CHAPTER II

ATTEMPTS TO RESTORE LAW AND ORDER
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At the close of the eighteenth century, when the Peshwa rule began declining, the law and order situation became a confused state of affairs in Western India. The company government of Bombay Presidency regarded the law and order problem as most urgent one and made serious attempts to restore it.

In fact, many British officers who wrote on the scene of India of the first half of the nineteenth century claimed it with pride that they moved the wheel of modern civilization in India by making serious attempts to introduce law and order by bringing to book all those elements that disturbed society for ages together. They asserted so, because peace and order introduced by law in society is a pre-condition of mental, moral and material progress.

The condition that prevailed in the newly formed Bombay Presidency immediately after the defeat of Marathas in 1818 was of chaos and turmoil. Ever since the death of Aurangzeb, the law and order situation in India was declining rapidly. However, in the territories that were under the Marathas, the situation was not that bad until the last Peshwa, Bajirao the Second, came to power in December 1796. In fact, the problem of security of life and property was one that the Indian rulers faced from time immemorial of robbers and dacoits harassing the people of want of efficient government machinery. The journey and travel for...
trade and religious purposes were matters of constant anxiety and danger. There were hereditary professional gangs of robbers and dacoits. The Thugs of the Central India were the notable example of it. Political instability due to power changing hands was also a factor in continuing this kind of situation in India. A sovereign ruler of one region often felt that there was nothing wrong in raiding territory of other sovereign. Thus, the problem of law and order was the foremost in India when the power of the English East India Company was established by the close of the first quarter of nineteenth century. This was so in Bombay Presidency too, when the Company's power became supreme in 1818. Bombay Presidency, which covered the area from Ahmedabad in the north to Dharwad in the south after the defeat of the Marathas, faced the problem of lawlessness and disorder, created partly by the gangs of robbers and dacoits and partly by the revolts of some of the native rulers against the annexation policy of the British. The abolition of the States like Satara (1848), Kittur in Dharwad District and Ramdurg in Belgaum district were the glaring examples of revolts. The Police Department struggled against the situation of unrest that was created by these two socio-political factors.\(^1\)

**Thugs:**

The Thugs among the hereditary robbers and murderers were the most notable ones, who drew immediate attention of the British Government in the early part of its rule. These gangs or groups operated in many parts of the country and often worked in league
with petty chieftains and Zamindars in many places. They confined their attention to travellers. Their customary method of murdering was by strangulation and they imparted regular training of their criminal activities to their children. Thornton, in his book Illustrations of the History and Practice of the Thugs, gives the following description of the mode of their operation:

While travelling along, one of the gangs, suddenly throws a rope of cloth around the neck of the devoted individual and retains the hold of the end, the other end being seized by an accomplice. The instrument of death, crossed behind the neck, is then drawn very tight, the two Thugs who hold it, pressing the head of the victim forward; a third villain, who is in readiness behind the traveller, seizes him by the legs, and he is thus thrown on the ground. In this situation, there is little opportunity of resistance. The operation of the noose is aided by kicks inflicted in the manner most likely to produce vital injury, and the sufferer is thus quickly despatched.  

The district officers tried to deal with the Thugs in their own way in the early years of the British Rule. What they did was as soon as the existence of Thugs was realized, the energetic district officer used to take action against them. In fact, by the second decade of the nineteenth century, they did a lot in checking their activities. As the Thuggee was spread in many parts of the country, there needed a co-ordinated effort rather than isolated efforts of individual officers. Therefore, in 1829, the Agent of the Governor General in
Narmada Territories, who was already patrolling against the Thuggee in that area, was asked to look into Thuggee affairs. Then Captain Sleeman, a very able man, was appointed as the Agent's Assistant for the specific work and the Company's officials throughout India were directed to send him not only the reports of all the cases of Thuggee, but also all the facts which might help to unearth the secrets of the Thugs. In 1829, Bentinck commissioned Mr F.C. Smith, Agent-General in the Narmada territories of the central India, to proceed against all Thugs wherever they might be. Captain Sleeman was appointed as Smith's assistant and he was most outstanding. In 1835, a department of Thuggee and Dakaati was established and Sleeman was made its General Superintendent in 1839, his status was raised to that of a Commissioner. A study of the reports, followed up with personal questioning of a large number of Thugs, threw much light on their methods and ultimately made their suppression possible.

In Bombay Presidency, there were certain pockets like Narmada valley in Gujarat, Nagpur region and some parts of Cutch and Sind where thuggee was more concentrated, although it was a larger problem of an all-India magnitude, which by making special efforts through a special department, the Company Government tackled. The Thuggee problem was not that rampant in the rest of the Bombay Presidency, except in Narmada region, Cutch and Sind. But an area that can be said as the heart of Bombay Presidency was seriously
infested with the problems created by semi-tribal groups, namely, Bhils, Kolis and Ramoshis. These were the people whom civilized law of previous Government never fully covered or controlled. These were generally hill-dwellers. In fact, they were the people who helped both in preserving and destroying the Governments.

BHILS:

In Bombay Presidency, the Bhils were spread in Gujarat, Khandesh, Nasik, Thana, Ahmednagar and a part of Poona. The Bhils were primitive and predatory people whose settlements were scattered in the western Ghats and the country at its base, their strongholds being in Khandesh. The Bhils in the plains were generally good cultivators, but those in the hilly regions were mostly freebooters. There was an uprising of the Bhils in 1817-18 and the British Government asserted that it was stirred up by Trimbakji after his escape from the Fort of Thana. He was Peshwa's favourite and was imprisoned when Peshwa was overthrown.

The insurgents numbered about 8,000, but the troubles subsided, partly due to military action and partly due to conciliatory policy adopted by Elphinstone. The natural disaffection of the tribes stirred up by anti-British activities of Trimbakji, led to a general insurrection in 1819 when the Bhils entrenched themselves in several outposts and ravaged the neighbouring plains. Several British detachments sent against them destroyed the Bhils' settlements, killed many of them and subjected the others to severe punishments.

Active measures were taken (1818) to put a stop to
the insurrection of the Bhils. Captain Briggs hunted out several of their leaders. Troops were posted along the passes of the hill to check their movements and to cut off their supplies. These military measures, together with a policy of forbearance adopted by Elphinstone, providing liberal provision of pensions and allowances for Bhil watchmen on the resumption of the Police duties which were formerly discharged by them were calculated to render the country free from the 'species of invasion'. Experience had shown that in dealing with these refractory tribes, the most effective policy would be to govern them through their native chiefs which would attract them in the interest of the government. This attitude was undoubtedly very much favoured by Elphinstone, and the scheme of raising a Bhil Militia was also an expedient course taken to make the Bhils conform to the British system. Nadir Singh, a Bhil Chief of fame, was apprehended through the influence of his associates.6

But in 1819, the Bhil broke out in a general insurrection on all sides. The leaders held out the different outposts of the hill area in Khandesh and sent out marauding parties to ravage the plains. Several detachments were employed against the rebels. Some of the outposts which provided access to their mountain strongholds were captured, but fresh leaders to defend these key-positions and the jungle continued the war. Proclamations of amnesty were unheeded, not one of the tribes was prepared to take advantage of the offer. Expeditions were sent against many leaders, one of them, Chil Naik of Satmala range, was apprehended and hanged. In 1820, Dusrut
the Ehil leader, commenced the usual process of indiscriminate devastati-
on and he was joined by the famous Pindari Sheikh Dulla, but Major
Morin successfully checked their excesses and forced the southern
Ehil chiefs to surrender. In 1822, a fresh incursion of the Ehils
under the famous leader Hiria threw the country into a state of complete
lawlessness. Anarchy and oppression reached a fearful height, gangs
of Ehils scoured the country plundering in every direction and the
Mamlatdars reported extreme alarm of the people. Col. Robinson
who took the field in April 1823, obtained some success in scattering
the rebels and destroying their settlements. Then, for two years,
fierce attacking followed, the Ehils were caught and killed and many
of them were also subjected to severe punishment. In 1825 the situation
again deteriorated. The Ehils were now used as tools in the hands
of the interested political leaders. Sewaram, a blacksmith, produced
forged papers from the Raja of Satara, and enticed the Baglana Ehils
to rise up in an insurrection. A party of 800 men attacked and plundered
Untapoor and carried off the spoil to the Ehil fort of Milair (Muralim-har),
but shortly afterwards, Lieut. Outram surprised and dispersed the
insurgents and recovered a great part of the plunder. Later on,
Sewaram and his followers were successfully encountered. Most of
them received pardon and returned to ploughs. The formation of a
Ehil Corps together with other conciliatory measures like the settlement
of lands and the granting of tuccavy was undertaken. But the country
was far from being peaceful and even the village Patels were discovered
to be in league with the Ehils. Lieut. Outram, Captain Ovans and
Captain Rigby engaged themselves in various ways and exerted their
influence to the utmost to bring the Bhils to the settled habits. Whatever success was achieved in the reclamation of these "Bhils of the Forest" was due to the humanizing influence of Lieut. Outram. 7

In 1826, the Dang chieftains and the Loharra Bhils took the field and maintained the plundering sequences. After considerable military execution, they submitted but even the Deshmukhs were discovered as countenancing the Bhil marauders. In 1827, Lieut. Outram, with a detachment of the Bhil Corps, completely surprised a gang of the Bhils, killing many. But in 1828, the situation was looking bright. The Collector reported that for the last six months, the 'country for the first time during twenty years enjoyed repose'. Yet the members of rebellion still continued to grow all through the next few years. In 1831, the Bhils of the State of Dhar were excited to rebellion by the "inequitous encroachments and exactions of the Government of Dhar". Bhils plundered the adjacent areas. The fermentation assumed a serious nature because of the political interest of their leaders. Uchet Singh, whose declaration that he was the son of the famous Murari Rao Powar, was widely accepted. Murari Rao's grandfather, Jansvant Rao Powar, was killed at the battle of Panipat. Murari Rao himself, with his Bhil-levies, successfully fought with the ruler of Dhar for the possession of the State, but had to surrender the field to the former when Jansvant Rao Holkar intervened. The discontents of the Bhils were not exploited to the full by the ambitious Chief Uchet to continue the family feud. In 1831, the Bhils of Dhar were excited to rebellion by Uchet Singh, who successfully fought with
the rulers of State and the British had to intervene. The British Government was not readily disposed to intervene, as, in their own territory, the Bhils, by that time were conciliated by the policy of forbearance, and agreed to interpose in the affairs of Dhar on the condition of the continuance of the same policy after the reduction of the Bhils to the obedience. To this, the Raja agreed, and Captain Outram, who was sent to take charge of the situation, soon tranquillized the country by military measures and conciliatory reforms. The Bhils again broke out in Malwa in 1846, but the rising was quickly suppressed.

The same plan was carried out though with less exertion, with the Bhils of the Chandore and with the Bhils and Kolis in Baglan. These terms were occasionally broken by some chiefs but on the whole they remained peaceful. The only attacks of the Bhils were now made in parties of three or four, who robbed passengers. These outrages were resisted by the Police and were stated by Captain Briggs to be greatly on the decline. Apart from the continuance of vigilance, the Governor made a liberal provision for appointment of Bhil watchmen. These measures helped in curbing the disorder caused by the Bhils.

**BHIL CORPS:**

In 1822, the Merwara Batallion (Civil) was raised for the purpose of maintaining order, keeping open the passes and suppressing dacoity and cattle-lifting, but the first irregular corps raised purely
for Police purposes was the Khandesh Bhil Corps. When the British took Khandesh from the Marathas, disorder and chaos were widespread. The Bhils and the Pindaris were in large number in Khandesh, but were easily expelled. A more difficult problem was provided by the Bhils, who, in the disorders of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, had taken to the hills. There they formed gangs and lived by descending on the plains periodically for the purposes of robbery. Mountstuart Elphinstone realised that the Bhils were not a people who could be coerced into an orderly way of life and after the suppression of an insurrection in 1825, he decided to form an irregular corps of Bhils which could serve a double purpose. The much-needed Police force could be restored and the Bhils could be provided with an honest living and this could bring them under civilized influence. Captain Briggs, a highly intelligent officer, who had been deputed to occupy the territory ceded in 1818, opposed the scheme, since he was despaired of disciplining so savage a people.

Elphinstone, however, went ahead and Lt. James Outram was appointed in 1825 to raise Bhil corps. Within two years, it had risen to the strength of a battalion. From the outset, Outram divided the Corps into two classes, 'the one consisting of men for general Police duties, and the other as light infantry'. They soon proved themselves capable of apprehending Bhil offenders and in September 1825, Outram referred to:
The circumstances of the country for fifteen miles around Durrangaum which had been most particularly a prey to the rapacity of the Bhils, having been perfectly free from their depredations. Since the establishment of the Bhil Corps at this place, not a single robbery has taken place ... and travellers who when never ventured out without the protection of horsemen or sebandies, now proceed unarmed alone.  

Before Outram left Khandesh in 1835, he was able to report that the Corps was entrusted with many posts hitherto occupied by the regular troops, and soon gave every proof of its efficiency and good faith by attacking the insurgent Bhils in every quarter and never failing in immediately subduing or bringing to justice all who opposed the law.

This good work started by Outram continued after his departure, and the efficiency of the Corps was illustrated in 1836 by a case where 'not only did a score of Bhil Sepoy seize upwards of 500 Bhils and other desperate characters, but they also provided the evidence necessary to convict the guilty'.

The chief feature of the Khandesh Police is the Bhil Corps. This corps was raised under the orders of Mr Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay, in 1825. The work of inducing the Bhils to enlist was left in the hands of Lieutenant Outram. In the distribution of Khandesh into three Bhil Agencies, Lieut. Outram was placed in charge of the north-east district. At first, the men were very shy of enlisting.
A beginning was made with a bodyguard of nine and in a few months, the number had risen to sixty. At the close of the season, when they entered Malegaon Cantonment, the men of the Corps were welcomed as fellow-soldiers by Outram's Regiment. The XXIII Native Infantry Regiment then became popular and in 1827, they were inspected by a Brigadier and found efficient. Not long after, they were placed in charge of posts formerly held by the regular troops and in the same year, near Barvai, they routed Suthania Naik and his dangerous gang. Their strength was raised from 400 to 600 and afterwards to 690; their headquarters were established at Dharangaon and the monthly pay of the common soldiers was fixed at Rs. 5, with Re.1 more when on outpost duty. In 1830, the Bhil Corps did good service by bringing the Dang Chiefs to order; in 1831, they were employed with success against the Tadvi-Bhils of the north-east; and in 1832 they were entrusted with the charge of the district treasuries. In 1839, so efficient were they that a regiment of the line was withdrawn from Khandesh. Next year, they were sent against Pratapsingh, Chief of the Dang State of Amli whom they reduced; in 1841, one detachment was sent against the Ahmednagar and another against the Sultanpur Bhils; and in 1842, they suppressed an outbreak among the Tadvi-Bhils. In 1844, when Scindia's officers refused to give up Yaval and Pachora, the transfer was effected, not without some loss, with the aid of the Bhil Corps. In 1846, they were again in the west punishing the rebel chief of Chikhali; and in 1852, they were of much service in putting down the survey riots at Erandol and Savda in Khandesh.
In view of the uncertainty as to which of the irregular regiments actually performed Police duties, lists or statistics were not of much use for our purpose, but it may be noted in passing that in 1845, the Bengal and Bombay Army lists included twentyeight and six such regiments respectively.

From 1861 onwards the troops were either disbanded or merged into the Army or the regular Police force, though the Khandesh Bhil Corps was not absorbed by the Bombay Police until 1891. It then became the Khandes Armed Police (Bhil Corps), thereby retaining its name and its regimental pride.

Bhil troubles continued down to 1876. Early in 1858, under the command of Col. Evans, a field force consisting of Native Infantry Regiment, a Mountain Battery and 500 of the Khandesh Bhil Corps with a strong detachment of Poona Horse assembled in Shahada. The hills were entered in April 1858 and on 22nd, at Aluba Pavana and Datbevdi, Kajarsing and his rebel army were completely defeated. The Arabs and Makrrans, who were the chief defenders of his position, suffered severely. Kajarsing made his escape and with a few Bhils, remained a fugitive in the hills until June of the same year, when in common with other Bhils, he was pardoned and reinstated as warden of the Sindva pass. During that year (June 1857 to June 1858), Kajarsingh, in possession of Rs. 80,000 had been a king among the Bhils. He had now to return to his former State and do as best as he could with an yearly allowance of not more than Rs. 1,500.
He soon spent his very small balance of ready money and, in the course of a few years, fell into debt. The thoughts of his former wealth and greatness and also the pressure from his creditors, again drove him to rebellion and in June 1860, seizing Rs. 2,70,000 of the treasure on its way up the Sindva Pass, he fled into the hills. No time was allowed for a general Bhil uprising. Pursuit was at once begun and in a few days Kajarsingh's camp in the Satpuda hills was surprised by a detachment of the Bhil Corps with a small party of Poona and Police Horse Corps under the command of Lieuts. Akins and Probyn. Kajarsingh was hotly pursued and escaped only by dismounting and jumping down a precipice into a thick bamboo wood near the Babakunwar Hills. Darkness and heavy rain stopped further pursuit and Kajarsingh's horses, some of them with bags of rupees on the saddles, were secured and taken to the camp. Kajarsingh remained in the hills with a very few followers. He met his death at the hands of Makrani, who, with a few constables, was sent to attempt his arrest.16

Besides hereditary chiefs, there were still among the Bhils strong lawless spirits ready to lead in any time to disorder. Major F. Wise, formerly Assistant Superintendent of Police in Khandesh, gives the following account of Tulia Naik, a Bhil, who four years earlier (1876), after several terms of outlawry, was finally sentenced to transportation for life. Since 1859, the Bhil Corps were not again engaged on active service. They were withdrawn as regular troops from Dhulia (1874). The strength of Corps was increased by 110
men and during the past year (1879) and it was now placed in charge of Malegaon.  

THE KOLI OUTRAGES (1828-30, 1839 & 1844-48):

The Kolis infested the country both above and below the Sahyadri in the Thana district, but they were scattered over the whole area, from the border of Cutch to the Western Ghats. Towards the end of 1824, the Kolis of Gujarat raised a formidable insurrection, burning and plundering the villages and carried their depredations near the vicinity of Baroda. They even repulsed a party of Bombay Native Infantry but later on, they had to disperse before a squadron of Dragoons. For a time, their excesses were restrained.

Ramji Bhangria, a Koli Police Officer of the Government, resigned his service as a protest against a government order stopping his levy of rupees fifty. There was also an acute discontent among the Kolis as most of them were out of employment, consequent upon the dismantling of the forts. Inspired by the successful revolt of the Ramoshis of Satara, the Kolis under Bhangria, raised the standard of revolt in 1828 and committed excesses. Captain Mackintosh, engaged to suppress the rising, found it great difficult to trace out their lurking places. A large body of troops was employed against them. A detachment was posted at Konkan and another at Sahyadri while mobile parties entered into the interior of the hills, surprised them in their hiding places, and suppressed the rising for the present.
But the war-like Kolis were a terrible menace to the British rule. Early in the year 1839, bands of Kolis plundered a large number of villages in the Sahyadri. All the turbulent elements of the hills joined them. This time, they were led by high class men, Bhau Khare, Chimnaji Jadhav and Nana Darbare, who seem to have harboured some political motives. With the reduction in the Poona Garrison made lately, the Kolis felt bold enough to work for the restoration of the Peshwa and the insurgents even assumed the charge of the Government in his name. The rebels planned an attack on the Mahalkari's treasury at Ghode, but they were intercepted by Rose, the Assistant Collector of Poona. Meanwhile, Rose attacked and dispersed the band. He captured some Kolis, 54 of whom were tried and punished with varying terms of imprisonment and some were even hanged including a Brahman named Ramchandra Ganesh Gore.

Again in 1844, the Kolis under the leadership of Raghu Bhangria, and another leader, Bapu Bhangria, commenced depredations on a wider scale. Their headquarters were in the hilly country to the north-west of Poona. They wandered through Nasik and Ahmednagar and set law at defiance. On 20th September 1844, Raghu Bhangria's gang cut off an Indian Police Officer and some constables. In 1845, disturbances spread into Purandhar and Satara. The Police force was strengthened and vigilance parties became more active. In August 1845, Bapu Bhangria was caught, but his followers continued their plundering. A pro-British Patel was murdered, several money-lenders were robbed and Government money, whenever opportunity came.
was seized. In Purandhar, similar lawless acts were committed by a large gang under the leadership of the sons of Umaji, the noted leader of the Ramoshi disturbances of 1825. As the situation was going out of control, a detachment of Native Infantry was quartered at Junnar in May 1845, and Military Outposts were placed at Nana and Malsej Passes to check the movement of the rebels up and down the Konkan. In 1846, some of the rebels were rounded up; but Raghu Bhangria eluded the vigilance of the Police. He had great influence over the minds of the people and lived on blackmail levied from Poona and Thana villages. At last, on 2 January 1848, he was caught by Lieut. Gell and a party of Police in a very clever way and subsequently hanged. The sons of Umaji, Tukya and Mankala, were finally captured in 1850, which completed the discomfiture of the Koli rebels.

The leading spirit among the Koli freebooters was a Koli named Raghoji Bhangria, the son of a robber chief who had once been an officer in the Police. In October 1843, at the head of a large gang, Raghoji came down the Sahyadris and committed several robberies. The Hill Police acted against him with great vigour and though Raghoji escaped, many of his leading men were caught and the strength of his gang was much reduced. In 1845, Raghoji again appeared burning villages in Panvel and spread the greatest terror by killing two village headmen who were known to have helped the Police. A reward of Rs. 4,000 was offered for Raghoji's arrest and a special party of Police under Capt. Giberne was detached in his pursuit. So active and unceasing were the efforts of the Police
that before the year was over, four of his leading men, Javji Naik, Pandu Nirmal, Lakshman Pilaji Bande and Bapu Bhangria were captured. Raghoji Bhangria escaped to Purandar where Gen. Gell surrounded him on the bank of Bhima and effected his capture. Raghoji was tried by a special commissioner on a charge of treason and sentenced to death on 13th April 1848.\(^{22}\)

In the next five years from 1848, the gang robberies declined considerably. Again, the gang robberies organized by one Honia Bhagoji Kengila, a Koli of Jamburi in Poona, became disturbing factor from 1874. Honia's robberies extended over the western parts of Poona, Nasik and Ahmednagar. They became so numerous and daring that in 1874, a special Police party of 175 armed men under Col. Scott and Mr W.F. Sinclair was detached for his arrest, proclamations were issued offering rewards of Rs. 1,000 for Honia and of Rs. 200 to 600 for his followers, and military guards were set over Bassein, Kalyan, Shahapur, Bhiwandí and Murbad treasuries. In spite of these special measures, Honia managed to evade pursuit in Thana, Ahmednagar and Poona, till in July 1876, he and most of his leading men were captured by Maj. Henry Daniell. Honia was tried in Poona and sentenced to transportation for life.\(^{23}\)

Of minor forms of gang robbery, the commonest was road guarding and robbing the travellers and housebreaking. The practice of poisoning travellers by sweetmeats mixed with thorne-apple Dhotra (Datura hummatu) and the robbing was not uncommon. Cases of assaulting
the creditors and burning their houses sometimes occurred. It is reported that there were no crimes to which the upper classes were specially addicted. Drunkenness was until lately one of the chief causes of crime. The wild character of most of the district and the neighbourhood of the Portuguese territory of Daman and of the States of Javar and Dharpur were the chief special difficulties in the way of bringing offenders to justice.

The Police force that dealt with these robberies consisted of a Superintendent, who was an European and the rest were natives of India. Of these, one officer and one man were Christians; thirteen officers and thirty men Mussalmans; eleven officers and seventeen men Brahmins; eightyfour officers and 469 men Marathas; three officers and forty men Kolis; thirtyseven officers and 117 men Hindus of other castes; one officer was a Parsi; and two constables were Jews and one was a Rajput.

In Gujarat, there was an outbreak of the Kolis, a rude and turbulent people scattered over the province from the borders of Cutch to the western Ghats. They committed depredations of all kinds and burnt and plundered villages even in the neighbourhood of Baroda, the capital city of the native ruler. They entrenched themselves in the village of Dudama, near Kaira, which was enclosed by thick hedges of the milk plant and defended by a mud fort. A party of Bombay Native Infantry, in trying to storm the place, was exposed to a destructive fire and compelled to fall back. The Kolis,
attacked by a stronger force, left their post and retreated to the Rann of Cutch, but after a short interval, returned and renewed their ravages. In 1825, they were dispersed by a body of Dragoons and Native Infantry and for the time being their depredations ceased. The Kolis revolted again in 1828, as there was an acute discontent among them, most of them being thrown out of employment by dismantling of the forts. A large body of troops had to be sent against them before the uprising was suppressed.26

REVOLT OF RAMOSHIS (1826-29):

Ramoshis had served in the inferior ranks of Police under the Maratha administration. Chittur Singh, who revolted in Satara in 1822, as a protest against heavy assessment, gathered these Ramoshis under his banner and played a prominent part in plundering the country and destroying the forts. An official letter from Bombay (23rd February 1922) refers to the errors of assessment as the existing factors of the depredations of Chittur Singh. In 1825, scarcity in Poona and reduction in the local garrison dispersed them and they broke into a revolt in 1826 under the leadership of Umaji. For three years, they scoured the country. Ultimately, the Government specified them by not only condoning their crimes but also by land grants and recruiting them as hill Police.27

THE RAMOSHI PROBLEM:

The disposition and banishment of Raja Pratap Singh of Satara
in September 1839 caused widespread resentment in the area during 1840-41. Narsingrao Dattatraya Petkar collected a sizable number of troops, captured the Fort of Badami in Bijapur District and hoisted the flag of Raja of Satara. A superior British force restored order in the area.

Ramoshis were one of the many predatory classes of people in India who subsisted on organized robbery and dacoity and were for this reason, enlisted by the British Government as a 'criminal tribe'.

The Ramoshis, as their real name implies, were formerly the 'dwellers in the waste', but when the country became more settled, they were gradually absorbed in the village establishment and in times of peace, they remained tolerably quiet but whenever the country became unsettled, they being 'but half tame' betook themselves to robbery and plunder.  

There can be little doubt that the Ramoshis, in their primitive state, led a roving unsettled life, like many of the nomadic tribes, keeping at some distance from the habitation of the more civilized orders of the society and occasionally, when opportunities offered, plundered travellers and also attacked at night, houses of the inhabitants of villages and towns. When they behaved in this manner, the inhabitants had to make arrangements for protection of their properties. When there was no active Police arrangement in force, they had no other way than to approach the thieves and robbers themselves for being
protected from their attacks. The rich villages of the Deccan usually came to terms with the Ramoshis by employing them as watchmen and thus protected village properties from these troublesome and dextrous robbers. The standing crops, unless guarded by a Ramoshi, were sure, sooner or later, to be robbed by the village Ramoshis. Generally, the Patil or the village headman was responsible for the policing of his village. He was aided by his Kulkarni and Chougula and when the occasion required it, by all the inhabitants. His great and responsible assistant in the matter of Police work was the village watchman.

The village watchman was called 'Rakhwaldar' in Nasik, Poona, Satara and Ahmednagar districts; he was known as 'Jagala' in Khandesh, 'Talari' in Karnataka area. The Bhils in Khandesh, Bedars in Karnataka, and Dheds, Mahars, Kolis and Ramoshis in the rest of Maharashtra were appointed as the village watchmen. What appeared very interesting to the British Collectors, when they took charge of the various collectorates in western India was the employment as Police by the late Maratha Government of the very castes and persons by whom all sorts of robberies and disturbances used to be committed. Crimes in the Deccan were committed chiefly by Bhils, Ramoshis, Mangs, Dheds, Kolis, Mewatis and Bedars.

Besides regular village watchmen, others from the plundering tribes in the neighbourhood were often entertained for watch and ward duties. Their business was to assist in repelling open force and to aid in the apprehension of all the offenders, but chiefly to
prevent depredations by their own tribes and to find out the perpetrators when they did occur.\textsuperscript{29}

The reason for employing such undesirable persons in the most important branch of the executive by the Maratha Government is well given by R.K. Pringle, then assistant collector of Poona. Writing on the Ramoshi watchmen, he observed that it was from means known only to a Ramoshi from an acquaintance with the haunts and habits of robber, from the local knowledge and caste influence which ensured his apprehension or more frequently, the restitution of the value of the stolen property that the benefits of the services of a Ramoshi watchman were usually experienced. According to Pringle, it was impossible to suppose that the large sums supplied by these Ramoshis at a very short warning in satisfaction of robberies could have been accumulated from the village fees or the produce of a small Inam field. Pringle suspected that they were obtained only from negotiations with the robbers who willingly restored the value of the property rather than run the risk of exposure.\textsuperscript{30}

Capt. Mackintosh puts it in another way. He remarks that the will of the Agent of the ruling authorities was so arbitrary and uncertain that the Ramoshis dared not relax in the slightest degree their exertions to discover the plunders under any circumstances.\textsuperscript{31}

In the words of Capt. J. Grant (Duff):

\textit{The Ramoossee is the rukwala, or watchman, of his village. He generally has both lands and payments}
in kind. He watches the village, protects travellers when particularly under his charge and often robs them when they are not; they say that they hold these hucks, but that thieving is their proper Wuttun. 32

However, during the Maratha rule the Maratha village Police system was self-contained and managed its affairs quite independent of the outside world. It seldom invited government interference. Each village had its own watchman, low caste men like the Dheds, Mangs, Ramoshis or Bhils. The chief duties of the village watchman were to watch the village, the crops and the highways by night and by day; as far as lay in his power, to catch thieves and trace them by means of footsteps and other marks to discover the stolen property. He was to keep watch at night, to find out all arrivals and departures, observe all strangers and report all suspicious persons to the Patil. The nature of his duties afforded an opportunity for becoming intimately acquainted with the private characters of his neighbour, and of detecting the offender on such occasions. 33

One Krishnarao Anna engaged 33 Mangs and Berads (Ramoshis) for watch-duty in Satara on a salary of Rs. 264 per month. He was directed to collect the amount which came to Rs. 2,164 a year from the merchants and traders and well-to-do people in the town. No contribution was to be levied on the poor. It was ordered that a security bond should be taken from the Berads, promising to make good all property stolen in the town in its neighbourhood.
The following examples reveal how the government in good time dealt with the criminals in Maratha rule:

Two she-buffaloes owned by Keshavrao Shinde, a Shiledar, were stolen by Berads from Jamb (Taluka Koregaon, district Satara) in 1746. The theft having been traced to the village of Katgaon (Taluka Khatau, district Satara), the Patil of the village agreed in writing to surrender the animals in question to the Patil of Jamb. However, instead of surrendering the she-buffaloes stolen or other similar to them, the Patil of Katgaon offered to give one barren and one old she-buffalo. He was ordered to surrender the animals stolen and to come to Huzur (Royal Court of Presence).

Abaji Khando, an officer, was going home with a letter from Raghunathrao Dada Saheb, brother of Peshwa Balaji Bajirao. He was robbed by thieves near Khandala-Barde (Mahal Khandala, district Satara). The Ramoshis of Khandala traced the offence as far as Bhuinj (Taluka Wai). Then it ought to have been traced towards Chinchwadi (Taluka Wai), but the Ramoshis, by a common consent, asserted that the Ramoshis of Khadki (Taluka Wai) had committed the offence and also induced Abaji Khando to support their assertion. The Ramoshis of Khadki were thereupon thrown into prison, but there was no proof whatever against them. Abaji Khando's loss was valued at Rs. 30/- and it was settled that the Ramoshis of seven villages should make up the amount.
In some villages, they only received an annual allowance in cash, partly levied by an extra cess and partly paid from the government revenue under the village expenses; and again in few villages, they only received the Baluta allowance. The Ramoshis in Satara district received their Hak (right) or allowance.\textsuperscript{37}

The Ramoshis who had freehold lands, occasionally cultivated their lands themselves. However, this was seldom the case. Sometimes, they used to get a Kunbi to assist them in the labours and gave him a share of the produce according to his service. But the general custom of the Ramoshis was to engage some of the Kunbis to cultivate their lands and the Kunbis to hand over half the produce of the field to Ramoshi owners of the field, after deducting the expenses of seed, reaping, threshing and other incidental charges. However, the land held by the Ramoshis was frequently of a very unproductive quality and consequently, for years entirely neglected.\textsuperscript{38}

THE RAMOSHIS AND THE BRITISH -
THE FIRST STAGE:

The last war between the Marathas and the English began in November 1817 and came to an end when the Peshwa Bajirao, the Second, surrendered to Sir John Malcolm, the English Commandant, on 3rd June 1818. During the period of transition that followed the Peshwa's flight from Poona, the Deccan was in a disturbed condition. The turbulent but freedom-loving people like the Bhils and the Ramoshis were not \textit{prima facie} ready to welcome the new rulers, and during
the first few months from the capture of the Maratha Capital, the British had a tough time in dealing with them.

On 17th November 1817, the City of Poona was surrendered, and the British Flag was hoisted on the Shaniwar Palace. The changes seem to have created much confusion in and around Poona. A Marathi chronicle tells us that dacoities began to occur in Poona. If any person happened to move about alone, he was sure to be robbed. None, who left his home for some business, returned without being molested. The chronicler further informs that five shops belonging to the Marwadis in Vetal Peth were attacked by about two hundred Ramoshis. When the Marwadis and other merchants approached the 'Sahib' (Elphinstone, the English Resident) to report such incidents, he said, "Bring them here and we will send them to the gallows". The merchants replied, "Sir, how could they be found?" Sahib replied, "What can we do? We can't go after the thieves". The merchants returned weeping and they protected themselves through private arrangements. Elphinstone knew the gravity of situation. But his reply was a helpless time-killing lame excuse. However, the new government seriously viewed the situation and a proclamation was issued that whosoever would catch a thief, a prize of Rupees thirty would be awarded to him.

But the dacoities continued. The Government warned the people not to take anything with them while going to Alandi for Kartiki festival which ensued on 4th December 1818. The 'Sahib' left the
Residency and camped at Garpir with military to look after the administration. Even his own camp did not remain safe; it was being stoned and a few Ramoshis took whatever they could lay their hands on. So, throughout the night, it was necessary for an alround vigil by the guards.

On learning that the troublesome Ramoshis were from the village Chinchwad, about 10 miles north-west of Poona, five Patils and two Kulkarnis of that village were imprisoned and brought to Poona, but they took the responsibility of capturing and handing them over to the Government. One Arjun Naik, a Ramoshi Rakhwaldar of Poona city, came forward and undertook to protect the city against the disturbances. When he promised that there would not be any more dacoities in the city, he was honoured with turban. He was directed to do his promised duties. Arjunji Naik bin Bhivji Naik Chavan of village Vadki was awarded a grant of land worth Rs. 150 in village Mundhve in recognition of his services to the new British Government and a Sanad was issued to this effect by the Collector of Poona on 22nd May 1818. This was the end of the Ramoshi disturbances in and around the city of Poona.

At the battle of Ashti (19th February 1818), Bapu Gokhale, the Maratha General, was killed and the English captured Pratap Singh, the Raja of Satara. They declared that from now on, they would fight on behalf of Pratap Singh, the successor of the House of Great Shivaji, and a number of Jagirdars left the Peshwa's standard.
Bajirao became a fugitive and nobody seemed to offer him shelter.

In April 1818, the forts of Sinhagad, Purandhar and Wasota were captured under General Pritzler. The fort of Rayagad, famous as the capital of Chhatrapati Shivaji, surrendered to Colonel Prother on 7 May and simultaneously, the territories in the Konkan came in British possession. Similarly, the numerous hill-forts between Poona city and the Ahmednagar Hills were taken by the end of May 1818, the Arabs in Khandesh and the Ramosi insurgents under the pretender Chattur Singh in the Satara territory, were the only opponents of the British within the dominions of the last Peshwa. Chattur Singh Bhosale, who was the brother of the late Raja of Satara, Shahu the Second, and the uncle of Raja Pratap Singh, had revolted against the rule of Peshwa Bajirao. He had tried to seek help from the Scindia of Gwalior, Holkars of Indore and Bhosales of Nagpur. He was imprisoned by the Peshwa's confidant Trimbakji Dengle and he died in the fort of Kangori on 15th April 1818.42

But the myth of Chattur Singh Bhosale did not end so quickly. The one of the most energetic of his adherents was one Murari Naik, a Ramoshi Chief. With the help of Murari Naik and his band of Ramoshis, he captured many important forts like Prachitgad, Vasantgad, etc., and appealed to the followers of the Chhatrapati of Satara to take arms against the usurpers of his sovereign rights. From Prachitgad, as his headquarters, Chattur Singh pretended to be Chattur Singh Bhosale, and plundered the surrounding country until the fort was
On April 14, 1818, a deputation of four persons was sent to Capt. Grant at Satara by the banditti infesting the country under the name of Chattur Singh's Bund. They had brought letters from Chattur Singh and asserted that he was at their head and would come to Satara if Capt. Grant promised to receive him and pardon his adherents.

In May 1818, the Ramoshi insurgents, under the leadership of the pretender Chattur Singh, extended their activities beyond the Satara territory. Prachitgad, the above of the Ramoshis, was a hill fort in Satara district. The fort was inaccessible from its western side. It was easy for the Ramoshis to descend in the Konkan area. About 'twelve to fifteen hundred' Ramoshis started their predatory activities in Chiplun area in the Konkan. Lt. Col. Kenedy, who was in command of the military operations in southern Konkan, took possession of the fort of Gavalkot near Chiplun on 19th May 1818. In the meantime, the fort of Prachitgad and the pretender Chattur Singh were taken by a detachment under Lt. Col. Cunningham on 10th June 1818.

The Ramoshis chiefly resided in the Poona District and in the Satara territory. In Poona district, their main habitat was on and around the Purandhar fort. The Purandhar Naik (chief of the Ramoshis) used to have 200 men in the service of the Maratha Government. They were employed by the garrison of Purandhar in bringing
information, keeping watch at the bottom of the hill and in the town. When Gen. Pritzler took the fort of Purandhar in April 1818, the problem before Capt. H.D. Robertson, the Collector of Poona, was how to deal with the band of these Ramoshis, who were thrown out of employment. If they were to be let loose, they would have started depredations to subsidize themselves. One Amboji Naik was at the head of the Ramoshis of Purandhar. Capt. Robertson persuaded him and brought his submission to the British Government. He promised him to continue Inams and the rights granted by the former Government to the Purandhar Ramoshis. The Naik and the Ramoshis were taken into the Government service. Similar arrangements were made with the Sinhagad Ramoshis.

There were some 60 families of Kolis at Purandhar. They were also dealt with in the similar manner.

According to Capt. Grant, the Ramoshis at Satara, Warugad, Mukandgad, Bhushangad and Nandgiri forts were the most numerous and the most formidable, but there were not above thousand Ramoshis capable of bearing arms from the Nira to the Warana.

Capt. Grant released the Shetsanadi lands of the Ramoshis of the forts mentioned above, in whole or in parts because some would have been far better off than others, and it was best for all that none should be discontented. In Wai, Neem, Jawali and Mainee, where Ramoshis were much wanted, he brought Naiks, with some of their people, to take general charge and entertained them in the
immediate pay of the Government in such situations as appeared expedient.47

A number of plots and conspiracies were discovered during the first few years after the British conquest. A conspiracy to release pretender Chhatur Singh, to raise a rebellion in his name, and to overthrow British rule was detected and the participants were punished. The bands of Kolis and Ramoshis were roving in the Deccan and the Konkan. From the hills and jungles, these gangs made sporadic raids upon the peaceful villages of the plains. And this condition of the country continued till 1822-23.48

THE RAMOSHI RISINGS OF 1839 AND 1841:

After the establishment of the British rule in Maharashtra, there were several conspiracies and attempts at armed rebellion against the British power, including the rising of the Ramoshis and Kolis in Poona district. One of such attempts second time took place in 1839 and was led by prominent personalities connected with the deposed Peshwa Bajirao II.

By the end of the year 1838, the Horsemen and Troops from the Poona district were withdrawn for field service, and taking this opportunity, numerous gang robberies occurred in the Deccan. A number of Ramoshis and Kolis forming groups committed outrages in the Pant Sachiv’s territory (the Bhor State) and in the British districts in the vicinity of Poona. They chiefly infested the then Ambegaon and Kurde Petas of Khed 'district' (now a taluka of Poona district).
On the night of 29th December 1838, Ramoshis and Kolis together attacked and plundered the village of Yeniye Budruk in Khed taluka and severely wounded the Kulkarni of that village. Two days later, the insurgents plundered the town of Ambegaon, a taluka place in Poona district and carried off two of the grocers and burnt the books of four grocers. They also seized and carried off the Mahalkari's horse and disarmed three of the sepoys.

On 1st January 1839, the Mahalkari of Ghodegaon (Ambegaon) reported to Mr Rose, Assistant Collector, at Awasari and begged him to take charge of the Treasury. Rose immediately went to Ghodegaon where he found that many of the inhabitants had fled in panic and the remainder were seized with alarm. The village of Ghodegaon had a Gadhi, or square building, which formed the Mahalkari's Treasury and Kacheri (office), with only seven or eight peons and a Naik and four men of the Poona Police Corps to protect it. Rose collected about sixty Mahars and Mangs, whom he armed with sticks and some with matchlocks loaded with cartridges. Next day, he came to Awasari and sent message to all the Police Amaldars of his district to despatch sepoys to Ghodegaon with all haste. But only the officer at Junnar received his order and could send twelve of his sepoys, well armed and provided with ammunition, who reached Ghodegaon at 12 O'clock of the night.50

About 1 O'clock in the night of that day (2nd January 1839), a band of about three hundred Ramoshis and Kolis came to Ghodegaon
and attacked the Gadhi. At this moment, three Swars were in the village Chowkee situated at some distance from the Gadhi. They rushed out and attacked the gang. Having no idea of the strength of their opponents in the dimness of the moonlight, the gang retired a little away from the village, but returned and attacked the Gadhi again. The Swars again came forward and although dismounted, fought hand to hand while the sepoys kept up a fire from the top of the Gadhi with their matchlocks. The insurgents were repulsed in about three hours, leaving one of their leading men dead and about fifteen wounded.

When a number of insurgents were brought into custody, the magistrate started the enquiry. He found that the object of the Bund was to seize the Government, its plan was to seize several Thanas of Government and then to take the city and the Subha of Junnar, which was in the immediate neighbourhood of the range of hills. They declared that they would not molest the Rayats and that they merely wished to take possession of the Government. They appeared openly in the villages during the day and conversed with the village officers. When a Police Patil was asked why he did not give information to Government against them, he said that he thought he had got a 'new master' and that there was no 'sahib' in the district. Rose expressed his belief that the natives of high rank in Poona were concerned in this conspiracy.

In a detailed report, which Rose sent on 22nd January to the Government at Bombay through the Collector of Poona, he stated that the chief persons who were apprehended, declared that to the
best of their belief, the author of these conspiracies was an individual named Bhau Karve, the private priest of Bajirao II, the deposed Peshwa then residing at Bithur (in Uttar Pradesh). This person came from Banaras to Poona, in the beginning of the year 1838. He could not be traced, having absconded directly after the repulse of the assailants on the Mahalkari's Treasury at Ghodegaon.

Chimnaji Jadhav, who also had arrived in Poona from Banaras, was another prominent person in the conspiracy. Another individual named Chimnaji More, formerly a domestic servant of the ex-Peshwa, was found under most suspicious circumstances in the village of Bibee (in Khed taluka), the place at which the Bund had established its headquarters.

Several other persons stated to have been concerned in this conspiracy were connected with the ex-Peshwa. The Government sanctioned the offering of certain rewards, proposed by the Assistant Collector, for the apprehension of the leaders of the Bund, who had hitherto escaped seizure. However, all efforts to seize Bhau Karve were proved useless and the Government ordered that all the Warshasanas (annual grants) and villages held in Inam by that individual be placed under attachment.

On perusal of several voluntary statements made by the prisoners, it was perceived that the standard of this rebellion was raised in the name of the deposed Peshwa Bajirao II and that although no positive proof had been adduced that he was a party to the
According to the report of the Assistant Collector, I.N. Rose dated 1st April 1839, all the hereditary Police Officers were aware of the existence and progress of the Bund. The Bund had declared that their object was to seize the Government and to plunder such merchants as would not pay Khand or tribute and that they would not disturb the Rayats and other Watandars, including the hereditary Police, so long as they did not give information against them and that the Rayats felt assured if they did not give information to the Government authorities, they had nothing to fear from the Bund which was in full swing and close at hand to burn their houses and property, if they did anything to provoke its vengeance.

In March 1839, thirty insurgents attacked the village of Awandhe (in Khed taluka) and extracted from a grocer of that place a fine on account of security. But on the capture of Nana Dabhade, one of the principal leaders, the Bund was dispersed. This Nana Dabhade was related to the famous Dabhade family of Talegaon (in Mawal taluka in Poona district).

It may be noted here that the Ramoshis did not take a prominent part in the Bund. They had no leader of their caste. They joined the Bund at the instigation of the sponsor.

This was not the only conspiracy wherein the Brahmins and other high caste members were found leading the Ramoshi bands.
Several conspiracies and attempts at armed rebellion against the alien British Government were discovered and nipped in the bud, wherein the bandit ranks were recruited mostly from the rural poor of all castes and creeds and the Ramoshis and Kolis were prominent among them. Shortly after the Maratha country came into British possession, the hill-forts which had provided employment to the Kolis and Ramoshis were dismantled. This had resulted in throwing a large number of village youth in the Deccan out of employment. The discontented discharged young men provided good material for rural rebellion.

On 1st November 1857, Stewart, Collector of Poona, reported that on receiving certain information that a Bund consisting of about one hundred men had assembled in the Purandar 'district', he had determined immediately to proceed to that region with a party of the Poona Auxiliary Horse and a detachment of the Poona Police Corps under the command of Lieut. Rudd. The Government directed him to exercise the utmost vigour to suppress any outbreak, should such actually occur.

Again in 1857, some leaders in Maharashtra saw an opportunity of restoring the Chh. Shahu of Satara to his throne. They knew that no such plan would be successful without the active co-operation of the turbulent people like Ramoshis, Mangs and others. The work of enlisting Ramoshis and others was entrusted to Keshav Chitre, a relative of Rango Bapují, who visited Bhor, Purandar, Wathar,
Vardhangad, Kalamdi, Karhad, Phaltan and other places to contact Ramoshis and Mangs. The Ramoshi leaders like Sattur Ramoshi and Shiva Ramoshi extended their active support for executing the plan. The Ramoshis were induced to loot the Government treasuries. 57

But Rango Bapuji's plan for an uprising in Satara was frustrated by the treachery on the part of a dismissed agent (Karbhari) of the Pant Sachiv. He had written a letter to the British Magistrate informing about the mobilization of armed men at Bazarwadi near Bhor. As there was a large Ramoshi population near Bazarwadi, the Magistrate sent armed men against them. Lieut. Kerr took thirty men of the Southern Maratha Irregular Horse, accompanied by landlord, First Assistant Magistrate. Thirteen people apprehended were found to have taken an important part in the plot. The remainder were simple ignorant 'hillmen'. They had all confessed that they were collected for the purpose of attacking the station at Satara. This happened in June 1857. 58

On 12th June, a Rajput Pardeshi Peon, named Mansingh, who was on the establishment of the Nazir of Satara, was apprehended in the Line of the 22nd Regiment of Bombay Native Infantry at Satara, while endeavouring to corrupt the fidelity of the Subhedar of that Corps, and through his agency, the fidelity of all the Hindustani men and officers of the Regiment, with a view to securing their inactivity during an attack on the Europeans at Satara. This man was tried and convicted of treason in having attempted to corrupt the fidelity
of the troops and he was executed on 20th June 1857. 59

After Mansingh's capture and execution, several persons connected with the plot were apprehended and tried. The factual account of Rango Bapuji's bid to foment insurrection at Satara was revealed in the two treason trials held at Satara during 1857 and 1858. Balwant Laxman Potnis confessed at the second trial that he had met Ranjo Bapuji in August 1855 at Bombay. Rango Bapuji had told Potnis that he was disillusioned about the British sense of justice after having spent 14 years in England for procuring the restoration of the ex-Raja of Satara Pratap Singh, without any result. He was going to achieve his objective by force. As England was involved in the Crimean War, a favourable opportunity had arisen and that he would collect Mangs and Ramoshis to raise a rebellion against the British. At the first trial, one Sitaram had deposed that Rango Bapuji used to travel in the Deccan under the pretext of some other work, 'but actually to enlist the men for an armed uprising. 60

The trial of seventeen persons, including four Ramoshis, was held at Satara from 27 August to 7 September 1857. The Ramoshis were: Babia Sirtode of Jakatwadi, Namya Nafku Chawan of Mahli, Shiva Suryaji Patole of Gursale and Nana Umaji Nadne of Kundal. All of them were charged of having conspired to rebel and wage war against the Government of East India Company by plotting to attack the station and the town of Satara, plunder the Government treasury and release the prisoners in the jail. All of them were sentenced
After the frustration of the uprising at Satara, Rango Bapuji went into wilderness and thereafter nothing was heard about him. The members of the Royal Family at Satara were removed to Butcher Island near Bombay. Thus, the only rebellion of 1857, wherein the Ramoshis were to take an active part, was nipped in the bud.

After this, there were no armed rebellion worth the name against the British Government. However, Ramoshis continued taking part in gang robberies and dacoities whenever opportunity came. They got ample opportunity when Vasudeo Balwant Phadke raised a rebellion in 1879.

Vasudeo Balwant Phadke was one of the earliest revolutionaries of Maharashtra, who resorted to violent methods in an endeavour to rid the country of foreign rule. In 1879, he actually tried to raise an army of Ramoshis and Kolis to wage war against the British Government.

Vasudeo Balwant Phadke, a Chitpavan Brahmin, who was a clerk in the Military Finance Office at Poona, was moved deeply by the growing distress. He attributed it to foreign rule which he felt was ruining the Indian industry, neglecting irrigation and making food and clothing scarce for the common man. His mind was bent upon the downfall of the British power in India. He started delivering public lectures on the miserable state of the country. He toured
the Deccan districts criticising the administration in vehement terms and preached that it was the right of all men to refuse allegiance to and to resist the Government when tyranny or inefficiency were great and unendurable.

The educated class did not respond to him. He, therefore, turned to the Ramoshis and Kolis, Bhils and Dhanagars to organize a revolt. These people had been hit hard by the continuous drought and gave a willing ear to the call of one whom they looked on as their redeemer. They gathered around him. A band of about three hundred desperate men set to work on his objective of overthrowing the British power in India. His strategy was to send his men to different parts of the country to raise the standard of revolt. For the achievement of his grand design, he needed arms and money. He directed his men to attack Marwadis, Banias and other rich people in the countryside to obtain the sinews of war.

No less than fifty-nine dacoities were committed in the year 1879 by organized bands of dacoits. There were three principal gangs: the Satara Ramoshis led by two brothers Hari and Tatya Makaji and Rama Krishna of Kalamb (in Khatau taluka, 12 miles north-west of Waduj); the Poona Ramoshis led by Vasudeo Balwant Phadke himself and his lieutenant Daulata Ramoshi of Kedgaon (in Haveli taluka); and the Poona Kolis headed by Krishna Sable and his son Maruti Sable of Purandar.

Out of these, Hari Makaji's gang had started its activities
long before Vasudeo Balwant appeared on the scene. Just before rains in 1878, the Police having got on his tract, attempted to arrest him, but were fired at and driven off by Hari and his band, the Police Inspector was injured.

Since that time, the Police had been constantly on the lookout for him and he was believed to have been concerned in some robberies, but nothing certain was known of him till the night of 10 January 1879, when he, with a band of 13 men, committed a gang robbery in the village of Kuroli (4 miles south of Waduj in Khatav taluka) and obtained a considerable amount of plunder. They were pursued but without success, across the Man taluka in the Piliv hills in Sholapur District.

On the night of 18th January, they committed another gang robbery at Phadtari (13 miles west of Malshiras) in Sholapur district. The Police were thrown off the trail by the occurrence of another gang robbery at Khatgaon (10 miles north-west of Waduj) in Khatav taluka. The most of the men engaged in this robbery were, however, arrested and it was found that they had no direct connection with Hari's gang. But on the afternoon of the 1st February 1879, Hari, with a band of 25 men, of which eight were armed with matchlocks and the rest with swords, looted a Bania's shop in the village of Girvi (7 miles south of Phaltan) and shot dead the village Rakhwaldar, who resisted them. Hari left a message in this village that he meant to pay a visit to the chief of Phaltan as soon as he had raised a
a sufficient force. Next day, the gang went across the Khatav taluka to Nandoshi near Aundh, where they looted the houses of several Gujars and wounded three men in the afternoon of the 3rd February. Since then, no certain trace of them had been found, but they were believed to be somewhere among the hills in the north of Khatav taluka.

The duty of suppressing these dacoits was entrusted to Col. Bartholomew, the Police Superintendent, with 12 posses of 8 or 10 men. They were patrolled by Swars. It was reported that:

- The Ramoshees sympathized with Hari thinking that he means to loot the Banias and Sawkars who loot the poor. Even the cultivators generally thought to be lukewarm in desiring his capture. And to this that he threatens the direct vengeance on every man who aid the Police against him and it will be seen that information is not very easily obtained.

The Government was also aware that Hari Ramoshi professed to be the enemy only of the Banias and Marwadis, the grain-dealers and the money-lenders, and so long as he and his men attacked them only, the inhabitants generally would not regard the dacoits as their enemies. Nugent, Acting Secretary to Government in Judicial Department, suggested that vigorous measures should be taken in combination by the Satara, Poona and Sholapur Police for the capture of the gang.
Thus, Hari Ramoshi gained name. We do not know whether his actions were a sequel to the tenets of political revolts prepared by Vasudeo Balwant. However, there were reports that Vasudeo Balwant toured the villages around Poona in the end of 1877 and instigated the Ramoshis there to rise against the Government.

The first attack of Vasudeo Balwant came on the evening of 23rd February 1879, when he, at the head of a large band, burst on Dhamari, a village near Sirur. The houses of the Marwadis were sacked and their account books burnt. From Dhamari, the party moved on the Dadvi Nimbgaon, Panmala and visited Jejuri. Valhe (in Purandar taluka) was attacked on 5th March, after which the insurgents entered Bhor territory and plundered Banias and rich men in Harnai, Mangdar, Savargaon and Chandkhed. Major Henry Daniell, the Police Superintendent of Poona, reported that the Ramoshis collecting together were committing outrages in every direction.

Though Vasudeo Balwant’s gang was composed of all classes, i.e., Ramoshis, Mangs, Mahars, Kolis, Kunbis, Marathas, Chambhars, Nhavis, Brahmins and Muhammadans, the part played by the Ramoshis in disturbing the situation was greater than any other of them.

In the meantime, Hari Makaji entered into Sholapur district and took refuge in the village of Bavi in Barshi taluka along with his family members. The villagers of Bavi gave them all kinds of assistance. On 13th March, Akbar Ali, the Chief Constable at Barshi, received information that certain dacoits were being harboured in
the neighbouring village of Bavi, he collected a few Police and Rakhwal-
dars and marched towards Bavi. He was assisted by one W. Doerr, the
agent of Messrs Graham and Company of Bombay at Barshi. After
a short but sharp skirmish, one of the dacoits (father-in-law of
Hari) was killed and two others were severely wounded and captured,
amongst whom one was Hari Makaji, for whose apprehension a reward
of Rs. 1,000 was offered by the Government. Five women of Hari's
family and some of the villagers of Bavi were also arrested. The
reward of Rs. 1,000 was distributed between Akbar Ali and others
in a Public Darbar.71

The Government ordered to establish a 'Punitive' Police Post at Bavi, costing Rs. 1,160 per annum for three years and its
cost was to be recovered from the villagers as a punishment for
giving shelter to the dacoits. A printed notice showing the punishment
inflicted on the villagers of Bavi for harbouring and assisting a gang
of dacoits was sent to every village Patil in Poona, Sholapur and
Satara districts.72

Similar Punitive Police Posts were established, for one year,
at Songaon and Malegaon in which villages the Ramoshis connected
with Hari Makaji's gang of dacoits had repeatedly found shelter and
in no instance had any information been given to the authorities.
Hari Ramoshi was afterwards tried at Poona and was hanged in a
public place at Jejuri on 4th April, 1879.73

Hari Makaji Ramoshi, as a leader of the Ramoshi gang,
was succeeded by his brother Tatya Makaji and Rama Krishna Ramoshi, both belonging to Kalambi village in Khatav taluka. Their first attack was on the village of Aswali (in Khandala Mahal, 4 miles west of Khandala) on 28th April 1879. The dacoits numbering about 80, all armed, visited the village at mid-day. They established posts on four sides of the village to prevent ingress and egress, which they maintained till their retreat from the village. They left the village after plundering property of Rs. 5,000 from ten houses. Next day, they attacked the village of Andori (8 miles north-west of Khandala), where they robbed one Marwadi and collected Rs. 16,000.  

The Commissioner, C.D., placed detachments at Wai, Shirwal and Khandala. On 18 May, the Government sanctioned to offer a reward of Rs. 1,000 for the apprehension of Tatya Makaji and of Rs. 500 for the capture of Rama Krishna Ramoshi.  

The majority of the fighters, who thronged the fighting gang of Vasudeo Balwant, was no doubt actuated by the lust of immediate gain. But the gang was not a mere mob of freebooters. Many of the fighters were soon converted into the genuine anti-Government militia. These included brave Ramoshi chief, whom Vasudeo Balwant loved to call Sardar Daulatrao Naik.  

In May 1879, one Tatya Makaji's gang descended the Ghats from Satara again and commenced plundering in the Kolaba district. They looted one or two Sawakars and one village from end to end.
In the meantime, two more special flying squads composed of Military and Police, were appointed, one under Major Wise and another under Major La-Touche, to pursue the dacoits below the Ghats in Thana and Kolaba districts.  

By now, Vasudeo Balwant had discovered that the Ramoshis who made up most of his following were interested in booty and in their salary. Their only concern was the loot they got. They were not interested in his scheme. Disappointed with the Ramoshis in this way, Vasudeo Balwant turned his attention to the Nizam's territory where a more war-like race of people, the Rohillas, dwelt. He visited the Nizam's country and tried to enlist the Rohillas and the Arabs for his cause. Major Henry Daniell, who was on his track, came to know of his whereabouts and with the help of the Nizam's Government at last captured him at Devar Navdgi in Bijapur district on the night of 20th July 1879.

In the meantime, one of the members of the Governor's Council, Lionel Ashburner, suggested to move the Government of India to extend the Criminal Tribes Act (Act 27 of 1871) to the Ramoshis of the Ahmednagar, Poona, Satara and Sholapur Collectarates, to enable the Government of Bombay to 'register' the Ramoshis in each village and to muster them every day. Instead, the Governor suggested that the procedure of having 'hastrì' or special muster rolls of the Ramoshis and other turbulent classes, which was originally registered for adopting in the Satara district, was not directed to be followed
in Poona, Sholapur and Ahmednagar district-wise.

The results of the musters of each village of the district were to be prepared and transmitted to the District Magistrate. The form prescribed for the Haziri or muster roll contained the following columns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr.No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Taluka</th>
<th>How long absent</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Another list of Ramoshis, Mangs, etc., found absent at the muster of the village was prepared by the head constables in the following manner:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>For how long absent</th>
<th>Explanation of absence by relatives</th>
<th>Explanation of absence by village officers</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

The haziri of Satara district was at once commenced by the District Superintendent of Police. The muster was conducted with great promptness and the decision and the returns having been scrutinized and prepared in a taluka-wise form. The final list of absentee Ramoshis, Mangs, etc., was forwarded to the District Magistrate on 21st July 1879. The period of their absence ranged from two days to ten years. The Police Superintendent had already put himself in communication with the authorities in the different parts of the country, to which certain of the absentees were stated to have gone, to trace each and all of them entered in the list. The Magistrate also enlisted the services of the Mamlatdars in the work of detection. Lists of
absentees prepared for each taluka were forwarded to the respective Mamlatdars with instructions to re-transmit the list monthly to the Magistrate showing the progress made towards detection or satisfactory information. No name was to be removed from the list of absentees without the sanction of the Magistrate, thus keeping in view everyone of the absentees until his absence had been accounted for in one way or other. The list of 453 members prepared in Satara district contained 137 Ramoshis, 211 Mangs, 73 Mahars, 21 Bhantias (pick-pockets), 7 Marathas, 2 Mussalmans, 1 Telgi and 1 Chambhar.

Similarly, the District Superintendent of Police, Ahmednagar, sent a list of 646 persons of criminal classes, who were absent from their villages in Ahmednagar district. The list comprised 83 Bhils, 41 Ramoshis, 317 Mangs, 158 Mahars and 47 members of other castes.

The District Superintendent of Police, Poona, submitted a list of 653 men, being Ramoshis and members of other predatory classes and suspected characters, who were ascertained to have left their villages.

In October 1879, the Commissioner reported that 167 persons out of 453 absentees in Satara district, returned to their villages and gave satisfactory account of their absence. On his recommendation, a strong Punitive Police Post, at the cost of Rs. 111 per month to be recovered from the villagers, was established at Kalambi.
Tatya Makaji and Rama Krishna were still in operation and the Commissioner was informed that Government will be disappointed if Tatya Makaji is not ultimately captured.\(^84\)

Major Daniell reported on 9th September that in spite of the efforts of the Police under the personal direction of European officers, dacoity was still prevalent to a serious extent in Purandar taluka and in the neighbourhood.

In October 1879, Tatya Makaji's gang was reported to have committed a dacoity near Wai and there was a possibility of his raiding sufficiently near Mahabaleshwar to excite alarm among the people on the hill. Government ordered small parties of troops from Satara to Mahabaleshwar and Panchageni to look after the safety of these hill-stations.\(^85\)

At the same time, one Babia Makaji was reported to have planned and executed a dacoity at Asangaon in Satara district. He was said to be another brother of Hari and Tatya Makaji, and a reward of Rs. 50 for his apprehension was declared in September 1878. The Government now proclaimed a reward of Rs. 300 for his capture.\(^86\)

On 3rd November 1879, Vasudeo Balwant, with fourteen Ramoshias, was put on trial at Poona on a charge of committing dacoities and associating with dacoits, conspiring to wage a war against the Queen. His own diary and the autobiography which he had written during
his stay at the temple of Shri Shaila Mallikarjuna a few months before his capture were the two major documents that were produced as evidence against him. Vasudeo Balwant Phadke was sentenced to transportation for life and died in prison at Aden on 17th February 1884.

A memorial pillar was raised in 1940 at Shirdhon, the birth-place of Vasudeo Balwant, to mark the respect that his countrymen felt for him.

Vasudeo Balwant Phadke had become a legendary figure in his own days. So also ballads were composed on the heroic deeds of Hari Ramoshi and Tatya Ramoshi. In Poona, 43 were transported for life and 64 for lesser terms, and 69 were sentenced to imprisonment or other lighter punishments. The rest in Satara district were reported to have been sentenced to long terms.\(^7\)

It may be noted here that despite the anti-British intentions of Vasudeo Balwant Phadke, his dacoities were not, in fact, directed against Government offices or treasuries; no overt act of any kind was committed against the Government and all they did was rob and otherwise molest Indians.\(^8\)

But one thing must be noted here that the story of the Ramoshi disturbances is mostly gathered from the reports drafted by the British officers who suppressed them. A fact universally noted by all British accounts of these rebels was that the people hardly ever volunteered to help the authorities to catch the bandit gangs; on the contrary, they protected them. The bandit gangs freely moved in the villages
and the people did not regard them as criminals but political opponents of the British administration. It was also likely that for years together, they were a matter of fear to the people. No Government in the past could successfully check their activities. People perhaps did not understand quickly the character of the new Government and hence, they remained away from it. The sweep of these rebellions was considerably extensive. The rebel Ramoshis freely moved in Konkan, Satara, Poona, Ahmednagar and Sholapur regions of Western Deccan.

Among the less settled tribes, Vanjars, though as a class, mild and orderly, indulged in cattle-lifting and gang-robbery. They were kept under Police surveillance and when they moved their caravans or tandas, they were to get a Police Pass, stating the name of their leader, the place they came from, their number, their business and the number of their cattle and weapons. Besides these, the chief criminal tribes were the Kaikadis, Mangs, Pardhis, Garudis, Kolhatis, Bhamats and Vadars, all of whom came from the south Deccan and Wadras. They were basket-makers, cattle-dealers, day-labourers and sometimes beggars. The Kaikadis and Kolhatis were well known gang robbers, the Bhamats were noted pick-pocketers and the Vadars generally given to housebreaking. Beyond keeping watch on them, the Police faced no trouble from these groups.

In 1878, the total strength of the district or regular Police-force was 1,722. Of these, under the District Superintendent, two were assistant superintendents, three subordinate officers, 275 inferior subordinate officers and 83 mounted and 1,358 foot-constables.
The Risings of Kittur (1824 and 1829):

Elphinstone, in his famous minute of October 1819, refers to the independent Desais of Bombay Presidency, most of whom were swallowed up by the Marathas. But the Desai of Kittur of Dharwar District still retained his possessions. During the Third Maratha War, these estate-holders had generally sided with the English, in recognition of which they were continued in their estate after the termination of the war. The Kittur Desai, who was raised to the position of an independent ruler, held Sampgaon and a greater part of Bidi in Belgam district. On 1st November 1819, Elphinstone became the Governor of Bombay and Chaplin succeeded him as the Commissioner of Conquered Country.

Shivlinga Rudra, the Desai of Kittur, though faithful to the Government, sheltered bands of robbers much to the annoyance of his neighbours. On 12th September 1824, Thackeray, the Principal Collector of Dharwar, got the information that the Desai was dying and that he had adopted a son. The circumstances connected with the alleged adoption seemed to Thackeray most suspicious. On inquiries, it was found that the Desai died on the night of the 11th and he had made no adoption, and that after his death, Konur Mallapa, his manager and other attendants invested a child with the insignia of the Desai. When the facts of the case were known, the Government did not recognize the adoption, though the estate was not allowed to lapse. Konur Mallapa who had been appointed manager on the part of the Government as an interim arrangement, was removed.
Further, Thackeray, in his report on the inquiries into the family pedigree, stated that the adopted boy was neither a descendant of the "ancient Desai" nor anyway related to the late Desai by the female line.

The trouble seemed to have subsided. Thackeray reported that all was quiet. On 21st October, however, when Thackeray demanded of the treasury guards a bond rendering themselves responsible for the treasury of the late Desai, they refused to execute the bond, presumably under the instigation of Chanavva, the late Desai's stepmother. Maharaja's wife, a daughter of the family of Kakti Desai, was enraged by his act and protested against it. Thackeray came to her on 24th October 1824, but she ordered the closure of the fort gates. Thackeray wanted to meet her, and other ladies of the family, to explain the matters, but they avoided him. This was quite a good ground of apprehension and he made arrangements with Captain Black, the commander of a troop of gunners and Golandaz, to post two guns at the gateway of the Kittur fort. But on 23rd October, the insurgents somehow seized the fort and locked the gates and did not open them even when threatened with dire consequences by Thackeray. Accordingly, orders were given to blow open the gates. Quite suddenly, the guns were seized, and Captains Black and Sewell and Lieut. Deighton of the gunners were cut to pieces. Thackeray, who rode up and tried to restore order, was shot and then cut down. The rest of the detachment was scattered. It was known that one Gursiddappa and Chanavva were at the root of this conspiracy.
The position of the rebels was very strong. The Kittur fort was garrisoned by some 5,000 desperate men. A proclamation was issued offering a free pardon to all who would surrender, but it had very little effect. The malcontents seemed to be anxious to strengthen their position by opening negotiations with the chief of Kolhapur. They also addressed letters to the Government, complaining of Thackeray's acts and demanding that the independence of the State should be respected. On 30th November 1824, Kittur Fort was invested by forces under the command of Lieut. Col. Deacon; on 2nd December, the garrison surrendered. The Kittur territory lapsed to the British Government and it was partitioned into three sub-divisions. Ladies of the Desai's family were kept under watch in Bail-Hongal Fort.

In 1829, Kittur again became the scene of a widespread rising. Its leader was one Rayappa, a village watchman of Sangoli who had joined in the Kittur outbreak of 1824, but was pardoned. His real grievance was that his service land was confiscated; but so inflammable was the situation that even a man of his position was able to gather around him many disaffected people and in order to strengthen his position, he took up the cause of that boy who was alleged to have been adopted by the late Desai. Then he declared for the restoration of the independence of Kittur. This was a very attractive call to the masses with whom the Desais of Kittur were very popular. Early in 1829, Rayappa began his depredations by burning the Mamlatdar's office at Bidi. The insurgents also devastated the adjoining regions in quite a regular way. Keeping concealed by
day and coming out in plundering parties by night, Rayappa made an unsuccessful attempt to seize the Belgaum fort. Meanwhile, as the disorder spread, even the Kittur militia refused to serve, regular troops were employed, but in a close and difficult country, local troops were found to be the best suited to pursue the bands of robbers. Krishna Rao, the Mamlatdar of Sampgaon was pursuing Rayappa from place to place, 'scouring the forest in vain'; all that he could do was to occasionally overpower isolated bands of insurgents. When operations were thus going on, the Government decided to remove the late Desai's widow from Bail-Hongal to Dharwar. The news leaked out and an excited mob determined to resist her removal; but the resistance was overcome. The lady was removed to Dharwar where she died in July 1829, presumably from the effect of poison. Krishna Rao, who was in the meantime, chasing Rayappa employed one of his rivals (apparently friendly with him) to betray him. The rival pretending to be an insurgent joined Rayappa with his forces and won his confidence. One day when Rayappa was off his guard, he was suddenly caught hold of by the followers of his rival and was quickly deported to Dharwar. He was condemned to death and was hanged and buried on the spot (Nandagad) he had chosen.

The Commissioner of South Division, Chaplin, made every preparation to siege the State by moving armies from Rayalseema, Bellary, Vengurla and Solapur. Queen Kittur Channamma wrote to him stating that she intended to fight no war and wanted to settle that matter by negotiations. She released the two British officials,
Elbott and Stevenson, on December 2, 1824. But Chaplin demanded the Fort and attacked the enemy. This happened on 3rd December and the British, with their superior force and weapons, defeated the Kittur Army and took Channamma captive. Kittur territory was merged into Belgaum district and Channamma was kept in imprisonment at Bail-Hongal where she breathed her last in 1829. But the Kittur family was held in high esteem by its subjects. Channamma's heroic resistance remained a source of inspiration.

Dhar Rao's Bunds (1840-1841):

Some of the incidents of violent outbreak may be regarded as the result of arbitrary deposition of the popular rulers. The evils of the annexation were seen in a large number of unemployed soldiers. Captain Duff wrote in 1832 that "In the Peshwa's territory in the Deccan, the risk of internal disturbances became considerable. A vast body of unemployed soldiers were thrown upon the country, not only of those who had composed the Peshwa's army, both Marathas and foreigners, but those of the disbanded armies of Holkars, Scindia and the Rajah of Berrar. They were ready to join not merely in any feasible attempt to overthrow an alien power but in any scheme which promised present plunder and anarchy. With the deposition of Pratap Singh, Raja of Satara, a chain of disturbances commenced in 1840-1841, particularly in the region around Satara. These were popularly known as Dhar Rao's Bunds, because they were first inspired by Dhar Rao, Powar of Karad. He aided his associates who were responsible for
a series of petty skirmishes, which were easily suppressed in 1840.95

Narsing Dattatray Petkar's Rebellion (1841):

Greater importance was attached to the rebellion of Narsing Dattatray Petkar, who was said to have met Pratap Singh when he was being taken to Banaras. Narsing had collected a band of Arabs and Rohillas and with a force of about 1,000 men, he seized the Fort of Badami in 1841, by a surprise attack and announced it by beating of drums that the place belonged to the Maharaja of Satara and hoisted the flag of the Raja of Satara. He took up the administration of the locality. After about four days, the British troops arrived on the scene. Narsing and his men fought till all the ammunitions were exhausted. Narsing was sentenced to transportation for life.96

The Outbreak in Savantwadi (1844-1850):

Kolhapur and Savantwadi, on the coast of north Konkan, fitted out piratical vessels and had been the scourge of the western seas for years. In 1812, Lord Minto brought them under his power by taking possession of the principal ports and thus preventing their maritime depredations. The port and fortifications of Vengurla also had been surrendered during that time. When Phond Savant the Third (1808-12) of Savantwadi died, his minor son Khem Savant-IV (1812-67), or Bapu Sahib, became ruler with his mother Durgabai as regent. This ambitious lady had always been hostile to the British Government and played her part in the confused politics of the Third Maratha War. Mills says that she was unable to check the depredations committed
by the armed bands of her state on the territories of the Bombay Presidency. An expedition under General Keir marched into the interior of the country and reduced the fortresses to submission. When Durgabai died, the regency fell into weaker hands, who being unable to offer any resistance to the demands of the British Government, acknowledged their supremacy. By the treaty of 17th February, 1819, they accepted the usual restrictions on foreign relations of the State, the condition which provided for the establishment of British troops. British officer was also attached to the State as a Political Agent.

The new King, Khem Savant, installed in 1820, was unable to check the turbulence of the lawless elements in the State. The British forces were brought in the State in 1830, 1832 and 1836. On each occasion, the British extended their power over the State by the expedient method of imposing upon the king a minister and measures of reform. They also appropriated to their use the whole of the Vadi custom duties on the plea of covering the expenses of British troops employed in the defence of the State. Eventually, the British Government forcibly deposed Kham Savant because of his inability to keep order and assumed the reins of Government. The administration of the State was left in charge of a political superintendent who was supported by a local corps under the command of British officers. But dissatisfaction was very acute and many of the turbulent nobles fled to Goa, from where they planned for the capture of the Vadi Fort, which was very nearly accomplished in 1839, by surprise attack on the fort. The country was smouldering with sedition; this
synchronized with the Kolhapur Insurrection of 1844. The Vadi malcontents and the garrison of the Manohar Fort, situated about 35 miles north-west of Belgaum, broke out by committing many depredations, including the looting of grain shops. A detachment under Major Benbow was paralysed. But Lieut. Col. Outram with four companies of the II-Regiment of Native Infantry defeated the insurgents in the Akeri Pass. The position of the rebels was immensely strengthened when Phond Savant, a leading noble of great power, and his eight sons joined the disaffected elements. Even Anna Sahib, the heir apparent, made a common cause with the rebels by assuming a pompous royal style and collecting revenues from villages. The insurgents consequently became so bold that they also opened negotiations with the officers of the Tenth Regiment. But in 1845, the whole country was in utter disorder; there was no security even in places near the British outposts.

The Government adopted very stringent measures and martial law was proclaimed and three detachments were placed in three different parts of the State, but the insurrection could not be stamped out. It appears that Subhana Nikam, a leader of consequence, held Malvan in the west, Daji Lakshman organized a strong resistance in the north and Har Savant Dingnekar defended the Ram Pass Road in the east. But the British army engaged the rebels at different places successfully, particularly at Rangana Fort. Col. Outram took the fort of Manohar, scattered the rebels in different directions, who sought safety in Portuguese territory. The common people, on promise of pardon, returned to their normal occupations. All
The Gadkari Rising at Kolhapur (1844):

Elphinstone, in pursuance of his policy of isolating the Peshwa from his feudatories, concluded a treaty with the Kolhapur Raja, on 1st October 1832, as a result of which, the Indian Prince received the British guarantee for all his territories against aggression of all foreign powers and states. Thus, Kolhapur became a protected state in alliance with the British Government. In subsequent period further restrictions were put on Kolhapur.  

The Gadkaris were the hereditary garrison of the Maratha Forts and they enjoyed rent-free lands for their services. In 1844, they were informed that their services were no longer required and they were consequently removed from service. Their lands were retained on payment of the government revenue. The Government further stated that care, however, was taken to fix the assessment on a moderate scale and to preserve a few privileges to those who had obtained their lands as rewards for service, but the resumption was very extensive. Being in possession of the forts, the Gadkaris easily enforced their proprietary rights on land, of which they were very jealous. On this occasion, when they revolted in July 1844, they had also an agrarian grievance to complain. They were dissatisfied with an arrangement by which their lands were placed under the supervision of the Mamlatdars of the neighbouring sub-divisions. 

They began their operations by shutting out gates of the
Forts of Samangad and Bhudargad in Kolhapur; an attempt of the British Forces to take by storm the former failed. Disaffection spread rapidly, the local militia, the sibandis of Kolhapur also joined the Gadkaris. Daji Pandit, the minister appointed by the British was confined. On 8th October 1844, General Delamotte assumed command of the whole force and on 13th October, the Fort of Samangad was stormed and taken. Immediately after this Col. Outram marched towards Kolhapur and obtained the release of Daji Pandit on 24th October. The Sibandi leader Babaji Ahirekar fled to Bhudargad, which surrendered to General Delamotte on 10th November 1844. The General then moved to Panhala where Col. Ovans was confined and invested the fort on 27th November. The Batteries opened a breach, the fort was stormed and taken and the leaders fell by the sword. Other forts such as Pavangad, Rangana and Vishalgad, which the insurgents held, were also captured. All the captured forts were dismantled and a British Officer was appointed as a Political Superintendent in Kolhapur. The country settled down to peace for the time being.

Satara Treason Case:

The following extracts are taken from the proceedings of Treason Trial held at Satara, under Regulation XIV - of 1827, from 27th August to 7th September 1857 when 17 persons were tried and sentenced to death. They were executed on 8th September 1857 on the Ghenda Mal, Satara. These extracts bring to light the nature and extent of the rebellious activities in the Deccan. The chief leader and organizer of these activities was Rango Bapuji, who had started
collecting men from December 1856 for raising a rebellion (vide case depositions). The objective of this rebellion was "to arrest all the Europeans at Satara and Mahabaleshwar simultaneously, release prisoners, plunder the treasury and install Shahu, the adopted son of Pratap Singh, on the Gadi". Rango Bapuji knew the loyalty of Satara people to their ruling dynasty and according to his expectations, people joined him. They had great respect for Pratap Singh. Rango Bapuji had expected to raise an army of about two thousand men, and his assistants in this project included Daffedar Karkhanis, Balaji Shimpi (Satara), Daulata Pawar (Karad), Tatya Phadnis (Kolhapur), Shete brothers (Bhor), Annamama Chitre (Mahad), Bababhat Aitwadekar, etc.. His son, Sitaram, was also amongst them. Rango Bapuji moved in the Satara and Bhor regions extensively and had also visited, it seems, Kolhapur, Belgaum, Shahapur and Pandharpur areas. Some of the sepoys from the 22nd Native Infantry were tampered by Mansingh, a peon in the Sessions Court. Daffedar Karkhanis had assured Rango Bapuji that the Swar would not retaliate if an attack was made by rebels. The plan was an extensive one and as Mr Forbes, the President of the Special Court, had stated, was "ripe one and had precautionary measures not been taken in time by the British, rebellion would have broken out in the course of a few days" with frightful results. But Mansingh was detected, tried and blown from the gun on the 12th June 1857. The other leaders of the rebellion were arrested in August and the plan was foiled. Rango Bapuji escaped and was not traced. Other original letters sent by Raja of Bhor to Rango Bapuji have been
found which prove that this Raja was deeply involved in this plan and was helping Rango Bapuji.

The details given above of the various rebellions would show that their inspirers were politically motivated though the multitude that joined those insurrections did so because of their habits and to a great extent for economic reasons. Now here are the riots which took place mainly due to squeeze policy of imperialistic Company government. This is what happened in Gujarat in 1844 and this might prove to be the precussor of twentieth century events under Gandhiji.

Riots Against the Rise in Salt Tax:

According to the notification of the Government of Bombay in 1844, the Salt Duty was raised from eight annas to one rupee per maund in the Presidency of Bombay. The new Act was to be enforced from 1st September 1844. There was a rise of fifty percent in the Salt Duty. This hit hard the common people. From 29th August 1844, people of Surat demonstrated against this unjust rise on a grand and unprecedented scale. There was a complete strike in the city and all shops remained closed during this period.

On 30th August, a procession of about thirty thousand people marched peacefully to the Court of the Magistrate Remington. The leaders of the demonstrators presented him the petition and walked out of the main building of Court premises. The military, along with the Sibandis of Surat, arrived at the spot. The Magistrate warned the agitators to disperse before 5 p.m., otherwise the Military would
On the morning of 31st August 1844, the demonstrators again gathered near the Court building in a great number. The attempts of the Sibandis to disperse them by force failed and the crowd hurled stones and tiles at the Police. The Agent, Mr Arthbund, consulted the religious heads of Surat on the evening of 31st August 1844. They advised the Agent to suspend the enhanced duty on salt to pacify the feelings of the people. This was also the opinion of the local authorities. Accordingly, the Agent issued "a proclamation in the morning that the increased excise on the salt had been suspended till further orders. He also informed the Government of Bombay of the same. Immediately, all shops were opened and the life in Surat became normal as if nothing had happened".

Giving reply to the Agent-Secretary, the Governor of Bombay, wrote that "all the town duties and taxes on traders and professions were to be abolished but the suspended additional duty on salt was to be re-enforced with immediate effect". Bombay Courier, in its issue dated 10th September 1844, criticised bitterly the Government policy of collecting a big amount of Rs. 22 lakhs through the enhanced salt duty and compensating only a petty amount of Rs. one lakh through abolishing the town duties.

Looking to these reactions and representations, the Government of Bombay notified on 14th September that the salt duty was to be
reduced from one rupee to twelve annas per maund with immediate effect. As a result, the discontent subsided, but it left a permanent impression upon the future dissatisfaction.

The Survey Riots (1852):

Here is another case of mass unrest openly demonstrated by the masses against the British land policy.

The order of the revenue commissioner in 1849 that landholders should provide stone boundary marks of their lands met with a strong opposition. In 1852, the cultivators of Savda and Chopda in Khandesh made a strong demonstration when a revenue survey party led by Davidson was about to begin their work there. The demonstrators pleaded that neither stone nor labourers could be found to put the boundary marks. On intimation from Davidson, other civil and military officers arrived to help him, but on ascertaining the strength of demonstration, it was decided to stop the survey operations for the time being. After a few days, Davidson moved his camp to Rangaon, a small village on the Tapti about five miles from Savda to resume his operations when he was joined by other officers of the party.108

This became an occasion for a tremendous upheaval. Savda peasantry began to assemble in hundreds, in less than an hour, a mob surrounded the tents, and seized the tent ropes, shouting, 'Din! Din!' and 'No Survey'. The European officers fled away in panic, the Mamlatdar and the Mahalkari who tried to pacify the mob...
were assaulted. On getting the news of the disturbance, Mansfield, the Collector, called in the aid of Major Morris and the Bhil Corps from Dharangaon. But the Government was practically boycotted by the people; the people of Erandol refused to lend their carts for public and military services, Mamlatdar's messages were intercepted and Subedar-Major was kept confined at Erandol. Major Morris, with 300 men of the 11th and 16th Regiments of Native Infantry and two companies of Bhil Corps, fell upon the insurgents at Erandol. The occupation of the place was effected after the gates of the town were broken though the precautionary measures were taken by keeping in custody the landed gentry, the Deshmukhs, the Deshpandes and the Patels. Though Erandol was recovered, Savda and Faizpur remained strong centres of disaffection. There the rebels had set up a Government of their own in supersession of the existing one. A committee called 'Panchayat' conducted the local administration, collected the revenues and punished the offenders. On 15th December 1852, Major Morris was joined by Captain Wingate, and on the 16th they reached Faizpur. The Bhil Corps surprised the rebels by surrounding the town. Simultaneously, a force moved to Savda, the leaders were overpowered. A resistance was impossible, the peasants submitted. In a Darbar which was held subsequently at Savda, the Collector explained the object of the survey.

This incident, however insignificant it may be, showed how little was needed to bring the Government into disrepute and danger. The deep-seated discontent of the masses lay dormant, ready to gush
out in an upheaval at the slightest provocation. Resistance to survey
was obviously a resistance to the imposition of the revenue system,
and more particularly, to the assessment. The survey riot was only
an indication of the dread of the peasantry and the burden of assessment,
which would follow as a sequel to survey and measurement of land. 110

Second Mass Movement in Gujarat Against
New Weights and Measures (1848):

There was a second mass movement in Gujarat when the Governor introduced the Bengal Standard of Weights and Measures in April 1848. People closed their shops and appealed to Olivant, the Acting Collector and Magistrate of Surat, to withdraw the unpopular measure.

According to the report of Bombay Courier, the people of Surat were on strike for last eight days. Mahajans, religious heads of different communities, appealed to the people not to open their shops and not to give any type of co-operation to the Government servants until the new Act was repealed.

As all the shops were closed, Government started to sell the grain at various Police Stations. For giving right answer to the Government, Mahajans started to distribute the grain free-of-charge to the people. This gave encouragement to the people against the Government and the people collected a fund of about Rs. 50,000 to fight legally against this new Act. They also presented to the Collector a petition with 50,000 signatures, demanding the cancellation of the
The Mahajans requested the Collector to postpone the new measure until they had represented their case to the Government. The request being granted, a deputation of the Mahajans prepared to put their case before the Government of Bombay. Meanwhile, the disaffections of the people were increasing day-by-day and there was a fear of general rising. Therefore, the Government prudently decided to cancel the new Act. Within no time, the shops opened and the city became as usual. This uprising also had an effect on the rebellion of 1851 in Gujarat.

These two instances were significant in more ways than one. In the first place, they anticipated the type of popular resistance to government, which became a common feature in India's struggle for freedom more than half a century later. Secondly, they showed the attitude of the government towards popular feeling which gradually underwent a change for the worse. This would be evident from the way in which similar agitation in Surat in 1860 over the Income Tax Act was ruthlessly suppressed with brute force. The Bombay Times remarked that, "even in the trying year 1857, there was no act of firmness and wisdom more worthy to be recorded than this suppression of popular dissatisfaction at Surat."

These incidents of disturbances reflect the nature of the British rule in India and also in the neighbouring areas in the first
half of the nineteenth century. Gujarat recovered from the effects, but its unrest remained temporarily quietened.

Mill's view about the internal commotion was that the empire had no risk from this and he agreed with Strachy's view that the commotions of the period were mainly Zamindari movements, afforded no signs of grievance or even discontent. That the administration of the East India Company, in spite of their ability, did not grasp the situation correctly is amply proved by the Mutiny of 1857 that took place immediately.

The Deccan Riots of 1875:

In this Chapter, the mutiny of 1857 has not been covered as a problem of lawlessness since the mutiny was a widespread, all-India phenomenon. After British Parliament took over the East India Company's rule in India, there was some sporadic unrest displayed by the masses against sudden changes in the views of the government in the matters of the Indian affairs. The Deccan riots in the Bombay Presidency was a remarkable outburst that was brought about by the farmers against the revenue policy of the Bombay Government.

In Maharashtra, from the ancient past, the system of land assessment that was in practice was known as 'ryotwari'. The ryotwari system would mean the ownership of the land invested in the cultivator (individual farmer). After the conquest of the Deccan, the British retained the ryotwari system with certain modifications. The concrete form of their modification was the introduction of revenue courts
and the legal authority to the land proprietor to sell it out or to mortgage it. Indian peasantry was historically known for its poverty as it depended on the nature of rainfall. Another factor of their problem was the States' dependence solely on the land revenue. Rulers from time to time in their hour of need raised the land tax which was the only source of income for them in the absence of industries of modern kind. The British Government, when it took over the rule of the Indian territory, also depended on the land revenue as it was the only source of income of the State. It, therefore, appointed various committees to suggest the means to increase the income from land sources.

After establishment of British rule in Deccan, a slow change in the rural economy occurred and this change was marked by the rise of Vani dominance in the villages. The Vanis were the money-lending class that extended loans to the Kunbis against their lands. The transfer of dominance over the villages from the Kunbis to the Vanis proceeded at a rapid pace after the rural districts of Maharashtra had been settled on the basis of the ryotwari system of Goldsmith and Wingate. The Patil and the principal cultivators, who had formerly presided over the affairs of the village were reduced to the position of tenants who tilled the fields owned by the Vanis.  

What was implicit in the social climate became explicit through two factors, which heightened antagonism between the Kunbis and Vanis, and added to the atmosphere of disquiet in rural society. The revision of the Goldsmith Settlement in 1867 combined with the
dislocation of the economy of Maharashtra caused by the Civil War in America produced the dormant antagonism between the Kunbis and the Vanis into open conflict in rural society.

Such were the altered conditions which confronted J. Francis and W. Waddington, the Superintendents of the 'Revenue, Survey and Assessment of Deccan', when they applied themselves to the revision of the Goldsmith Settlement in 1867. When the Kunbis were confronted with the cruel demands of the revenue officers, they were forced to turn to the Vanis for assistance in meeting their obligations. But such assistance ensured for the peasants a fate worse than death, for they were thereby reduced to the bonded slaves of the Vanis.

The re-survey of the rural districts of Maharashtra by Francis and the opposition of the Kunbis to the enhanced scale of rates proposed by him, offered the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, which was a socio-political body of the educated men of Poona, a unique opportunity to broaden its social base by championing the cause of the Kunbis. Immediately after the introduction of the new survey, therefore, the Sabha tried to channelize the Kunbis' opposition to the enhanced rates in the land-tax. The agitation for no-tax paying began among the Kunbis in the beginning, silently and then violently. The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha took the cause of agitators by openly supporting no-tax paying campaign of the Kunbis.

Under such circumstances of pressing needs for paying land tax to the government, the Kunbis depended upon the Vanis who
were willing to extend loans to the Kunbis on the terms and conditions of their own. The Vanis extended the loan to the Kunbis either by getting their land mortgaged or by becoming the owners of their land on the condition that the Kunbis concerned tilled the land on behalf of the Vanis. The condition of Kunbis was almost like slaves serving the Vanis in terms of land relations. Therefore, the Kunbis, in their knave thinking, considered Vanis as the enemies and made Vanis their target on the occasion of Deccan Riots of Maharashtra.

The antagonism between the Kunbis and the Vanis was thereupon transformed into an open conflict in rural society. It would be misleading to look upon this conflict as stemming from a single cause. The Kunbis in the beginning resorted to social boycott against the Vanis, but then the Kunbis of Supa broke out violently against the Vanis in May 1875 and the violent outbreak spread in other parts of Maharashtra soon. This movement has remained famous in the history of modern Maharashtra as 'The Deccan Riots'.

The first outbreak occurred at Supa, a substantial village in the taluka of Bhimthari, on 12th May 1875. The victim of the riots were the Vanis in Supa. Their houses and shops were stripped off, everything which the Kunbis could find was then burnt, but no violence to any person was committed. Within twenty-four hours of the outbreak at Supa, the leading Marwari of Khairgaon, a village fourteen miles away, had his residence burnt. In the days that followed, riots occurred in four other villages of Bhimthari, and were threatened in seventeen more. The disturbances then spread to the talukas of Indapur and
Pandharpur. Outside the district of Poona, the disturbances were concentrated in the talukas of Parner, Shrigonda, Nagar and Karjat in the Collectorate of Ahmednagar. The riot at Supa was singular in the wholesale destruction of property; and the outbreak at Darareh in the murderous assault of Vanis.\textsuperscript{117}

A combination of adverse circumstances, excessive government land revenue demand, slump in the world of cotton prices at the end of the American Civil War pushed the Deccan peasants deeper in the morass of indebtedness. The ever-greedy Marwari and Gujarati moneylenders, adept in the art of manipulation of their accounts and the peasants' illiteracy and habit of signing any bond without having a proper knowledge of its contents were at the root of the trouble. The civil courts invariably gave verdicts in favour of the usurious moneylenders who obtained decrees of evictions against the peasants.\textsuperscript{118}

The trouble started in village Kardeh in Sirur taluka in December 1874 when a Marwari moneylender, Kalooram, obtained a decree of eviction against Baba Saheb Deshmukh, a cultivator in debt to him for Rs. 150. The callous attitude of the moneylender in pulling down the house aroused the wrath of the villagers. The entire Poona district was ablaze by June 1875. The peasants attacked the moneylenders' houses, shops and burnt them down. Their chief targets were the bond documents, deeds and decrees that the moneylenders held against them. The rising spread to most of the talukas of Ahmednagar district. The Police assisted by the Military, was
swung into action. By June 1875, nearly a thousand peasants were arrested and the uprising completely suppressed. The struggle had a popular base, for the government could not get trustworthy evidence against the rebels. The government appointed the Deccan Riots Commission to investigate into the causes of the uprising. The ameliorative measure passed was the Agriculturists' Relief Act of 1879, which put restrictions on the operations of the Civil Procedure Code, in that the peasant could not be arrested and sent to civil debtors' jail for failure to pay debts.\footnote{119}

The antagonism between the Kunbis and the Vanis was, indeed, the most important reason behind the disturbances which broke out in 1875. Factors like the growth of the rural population, the dislocation of the economy by the civil war in America, the ill-conceived revision of the land-tax by Francis, and finally, the agitation whipped up by the young Brahman leaders of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha and the dominant landed families contributed to Deccan Riots.\footnote{120}

Thus were the rebellions who rose up again and again for the econono-political reasons for the major portion of the nineteenth century but failed before the British raised military, para-military and newly organised Police forces which were well trained in modern technique of warfare. This failure did not mean that the causes of their unrest were removed. They remained as they were without much change in their nature. What importantly happened was that Indians understood the nature of new administration and slowly changed
Their mode of opposition to imperialism of the British Government. Their outlook became transformed from armed rebellion to the peaceful agitation by democratic means of demanding representation in the services and in the government from late nineteenth century onwards.

REFERENCES

1 Sir Percival Griffiths, 'The British Impact on India', pp. 204-206.
2 Thornton 'Illustrations of the History and Practices of the Thugs; Ibid., p. 205.
4 George W. Forrest, 'Selection of the State Papers of the Governors General (Cornwallis)', p. 44.

Mill, who had used Graham's Historical Sketch in the treatment of this subject assigns this insurrection to the early part
According to Capt. Mackintosh and Capt. J.-Grant (Duff), the term 'Ramoshi' is derived from the word 'Ran-Vasi', which means 'the residents of waste or desolate lands'. Capt. A. Mackintosh, 'Account of the Origin and Present Condition of the Tribe of Ramoshis', Bombay, 1833, p. 3; J.-Grant's replies to the queries dated 27 June, 1822, 'Selection of Papers from the Records of East India House', Vol. IV, London, 1826, p. 668 (the other etymology of the term is 'Ram-Vanshi', descendants of the God Rama).
Ramoshis were often mentioned as 'Berads' in Marathi documents.


Kunbi - an Agricultural Caste of Maharashtra.


Ibid., p. 111.

Vadki is in Haveli Taluka, 6 miles southeast of Poona.

Mundhve, a village now incorporated in Poona City.


Prachitgad, in Valva Taluka, about 40 miles north-east of Peth, and 4 miles either from Rundhiv or Javli, the nearest villages in Satara District. Vasantgad, 6 miles north-west of Karad, in Karad taluka, Satara District.

Bund is a native (Marathi) term which means rebellion and which has often been used in the contemporary English correspondence by several British officers; it was also used to mean gang or a band of rebels. Desai, S.B. Op.cit., p. 117.

P.D. Diary No. 400 of 1818, pp. 3861-65.


Shetsanadi lands - Lands received for military or other distinguished service.


Ibid., pp. 136-37, 153, 86-91.


Ibid.


Joshi, V.S., "Vasudeo Balwant Phadke - First Indian Rebel Against British Rule", Bombay, 1959, pp. 29-38.

Peddar, W.C., District Magistrate of Satara to Col. Wahab, Commanding Officer at Satara, 8.2.1879, J.D.; 60 of 1879, pp. 31-39.

Ibid.

J.D., Vol. 60 of 1879, pp. 31-39.


Daniell, H. to Nugent, 14.3.1879; Ibid., pp. 251-253.

Spry, A.H., Magistrate of Sholapur to Commissioner, C.D., 20.3.1879; J.D., G.R. No. 1422, 8.3.1879, pp. 343-360.

J.D., G.R. No. 1846, 26.3.1879; Ibid., pp. 397-8.

J.D., G.R. No. 2925, 19.5.1879; Ibid., p. 279.


Commissioner, C.D. to Government, 16.5.1879 Ibid., pp. 293-294.


J.D., G.R. No. 3251-B, 4.6.1879; Ibid., p. 149.

Daniell, H. to Commissioner, C.D., 23.7.1879; J.D., Vol. 64 of 1879, pp. 549-554.
79 J.D., G.R. No. 3754, 27.6.1879; Minute by Sir Richard Temple, 23.6.1879, pp. 569, 601-632.
82 Ibid., pp. 585-87.
84 Government to Commissioner, C.D., 7.8.1879; J.D., Vol. 64 of 1879, p. 492.
85 Governor's Minute, 7.10.1879; J.D., G.R. No. 6283, 16.10.1879, pp. 529-533, 637-657.
86 J.D., G.R. No. 6518, 28.10.1879; Ibid., p. 705.
90 Ibid., p. 314.
92 Ibid., p. 154.
93 DG Belgaum, pp. 401-8. Similar proceedings took place in the same part of the country where a Patel of Omraiz refusing to pay his revenue, raised an insurrection by committing depredations. In February 1825, military measures were taken against him. The Fort was invested but initial attempts to carry this stronghold by blowing the gate open failed. Lieut. Phillipson and several of his party were killed. It was only when the Garrison evacuated the fort that the Patel's rebellion was suppressed (MILL Op.cit., IX-X, 121).
95 R.C. Majumdar, 'British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance, Part I, p. 446.
Elphinstone, in his minute of October, 1819, described the sebundis as irregular infantry. Small parties of horse who worked in collaboration with the Police and were usually employed to oppose violence. (Forrest, Official Writings of M. Elphinstone, p. 305). The Shetsundees of the Southern Maratha country are described in the joint report of Mr Hart and Captain Wingate as a kind of irregular troops entertained by former Governments to preserve the peace of the country and paid in land instead of money (Parliamentary Paper 1852-53, Vol. XII (Lords); Lord Falkland's Minutes, Paper 162, p. 56). In the Belgaum district, there were no less than 11,696 persons chiefly Kurrees, who hold villages and lands (Ibid., p. 83). DG Kolhapur, pp. 238-42. DG Belgaum, 407-08.

These letters are secured from Bhor by Shri V.S. Bendre, Poona, who kindly allowed them to be used by this office. M.R. Palande, 'Source Material for A History of the Freedom Movement in India', Vol. I, p. 79.

'Bombay Times', 7 September 1844, DG Surat p. 156.

Kumar Ravindra, "Western India in the Nineteenth Century", p. 157. Barely three decades after the completion of the first revenue surveys, the Commissioners who investigated the riots of 1875 discovered that in one village after another, the Kunbis had been gradually dispossessed of their holding by the Vanis who thrived under the new dispensation.