he should have seized upon the territory of Satara upon the plea, that neither of the late Rajahs had that right ;—but surely, it is adding injury to injury, to insist upon the heir renouncing all claims to his inheritance, as a condition of his receiving from the power which has injured him, the means of support—those means coming not from the bounty of the British Government, but from private property which had been accumulated by the economy of the father—which had been acknowledged to be *bona fide* his private property, and which private property the British Government still retains.

* * * * *

"Both Rajahs died without male heirs of their own body. Pertaub Shean, leaving a daughter,—both had adopted male heirs ;—and although we knew when we made the treaties, by which we ceded the territory to them and their heirs, in perpetuity, that as Hindoo Sovereign princes they never, but by their own neglect, could be without heirs, they having by the law of India an inherent right to adopt.

"We, at the death of the second Rajah, seized the territory, upon the fiat of the Governor-General—that neither of the Rajahs had a right to adopt, and that therefore, they died without heirs, direct or collateral! And having refused to restore the private property, which we had promised to restore to the first Rajah—we finish by extorting a surrender of the

sovereign rights, and of the private property of his son, as a condition of affording him the means of subsistence. '*Ex uno disce omnes*';—the treatment which has befallen the Rajahs of Sattara, is the treatment by which the Governor-General's menace awaits every Hindoo prince, whom the Governor-General may claim to pronounce to have died without heirs.

"Are such proceedings, I would venture respectfully to ask, calculated to awaken attachment to our rule? Are they creditable to us—are they such, as you, who are responsible for them—can consistently venture to support in your place in Parliament?"

Rungo Bapoojee also addressed a 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-Rajah of Satara, by the Government of India and the Directors of the East India Company." This letter was published in the *Sun* of London, for 7th November, 1850. In it he wrote:—

"* * The last Indian mail, it appears, brought a despatch, stating that the Ranee, worn out by three years' want and incessant threats and persecution, has at length been starved into compliance; * * * * It is to be hoped that the most noble Marquis slept tranquilly in his bed in Koonowur, when he at last clutched this precious document, thus obtained from the captive widow and orphan child. You, also, Gentlemen, must be congratulated on its obtainment. Surely it merits, like other great Indian victories, to be celebrated by a banquet given at the expense of the natives of India, at which the Directors may toast 'the eminent success' of the most noble Marquis, and wash their own pure hands in rosewater. Suffer me here to suggest a fitting use for this paper—let it be duly framed and glazed, and shown in the largest letters to the assembled civilized world, in 1851, as one of your valued contributions, to the 'Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations'. Let me at the same time, ask the civilized world, which will be assembled to behold the trophies of an Empire 'upon which', it is vauntingly told, 'the sun never sets', whether the

French people, when they extinguished the sovereignty of the Bourbons, stopped the dower of the Duchess of Orleans until she had renounced in writing the son's hereditary title, of 'Comte de Paris', and the use of the arms of France? Let me ask if the French people first confiscated all the private property of the late King of the French, after pledging themselves five times in writing to respect it; and next made it a condition with his sons, not of the restoration of that property, but of their not being left to die of hunger, that they should renounce their family titles? And yet this is what the magnanimous British people, as represented in India by the East India Company, have deliberately done to the widow and son of the Rajah of Sattara. Marquis Dalhousie says,—*'The boy wrote in the character of Rajah'*—(an offence clearly beyond the pale of pardon in the eyes of this most noble Marquis.)

* * * * *

"But what is this 'liberal treatment', which the world is now so ostentatiously told it was the anxious wish of the Directors and of the Governor General should be bestowed upon the Ranee and her son? Before the Ranee left Sattara, a captive with her late husband the Rajah, in September 1839, the sum which your own resident, Colonel Ovans, certainly no friend to her or her family, thought it but decent should be settled upon her in the nature of pin-money, as the Rajah's second wife, altogether distinct from the monthly allowance of 7,700 rupees made to the Rajah, was 800 rupees (£80) a month. This sum she received for her own private use up to the Rajah's death in October, 1847. At his decease the whole of his allowance was at once stopped, and all his retinue, amounting to 1,000 or 1,200 persons who had accompanied him from Sattara, were cast for subsistence upon the Ranee, who was informed that her pin-money of 800 rupees would be graciously continued to her as a pension, provided she renounced all the rights of her adopted son.

"The 'liberal allowance' to be granted jointly to the Ranee and her son *during her life*, has been since increased to 2,400

rupees a month, equivalent to £2,880 a year. Let us examine this magnificent liberality.

"In your return of the 5th of August, is given part of a minute, dated 18th of April 1849, by the Governor of Bombay, in which he states that the 'gross rent-roll of the Sattara territories is estimated at between 30 and 40 lacs of rupees, (£300,000 to 400,000 a year) of which,' with the necessary annual remissions, little more than 14¼ lacs (£1,42,500) have been collected.'

"This 'liberal allowance', when truly stated on your account, with the family of the deposed Rajah, stands therefore, thus:—

Present net annual revenue of the Sattara State taken and annexed by the East India Company ...	£142,000
(Prospective value, £390,000 a year.)	
Value of private property left at Sattara by the Rajah as per inventory taken at the time, about Rs. 30 lacs, £300,000; annual interest thereon at ten per cent. for eleven years ...	£33,000
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Total annual income appropriated by the East India Company ...	£175,000
DEDUCT	
'Liberal allowance' proposed for the Ranee and her son during pleasure by the Directors ...	£2,880
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Balance of revenue appropriated by them by the annexation of Sattara ...	£172,620
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"The liberal allowance," therefore, amounts to your offering to the Ranee and child £2,800 a year, for themselves and all those dependent for bread upon them, still detaining them prisoners, while you take to yourselves in territory and property £172,620 a year, with a prospective increase of between £400,000 and to £500,000 a year; of their right to all which your Governor-General and Council exact a peremptory written surrender from the Ranee and child as a condition of their receiving even the £2,880 a year during pleasure.

“These facts and figures furnished by yourselves and your Indian Government, coupled with the last crowning act of the latter, speak for themselves ; and render one word of comment superfluous. They will convince every man who reads them what the real object of your conduct throughout has been ; first, in entering the Palace of the ex-Rajah in the dead of night, seizing him while sleeping in his bed, and deposing and exiling him without trial ; next, in confiscating all his private property in the face of five public written pledges to respect it ; third, in appropriating all his dominions on the pretext that he left no male heir, while you yourself make prisoner of the heir, and forcibly detain his person at Benares ; fourth, in starving that lawful heir and adopted son, and the Raja’s widow, whom also you hold captive, into a written renunciation of their right to those dominions, of which you nevertheless proclaim to the world you have assumed ‘lawful possession’ ; fifth, in keeping that helpless lady and child prisoners at Benares, pending the pleasure, of the Bombay Government. ‘As anticipated,’ writes to you Lord Dalhousie, ‘the Government of Bombay *strongly* objected to either one or the other being allowed to return at this time’!—and the chivalrous Governor-General of India, at the head of 300,000 bayonets ready to do his every bidding, acquiesces in the guilty fears of these guilty men ! It is a man who, in the fawning parlance of his country, is styled a ‘Nobleman,’ who makes this war upon a woman and child whom he has in his power. He does so eleven years after she has been forcibly taken from Sattara and kept captive at Benares, while the innocent child has never been at Sattara at all ! How truly lawful he and you feel at heart your ‘possession’ of Sattara to be, let his and your conduct proclaim, let your own countrymen pronounce ; but after permitting such conduct by you in India, let not your own countrymen venture to talk of the French in Algeria, the Russians in Poland, the Austrians in Hungary, or the Turks in Syria.”

Regarding the above letter, the *Sun* in an editorial leaderette wrote :—

"As Englishmen, we blush at the facts plainly and simply stated in the letter to the Chairman and Court of Directors of the East India Company, which will be found in another part of this day's impression, and which we earnestly commend to the calm and mature consideration of every unprejudiced person, of every lover of truth and justice in this favoured land. If there is any exaggeration or misstatement, it may be readily contradicted by, or on behalf of the Directors; but, unfortunately, it rests on too broad a basis to be denied. * * * *"

"* * * * From the passages above extracted it appears but too clearly that the Governor-General and Council put their liberal intentions under constraint, and that notwithstanding the express directions of the Court, 'to make payments to which (*crede* Dalhousie) these persons (the Ranee and Rajah) had forfeited all just claim,' they had absolutely refused to make such payments, and had suffered the victims of persecution to pine for three years in captivity, where they were unable to obtain their own livelihood, without supplying the actual means of subsistence.

"Is this conduct worthy of men? Is it calculated to exalt the character of the Anglo-Indian Government in the eyes of the native princes? Or is it becoming the representatives of the British nation, which has ever claimed a reputation for honour, integrity, and moderation in all dealings, more especially with the weak and feeble?"

"We pause for a reply! We trust that the organs of Leaden-hall-street may not continue silent, but that they will offer some justification for what we cannot help designating as this monstrous outrage on propriety, this fearful corroboration of the statements we have heard of their injustice in other respects."

But the organs of Leadenhall Street were silent; and no reply to Rungo Bapoojee's letter was attempted by any one of the Directors of the East India Company, for it was based on facts and figures which it was not possible for any one to contradict.

Rungo Bapoojee petitioned every conceivable person

in power against the monstrous injustice perpetrated by the authorities of the East India Company by annexing Satara. At that time Lord Russell was the Prime Minister of England. Rungo Bapoojee addressed to him a letter dated 22nd January 1849. In it he wrote :—

“My Lord,—As First Minister of the Crown and member of the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, I presume to address your Lordship on behalf of the surviving members of the family of Sattara, and of a people who, for nearly two hundred years, have been ruled by princes of their own nation and their own religion.

“I have heard with poignant grief that a majority of the Court of Directors of the East India Company have resolved to confiscate the territory of Sattara, and to annex it to the British dominions. Should this decision receive the sanction of Her Majesty’s Government, and be carried into effect, not only will there be committed a breach of two treaties framed and dictated by the English, guaranteeing the territory and sovereignty of Sattara in perpetuity to the heirs and successors of the first and second Rajahs, but also an open repudiation offered to one of the most ancient, cherished, and imperative religious obligations of the Hindoos of India—the obligation to adopt a son in default of male issue.

“By such an act it would be proclaimed throughout India, that the British Government in that country is resolved utterly to disregard its own treaties concluded with the native princes, and to consider the right of adoption according to the immemorial religious law and custom as interposing no barrier to the seizure of territory, and the annihilation of the hereditary princes and nobles of Hindostan.

“My Lord, such a confiscation would be found to be not only destructive of the reputation of the British nation, but, whatever your Lordship may be told to the contrary, it will prove fatal, from the known circumstances of the present case, to the confidence and respect of the people in the existing Government.

“It is my duty to remind your Lordship, that his late

Highness Pertaub Sing, to the last hour of his existence, earnestly besought the opportunity of establishing his innocence ; I remind your Lordship that Colonel Carpenter, the British agent, who for near eight years, and up to the hour of the Raja's death, was in charge of the Rajah's person, wrote officially from the city of Benares to his Government, that he had no doubt of the Rajah's innocence, and that he had no doubt also that the Rajah, if allowed, would prove his innocence ; I remind your Lordship that the Rajah was never allowed to prove it ; I remind your Lordship that an impartial inquiry, even now, when Colonel Carpenter is in England, into the circumstances of the deposal of the Rajah, would enable the Ministers of the Crown to decide on evidence the truth or falsehood of the *ex parte* accusations brought against his Highness.

"It is my duty further to remind your Lordship that the boy, Shahoo Maharaj, whom the Rajah adopted as his heir, is the only son of his nearest relative by blood, his cousin-german, Balla Sahib Senaputtee ; and, consequently, that the boy is also, irrespective altogether of, and apart from, this adoption, the nearest blood relative and the next heir in succession, in virtue of the express words of the second treaty made after his Highness's deposal, to Appa Sahib, the Rajah's brother and successor. I must remind your Lordship, that Balla Sahib Sennaputtee, the father of the boy Shahoo Maharaj, stands acquitted both by Sir Robert Grant, the accuser of the Rajah, and by Sir James Carnac, his deposer, of the shadow of guilt towards the British Government, and that consequently, if Balla Sahib had survived Appa Sahib, his right as next heir to the Rajahship of Sattara would be incontrovertible and incontestable. I remind your Lordship that this prince, guiltless even of imaginary offence to the British nation, was, nevertheless, like his sovereign and kinsman the Rajah, seized, sleeping in the dead of night, and carried off with the Rajah into exile. I remind your Lordship, that when Balla Sahib fell ill on the march to Benares, and besought a halt, his request was refused, and that when his palanquin was opened at the end of the stage, Balla Sahib,

previously in the prime of life and health, was found in it a lifeless corpse! I remind your Lordship that when on the same journey, the wife of Balla Sahib was seized with the pangs of labour, a halt was also denied to her—a woman! and that she gave birth to her infant by the roadside. And lastly, it is my duty to remind your Lordship, that it is this very infant, this orphan child of many sorrows, by the adoption and acknowledgment of whom the Rajah sought to compensate in his life time for the degradation and death of the child's noble father, and the undying shame and outrage perpetrated upon his living mother, whom a majority of the Directors of the East India Company, consistent in their course to the last, have now resolved to strip of that territory and those rights, which are affirmed by two separate British treaties, which are his by blood, birth and inheritance, and his, in the belief of the Hindoos, according to every law, human and divine. It is the loud boast of English Christian civilization, that attain of blood has ceased to be law in England; has it ceased in England only to be transplanted to and made law in India by the Directors of the East India Company? The lease of India given to the Directors, and the interests of their patronage, may with them sanctify the odious and iniquitous device. But your Lordship cannot be so deceived; the whole of your public life must have taught you, that, that which is cruel and unjust can never be politic. Although the Directors may reap their immediate reward, in a score of new appointments to be made, and in a paltry supply of revenue to an exhausted exchequer, the penalty of the act will surely be paid in the fulness of time, and according to the unerring providence of that God, who is the God alike of the powerful Englishman and the defenceless Hindoo, in the persons of your countrymen, who will come after the Directors and after you. * * * *"

Lord Russell considered it beneath his dignity to take any notice of, or return any answer to this letter.

Sir John Hobhouse, the President of the Board of Control, had no sympathy for the unfortunate Rajah of Satara, and he always used to say ditto to all that the

Directors did regarding India. The Board of Control was created to check the doings of the Court of Directors of the East India Company. But they never exercised that power as far as the affairs of the Satara Raj were concerned. So when Sir John Hobhouse was succeeded by the Right Hon. J. C. Herries, M.P., as President of the Board of Control, Rungo Bapoojee naturally thought the new President would bring an unprejudiced mind to bear on the discussion of the question of the Satara affairs and that in all probability, he would not be so callous, discourteous and unsympathetic as his predecessor. Entertaining such views, he addressed a letter to him on the 26th July 1852, in which he appealed to him to take into his consideration the case of the late ex-Rajah and do justice to his memory. The concluding paragraph of his letter deserves more than a passing notice. He wrote:—

“Sir, 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 Sattara? If, at length, there is no investigation instituted into those means, such men will know how to answer the question. In vindication, therefore, of English truth, honour, and justice, I again most humbly and respectfully ask for an impartial public enquiry into the Sattara case. Difficulty in the way there is none. Committees of the Lords and Commons will again sit on Indian affairs. This is an Indian affair, a vital affair to all Indian princes and their subjects. Although the virtuous General Robertson is no more, all the other Residents at Sattara survive and are in England—Captain Grant

Duff, Generals Briggs and Lodwick ; Colonel Ovans and Mr. Willoughby, the two accusers and judges of the deposed Rajah, are likewise present and at hand. So is Mr. Hutt, the Company's Judge, so is Colonel Carpenter. Govind Row, if sent for by you, will appear in ample time ; and tell to English ears the tale of his solitary imprisonment and extorted confession ; nor will the venerable Mountstuart Elphinstone decline his solemn aid in the cause of truth. All the documents have been printed by Parliament and are ready for reference. Again then do I ask for enquiry. I ask, by the very magnitude of your empire and by your irresistible power, that you at least do justice to the memory of the dead. If this, my final appeal for such enquiry be rejected, then, in the name of my countrymen, the million natives of India, for their special caution and warning, and also for the enlightenment of the nations of Asia which are at the mercy of the vast power of England, a power by them irresistible, I solemnly prefer this my petition, that in the next Charter of the East India Company it be declared, that English morality is no more than a question of latitude and longitude ; that in India, South of the parallel of 30 North, and East of the meridian of the Cape of Good Hope, what is virtue and what is vice, what is innocence and what guilt, what truth, what falsehood, shall be determined by the complexion of the agent ; the white man, or the Company's servant, being always regarded as the embodiment of virtue and truth, incapable of wrong even on his own showing, and alone worthy of belief—the dark man, or native, held up as the personation of vice and falsehood, to be accused only to be condemned, degraded, vilified, punished, imprisoned at will, tortured, beggared, and all in secret and unheard."

Rungo Bapooje, in the simplicity of his heart, thought that the new President of the Board of Control would take into due consideration his well-reasoned and powerful appeal and institute inquiries into the case of the ex-Rajah. But the English officials were moulded in the same cast and were quite apathetic to the affairs of India. Consequently, Mr. Herries did not deem it meet

to return a reply to the letter of Rungoo Bapoojee. He considered the Maratha Agent of the late ex-Rajah a troublesome man and the agitation which he was keeping up in England detrimental to the interests of the Company, bent as that body was upon what was called a "grasping policy." In one place, in the above letter, Rungo Bapoojee wrote:—

"Nor has the Government stopped at starving the Rajah and Ranee. With impartial justice, the Government avows its intention of silencing and starving me, their humble agent, out of England, by stopping my allowance for four years as has been done, and of consigning me, I conclude, to the honourable refuge of an English Pauper Union."

It was with reference to this statement that Mr. Herries verbally told Mr. Joseph Hume to direct Rungo Bapoojee to state in writing his pecuniary claims on the Raja of Satara. So Rungo Bapoojee addressed to the President of the Board of Control, a letter dated, 11th August, 1852 in which he wrote:—

"In compliance with your desire conveyed to me by Mr. Hume, I beg leave to send herewith a statement of the arrears of salary due to me to the 1st of September next by the present Rajah of Sattara, * * . It was impossible that I could return to India, as directed, while kept without the means of returning thither. I likewise send a memorandum, showing the arrears of allowance due to me by the deposed Rajah, at the time of his decease."

Rungo Bapoojee seized this opportunity to expose the dishonest and dishonourable conduct of Colonel Ovens and certain Indian authorities in their treatment of the late Raja Pratap Singh. He wrote:—

"I cannot forbear taking this opportunity of troubling you with two more documents and most respectfully and earnestly soliciting you to read them, inasmuch as every word is taken from the Parliamentary Papers. The first (Appendix F.) proves

undeniably, in the face of the repeated asseverations made to the contrary in the House of Commons, that every exercise of absolute power was resorted to peremptorily to deny to the Rajah, previous to his deposal, a knowledge of what offence he was accused, and to interdict to him the least approach to an opportunity of defending himself in any way whatever.

“The second document * * illustrates the conduct which Colonel Ovans scrupled not to follow towards the Rajah, from the hour he arrived at Sattara, and superseded General Lodwick as Resident, until he at length compassed His Highness’s deposal. After Colonel Ovans had attained this end, he condescended to accept and receive a personal allowance of £600 a year (6000 rupees), made to him in reward for the active part he played in bringing it about.”

The Memorandum in which Rungo Bapoojee submitted his pecuniary claims on the Satara Raja was as follows :—

“On my departure from Sattara to London as Vakeel of the Rajah of Sattara, who was then in possession of his throne and flourishing kingdom, the allowance which His Highness himself fixed as the suitable one to be made to me during this mission, was 2,000 rupees, or £200 a month. The accounts of my London disbursements were regularly transmitted to the Rajah every two or three months, by which His Highness became aware that they exceed the sum he had allotted ; so that at the time of his death, 13th October 1847 there were due to me for arrears of salary, £4,454 15s. 6d. (exclusive of a considerable sum for expenses incurred under his orders.)

“On His Highness’s decease, the present Rajah reduced the monthly allowance to 1,000 rupees (£100). This sum was remitted to me for fifteen months, up to the end of December, 1848, when it ceased ; and I have not from that time received one farthing, either to enable me to subsist in England, or to return to India.

“My account with His Highness stands thus :
Due for salary from October, 1847 to September, 1852.

being 5 years at £100 a month	...	...	£6,000
Deduct 15 months' salary received, 1848	...	...	£500
Balance of salary due	...	...	£4,500

(Exclusive of disbursements made on His Highness's account.)"

But as was to be expected, Rungoo Bapoojee was disappointed in not receiving any reply to his letter or memorandum. The new President of the Board of Control was no better than his predecessor, and he paid no attention to the grievances of Rungoo Bapoojee or of his master.

Rungoo Bapoojee was himself at this time in great distress in England, and so were the Rani and the young Rajah in India. So he again, in November, 1852, submitted a memorial to the Court of Directors of the East India Company on behalf of the distressed family of the ex-Rajah of Satara, detained prisoners at Benares. The concluding portion of the memorial, ran as follows:—

That your Memorialist was, from the year 1839 downwards during the life time of the said late Rajah, his accredited Agent and Envoy in this country; and that by the last Will and Testament of the said late Rajah, written only nine days before his death, A. D. 1847, he was further appointed Executor of the said late Rajah in England, and was solemnly directed to prosecute all the rights and claims of the said late Rajah after his decease, in the name and on behalf of his said son and family, until the said son should have attained the age of 20 years, * * * *, and that your Memorialist accordingly is, in duty to his late sovereign, bound so to do.

"And this Memorial further sheweth, that previous to the said submission and deposit of the said late Rajah, the said Sir James Carnac, the then Governor of Bombay, directed the said Lieutenant-Colonel Ovens, the then Resident at Sattara, to be careful to provide in the most effectual manner for the personal comfort and convenience of the said late Rajah and his family, and to require the Sattara Government to furnish everything that might be necessary for their accommodation."

adding that the said late Rajah 'was to be regarded and treated as an object of sympathy and not of punishment, and further enjoined the said Resident to pay every attention to the personal comfort and convenience of the said late Rajah and his family, and to secure to him his private property and a suitable maintenance for his future support ; * * * * ; and that on the faith of these and other similar assurances, the said late Rajah not only submitted peaceably and surrendered into the hands of the said Government himself and his Raj and all his property, public and private, but also organized a domestic establishment in conformity with the assurances thus given to him, and permitted a large number of his faithful subjects and followers to accompany him and his family into their enforced exile, as dependents upon him and upon the maintenance thus promised him.

"That the said Government, instead of fulfilling their said promises and assurances, assigned to the said late Rajah, in lieu of the said private property and of the suitable maintenance thus promised him, an allowance which, on the admission of its own officers, was totally unsuitable and inadequate, and which was in fact considerably less than the interest which would have accrued on the amount of the said private property alone, supposing the same had been invested in the Honourable East India Company's funds to wit, only 10,000 rupees a month ; that Captain Carpenter, the Superintendent of the affairs of the late Rajah of Benares, after having made a 'minute and laborious investigation' into the subject, reported *that such a sum per month was wholly insufficient for the reasonable maintenance of the said late Rajah and his family, and that the said late Rajah had in consequence been obliged to incur heavy debts and liabilities, and to submit to great personal discomforts and humiliations ; * * * **

"That although on the representations of the said Captain Carpenter, a sum of 120,000 rupees was, in the year 1846 advanced to the said late Rajah, to enable him to meet the more pressing demands against him, no further such sum was ever afterwards allowed to him ; and that the rest of the said debts and liabilities (amounting at the time to 160,000 rupees

more, or thereabouts) continued during the whole of his life time to hamper and embarrass his financial position, and still press upon his said widow and his said son, increased by those incurred for his funeral expenses and for other matters; that the said Ranee and son, being forbidden by the Indian Government to return home to their country, and being unable, as females and minors, to compel the followers and dependants of the said late Rajah to return home without them, and having been by the said Government stripped of all their family and patrimonial property, public and private, are now obliged to endeavour to maintain themselves and their said followers and dependants, to the number of 537 or thereabouts, out of a still further reduced allowance of 2,500 rupees a month, and have consequently not only been reduced to personal distress and humiliation in the eyes of the native population in India, but also are wholly unable to discharge and liquidate any portion of the debts and liabilities still outstanding against the estate of the said late Rajah; and in particular, are unable to liquidate the just claim of your Memorialist upon the said estate for arrears of his salary or wages for several years; and that your Memorialist has hence been obliged to run into debt, and would now, but for the credit which he has fortunately obtained, be in want of means wherewith to purchase the merest necessaries of life.

"That your Honourable Court has most justly laid down and recognized the principle, that, *'with respect to the claims of creditors upon territory in India, which may have been transferred to the Company, the Government would in equity be bound to answer such claims out of the revenue of such territory; and that as since the death of Appa Sahib in April, 1848, the territory and all the public revenues of the state of Sattara* * * *as well as the said private property of the said late Rajah have been so transferred to the said Company, the claim of your Memorialist and of the other creditors* * * *fairly come within the operation of the principle above recognized.'*"

This Memorial was forwarded to the Secretary, East

India House by Mr. Joseph Hume and eight other proprietors together with a letter in which they wrote :—

"We the undersigned Proprietors of East India Stock, deeply commiserating the condition to which the family of the late *ex-Rajah* of Sattara have been reduced by the non-fulfilment of the obligation which Sir James Carnac, when Governor of Bombay, entered into on behalf of the British Government, to restore to the *ex-Rajah* all that should be proved to be his private property* after his peaceable submission to the said Government—beg to enclose a Memorial from Rungo Bapoojee—Vakeel and Executor of the said late *Rajah*. Having satisfied ourselves of the strict accuracy of all the allegations set forth in the Memorial, by a searching examination of the Parliamentary papers upon which they profess to be based, we beg to recommend the same to the favorable consideration of the Honorable Court of Directors."

To this letter, Mr. Joseph Hume and others received the stereotyped reply from Mr. James Cosmo Melvill of not recognizing Rungo Bapoojee as the Agent of the late *Raja*. On the 19th January, 1833, Mr. Melvill wrote :—

"Gentlemen, I have had the honour to receive and lay before the Court of Directors your letter dated the 21st of November, enclosing a Memorial from Rungo Bapoojee, respecting the family of the late *ex-Rajah* of Sattara.

"I am commanded to state to you in reply, that with every desire to give full consideration to any application recommended by you, the Court cannot consent to re-open a question long since finally decided, nor to recognize the Memorialist, either as an Agent or as a Creditor of the *ex-Rajah's* family."

* The bad faith which the Indian authorities were guilty of, in confiscating the private property of *Raja Pratap Singh*, was exposed in a tract published under the auspices of the Indian Reform Society, which bore the title of "Indian wrongs without a remedy."

In it is written :—

"From his (Peishwa's) camp fled the heir of the rightful *Mahratta* Prince, *Pertaub Shean*, the head of all the *Mahrattas*. What to do with

That this subterfuge was mean and base, goes without saying; but no noble or just procedure could have been expected from the notorious Colonel Ovan's brother-in-law and the dishonest and dishonourable Court of Directors.

him became at once a great question. Lord Hastings left it to Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone to give him either a large estate or a small principality. 'At the time I had to decide,' Mr. Elphinstone afterwards wrote to Lord Hastings, 'the Mahrattas showed no disposition whatever to quit the Peishwa's standard, and it appeared not improbable that the dread of the complete extinction of their national independence, and, still more, of the entire loss of their means of subsistence, would induce them to adhere to Baji Row, that could never have been produced by affection to his person or interest in his cause.' Therefore, for British interests, did Mr. Elphinstone carve out the little state of Sattara, and over it make Pertaub Shean Rajah. Taught wisdom in his misfortunes, that Prince in his prosperity governed Sattara so admirably, that to testify their sense of his government and his fidelity, the Court of Directors presented him with a sword of honour. After an admirable reign of nearly twenty years he became the victim of Brahmanical intrigues and of British credulity; and on the ground of imputed intrigues which, if real, would have been ridiculous and contemptible, it was resolved in 1839 to unmake the Rajah whom we had made in 1819.

'Beloved and honoured by his people, the Rajah could have made a strong resistance; and as any disturbance in India at that particular juncture, when the Government had rushed into the Afghan War, might have proved infectious, the Resident was directed by the Bombay Government to inform 'the Rajah, that all property belonging to him bonâfide, private, and not appertaining to the State, would, on his peaceable submission, not be interfered with'. Thrice was this offer repeated to the Rajah and afterwards reduced to, and confirmed in, writing. He accepted it, peaceably submitted, surrendered all his property, public and private, into the hands of the Resident, left for Benares with only the jewels his two wives happened to wear at the time, regulating his Suite, however, according to the large means he had thus secured.'

'Pertaub Shean was not a penniless Prince when the Company thus found and used him for its own purposes. Though holding them captives, the Peishwa had always respected the private landed estates of the House of Sevajee, and these he possessed when raised to the Raj. Following Mr. Elphinstone's good advice, he separated as a ruling Prince his public from his private treasury, and throughout his reign kept each quite distinct, and managed them by different officers. As in public, so in private affairs,

But Rungo Bapoojee was not the man to be cowed down by these snubs and studied insults of the Indian authorities. Soon after the receipt of the above reply he presented a petition to both Houses of Parliament. To the House of Lords the petition was presented by the Right Hon. Lord Beaumont, on February 24th, 1853; and to the House of Commons by Mr. Joseph Hume on March 2nd, 1853. The petition was headed as:—

he was prudent and economical ; like our own most gracious Sovereign, he invested his personal savings principally in the purchase of land, bought his Osbornes and his Balmorals, and in the course of twenty years had added largely to his territorial property ; he had also considerable wealth in jewels and other personalty, as well as a large sum in ready money, the value of the whole not being less than £300,000.

"Relying on the promise that all this property would not be interfered with, he allowed not fewer than 1,200 attached friends and dependants to follow him into exile and confinement at Benares. But from the hour he left Sattarah to the day of his death, not one rupee was the Rajah permitted to receive from this guaranteed source. Everything he left behind—Jaghires, villages, houses, farms, gardens, jewels, money, clothes, all were confiscated. In vain he demanded their restoration ; in vain he quoted and appealed to the promise made to him,—in vain he prayed for justice. His complaints were unheeded; his applications were turned aside.

• • • •

"At Benares the deposed Rajah had, of course, an allowance, but so small in amount, that it proved wholly insufficient for the reasonable maintenance of his family. In consequence, the Prince was obliged to submit to great personal discomfort and deep humiliation ; he continued throughout the remnant of his days to be hampered and embarrassed by debts and liabilities ; and at last he died deeply involved, leaving his wives, his adopted son, and five hundred followers in the greatest poverty. So that by his deposition and the subsequent annexation of Sattara has the Company's government gained a territory, yielding a large public revenue * * ; but in violation of the most solemn promises, the Company confiscated £300,000 of this unhappy man's private fortune. And when lately appealed to by nine Proprietors of India Stock, on behalf of the creditors and the family of Pertaub Shean, all the answer those gentlemen—Mr. Hume at their head—got from the Directors was that the Court of Directors cannot consent to re-open a question long since decided.' And for this wrong, also, there is no remedy."

"The petition of Rungo Bapoojee, the next Friend, and by Will one of the appointed Guardians of Shahoo Maharaj, an infant and minor, who is the sole male next of kin and also the lawfully-adopted son and heir-at-law of his late Highness Pertaub Shean, Rajah of Sattara, deceased, and also the nearest male next of kin and heir-at-law of his late Highness Appa Sahib, also Rajah of the said State, deceased."

In this petition Rungo Bapoojee tried to establish the claims of Shahoo Maharaj to the throne of Satara by arguments which have been already stated before :—

"Shahoo Maharaj," he wrote, "is by birth the lawful and only son and heir of the late Bulwant Rao, commonly called Balla Sahib Senaputty, who, in his lifetime, was thus described by Sir Robert Grant, Governor of Bombay, in a minute dated 30th January, 1837 ; 'The question is as to Balla Sahib Senaputty ; he is the near relation of the Rajah (Pertaub Shean), and, supposing that the Rajah and the Rajah's brother (Appa Sahib) were set aside, the proper representative of the family.' * * * *

"And your Petitioner further sheweth that according to the laws of nations, being part and parcel of the municipal law of the British realm, and also according to the laws and customs of the Mahratta State and the other native states of India, and likewise according to the law and practice of the British Indian dominions, the right of a Rajah of any Mahratta or Hindoo principality to give succession to the same by means of male adoption is, and hath ever been, an indisputable and immemorial right, and your petitioner humbly submits that the same cannot now be lawfully questioned by the East India Company, or by any person or persons whomsoever. * * *

"And your Petitioner further sheweth that the infant Shahoo Maharaj, being not only the adopted son of the Rajah Pertaub Shean, but also his male next of kin, and also the sole male next of kin and heir of the Rajah Appa Sahib, even if the act of adoption had not taken place, he would according to law and to the second treaty have equally inherited, upon the death of the Rajah Appa Sahib, in such his character of

male heir and next of kin, and that therefore both by adoption and by blood, Shahoo Maharaj is now the undoubted lawful heir of the Rajah Pertaub Shean, as also of the Raja Appa Sahib.

* * * *

“And your Petitioner further sheweth that he hath repeatedly presented to the East India Company his complaints touching the grievances and wrongs done to Shahoo Maharaj, and sought reparation for the same, but that all his complaints have been unheeded or rejected without examination or inquiry ; and that to add to these grievances, and also with the view of compelling Shahoo Maharaj to renounce and abandon the prosecution of his claims in that behalf, the East India Company did for several years deny to him and to the widow or Ranee of the Raja Pertaub Shean, * * * * the means of subsistence for himself and the said Ranee, and for their retainers, until such time as they should agree to such written renunciation or abandonment ; * * * *

“And your Petitioner further sheweth that, in furtherance of their purpose of forcibly compelling this infant to agree to such renunciation and abandonment, the East India Company have, by withholding from the Ranee for about four years the means of subsistence for herself and her household, procured from her some document whereby she hath (as they allege) debarred herself of her right to concur with your Petitioner in his present Petition ; but your Petitioner is advised and submits that, inasmuch as the Ranee hath no jurisdiction over Shahoo Maharaj, nor power to sign away his rights, he being an infant and a minor, any such document, even if the same be genuine or valid as against the Ranee, and even if not extorted from her under duress and starvation, must be and is, as against Shahoo Maharaj, wholly inoperative and void.

* * * *

“That by reason of Shahoo Maharaj being treated at Benares as a political prisoner, although denied to be a Rajah either by birth or adoption, the local courts of the East India Company are prohibited from entertaining the matter of his

complaint in the premises, while by reason of the forcible detention of his person by the same power which refuses to hear him, at the very same time that it degrades and beggars him, he is prevented from placing himself within the jurisdiction of Her Majesty's Supreme Courts in India, and seeking justice from them.

"Your Petitioner has, therefore, no possible hope nor human means of obtaining inquiry and redress for Shahoo Maharaj, except from the justice of your Honourable House, and from the supremacy and impartiality of the British law.

"And therefore your Petitioner humbly prays your Honourable House will be pleased, either to direct the restoration of Shahoo Maharaj to his rights and property in the premises, or else to refer the matter of this Petition, and the case and circumstances therein set forth, to the consideration of the Committee of your Honourable House now appointed to review the conduct of the East India Company in India, with instructions to take all evidence which shall be deemed requisite, and to require the production of all proceedings, correspondence, and documents in the possession or power, or under the control of the East India Company, or their servants, relating to the premises, or of true and exact copies of such particulars respectively, and to report thereon to your Honourable House."

This petition was referred to the Select Committee on Indian Territories. In his Memorial to the Chairman and Committee on Indian Territories, dated 23rd May, 1853, Rungo Bapoojee wrote :—

"That he has lately presented a Petition to the Honourable the House of Commons, for the adoption of measures for the restoration of Shahoo Maharaj to his rights, property, and kingdom, which Petition was on the 2nd of March ordered by the House of Commons to be referred to the select Committee on Indian Territories.

"Your Memorialist, therefore, respectfully prays your Honourable Committee will afford him an opportunity and appoint a day when he may be allowed personally to appear to be heard and examined by the Committee, with the view of

proving the allegations made and set forth in the said Petition.

"Your Memorialist prays that should he succeed in proving the facts stated in the said Petition, that your Honourable Committee will report the same accordingly to the Honourable the House of Commons, and that justice may be done in the premises."

But no answer was returned to this Memorial, for the Select Committee were not prepared to restore Satara to its rightful sovereign. These Committees appointed, after every twenty years, to inquire into the conduct of the East Indian Company's Government of India never did any good to India and that of 1853 was not going to prove an exception to the general rule.

CHAPTER V

Rungo Bapoojee had been now fourteen years away from India; and in season and out of season, he urged the claims of his sovereign on the Authorities connected with India. He appealed to the East India Company, the Houses of Parliament and the British public to do justice to the ill-treated Rajah of Satara. His stay in England was of no personal advantage to him, for he suffered both in health and in wealth. *The Daily News* of August 7, 1851, wrote regarding Rungo Bapoojee as follows:—

“There can be but few West-end residents of London who do not know the person of Rungo Bapoojee, in his Eastern costume, who has for twelve years lived amongst us, hoping against all hope, on behalf of this relic of Mahratta greatness. Unfortunately there can also be but very few in a position to know and value his moral worth; for, though master of our language in the written form, he has never been able to overcome its spoken difficulties. By birth he is a Mahratta gentleman, in every sense of that word; a man of high caste, rigidly strict in all the observances of his faith; and what privations must, in England, be involved in those observances, they only can appreciate who have studied the details of the Hindoo religion. Fortified, however, by a high sense of duty to his master and his family, encouraged in its performance by an aged father, who, whilst dying, more than a century in years, urged him to perseverance. Rungo has suffered on, has been active, in season and out, in seeking redress for what he holds to be great wrongs; no rebuff has disheartened, no repulse wearied him, persuaded that at last he should touch the heart and get justice of the English nation. Deprived, by his master's misfortunes and death, of the means of support in Benares, he has pledged his own credit in India, raised money

on his own estates, and spent not less than £10,000 of his own resources in doing what he deemed his duty. In short, a nobler act of self-devotion than that of Rungo Bapoojee on behalf of a fallen house has rarely occurred. For his misfortunes over here, years of purification will have to follow his return to India, ere he be again restored to the benefit of his caste and the hopes of his religion."

It was because Rungo Bapoojee believed the Raja innocent of the crimes with which he had been charged, that he underwent all the troubles and suffered all the miseries by his long residence in England. In his letter to the Right Hon. J. C. Herries, dated July 26th, 1852, he wrote :--

"I, a man of birth and rank in my own country, have dwelt for twelve long years in this, an exile from my wife, children, kindred, friends ; exposed to the scoffs, the scorn, and the proud contumely which are often, I find, the portion of the friendless and unfortunate stranger even in Christian England. Suppose yourself, an English gentleman, dwelling at Peking for the same time as I have dwelt in London, and advocating among the Chinese, as I have humbly done here, perhaps feebly and ignorantly done, the stainless innocence of your Queen, who had been secretly accused and deposed by a Chinese Emperor, backed by his 400 millions of men : What human sentiment, I ask, could have the strength to sustain you unflinching throughout this painful advocacy, other than the one sentiment, imprinted on my heart, which has supported me in mine ; the stainless innocence, delivered from intimate personal knowledge of the Rajah ? Is my testimony so attested in his case entitled to less credibility than yours would receive from every rightminded man in the case supposed ? And remember, Sir, all I have besought, nevertheless, from the justice of the India House has been, not the acquittal of the Rajah, but enquiry into his guilt."

But from want of funds, Rungo Bapoojee could no longer prolong his stay in England. Moreover, there was

no hope of his obtaining any justice from the Authorities in England, for his sovereign. The Committee on Indian Territories for 1853 did not require him to attend as a witness to give any evidence regarding the Satara affairs. Disappointed and disheartened, there was no other course left for Rungo Bapoojee than that of returning to India.

But he was now in pecuniary difficulties and was thus unable to leave England. He had several times applied to the India House for advancing him a loan to liquidate his debts and pay his passage to India. At length, wearied out by his importunities they paid him what he desired. Sir John Kaye in the first volume of his *History of the Sepoy War* wrote regarding Rungo Bapoojee :—

"Able and energetic, he had pushed his suit with a laborious, untiring conscientiousness rarely seen in a Native envoy ; but though aided by much soundness of argument and much fluency of rhetoric expended by others than hired advocates upon the case of the Satarah Princes, he had failed to make an impression on their judges. * * * * So the crafty Mahratta made such a good impression even upon those whom his suit had so greatly troubled, that his debts were paid for him, and he was sent back at the public expense to Bombay with money in his pocket from the Treasury of the India House ; * * * * ."

Then in a footnote, Sir John Kaye adds :—

"Rungo Bapoojee returned to India in December, 1858. The East India Company gave him 2,500£ and a free passage."

Thus ended the mission of Rungo Bapoojee in England.

On the eve of his departure from England, he was presented with a silver plate by his English friends and

admirers, whose names and the inscription on the plate are given below :—

THE NAMES OF THE SUBSCRIBERS.

Joseph Hume, M. P.
 John Bright, M. P.
 Harford Jones.
 Geo. Thompson.
 Sir Harford J. Brydges, Bart.
 John Sullivan.
 John Briggs.
 Major-General R. Robertson.
 B. Murray.
 Francis Carnac Brown.
 A. Curzon.
 James Grant Duff.
 John Bull.
 James Malcolmson.
 William Hay Keith.
 Charles Moody.
 D. Delamotte, Lieut-General.
 Thos. Prout.
 Wm. H. Stephens.
 Caroline Cogan.
 George Leslie.
 John Wilson.

THE INSCRIPTION IN THE MIDDLE OF THE PLATE.

A MEMORIAL

OF

SINCERE RESPECT AND ESTEEM

TO

RAJAMANIA RAJASREE RUNGO BAPOJI OF SATTARA

For 14 years the Vakeel of H. H. Pertaub Shewun.

RAJAH OF SATTARA

Upon his leaving England and returning to India
 after his long and painful exile.

Presented by his friends

THE SUBSCRIBERS.

London, November, 1853.

CHAPTER VI

THE END OF RUNGO BAPOOJEE.

After his return to India, we have no account of what Rungo Bapoojee did for three years. But during the Indian Mutiny of 1857, we hear of him again as alleged to have been trying to murder English men and women of Satara and Mahabaleshwar. The best official account of the end of Rungo Bapoojee is to be found in the Satara Volume of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, from which the following extract is here given:—

(*Satara Gazetteer pp. 317—318*)

"A short time before (30th June 1857) a gang robbery had taken place near Parli behind the Satara fort. It was then reported that this gang formed a detachment from a considerable body of men who had gathered in the neighbouring forests but had dispersed on the return of the troops from Persia. It was now ascertained that Pratapsinh's agent Rungo Bapuji had been living for six weeks in Parli, and that he had gathered this body of men to act with the band assembled in the Bhor country and with armed men hid in Satara. The plot was mainly directed by Rungo Bapuji, who had visited England as Pratapsinh's agent. The intention was at the same time to attack Satara, Yavateshvar, and Mahabaleshvar, to massacre all Europeans, and to plunder the treasury and the town. Besides circulating news of the rising in Hindustan, Rungo Bapuji set on foot absurd but widely believed stories: The Governor of Bombay had commissioned Rungo to restore Pratapsinh's family and had ordered him to seize all Europeans who were to be released if they agreed to the arrangement and if they refused to agree were to be massacred. Meetings of conspirators had begun as far back as January 1857. Matters had failed to come to a head merely for want of concert, and the failure of one or other of the number to bring his contin-

gent at the proper moment. At their last meeting the ring-leaders had solemnly sworn over the sweetmeats which they ate together never again to fail. At the time the information was received every thing was ripe for an attack. In Satara the organization was incomplete as at the last the conspirators were short of ammunition. In Bhor were large stores of powder, lead, and cannon balls, and in Satara 820 bullets were found ready cast in one house. According to the evidence at the trials, after the last meeting 2000 men were ready for the attack and arrangements had been made for opening the jail and for letting out the 300 convicts. The Pant Sachiv was deeply involved in the plot and the other feudatories were believed to be no less guilty, and members of Pratapsinh's family who were living at the old palace were proved to be closely implicated. One night the horses of Shahu, Pratapsinh's adopted son, and of Durgasing, the Senapati's adopted son, were saddled that the young Rajas might head the attack. Antaji Raje Shirke, known as Bavasaheb, the native head of the Satara police, who was then drawing £60 (Rs. 600) a month, was completely corrupted by the elder Rani, and had engaged to keep the local police inactive. It also came out that during the previous year Bavasaheb had been intriguing to bring 40,000 Rohillas to Satara. The inquiry further showed that Shahaji's adopted son Venkaji Bhonsle had knowledge of the treasonable designs against the British Government. It was uncertain whether he was under the influence of Pratapsinh's family or of the great estate-holders. The impression formed by Government was that he was trimming between the two parties, fearing that unless he fell in with their designs, if Pratapsinh's party succeeded he would be in a worse position than he was under the British Government. Secret levies were being raised in all parts of the district from Bhor to the furthest part of Khanapur. Valva, on the line of communication with Kolhapur, was the seat of much intrigue. Rungo Bapuji used to boast that he could bring over a thousand men from Belgaum and that Kolhapur would also rise. The event proved that as regarded Kolhapur his boast was well founded. Besides this, if the confessions of

Pratapsinh's adopted son are to be believed, encouraged by Holkar and Rango Bapuji, the Ranis had been plotting ever since their return from Benares in 1845. The province, as it was then called, of Satara was ripe for sedition. With one exception the feudatories were without male issue, and in consequence of the non-recognition of Shahaji's adoption were afraid that at their deaths their estates would be lost to their families. Government had also decided that alienations made by the last two Rajas without the Resident's consent were to be resumed on the death of present holders. These sources of discontent had much less influence on the people than a feeling which, since their return to Satara in 1854, had sprung up in favour of Pratapsinh's family. The first news of the mutinies in Upper India came to Satara in a private letter to an obscure Brahman. The Brahman took the letter to Pratapsinh's chief Rani and prayed for her favour when she came into power. The letter was read publicly in the native library. The receiver was warned to burn it and the matter was kept a close secret. One of the reasons for a rising on which Rango Bapuji dwelt ever since his return from England was England's embroilment with Russia. This, he said, gave the best possible chance for gathering levies and raising the people against the British power in India. He said that all the discontented people in the Deccan looked to Satara, the ancient seat of the Maratha empire, as the place which should first free itself from the British yoke.

Several arrests were made in July, including the son of Rango Bapuji, in Kolhapur territory. Though a reward of £50 (Rs. 500) was offered for his apprehension Rango Bapuji escaped and has never been heard of. The detachment of Europeans reached Satara at the end of June and for about a fortnight all remained quiet. On the 13th of July a desperate attack was made on the office and treasury of the mamlatdar of Pandharpur, then in Satara, with the further object of raising the eastern districts on the Nizam's border. The attempt was made with only a few men and the attack was successfully repelled by the local police with a loss of four killed including the mamlatdar of Pandharpur. Two of the six leaders were

killed in the attack, the other four were captured and blown from guns at Satara with two of their followers. The rest were transported. On the 27th of August a special commission sat for the trial of seventeen persons concerned in the plot, including the son and another relation of Rango Bapuji. These persons were convicted and executed on the 8th of September.

The end of Rungo Bapoojee suits more the pages of a romance than of history. But it is difficult to place implicit faith in the official account. Rungo Bapoojee had lived for fourteen years in England and had seen the might and prowess of the British Empire. The Afghan ruler, Dost Mahomed, who had been kept captive at Calcutta, was so impressed with the arsenals, magazines and dockyard of the British in India, that when during the days of the Indian Mutiny, his officers and men advised him to take advantage of the confused state of affairs then prevailing in India, he declined to do so, for he knew the strength of the British better than any one of his advisers. He refrained from moving out of his capital and attacking the Peshawar Valley, because he knew the military resources of the British.

Did Rungo Bapoojee, who had spent 14 years in England and seen the Exhibition of 1851, possess less intelligence than the Afghan monarch, so as to have cherished the foolish plan with which the British officials credited him? He must have known the military resources of the British Empire much better than the wily Dost Mahomed. The ill-treatment, and the insults that Rungo Bapoojee had been subjected to in England and India by the Authorities of the East India Company, might have goaded him on to the adoption of the scheme which had for its object the destruction of the British, the source of all his troubles as well as of

the family of his late sovereign, whom he had loyally and faithfully served.

But Rungo Bapoojee was neither a fool nor a mad man. He was by nature a remarkably intelligent man and having lived in England for 14 years, he was fully acquainted with the strength and resources of the British Government and it is impossible to believe that he could have projected the plot or set on foot such absurd stories as referred to above.

The outspoken manner in which he criticised the doings of the Indian Authorities, and also the merciless exposure of their misdeeds, had made him incur the enmity of all highly paid and highly situated European servants of the East India Company. They did not like the agitation which Rungo Bapoojee had set on foot in England in favour of his sovereign Pratap Singh and his family. Indeed, in one of his letters to the Chairman of the Court of Directors, written as far back as 24th January, 1842, Rungo Bapoojee complained of the ill-treatment he had received at the hands of certain officers of the East India Company, who were his fellow passengers in the steamer "Oriental." He wrote:—

"It is my painful duty to inform your Honourable Court that certain of your officers, late my fellow-passengers in the steamer "Oriental" from Malta, conducted themselves in language and manner so offensively towards me, as to render necessary this representation of their behaviour. I had hardly been an hour on board, on the evening we sailed, when, as I was ascending to the deck, these persons came up and accosted me in the Hindostanee language. On learning my name, and hearing from me that I was one of the agents of the de-throned Raja of Satara, returning to England on his Highness's behalf, one of the number who afterwards refused to give his name, commenced grossly to revile my master, called his

Highness 'liar', to my face ; then deriding and ridiculing me, he asked me what good I expected I should be able to do by returning to England ; said that the gallows there awaited me, or, at the least, that your Honourable Court would cause me to be driven or transported out of the country."

Of course, the Court of Directors took no notice of Rungo Bapoojee's complaint. But does it not appear probable, that those very officers who at one time would have been glad to see Rungo Bapoojee hanged or transported for life for no other offence than that of his going to England as an Agent of his deposed sovereign, concocted a conspiracy against him to get him into trouble at a time when it was notorious that men were being hanged and blown from the mouth of cannon on mere suspicion and without any form of trial? There were many British officers who were thirsting for Rungo Bapoojee's blood, for they thought that his agitation in England was one of the main factors in the causation of the Mutiny. They would have been immensely gratified to see him executed. Rungoo Bapoojee himself knew this and so he disappeared at the time when they wanted him. But if he was not to be found, they were satisfied by executing his son and another near relative.

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 pretences, 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 Krutna, 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 pretexs, 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 is 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 Girjabaee 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 propotion 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 Cerberian 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.

Born in	A.D. 1627	...	} The great Siváji.
Crowned	do. 1674	...	
Died	do. 1680	...	
Born in	A.D. 1657	...	} Sambháji, Chhatrapati of Satara.
Crowned	do. 1681	...	
Slain	do. 1688	...	
Born in	A.D. 1682	...	} Siváji or Sháhu I.
Crowned	do. 1708	...	
Died	do. 1749	...	
...adopted...			
Born in	A.D. 1708	...	} Rám Rájá. (Seals Nos. 1 and 2.)
Crowned	do. 1750	...	
Died	do. 1777	...	
...adopted...			
Crowned	in	A.D. 1778	} Sháhu II. (Seal No. 3.)
Died		do. 1808	
┌───────────┐			
Crowned	in	A.D. 1808	} Pratóp Sing. Sháháji Rájá. {
Deposed		do. 1839	
			{ Born in A.D. 1802.
			{ Crowned in A.D. 1839.
			{ Died on 5 April 1848.
(Seal No. 4.)			(Seal No. 5.)

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.

Vol. XVI. 17.

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 रामपुत्रीविराजते ॥

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 स्वामीचरकोतसर
बलवंतराव राजकुवर समराव बाहादुर निरंतर.

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

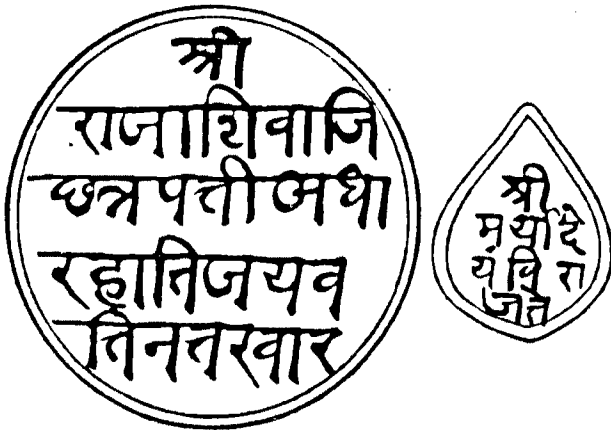
सेखनसीमा.

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 Nattoo, 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 Nattoo 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, Kundoo 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 criminal 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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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,

