

# **TRIAL OF NARAYAN RAO HOLKAR**

Collated and Compiled

by

**SANJIV P. DESAI**

(Reprinted from Maharashtra Archives Bulletin No. 12)

**GOVERNMENT OF MAHARASHTRA**

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## TRIAL OF NARAYAN RAO HOLKAR

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In the following pages is unfolded the story of a Rebel named Narayan Rao Holkar, who, in the early days of British rule in Maharashtra, assembled a gang of followers and committed several acts of plunder in Nasik territory and who was charged with exciting rebellion against the British Government. He was ultimately convicted and hanged in the public manner.

The related extracts are taken from the *Judicial Department Diary* No. 121 of 1820 (pages 1824-96) preserved in Bombay Archives.

During the first few years of the British rule in Maharashtra there were several instances of disturbances a few of which are still to be unearthed from the contemporary correspondence. The last war between the Marathas and the English began in November 1817 and came to an end when the Peshwa Baji Rao II surrendered to Malcolm on 3rd June 1818. When the British established their rule in this newly 'conquered territory', a vast body of unemployed soldiery was thrown upon the country. They were ready to join not merely in any feasible attempt to overthrow the British power, but in any scheme which promised plunder and anarchy.

Narayan Rao Holkar, according to the deposition, given by him during his trial, seems to belong to the famous Holkar family of Indore. His estate was confiscated and he was put in confinement by Malharrao Holkar, son of Yeshwantrao Holkar. He effected his escape and with a view to regain his 'territory', he first joined one Rup Singh Thakur and then Kadir Baksh Pendhari. Then he came to Nagpur and was offered the command of one thousand or more there. He declined to enter into such a course of life. He further sought assistance from the officers of Shindes of Gwalior and the Nizam of Hyderabad. He levied two or three thousand men and sent his representative one Bajaba Bhan to the Nizam. Bajaba was apprehended by the Nizam's officers, and mutiny broke out amongst Narayan Rao's levies.

Then he returned to Nasik District, where he met one Vithal Rao Vinchurkar, on whose advice he assembled a band of forty or fifty followers and started to plunder the country. It was found that the Kulkarni of Niphad and five Koli Chiefs joined Narayan Rao's service, even when they knew of his plans of disturbing the tranquillity of the country. The band of rebels started to molest the villagers who did not give tribute to support them. At last a small force was sent and the rebel Narayan Rao, along with some followers, was arrested. He was charged with exciting rebellion against the British Government and causing the death of one Jiwa Teli of village Rajur by inflicting tortures on him for



the purpose of extorting money from him. He was tried before Arthur Crawford, Assistant Collector and Magistrate, Ahmadnagar and was proved guilty.

The prisoner stated that he was in no way accessory to the death of the deceased Teli (oilman), that the tortures had not been inflicted on him by his orders and that he was totally ignorant of what had been done by his people. He acknowledged having levied contributions on different villagers and extracted money from individuals, but declared that he did so by the instructions of Vithal Rao *alias* Mama Vinchurkar. His defence that he had been actuated to the commission of acts of rebellion by Mama Vinchurkar was considered to be totally unworthy of attention, as that person never was heard of during the existence of the rebellion, except as one of the *Karbharis* of the chief rebel.

With respect to the death of the oilman, who was tortured by his orders, the only possible extenuation that can be offered for such shocking cruelty, was that the Prisoner apparently did not mean to destroy the unfortunate man but to extort money from him. The method, however, to which he resorted for that purpose was so inhuman, that he must have felt, at that instant, conscious of the risk he ran of causing death to the oilman, and hence he was, therefore, considered as guilty as if he had perpetrated the crime with his own hand.

The Hindu Law Authorities (*Shastris*) were consulted to know whether according to the Hindu Law Books, the prisoner was guilty or not and what punishment be awarded to him. They declared him guilty and suggested various kinds of punishment.

William Pottinger, Collector of Ahmadnagar, recommended that the Prisoner Narayan Rao Holkar should be hanged at Nasik in the most public manner, as an example to the natives of the newly conquered provinces, that no rank or connection would secure criminals from the impartial awards of British justice. William Chaplin, the Deccan Commissioner, while forwarding the proceedings of the trial to the Government of Bombay, suggested that taking into consideration distant connection of the prisoner with the Holkar family, the Governor may deem it proper to commute the penalty of death to transportation for life or perpetual confinement in a hill fort.

However, the Governor and his Council resolved that the sentence of death pronounced against Narayan Rao Holkar be confirmed and that he be hanged at Nasik in the most public manner, until he be dead, and the Deccan Commissioner was authorised to carry the sentence into execution accordingly.

The Compiler is beholden to Capt. Dr. B. G. Kunte, Director of Archives, for encouragement and guidance given to him, while compiling this source material for the *Bulletin*.

Sanjiv P. Desai.



## EXTRACTS

**No. 1 :** The Deccan Commissioner forwards to the Government of Bombay the proceedings on the trial of Narayan Rao Holkar convicted of having assembled a Band of followers and committed divers acts of plunder and rebellion in the Nasik Province.

*From :* William Chaplin, Commissioner of the Deccan.

*To :* F. Warden, Chief Secretary to Government of Bombay.

*Bombay, 19th May 1820.*

I have the honour to forward Copies of the proceedings on the trial of Narrain Row Holkar who recently assembled a Band of Followers, and committed Divers acts of plunder and rebellion, in the Nasik Province,<sup>1</sup> put to torture several of the inhabitants, one of whom died from the inhuman treatment he received at the hands of the Rebels.

There is I think nothing to extenuate the Guilt of the Prisoner, which seems to be fully established, and I am therefore of opinion that Captain Pottinger's<sup>2</sup> suggestion regarding his Capital punishment might with great propriety be adopted. The prisoner, if related at all, is a very distant connection of the Holkar family.<sup>3</sup> This consideration need not therefore have much weight in determining the extent of his punishment; but if it is allowed to have any the Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Governor<sup>4</sup> in Council may perhaps deem it proper to commute the penalty of death to transportation for life, of perpetual confinement in a Hill Fort.

**No. 2 :** Enclosure to the above : The Collector of Ahmadnagar forwards to the Commissioner of the Deccan the proceedings of the trial held by his Assistant on Narayan Rao Holkar and recommends that the prisoner Narayan Rao be hanged at Nasik in the most public Manner.

*From :* Captain Pottinger, Collector of Ahmadnagar.

*To :* William Chaplin, Commissioner of the Deccan.

*Ahmednagar,<sup>5</sup> 12th May 1820.*

I have the honour to forward to you the Proceedings of a trial held by Mr. Crawford,<sup>6</sup> my 2nd Assistant, on Narrayen Rao Holkar.

<sup>1</sup> Now Nasik is a District in Maharashtra State, lying between 19° 35' and 20° 53' N. and 73° 15' and 84° 56' E., with an area of 5,850 sq. miles.

<sup>2</sup> Captain Henry Pottinger, the Collector of Ahmadnagar.

<sup>3</sup> The famous Holkar family of Indore, founded by Malhar Rao Holkar.

<sup>4</sup> Ahmadnagar—now headquarters of Ahmadnagar District.

<sup>5</sup> Arthur Crawford—Second Assistant Collector and Magistrate, Ahmadnagar.

As the 1st Assistant was absent on leave, and I have already offered my opinion on the Guilt of this person in my dispatch of the 28th February last to your address.<sup>1</sup> I deemed it proper to request Mr. Crawford to undertake the present investigation, and I hope you will approve of the motives which impelled me to do so.

Of the guilt of the Prisoner there cannot be the slightest doubt, and the defence which he has attempted to set up, of having been actuated to the Commission of acts of rebellion by Rowjee (Mamma) Vinchoorkar is totally unworthy of attention, as that person never was heard of during the existence of the Rebellion, except as one of the Kurbarries [*Karbharis*], Chief Agents of the Culprit.

In the translation of the Deposition Marked B of the trial (which formed O of the series transmitted in my Dispatch) Narryaen Rao Holkar expressly admits that he in person plundered the house of Jeewah Kooshal Buneea [Jiwa Kushal Bania] of the village of Wankay<sup>2</sup> and likewise declares that he directed the unfortunate Oilman to be tortured. Indeed, so precise is he in this last instance, that he mentions the name of the very man to whom he entrusted the execution of this inhuman order.

Mr. Crawford has considered it advisable to record as component parts of the trial, my Dispatches to you and to Mr. William<sup>3</sup> of the 28th of February last,<sup>4</sup> and also some Depositions and & ca. alluded to in those letters, but of which the deponents were not called to give evidence on the trial, owing to some of them being Prisoners and others not being considered requisite.

Two additional Depositions marked 7 and 8 are also transmitted. The persons who gave them have since died of the Epidemic.

It now becomes my duty to offer my sentiments as to the punishment which Narryaen Rao Holkar would suffer, and in doing so I shall lay any consideration of his connections aside, conceiving that that question is one which must rest on the opinion, in ameliorating his fate, of the highest authorities.

The crime of rebellion has always been punished with death, either immediate, or by a lingering fate, even though the offenders were Bramins, under the Native Governments of this Country; and if it has been proved that Narryaen Rao Holkar had in his procedure, even conceived the plan of subverting our authority he would have been, on that Charge alone, most justly deserving of death. The sole object however with which he seems at first to have acted was to assemble a band of followers in the

<sup>1</sup> See No. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Wake—a village, now in Malegaon Taluka, Nasik District.

<sup>3</sup> William Wilkins—employed under the Commissioner in the Deccan.

<sup>4</sup> See Nos. 4 and 5.



abused home of establishing his authority, over what heesteemed to be his patrimonial dominions, and when he failed in that scheme, he betook himself to plunder as the only means of support.

The Deposition A of the trial contains ample proofs of the credulity of the Prisoner in many instances, and especially in imagining that his cause was about to be espoused by Captain Sydenham (whom he calls *Alleeshan Sahib*), the Political Agent in Berar; and when he was driven from the object, and we soon after conquered Bajee Row's dominions, he appears to have been tempted by the natural strength of the Purgunnahs [*Parganas*] of Nassuck [Nasik], Trimbuck [Trimbak]<sup>1</sup> and Wunn [Vani]<sup>2</sup>, to take refuge in the fastnesses with which they abound.

With respect to the death of the Oilman, who was tortured by his orders, the only possible extenuation that can be offered for such shocking cruelty is that the Prisoner apparently did not mean to destroy the unfortunate man, but to extort money from him. The method, however to which he resorted for that purpose was so inhuman, that he must have felt, at that instant, conscious of the risk he ran of causing the death of the Oilman, and he must therefore, be considered as guilty as if he had perpetrated the crime with his own hand.

Under this view of the case, and as an example to the natives of our new Provinces, that no rank or Connection will secure criminals from the impartial awards of British justice, I have to conclude this letter by recommending that the Prisoner Narayan Rao Holkar shall be hanged at Nassuck in the most public manner.

### No. 3 : Trial of Narayan Rao Holkar charged with exciting rebellion against the British Government.

The Trial of Narron Row [Narayan Rao] Annund Row [Anand Rao] Bir Surtaj [Santaji ?] Holkar charged with exciting rebellion against the Hon'ble Company's Government and causing the death of Jewa Tellee of the Village of Rajoor<sup>3</sup> Pergunnah Kotool by inflicting on him the most excruciating tortures for the purpose of extorting Money from him.

The Prisoner having had his Depositions marked A and B read to him is desired to plead Guilty or not Guilty of the Charges laid to him.

The Prisoner pleads.....Guilty.

<sup>1</sup> Trimbak is now a town in the District and *taluka* of Nasik, situated in 19° 54' N. and 73° 33' E., 20 miles south-west of Nasik town. It was once headquarters of a *pargana*.

<sup>2</sup> Vani—13 miles, north of Dindori in Nasik District. Vani (also mentioned as Van) was once the head-quarters of a petty division.

<sup>3</sup> Rajur Bahula—in Nasik *Taluka*, Nasik District.



The Court however considers it proper to call Witnesses with a view to more effectually establishing the admission of his Guilt. The first Witness called was Kannoojee *wallud* Mahadjee Patail of the Village of Kooshigum<sup>1</sup> *Purgunnah* Nassick who having been duly sworn to tell the truth and his Deposition (marked C) having been read to him he is desired to declare whether the contents are true and whether he recollects ever having seen the Prisoner.

Witness acknowledged the truth of his Deposition and says that the Prisoner is the person who was pointed out to him as Narrun Row [Narayan Rao] Holkar when the Band came to his Village in November last. He believes there are about 40 people with him. Prisoner appeared to him to have Command of the party.

The Witness knows not more and is permitted to retire.

Sworn to before me this Second day of May 1820.

(Signed) A. Crawford,

2nd Assistant Collector and Magistrate.

No. 4 : The observations made by the Collector of Ahmadnagar on Narayan Rao Holkar's rebellion. He suggests some measures for improving police arrangement in the newly conquered country.

From : Henry Pottinger, Collector of Ahmadnagar.

To : William Wilkins.

*Dapoorie*,<sup>2</sup> 28th February 1820

1. I did myself the honour to address you on the 25th ultimo regarding the Rebel Narrun Row Holkar.

2. Since then I have had the honor of receiving your Dispatches on the same subject, under the several dates of the 22nd and 25th of January and 1st, 4th and 9th of February and I now proceed to communicate to you some observations which have occurred to me on a perusal of them and their various enclosures.

3. The assertion made by Narrun Rao Holkar and his three followers in the first Deposition they gave, that no cruelties had been inflicted on any of the inhabitants of the Country are proved to be totally false, and the admission of the former person himself in his reply to the accusations of Jewah Kooshal Banea of the Village of Waunkay, sets the question of by whose orders those cruelties were practiced equally at rest. It is however of much importance that the death of the Oilman of Rajoor should be clearly ascertained to have happened in consequence of the torture he was put to and I beg you will have the kindness to

<sup>1</sup> Kusbegaon—in Igatpuri Taluka, Nasik District.

<sup>2</sup> Dapuri—a village in Haveli Taluka, Pune District.

send a careful Karkoon accompanied by the Bunclea [Banja] above named to the village where the sufferer is stated to have resided, and obtain a detailed account of his demise and the cause and manner of it.

4. The Statements made by the Thakoors of Dhurgaon<sup>1</sup> and also that of the Patil of Kooshegaum are very satisfactory as leaving no doubt of Narron Row Holkar's having been with and considered the Head of the Rebels.

5. With regard to the conduct of Jewaji Naique [Jiwaji Naik] and Bhagwanah, the two sepoys of the Fort of Pattah<sup>2</sup>, there does not appear to me to be the least cause for suspecting the former, and though the latter did not adopt the most single steps to have Narron Row Holkar seized yet his manner is in some degree accounted for if we reflect that had he told the Jamadar of the plot he had laid for securing the rebels the Jamadar would in all probability have taken the credit of the affair to himself, besides which as Bhugwanah was chiefly instrumental to the apprehension of the Prisoners it is hardly just to scrutinize the feelings with which he might have wavered and it is as likely his fidelity prevailed as that he was actuated by any other motive.

6. The circumstances of Bhagwanah having met a man in the road, who told him his object in going to Tirdhe<sup>3</sup> does not seem to me to be improbable, because throughout all the Deposition which you have obtained on this case, there is an evident carelessness about disguise and even a studied plan for making it known that Narron Row Holkar was in the Neighbourhood of Nasick and entertaining troops, but had Bhugwanah attempted to seize this man at the moment he would have inevitably frustrated the plot he appears to have instantly formed of seizing the rebels, and though he was very dilatory (according to our ideas) in its execution yet he managed it very well. I am therefore sorry you should have confined him as the cause of your doing so may not be clearly comprehended, and it may deter others from coming forward in similar cases in future. I hope however by your releasing him and presenting him a dress in Public *Durbar* that the apprehensions of the persons who have fled will be alleged. The Naique (Jewajee) should also have an honorary dress and you have my authority to incur an expense of 100 Rupees on *Khillats*<sup>4</sup> for those two persons.

7. The insinuations of Narron Row Holkar that he was offered men by Jewajee Naique may be true but it is much more probable they are false, else why should the latter have lent a hand to seize him, when he could have, by the slightest hint got that Culprit clear off? The manner

<sup>1</sup> Dhurgaon—in Igatpuri *Taluka*, Nasik District.

<sup>2</sup> Fort of Patta (*alias* Vishramgad)—in Akola *Taluka*, Ahmadnagar District, 16 miles north-east of Akola.

<sup>3</sup> Tirdhe—a village in Peth *Mahal*, Nasik District.

<sup>4</sup> *Khilats*—the Dress of Honour.



in which Narron Row was endeavoured to involve the two Koolies [Kolís] appears to me to be highly reprehensible and unworthy even of him.

8. The Coolkurny [Kulkarní] of Niphar<sup>1</sup> seems to have entered Narron Row Holkar's Service, when he knew of his plans of disturbing the tranquillity of the Country, and he is therefore in my opinion, deserving of marked punishment. I shall accordingly recommend to the commissioner that his rights as Coolkurny may be confiscated and he himself [be] confined to hard labour for six months. In the [mean] time I beg he may be kept in confinement.

9. The only accusation which appears in the papers sent by you against Razoo Jeejoojee is that he housed Narron Row Holkar for some days. If there is no further alleged fault against him I think he ought to be released and I request you will do so as it will not be proper to detain him in Custody on the mere verbal declarations of the Vinchoorkur.

10. Although the five Coolies [Kolís] who were sent in by the Munsubdar<sup>2</sup> say that they were only with the banditti for a very short time and quitted it, when they saw the molestation offered by it to different Villages, yet as there is no doubt of the fact of their having taken service with Narron Row Holkar and as it seems more than probable they remained amongst the Rebels till the appearance of our Detachments dispersed the whole body, I am not disposed to give any credit to their affirmations, and I beg you will keep them in prison and write to the Munsubdar to know the particulars of how he came to discover that these men had been concerned in the rebellion, on learning which I shall be better able to judge of the extent of their guilt.

11. With respect to the money said to have been extorted from those Coolies I shall take steps to investigate the truth of that Complaint, but I am inclined to doubt it from the circumstance of the Prisoners having stated nothing of the sort in the first confessions they made a few days before, besides had the Munsubdar felt that these men could establish so serious a charge against him I do not think he would have sent them to you.

12. The second Deposition of these people is ambiguously worded that it is impossible to institute an enquiry from it without explanation on one or two points. They state they were sent for by the Sepoy of Atmaram Coolkurny but do not mention the messenger's name nor do they assign any sufficient reason for going so quietly to Rajoor. They add that they there found two of the Cooley Chiefs and the Kumavisdar<sup>3</sup> but of what

<sup>1</sup> Niphar—now headquarters of Niphar Taluka, Nasik District.

<sup>2</sup> Munsubdar—a noble or officer holding a *mansab* or military rank of a certain number of horse, although sometimes wholly engaged in the civil service of the State.

<sup>3</sup> Kumavisdar—The head revenue officer of a district entrusted also with the Police.



place is omitted, and finally they assert that they were thus fined 35 Rupees, thought it is impossible to believe that persons of their description should have gone to Rajoor [and] prepared to pay so large a sum. I shall therefore be much obliged by our calling on them separately to state the name of the sepoy who came for them, why they went with him, where they were carried to, who they paid the money through and what Kumavisdar was present? My object in obtaining these replies is to convict the Munsubdar and Kumavisdar if they are really guilty of having fined and dismissing the Coolies. I therefore shall feel obliged by your procuring very detailed statements for me, and in the interim I shall write to Captains Gordon and Kancoek relative to the sum said to have been taken from the Cooley Chiefs by the Kumavisdar.

13. I do not see any advantage in keeping Narron Row Holkar and his followers longer at Nassick and I therefore request you will be so good as to send them to Ahmednuggur [Ahmadnagar] in the manner formerly pointed out. If they are to be brought forward to Trial, I shall hereafter apprise you of what Witnesses will be required.

14. The five Coolies and the Koolkurney of Niphar had also better be sent to Ahmednuggur but I wish you to detain Viswanath Dixit at Nassick until Suddashew Braminjee is seized in order that those two Bramins may be confronted. If it should eventually appear that Viswanath Dixit did not know who was lodging in his house he must of course, be set at liberty, but this is very improbable, and if he was accessory to secreting Narron Row Holkar I shall feel it my duty to recommend a most reverse punishment for him.

15. The Koolkurney of Niphar states in his Deposition that "the Nephew of the Havildar of the Fort (name not specified) gave Narron Row Holkar 500 Rupees." I request you to do me the favor of obtaining some explanation here in order that I may have the Havildar's Nephew seized and called on to account for his conduct as it is obvious that the more minute our scrutiny is on the present occasion we shall have the less reason to expect any similar disturbances in future.

16. I have perused with much regret the observations in your letter of the 25th Ultimo on the total inefficiency of the Police and Sebundies. This evil is one which requires your utmost exertions to rectify as without unceasing attention the Natives of our new provinces are notoriously wanting in that energy and even willingness which must constitute a good Police. I trust however that by rewarding those who evince activity and severely punishing all who either connive at the acts of Disturbers of the Peace or are supine in their conduct, we shall be soon able to reform the habits of our Police Servants. The plan which you point out of employing the people of the Country in lieu of the foreigners who at present compose our Sebundies is I fear incompatible with the views of Government and the peculiar State of the Society of the lately Conquered Provinces for by entertaining the former we should entice numbers of

Cultivators from their present occupations and by dismissing the latter we should throw a body of discontented men on the Country to subsist themselves by plunder. Indeed, the Sebundies at present within the Collectorate of Ahmudnuggur are, in my judgement, unnecessarily numerous, but it has been admitted by the highest authorities that it would be dangerous and impolitic to dismiss them unless very gradually and I shall always be happy to attend to your suggestions where you consider any of them deserving of that punishment.

The Kumavisdars be held responsible for reporting every instance of failure on the part of the Sebundies in doing their duty as well as all instances where Patails or others fail to seize or to report (if they cannot do the former) all plunderers, and amended state of the Police in the Districts immediately under me satisfies me that everything rests on our indefatigably persevering in shifling every misdemeanour in the bottom.

I shall send copies of your various dispatches alluded to in the 1st Paragraph of this letter to the Commissioner and also Translations of all the Depositions which reached me with them. A transcript of this communication will likewise be submitted to that Gentleman.

**No. 5 :** The Collector of Ahmadnagar forwards correspondence regarding Narayan Rao Holkar to the Deccan Commissioner and solicits his instructions as to the manner in which the Prisoner is to be disposed of.

*From :* Henry Pottinger, Collector of Ahmadnagar.

*To :* William Chaplin, Commissioner of the Deccan.

*Dapoorie, 28th February 1820.*

I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 28th Ultimo.

I have delayed replying to it until it should be in my power to report satisfactorily on the case of the Rebel Narron Row Holkar, who I have allowed to be detained at Nassick at the request of Mr. Wilkins for the purpose of having his person identified.

That object having been fully attained as well as his rebellious proceedings established I have now begged Mr. Wilkins to send him, as before directed to Ahmednuggur.

In the accompanying Copy of a Dispatch<sup>1</sup> which I have this day addressed to Mr. Wilkins I have entered into such detail of the opinion

<sup>1</sup> See No. 4.



I have formed with respect to Narron Rao Holkar and his Associates and partizans that I consider it unnecessary to do more than respectfully refer you to that communication and to express my hopes that you will approve of it.

I have to solicit your instructions as to the manner in which Narron Rao Holkar is to be disposed of whether he is to be considered as having been proved guilty on the Depositions now sent or to be brought to Trial at Ahmednuggur. I fear it will be impossible to prove any very active individual participation in the rebellion by the three followers but as they confess they were with him and are also shewn in the Deposition to have been placed as Sentinels over the Persons seized and carried away from the village of Dhoomar<sup>1</sup> there can remain no doubt of their guilt.

If you approve of the punishment for the Coolkumey of the Village of Niphar alluded to in the 8th Paragraph of my letter to Mr. Wilkins I beg your sanction to carrying it into effect.

The case of the two men (Jewajee Naique and Bhugwanah) from the Fort of Peittah appears to me to have been unaccountably considered by Mr. Wilkins as deserving of punishment and I trust you will approve of the reparation I have requested that Gentleman to make to those people. They have rendered an important service in being the means of the apprehension of Narrain Rao Holkar and as I have stated to Mr. Wilkins, I hardly conceive it fair to doubt their fidelity after such a proof of it.

I shall have the honor to submit to you as soon as they reach me, further details regarding the unfortunate Oilman who is reported to have died from the torture inflicted on him, also respecting the sum said to have been paid to Narran Rao by the Nephew of a Havildar of one of the Forts.

The charge against the Cooley [Koli] chiefs in our employ and the Kamavisdar of Ankola<sup>2</sup> shall be immediately required into, but I confess it appears to me to be merely brought forward by the Coolies to involve others in disgrace and punishment.

The observations in one of Mr. Wilkins's letters to which I have adverted in the 18th Paragraph of my dispatch would have given me much more concern did I not feel perfectly convinced that exertion will remedy the evil complained of, and equally so that without the strictest superintendence of the Chief authority every attempt at introducing a good Police into our new Territories will fail. The application of any rules that may be found to answer in Guzerattee would I fear prove abortive in the Deckan as at present situated. The error into which Mr. Wilkins appears

<sup>1</sup> Dhoomdi (?)—5 miles north of Trimbak, Nasik Taluka.

<sup>2</sup> Ankola is now a taluka of North Kanara District in Karnataka State.



to me to fall as the enclosures to the Dispatch abundantly show as forming a general estimate of all facts (whether alleged or proved) on first sight without enquiring into the minute details can alone lead to the establishment of the truth and the detection of the Minor Agents in any outrage or disturbance.

# No. 6 : Deposition of Narayan Rao Holkar.

## A

*Translation of the Deposition of Narron Row Bin Annund Row Bin Santoy Row Holkar the Cousin of Tookajee Holkar taken on the 14th day of January 1820 (Fusly 1229).*

I had been residing for some days in the House of Vishwanath Dixit Bin Bapoo Dixit in the town of Punchootee [Panchawati] (a suburb of Nassick) when I was seized and brought before the Sirkar when it was demanded of me, who I was, whence I had come, and how I had been employed. I therefore reply. I was formerly in confinement in the Camp of Eshwant Rao Holkar's Son (the present Holkar)<sup>1</sup> by order of Toolso Bye.<sup>2</sup> I fled from that and came to Indore<sup>3</sup> with two Servants. Thence I went to Roop Singh Thakoor Grassi<sup>4</sup> of Puttar. Roopsing collected two or three thousand Horse to assist me in regaining my Territories, but when I saw that his force was so small and reflected that the Country would be plundered and myself eventually taken I quitted the Thakoor and repaired to Kadir Buksh Pindaries<sup>5</sup> Durah<sup>6</sup> (Horde), that Chief and Tookoo Jemadar Pindarie, proposed to me to raise a large body of Horse and to possess myself of my dominions in which they agreed to assist me, but I had no confidence in them and I therefore left them and came to Nagpoor. I there became acquainted with Eshwant Row Appa Mohetay [Mohite] who sent his palankeen and attendants for me and took me to his house with due respect. He then told me, he would introduce me to Appa Sahib<sup>7</sup> and procure for me the command of 1000 or 1500 Horse

<sup>1</sup> Malhar Rao Holkar (1805-33)—Son of Yashwant Rao Holkar, succeeded as an infant : adopted by Yashwant Rao's widow, Tulsa Bai, who became regent. The Army became predominant in the State and in 1817 took up arms against the British. Tulsa Bai on being suspected of British proclivities, was murdered, the army was routed by Malcolm at Mahidpur, on 21st December 1817, terms were made, Malhar Rao being treated as an independent prince. He died in 1833.

<sup>2</sup> Tulsa Bai—widow of Yashwant Rao Holkar, and the regent during the minority of Malhar Rao Holkar.

<sup>3</sup> Indore—now in Madhya Pradesh State, formerly the headquarter of the Holkar's State.

<sup>4</sup> Girasia—a Caste in Gujarat or individual of it, living by piracy, etc. in former times.

<sup>5</sup> Pindaris—a class of plunderers who ravaged the country during the last days of the Maratha rule.

<sup>6</sup> Durah—a body or company of the Pindaris.

<sup>7</sup> Appasahab Bhoosle, Raja of Nagpur—who treacherously attacked the British and Mr. Jenkins, Resident at Nagpur and was defeated at Sitabaldi (November 26-27, 1817). He was taken prisoner. He escaped from custody and sought refuge, in 1818, at Jodhpur, where he died in 1840.

in that prince's service. I replied that by entering into such a line of life I should never either recover my dominions nor see my enemies punished and therefore I must decline it, but that I trusted to him (Moheley) to befriend me. I remained there five months and afterwards took leave and came through Kandeish [Khandesh] to the Village of Rajah Devolgaum<sup>1</sup> whence I went to that of Karlay<sup>2</sup> in the District of Jalnapoor<sup>3</sup> near Pimpalgaum. I resided at Karlay for six or seven months, and then went to Lahary Kulhimsur<sup>4</sup> belonging to Suddasev [Sadashiv] Moray [More], a dependant of Sindiahs [Shindes]. I there met Buijabha Bow Purrushramee [Bajaba Bhan Parashurami] and frequently explained to him all my plans and wishes regarding my patrimonial rights. He was an old dependant of the family and therefore readily entered into my views. At last he sent two Carkoons to Lohary and wrote me he had opened a Negotiation with Walashun Sahib (Capt. Sydenham) who had agreed to receive me and to put me in immediate possession of Umber<sup>5</sup> [Ambad] and other *Purgunnahs*. The Carkoons also told me that it was the Sahib's order that I should proceed with them to Umber [Ambad] where I should be joined by two Battalions and that I was to raise as many troops as I should find requisite. On this information I went to Umber and levied two or three thousand men. I proposed to call for the aid of 6,000 men from the Bhonslah and to send Buijabha Bhow [Bajaba Bhan] to Walashun Sahib at Aurangabad.<sup>6</sup> At this crisis the Kumavisdar &ca. of Umber surprized my Camp. I still adhered to my plan of sending Buijabha Bhow to Aurangabad and soon after I received a letter from Walashun Sahib desiring me to depute a Vakeel to him on which I despatched Buijabha Bhow arranged for my subsidizing two Battalions and he (Buijabha) proceeded to Aurangabad. The Kumavisdar of Umbar now contrived by misrepresentations to have him confined by Rajah Govind Buksh<sup>7</sup>, no Battalion came to my assistance, a Mutiny broke out amongst my levies, and they broke up, on which I made my escape and proceeded towards Oshagarh<sup>8</sup> in Kandeish. I then met Capt. Davies at the Village of Abhye<sup>9</sup> who promised to get Buijabha Bhow released and I went to Oshagarh. None of the promises made to me by Capt. Davies were fulfilled and I therefore dismissed my troops, retaining only five or six followers with whom I travelled on foot about the Country and supported ourselves in the Villages of the Nizam's Country. I had no friend left on earth and therefore dragged on my existence as I best could. In the midst of this

<sup>1</sup> Deolgaon Raja—in Chikhli Taluka, Buldhana District.

<sup>2</sup> Karla—in Jalana Taluka, Aurangabad District.

<sup>3</sup> Now Jalna is a Taluka, in Aurangabad District.

<sup>4</sup> This village cannot be located. There are a number of villages named "Lohari" "Lahori", etc. in Akola, Jalgaon, Dhule Districts.

<sup>5</sup> Ambad—in Ambad Taluka, Aurangabad District.

<sup>6</sup> Aurangabad—now headquarter of District and taluka of the same name.

<sup>7</sup> Raja Govind Buksh—brother of Raja Chandu Lal, the Nizam's Minister.

<sup>8</sup> Ausa Fort—in Ausa Taluka, Osmanabad District.

<sup>9</sup> Ambhai—in Sillod Mahal, Aurangabad District.



the war broke out at Poonah and the Company's authority was established over Bajee Row's dominions so that I was driven to despair, and left without hope. I repaired to the *Purgunnah* of Nimbayet<sup>1</sup> where I met with Wittul Annund Row (usually called Rowjee Vinchoorkar) who told me all his grievances. He informed me that he had been imprisoned and illtreated by the Vinchoorkur that he was therefore about to raise troops to attack and punish him, and he invited me to be of his Party. I answered that I was overwhelmed with misfortunes (and therefore ready to do any thing). On this Rowjee went to Nassick where he, in concert with his friend Bahjee Appajec, entertained forty or fifty Men. He then came back to inform me and I accompanied him to the Nassick *Purgunnah* where we began to move about (*phiroon lagle*). At length the Company's troops came to punish us. Before we encountered them, I told the people with me that they were levying contributions on villages, molesting the Ryots, and committing other acts of violence, that this was not becoming of me, unless it was done in Holkar's dominions where I had a right (as the owner of them) to plunder, if it suited me I should leave them, and go where fate directed, whilst I was yet speaking intelligence arrived of the approach of the Detachments sent against us. I therefore took two men with me, left the Party and remained some days secreted in the Jungle. Soon after this I heard of the skirmish between the Sirkar's people and those under Rowjee Vinchoorkar in the Hills near Unjunnee<sup>2</sup> but I was not present at it, neither do I know that time nor where Rowjee Vinchoorkur is gone. Even the two Men deserted me and I came alone and on foot to the House of Ruggoo Puttee [Raghupati] Rannudhee [Ranade] Sanyassee in Panchoottee [Panchavati] where I stayed some time. I was at last obliged to quit it owing to Trimbuck Row Daishmookh coming to live there, and I went to stay with Vishwanath Dixit Panchoottekar [Pachawatikar]. The three Men (Rama, Pandowjee, & Bhewjee) who are now in confinement with me came to Panchoottee after the skirmish (above alluded to) and we all were seized in the House of Vishwanath Dixit by Yaur Muhemed [Yar Muhammad] Janadar. The above is the whole truth.

Signed by the hand of Narron Row  
Holkar.

Written by the Pen of Gunrajish [Ganesh  
Bhowanee,

Agent of the Coolkurny [Kulkarni] of the  
Town of Nassick.

<sup>1</sup> Nimbayat is a village in Malegaon *taluka*, Nasik District, 10 miles n.w. of Nandgaon. It was formerly headquarter of a petty division.

<sup>2</sup> Anjaneri of Anjini—a flat-topped mass of hill, 4,295 feet above the sea, in the District and *taluka* of Nasik, situated in 19° 57' N. and 73° 35' E.



*Translation of Questions put to and Answers received from Narron Row Holkar (date not specified).*

Q. It has been understood that you obtained some Money from Bhugwant Row the Killadar of Khyrace[?], when did you do so, why did you, and what sum did you take.

A. In April Bhugwant Row was at Nassick, I happened to come there with the following five Persons :—

1. Rama Bhatia
2. Trimbuck Row Mahratta Dindoorkar
3. Mahadew from Kandeish
4. Bhowan Bho Wydeshee
5. Eswant Row Maharatta.

I had one Tuttoo with me, I asked Bhugwant Row to lend me 500 rupees. I gave him no receipt nor did I before know him, but he gave me the money on account of my connections and Credit. Bhugwant Row then resided in the House of Suddoba Braminzee in Panchoottee. This occurred 10 months ago. I have expended the Cash, I used no force to obtain it nor did I leave any thing in pawn. If any thing should be proved false in this I am guilty. The above is true.

Signed by the hand of Narron Row Holkar.

(True Translation)

Signed/Henry Pottinger  
Collector &c.

No. 7 : Second Deposition of Narayan Rao Holkar.

B

*Translation of a Deposition of Narron Row Wullud Anund Row Holkar taken on the 3rd of February 1820.*

I have been desired to state whether I did not seize Jawa Wullud Koosha and Nyaram Wullud Koosha Buneas of the village of Waunkay Purgamah Ankole and extort money from them. I reply, I broke open their shop in November and carried them and an Oilman into the Jungle of Oordanan[?] where I tortured them to extort money from them. I made Joomah Seapoy Moosulman Bedesee drive a stake into the Oilman's fundament after which he agreed to give the 200 Rupees and when I was about to have the same done to the Baneas [Banias], they consented to pay 1,100 Rupees on which Mamma Vinchoorkar sent the Telee and one of the Buneas to arrange for the Money. The Next day the Sirkar's people appeared and there was some conversation between them and mine. They told me to go and plunder any other Country and that I might return and be quiet there and bound themselves to this by an Oath. They then demanded the release of the Baneas to which I consented and he went away with the Party.

(A true Translation)

(Signed) Henry Pottinger  
Cellr. &c.

## No. 8 : Deposition of Kana Wallad Madh Patel.

C

*Substance of the Deposition of Kanao Wullud Madh Patail of the Village of Kooshigaum [Kushegaon] Purgunnah Nassick.*

He states, in the month of November 4 men came to his Village armed with Swords and called the Mhar who brought them to his (the Patail's) House. They said " Our Sirdar's Troops are close to your Village and we require Provisions for 50 men ". The Patail told them there was no shop in his village and that it would be difficult to get Provisions for 10 Men and much more so for 50, the Seapoys then ordered the Patail to get Bread &c. for half that number and to accompany them. The Patail then levied a Contribution of Grain &c. on all the villagers and carried it out to the Rebels being afraid to refuse. He saw about 50 Men and was ordered to make his obeisance to Narrain Rao Holkar which he did. Narrain Rao was wrapped in a piece of Red Broad Cloth and had on a *Dotra* [*Dhotar*] the people divided the bread and had begun to eat when the Sirkar's people arrived and the Rebels fled towards the Jungle of Malligaum, the Patail only recollects Narrain Rao Holkar. The above is true. Dated the 25th of January 1820.

(A true Translation)

(Signed) Henry Pottinger,  
Collector &c.

## No. 9 : Deposition of Jiwa Khushal Bania.

D

*Translation of the Deposition of Jewa Kooshal Bumeesa of the Village of Wankay [Wake] in the Ankola Purgunnah.*

In November of the present year Narron Rao Holkar came to the Village of Waunkay, Broke open my shop in the Middle of the Night, plundered it of all the property in it, and carried me and my Brother Mayaram and an Oil Seller (Tellee) of Rajoor to the Jungle of Oordanah where he demanded money from us. They tortured us in many ways and at last Narron Row Holkar caused one of the Seapoys to drive a stake into the fundament of the Oilseller in consequence of which he died after his return home. At last I agreed to give them 1,100 Rupees and Mayaram was sent for the cash whilst I remained in the Jungle with the Rebels. There were three Bramins with Narron Rao, one of them called Mamma, seemed to be the principal. I was with them a whole day and night and was released by them when the Sirkar's people came in sight. The rebels did not get the 1,100 Rupees from me but they plundered my shop of all that was in it. They tortured me dreadfully and when they were about to drive a stake into Mayaram's anus I then agreed to pay them 1,100 Rupees. Dewjee Naique Bombhay, Tubhajee Nagu Kharray and Abhajee Naique Bangray were with the Sirkar's people. The above is true. Dated the 3rd of February 1820.

(A true Translation)

(Signed) H. Pottinger,  
Collector.

## No. 10 : Deposition of Mayaram Wallad Kasturi, a Gujarati Bania.

E

*Translation of the Deposition of Myaram Wulhad Kustaoree a Gurerally (sic) [Gujarati] Bameea Inhabitant of Woankay in Ankole.*

I state that in this year in the Month of Kartik *Mas* the axway [?] of Narron Row Holkar came to my House and in the night time plundered my shop and seized me and Jewa and two Oilmen of Rajoor and carried us to the Oodnah Jungle, and then to extort money from us beat us cruelly, I said I was very poor but they heard me not, and Holkar ordered a sepoy to take a stake and drive it into the anus of Jewa Telee the Oilman which order was executed and ordered them to do the same to me. I then agreed to give them 1,100 Rupees and the Oilman agreed to give 200 Rupees. I and Ballajee Telee went for the money to Rajoor leaving Jewa the Oilman and Jewun with the Rebels. The Kamavisdar of Ankole having heard I had been seized had sent an *aswary* which met me at Rajoor, and they went to release Jewa and Jewun from the hands of Holkar, which they effected. I gave no money to the Rebels, Jewa the Oilman from the torture he had undergone was brought home on a Cot and blood fell from him for 5 or 6 days. He then died. This is all true, if any be false I am Guilty.

Written by Wittul Kessow Daishpandy  
[Vithal Keshav Deshpande]  
of Rajoor.

16th May 1820

Witnessed by

Abbajee Wulhad Sooriajee Daishmookh.

(True Translation),  
(Signed) W. B. Hockley  
1st Assistant Magte.

## No. 11 : Deposition of Lakshman Wallad Pilaji Tell.

F

*Translation of the Deposition of Luximon Wulhad Pelajee Telee Inhabitant of Rajoor.*

I state that my son in Law was seized by a Band or Gang of Rebels and taken from a *Waries'* House and was tortured by the Rebels who thrust a Stake into his anus, he was brought home, blood flowed from him and 11 days afterwards he died. The above is true.

Written by the peon of  
Wittul Kessow Despondy.

16th March 1820.

Witness—Abbajee Wulhad Sooriajee Daishmookh.

(True Translation)  
(Signed) W. B. Hockley,  
1st Asstt. Magte.



## No. 12 : Deposition of Bukhia Wallad Khushal Wani (Bania).

G

*Translation of the Deposition of Bukhaa Wullud Khooshal Wanee Goozrattee of the Village of Wuddulle<sup>1</sup> Purgunnah Nassick.*

I have been informed that Narrain Row Holkar and three of his followers belonging to the Banditti by whom I was ill-treated have been seized by the Sirkar and I am desired to state how they behaved towards me and to endeavour to recognize some of the Prisoners. I reply, In the month of Kartik (November) I went one day to dine with a Buncea of the village of Mhsoorle<sup>2</sup> which is about one kos from Wuddulee, I left Mhsoorlee to return home about dark and met some people in the road who seized and examined me but found nothing. They were armed with Matchlocks, Swords, Spears, and Bows, and Arrows. It was a dark night and I could not distinguish what caste the people were of. They carried me to the Jungle of Kooshigaon about three kos from Wuddalee where four of the party took me aside whilst the other sat at the distance of 70 or 80 yards in the Brushwood. The four men then told me they belonging to Narrain Row Holkar's Party and that I must give them 3,000 Rupees. They then stripped me of all my clothes and drove a stake into my fundament desiring me all the time to give them 1 or 2,000 Rupees. I was in extreme pain and in my agony, I first offered 100 Rupees then 200 and at last 250 which they accepted and drew out the stake. The Banditti saw about this time (3 p.m.) the Sirkar's people and moved away towards the Unjannerree (Anjaneri) Hills. I hid myself in a Nallah and there heard the Skirmish between the Sirkar's troops and the rebels by the report of their Matchlocks, but whether any person was killed or wounded I know not. I remained all Night in the Nallah and went the next day home. I have been shown the Prisoners but do not recollect any of them. I was too much terrified to remark any thing. I did not pay them any money. The above is true. Dated the 28th January 1820.

(A true Translation,)

(Signed) Henry Pottinger,  
Collector &c.

## No. 11 : Deposition of Anaji Wallad Yes Patil.

H

*Substance of the Deposition of Annajee Wullud Yess Patail of the Village of Dhomoora<sup>1</sup> in the Pergunnah of Trimbuck.*

He states himself to be nearly blind but he heard from others that there were from 20 to 30 people who attacked his Village and carried Nowjee and Rawee and her infant to the hills behind the Fort of Trimbuck when they put their Heads into a Bag of Ashes, and demanded Money

<sup>1</sup> Wadali—in Igatpuri taluka, Nasik District.

<sup>2</sup> Mhasurele—in Igatpuri taluka, Nasik District.

<sup>3</sup> Dhumodi—in Nasik taluka and District.

from them, saying they were Narron Row Holkar's people. They also burned them with their lighted matches and at last the Deponent agreed to go and bring some Money. They kept Nowjee and Rawee and perhaps they may know some of the Rebels but I could not see them. The next day after he came away, Nowjee also made his escape but the Rebel kept the Woman Rawee for eight days. The Deponent gave them no money.

(A true Translation) dated 24th of January 1820.

(Signed) Henry Pottinger,  
Collector &ca.

**No. 14 : Deposition of Nawji Wallad Ganguji Karbhari.**

I

*Substance of a Deposition of Nowjee Wullud Gangajee Kaarbarray [Karbhari] of the Village of Dhomar in the Purgunnah of Trimbuck.*

That his Village was plundered during the night in the month of November (Kartike) by 20 or 30 persons who seized him and Annajee Patail and his Daughter in Law Rawee and her infant child, and carried them to the Hills where they put a Bag of ashes on Annajee and himself and demanded money from them, at last they let Annajee go to find the Money which we agreed to pay. The people observed amongst themselves that they were Narron Row Holkar's Servants, and had plenty of every thing. They kept them two days and the people used to move about the Jungle, whilst three stood guard over the Deponent and the Woman. The third day the Deponent made his escape. Of the four Men now seized he recognized three as having been guard over him. Two of them had common swords and one a *Puttah* (or long sword) and they spoke like Konkunes, [Konkanis] which convinces him. He is now right. He does not recollect Narron Row Holkar. The above is all true.

(A true Translation)

(Signed) Henry Pottinger,  
Collector &ca.

**No. 15 : Depositions of Nawji Wallad Mahaji and Lakhji Walled Mawji, Thakurs of Dhargaon.**

J

*Substances of the Deposition of Nowjee Wullud Mahojee and Lukojee Wullud Mowjee Thakoors of the Village of Dhargaum Purgunnah Nassick.*

They state, that some time about the Dewallee three Maharattce Seapoys armed with Swords came to the above Village and called them out in the evening, they went out and followed them to some distance

when they forced them on to the Hills. The following morning they found there were about 25 men armed with Matchlocks, Swords and Bows and Arrows. After some altercation they agreed to give them two maunds of Rice, one of Dhall and half a seer of Ghee and Jowjee went to the Village to prepare those Articles, they then both carried them out to the Jungle where they were detained till the Evening when the Rebels said they were going to the Conkons [Konkan] and released them. They add that they have now been sent for to see if they could recognize any of the Persons who have been seized by the Sirkar and they declare that they do, and that their Names are

Narron Row Holkar

Ramah Khidmutghur

and Pandojee

None of these three people (they say) came to the Village but they saw them in the Jungle. This is all true.

(True Translation)

(Signed) Henry Pottinger,  
Collector.

**No. 16 : Deposition of Kandoji Wallad Kanaji, Patil of Mulegaon.**

**H**

The Patil of Moolegaon<sup>1</sup> (Kondajee Wallad Konajee) states that in the Month of November he was in his field one evening very late, when some people passed by towards Dyhegaon,<sup>2</sup> they forced him to go with them as a Guide for about a *koss* when he made his escape into the Jungle near Kooshegaon but he cannot say how many people there were nor who they were.

(A true Translation)

(Signed) Henry Pottinger  
Collr. & ca.

**No. 17 : Deposition of Raghu Wallad Jagoji Dhage.**

**M**

*Substance of the Deposition of Ragoo Wallad Jagojee Dhyggay [Dhage] Inhabitant of Krlshna Waree near Vinchoor.<sup>3</sup>*

States that he was formerly in the Service of Bapoo Holkar Muddangkur and that Narron Row Holkar was then a Boy. He quitted his Service 17

<sup>1</sup> Mulegaon—in Nasik Taluka and District.

<sup>2</sup> Dahigaon—in Nasik Taluka and District.

<sup>3</sup> Vinchoor—in Niphad Taluka, Nisik District.



or 18 years ago and has since followed the Occupation of a Cultivator. In the Month of Wysakh [Vaishakh] (April) last Narron Row came to his village and put up in the Temple when he recognized him from recollection. He carried him home and kept him for some time (literally four halts) after which Narron Row set off. He adds that he lodged him for the days he did on account of his former connection with the Holkar family.

(A true Translation)

(Signed) Henry Pottinger  
Collr. &ca.

**No. 18 : Deposition of Devji Nalk, Koli Mansabdar.**

R

*Substance of a letter from Dewjee Natque Bombay Cooley Mansoobdar to William Wilkens Esquire Sub-Collector of Gunglerry [Gangthadi] dated the [blank space] of January 1820.*

A. C. [After Compliments] having seized five Rebels I have dispatched them to you under 11 Men that they may be punished. What more need I say.

(A true Translation)

(Signed) Henry Pottinger  
Collr. &ca.

**No. 19 : Deposition of Vishwanath Bhat Dikshit.**

P

*Translation of the Deposition of Wishwanath Bhutt Dixit Bin Bapoo Bhutt Dixit Inhabitant of the Town of Nassick (Panchoottee).*

I have been desired to state, how long Narron Row lived at my House, who resided with him, how long I have known him, what he usually did when at my House, and who used to come to see him. I reply, Suddashew Bramunzyee told me that a relation of his who was Daishmookh of Gundapoor<sup>1</sup> and Byzapoor<sup>1</sup> was coming to Nassick and asked me to give him a place to lodge in. He added he would go as soon as he had prepared some religious Ceremonies that he had been living in the House of Runnadheer but that Trimbuck Row Dadda Daishmookh of Dhindoree<sup>2</sup> had arrived there and there was not room. In consequence, I therefore allowed him to come. He was twelve days in my house before he was seized. The whole four men went regularly to eat at the House of Suddashew Bramunzyee. They amused themselves all day at my House

<sup>1</sup> These are Gangapur (formerly Gandaour) and Valjapur, now two talukas in Aurangabad District.

<sup>2</sup> Dindori—headquarters of Dindori taluka, Nasik District.

in playing (*Soonktee*, a Game like Drafts) and slept all night. I saw no persons who came to him (Narron Row) nor did I know him before. I took him in on the word of Saddashew Braminzyee. I gave him a Pot and, a Brass Spoon but Nothing else. The above is true.

(A true Translation)

(Signed) Henry Pottinger,  
Collr. &c.

**No. 20 : Depositions of three Kolis.**

W

*Substance of the Depositions of Ramjee Wittoo, Govindah and Dewjee Koolies taken at Nassick on the 3rd day February 1820.*

They state that about two Months ago they were sent for by the sepoy of Atmaram Koolkurny of the Village of Rajoor and when they went to Rajoor they found Dewjee Bombay Munsubdar and Gunput Row Bhangray and the Kumavisdar and (the Coolkurny) which 4 Men took from them a fine of 35 Rupees and having bound them to Secrecy by an Oath they sent them back to their homes. Above a Month after the Munsubdar came to Reloostah and demanded 5 Rupees more from each which they refused to pay and in consequence of this they were apprehended and sent to the Sirkar. It is now two months since the first fine was levied. A promise was made not to inform the Sirkar when the Money was taken. The above is true.

(True Translation)

(Signed) Henry Pottinger,  
Collr. &c.

**No. 21 : Depositions of Bhawanji Chiloji and Krishnaji Kashi**

X

*Substance of the Depositions of Bhowanjee Wullud Chillojee and Krishnaje Wullud Kashee Patails of the Village of Dhargaon Purgunnah Nassick.*

They state that some time about the Dewallee [Diwali] Holidays about dusk in the evening of one day three sepoys came to the Village and carried Newjee and Sukkojee Tharkoors [Thakurs] away to the Hills, where they demanded provisions from them. Newjee came back to the Village for provisions and the Patails sent two *pylles* of Rice, one *Pylie* of Dholi and half a Seer of Ghee by him. They have heard that these seapoys belonged to Narron Row Holkar, but they did not see them nor do they know whence they came. They add that the Thakoors may probably know some of the Rebels. Dated 17th January 1820.

(A true Translation)

(Signed) H. Pottinger,  
Collr. &c.

**No. 22 : Deposition of Balaji Sayaji, the father of the deceased oilman.**

*Translation of the Deposition of Ballajee Wullud Sayajee an oilman of Rumbhoor in Ankola now an Inhabitant of Rajoor.*

I state that Jewa my son and myself set out to Waunky [Wake] to buy Bullocks and remained there at the shop of Myaram Wancee. About 12 O'clock at night the *aswary* of Naraan [Narayan] Row Holkar came to Myaram's House and plundered the shop of every thing and seized me and Jewa and Myaram Baneea and Jevun another person altogether four and carried us to the Oodonath Jungle and there confined us all night. The next day they demanded money from us, we said we were poor, they illtreated us and then a seapoy took a stake and thrust it into the anus of Jewa Tellee and Myaram Wancee, and former agreed to give 200 Rupees, the Buneea agreed to give 1,100 Rupees. I was sent with Myaram for the money leaving Jewa oilman, Jewun Wancee. We went to Rajoor where we saw the *aswary* of the Kumavisdar, they went and released Jewan and Jewa from the hands of the Rebels. My son Jewa was brought home on a cot and blood flowed from him for four or five days. We gave him medicine but it had no effect. He died on the 11th day after he was brought home. I gave no money to the Bund nor did the Buneea. I and my son Jewa always lived separate. He lived in Rajoor.

**No. 23 : Deposition of the wife of the deceased Teli.**

*Translation of the Deposition of Walleea woman the wife of Jewa the Deceased.*

I state that my Husband went to Wanky [Wake] to buy Bullocks and remained there at the House of Buneea. In the night the Bund of Holkar came to the shop of the Buneea and plundered it of every thing and carried my Husband, his Father, and two Buneecas, who were in the House into the Jungle and there illtreated them and used stakes, the Kumavisdar's *aswary* released them. My Husband was brought home on a cot and from the effects of the stake was very ill, he had medicine given him but it had no effect, he died on the 4th of Maghashur [Margashirsh] Sood.

The above is all true, if any be false I am Guilty, 16th March 1820.

Written by Rajaram Govind Daishpandy Gomashtah.

Witness Abbajee Wullud Soorajee Daishmookh.

(True Translation)

Sd.—W. D. Hockley,  
1st Assistant Magistrate.



No. 24 : Examination of Jewa Khusal Bania.

*The Examination of Jewa Khusal Bunneea of the Village of Wankay in Purgannah Ankola.*

The Deponent having been sworn and had his deposition marked D read to him he declares it to be correct.

The prisoner is pointed out to him and he is desired to say if he is the person by whose orders his shop was plundered and himself afterwards illtreated : he answers in the affirmative.

Q[uestion]. Do you believe that the deceased's death was occasioned by the illtreatment which was inflicted on him by the Prisoner's orders.

A[nswer]. I do, he was in perfect health previous to this. He lingered many days during which he could neither eat nor drink and suffered great pain.

Q. Did you see Narron Row Holkar when your shop was plundered.

A. No, I did not.

Q. You have stated in your deposition that your shop was plundered by Narron Row Holkar. If you did not see him how do you know that it was by his orders.

A. I was told by the people who plundered it that they did so by the orders of Narron Row Holkar.

Q. Was Narron Row Holkar present when your shop was plundered. If he was, how do you know you have already stated that you did not see him.

A. I heard several of the Sepoys say that he was at the outside of the shop and I likewise heard some person from the outside give instructions to the plunderer[s] who I understand was Narron Row Holkar. I heard several call him by name.

Q. When did you first see the Prisoner.

A. The next morning.

Q. How did you know the person of Narron Row Holkar. Was he pointed out to you by any person.

A. Several of the Bund pointed out to me a person seated under a tree who they said was Narron Row Holkar their master who had desired them to demand money from me.

Q. You state in your Deposition that you did not at first consent to give the sum demanded. How were you at length prevailed on to promise 1100 Rupees.

A. They at first demanded 4000 Rs. I said that I was not worth so much money. They then named 3000 Rs. but I made the same reply. At length the sepoy went to the prisoner and I heard him order them to tortures (the deceased my Brother and myself) in the manner already described unless we consented to give 1800 Rupees and the Tellee 700 Rupees.

We said that we had not so much money. We were then taken to separate places but in sight of each other. The sepoy had commenced taking off my clothes. When I heard my Brother cry out for mercy and on looking towards him I observed that they were driving a stake into his fundament upon which I asked the sepoy who were with me to allow me to go to my Brother and that I would agree with him to give 1100 Rupees. On this they consented and they desisted from torturing him.

Q. Did you see them torture the Tellee.

A. I did, he was about 30 yards from me.

Q. What did he say when they were torturing him.

A. He called out that they were murdering him and at length offered 200 Rupees which they consented to receive and took out the stake.

Q. During this time where was the Prisoner. Did he see them torture either the Tellee or your Brother.

A. He was seated under a Tree about 50 yards from the Tellee and perhaps a less distance from my Brother, the former he could not see as he had been carried into a *nalla* but he must have seen the latter as there was nothing to conceal him from his sight.

Q. You have stated in your deposition that your Brother Myaram was sent for the 1100 Rupees which you had consented to give the Rebels: who went on the part of the Tellee to bring the 200 Rupees which he had promised to give

A. His father Ballu.

Q. How were you disposed of after your Brother and the Tellee's Father had gone away.

A. We were placed in the centre of about 10 or 15 sepoy two of whom alternately stood on guard during the night.

Q. Did the Tellee complain of much pain.

A. Yes he did, he appeared to me to suffer greatly.

Q. Did you see the Tellee frequently after he had been tortured previous to his death.

A. After he had been placed on a cot I accompanied him about a mile on the road to a village where I left him and went direct to Rajoor to inform his Father that his son had been released in the manner described in the deposition and that he was unable to walk in consequence of the torture he had been put to. I then proceeded to my own village and never saw the deceased afterwards.

Sworn to before me this second day of May 1820.

(Signed) A. Crawford,  
2nd Assistant Collector and Magistrate.

**No. 25 : Examination of Mayaram Kastur Banja.**

*The Examination of Myaram Wulhud Kusoor Guzraty Bannian inhabitant of Wankay.*

The Deponent having been called and sworn, his Deposition marked E is read to him which he declares true.

Q. Did you see the Prisoner on the night on which your shop was plundered.

A. No I did not see him.

Q. Was the Prisoner with the people who attacked your shop, if not how do you know that they had been desired by him to do so.

A. When the Rebels entered the shop they said that they were the servants of Narron Row Holkar, during the time they were plundering it I heard some one in the street desire them to seize the Oilmen my Brother and myself who I understood was Narron Row Holkar, they called him *sahib*, I did not hear his name I was greatly alarmed.

Q. When did you first see the Prisoner.

A. When the rebels came to demand money from us the next morning they said they were sent by their master Narron Row Holkar pointing to Prisoner sitting under a tree. They said that he required 4000 Rupees and threatened to bear as if we did not give it to them.

Q. Did you hear the Prisoner order his people to torture the Oilman,

A. I did. On our refusing to give money the rebels went to the Prisoner and I heard him desire them to torture us if we did not immediately consent to give money.



Q. Did you see them torture the Telce ?

A. I did not, but I heard his shrieks. He was taken to a little distance from where I was standing.

Q. Did the Prisoner see them torture either the Telce or yourself ?

A. I cannot say whether he saw them torture the Telce or not as I did not observe where he had been carried to. He must have seen me as there were but a few small bushes between us and I could not have been more than forty yards from the place where he was seated.

Q. Did you see the Telce afterwards previous to his death ?

A. No, I did not.

Witness having nothing further to state is desired to retire.

Sworn to before me the 2nd May 1820.

(Signed) A. Crawford.

2nd Assistant Collector and Magistrate.

#### No. 26 : Examination of Laxman Potaji Teli.

*The Examination of Laxman Potaji Teli inhabitant of Rajoor.*

The Deponent having been duly sworn his Deposition, marked F, is read to him which he declares to be true.

Q. How long did your son-in-Law live after he had been illtreated by the Rebels ?

A. About Eleven days.

Q. How did you convey him to Rajoor ?

A. He was borne on a Cot, his Body was greatly inflamed, he could neither eat nor drink and expired about five days after he reached that place, in great agony.

The Deponent knows no more and is ordered to retire.

Sworn to before me this second day of May 1820.

(Signed) A. Crawford,

2nd Assistant Collector and Magistrate.

#### No. 27 : Examination of Bakhia Khushal Wani.

*The Examination of Bakhia Wullud Kooshal Wannee, Guzrattee of the village of Waddalee Purgumali Nassick.*

The Deponent having been called in and sworn to tell the truth His Deposition (Marked G) is read to him which he declares to be true.

He does not recollect having seen the Prisoner when he was seized by the rebels, as detailed in this Deposition, as it was a very dark night, but he was told by those who seized him that they were in the service of Narron Row Holkar, and that he was in the Jungle, with about 40 men. He understood the next day that one of the Sirkar's people had been killed in the skirmish with the Rebels. The Deponent knows no more and is ordered to retire.

Sworn to before me this second day of May 1820.

(Signed) A. Crawford,

2nd Assistant Collector and Magistrate.

**No. 28 : Examination of Nawjl Gangall.**

*The Examination of Nawjl Wallud Gungajee of the Village of Dhoomur Purgannah Trimbuck.*

The Deponent having been sworn his Deposition marked I is read to him and he declares it to be true.

Q. When you were seized by the Rebels did they plunder your House or that of any other person.

A. No, they did not plunder mine, I had no property of any value, they carried me with them to the Patail's House and after they had seized him and his Daughter they carried off some cloth and ornaments which they found in the House.

Q. During the time you were detained with the Rebels did they plunder any people.

A. I cannot speak positively to the question I was kept at some distance from the great Body but saw some of them move about in the Jungle.

Q. Did you see the Prisoner amongst them ?

A. No, I did not but I heard them say that they belonged to and were commanded by Narron Row Holkar.

Q. How did you effect your escape ?

A. I was left alone I heard them say that they were going to plunder a neighbouring village.

The Deponent knows no more and is ordered to retire.

Sworn to before me this second day of May 1820.

(Signed) A. Crawford,

2nd Assit. Collr. and Magistrate.

### No. 29 : Examination of Amuji Yes Patil.

*The Examination of Amujee Wullud Yess Patail of the Village of Dhamora Purgunnah Trimbuck.*

Having been sworn and his Deposition marked H read to him he declares it to be correct. He is desired to state what occurred previous to and after he was carried to the Hill by the Rebels.

He confirms the Evidance given by Mowjee Wullud Gungajee. He did not see the prisoner but he heard the people say that Narron Row Holkar was there and that they were in his service.

Witness knows not more and is permitted to retire.

Sworn to before me this second day of May 1820.

(Signed) A. Crawford,  
2nd Asstt. Collr. and Magte.

### No. 30 : Deposition of Rewa Bai.

*The Deposition of Reewa Woman the wife of Dhurklia inhabitant of Dhoomoree Pergunnah Trimbuck.*

The Deponent having been duly sworn to tell the truth deposeth as follows.

In the month of September last about 28 people came to my village and carried off Annajee Patail, Nowjee Wullad Gungajee Rooturay and myself to the Hills in the Jungle distant about two *kass*. They placed the heads of the two former in a Bag of Ashes and demanded money of them in the name of Narran Row Holkar. At length Annajee was sent for money but Nowjee and myself were detained. In the Evening of the second day Nowjee effected his escape but I remained with them until the following evening when the Rebels all fled on the approach of the Sirkar's people.

Q. Did you see the Prisoner on the night on which the Patail's house was plundered.

A. No, I did not see him.

Q. Did you hear that the Prisoner was present on that night or that the Rebels were acting by his order.

A. I never heard whether he was present or not, nor did I understand at that time that the Plunderers were acting agreeably to his instructions.



Q. During the time you were with the Rebels did you ever see the Prisoner Narron Row Holkar.

A. No, I never did but I heard that He was with them in the Jungle. My child was unwell which prevented me from attending more to what was going on.

Q. When did you first hear that the Rebels were in the service of Narron Row Holkar.

A. Some time after we had arrived on the Hill several people came to demand money from Annajee and Jowjee stating that they had been sent by their chief Narron Row Holkar.

Q. How did the Rebels occupy themselves during the time you were in confinement.

A. Four or five of them remained with me on the Hill, the rest went into the Jungle at the foot of the Hill early in the morning and returned in the Evening. Deponent having nothing further to state is permitted to retire.

Sworn to before me this second day of May 1820.

(Signed) A. Crawford,  
2nd Asstt. Collr. & Magts.

**No. 31 : Examination of Nawji Shivji and Sakheji Nawji.**

*The Examination of Nawji wallud Shewjee and Sukojee Wallud Nawjee Thakoors of the Village of Dhargaon Pargannah Nassick.*

The Deponent being called into court and sworn and having had their Depositions marked J read to them are desired to declare whether its contents are true, the Deponents reply in the affirmative.

The prisoner is then shown to the Deponents and they are asked if he was with the rebels that came to their village, the Deponents reply that they recollect having seen him the morning after the Deponents were taken as stated in their Deposition, the Deponents were told that he was Narron Row Holkar but they cannot say whether he was considered the chief of the Bund. He did not speak to them and they were kept at a little distance from him, during the time that the Deponents were in confinement the rebels did not leave the Hill. The Deponents knows no more and are ordered to retire.

Sworn to before me this second day of May 1820.

(Signed) A. Crawford,  
2nd Asstt. Collr. & Magte.

### No. 32 : The Prisoner's Defence.

The prisoner having been called on to state what he has to say in his Defence.

He declares that he was in no way accessory to the death of the deceased Oilman, that the torture had not been inflicted on him by his orders and that he was totally ignorant of what had been done by his people. He acknowledged having levied contributions on different villages and exacted money from individuals, but declares that he did so by the instructions of Mamma Vinchowekar [Vinchoorkar].

(Signed) A. Crawford,  
2nd Asstt. Collr. & Magte.

### No. 33 : Opinion of the Hindu Law.

*Translation of the opinion of the Hindoo Law Officers.*

*Question to the Shastar (Shastri).*

You have heard the whole of the Evidence adduced in support of the charges against the Prisoner Narian Row Holkar, for having excited rebellion, against the British Government, for committing various acts of oppression and for causing the death of an Oilman by inflicting on him the most excruciating tortures to extort money from him. State whether you think him Guilty or not.

*Answer*

I am of opinion that the Evidence which I have heard is amply sufficient to convict the Prisoner of the charges preferred against him.

True Translation

(Signed) A. Crawford,  
2nd Asstt. Collr. & Magte.

*Translation of the Exposition of the Hindoo Law.*

*Question*

A person having excited rebellion against the British Government and plundered and illtreated many of it's subjects to extort money from them and having occasioned the death of a Person by such illtreatment, state what punishment is awarded to him by the Hindoo Law.

## Answer

The crime is denominated, *Istaw Roopo Aparaduh Ootum Sahoo*, the Punishment according to Narrud [Narada]<sup>1</sup> is of five different Kinds, vizt. fining him 1,000 Rupees, or by Taking his life, or by Confiscating his property or by Branding him and turning him out of the city or by amputating one hand and one foot.

True Translation

(Signed) A. Crawford,

2nd Asstt. Collr. & Magte.

### No. 34 : Conclusion of the Court.

#### Conclusion

The court having considered the whole of the Evidence, as well as what the Prisoner has urged in his defence, is of opinion, that the prisoner is Guilty of the Charges preferred against him for the following reasons. The contradictory statements of the Prisoner do not entitle him to the best credit of belief, the Evidence of the two Buneas of Wankay and the Father in Law of the Deceased, established the guilt of the Prisoner beyond a doubt as to his (the prisoner) having given the orders to inflict torture on the Oilman, and that his death was occasioned solely by the torture which he had been put to.

The charge against the Prisoner for exciting Rebellion and for committing various acts of oppression on the subjects of the British Government has been clearly proved.

The court has considered it proper to record a part of the correspondence on this case.

(Signed) A. Crawford,

2nd Asstt. Collr. & Magte.

### No. 35 : Minute by the Council on the proceedings of the Trial of Narayan Rao Holkar. The sentence is confirmed and his execution ordered.

The circumstances of the country and the number of unemployed soldiers formerly in the service of the late Paishwa rendering severity necessary in crimes of the nature of that of which the Prisoner Narron Row Holkar has been convicted, and the peculiar atrocity of the case taking away all ground for mercy towards him, Resolved that the sentence of death pronounced against the said Narraen Row Holkar be confirmed, and that he be hanged at Nassick in the most Public manner, until he be dead, and the Commissioner authorized to carry the sentence into execution accordingly.

<sup>1</sup>Narada—an ancient author of works on politics.