CHAPTER V
RAJA VENKATAPPA IV AND THE BRITISH

A - Childhood, Transfer of Power and Maladministration

(a) Childhood and Education

Raja Venkatappa IV, the one and only son of Raja 1 Krishtappa and Rani Ishwaramma, was born in 1834. As we have noticed before, he was immediately declared Raja on the death of his father in August 1842, and his mother Rani Ishwaramma acted as regent for him till she was forcibly removed from power. Though a few translations of his letters during this period are extant they were written by the Rani for him, merely bear his seal, and as such furnish no information about him. The Rani loved her son and one of her reasons for not accepting Pid Maik as Diwan was the apprehension that the Diwan might harm the Prince's life and security. On the accession of the Raja the Governor General directed Resident Fraser to convey to the minor Raja who was ascending the gadi in such difficult circumstances, his paternal but friendly sentiments and good wishes. The Resident was to "extend his care to him in the spirit of friendship and good will". Later the Governor General emphasized that the young Raja be given such good practical education as would enable him to carry on his administration properly when he attained majority. 5 It became Taylor's duty to carry out this instruction.

From Taylor's official reports it appears that the Raja's training programme consisted in the main of learning various languages. Taylor himself, 2nd dresser
Murray in his escort, Assistant Surgeon Dr. Sellers, and one Ramrao, a Brahmin official who had retired from the Company's service, taught him English. He learnt enough to read and understand easy books, picked up writing but probably could not speak it well enough. As Surapur's official language was Marathi, mastery over English was not essential though desirable. He learnt to read any document in Marathi and could write it tolerably well. Kannada and Telugu being his mother tongue and next household language it was no wonder if he became well-versed in them. He also picked up some Persian and learnt to speak Urdu very well. The subject he failed to study was arithmetic. Over-indulgence by instructors, several of whom had to be dismissed for gross misconduct or embezzlement, and the Raja's own delicate health hampered his studies and slackened his progress. When he came of age his companions and attendants began to tell him that a Raja had no use for studies and this proved another obstacle.

Another measure taken by Taylor for the Raja's training was to initiate him to public business as an observer. Taylor used to hold a durbar or cutcherry every Monday and sometimes on other days as well in which all State papers were read before the Raja, explained to him, signed and sealed in his presence. The young lad exhibited natural curiosity, asked pertinent questions and took interest in public business. "It was satisfactory to observe his increasing interest in regard to these subjects". He had strong, natural ability and intelligence and Taylor considered him a boy of much promise. When Resident Fraser visited Surapur the boy was showed off before him. The Resident was favourably impressed, found the lad
affectionately attached to Taylor and docile to his instructions. The young Prince was mild, affectionate by temperament, amiable and well-disposed, neither petulant nor irascible. Taylor did not notice in him any trait of unruly passion or untruthfulness that needed correction. When the boy grew up Taylor remarked the same honesty which would not conceal irregularities or falsehoods of others either.

The great events of the young Raja's childhood were ceremonial ascending of the gadi on 12 June 1843, the Dasra festival on 21 October 1844 which passed peacefully but at which his murder was feared and ritual removal of his hair in his 11th year i.e. 1855.

The young Raja's health was delicate and always caused anxiety. He was subject to repeated fevers, one of them nearly fatal; the boy also survived an attack of cholera. Taylor encouraged the boy to take up excursions into the countryside which improved his health. However, the irregular habits induced by his attendants and companions compelled Taylor to restrain the boy. He himself would have taken the lad along during his janabandi tours and the boy too was quite enthusiastic about it. It would have proved the best administrative training for the Raja. But unfortunately the boy's delicate health stood in the way. Taylor had ordered camping tents suitable for the Raja but unfortunately these arrived too late to be put to use. When in good health the boy exhibited active habits, learnt horse-riding well and used to be indifferent to fatigue.

When the boy attained the age of 16 Taylor appears to have had some misgivings about him. While repeatedly
admitting that the Rani took great interest in her son's education he had also felt that the Prince had to be prevented from the pernicious, immoral influence of her alleged love affair with Kasima. It was difficult to have a competent guardian for the boy. His own mother was unsteady and capricious. After her banishment he tried several guardian-tutors, found them unsuitable and placed him under one Timmappa, uneducated but firm in checking clandestine evils which harmed the Raja morally and physically. Taylor vaguely tells us that the Raja was fully aware of the low standard of people in Surapur (excepting Brahmins), that he readily acknowledged his irregularities, that his repeated errors were instigated by others and not because he was disposed to commit them. Taylor often used to exhort the Raja to avoid the weaknesses of his father who came to grief on that account. Like an indulgent guardian Taylor also saw the good side of his ward - how he was considerate, kind and charitable, could discern well who could be better servants of the State, clearly perceived what was just and right, and was capable of showing firmness and confidence though easy-going and undecided by nature.

It was when the Raja completed his 16th year that Taylor proposed a simple test of his qualifications. Resident Fraser or any other competent persons could examine him. It would stimulate the Raja to greater endeavour if he were told that the termination of his minority depended upon this test. To prepare him for it an intelligent but firm Kannada-knowing instructor could be sent. When the Raja would assume full powers over his principality there was none of rank or standing who was capable of assisting him. Taylor
had trained the hereditary servants of the State in routine
business; but they indulged in low intrigue and the Raja
would have to exercise firm control over them.

(b) Partial Transfer of Power

It speaks volumes for Taylor's honesty and integrity
that much in advance of the Raja's approaching majority he
took up the question of allowing the young boy a share in
administration whereas he could have deferred it conveniently
to his own personal advantage. He overlooked his own earlier
suggestion of a qualifying test for the Raja, with sad
results later on, and straightway proposed that the boy
should look after his treasury and submit periodical
statements of accounts. In actual practice this did not
involve much responsibility as the items of expenditure
were settled and the treasury officials well-trained. All
that the Raja was required to do was to check the accounts,
control household expenditure on festivals, donations,
purchases etc. and curb possible extravagance of the royal
family. Initially he might commit mistakes but gradually
he would learn to judge and decide independently. It might
prove a stimulus for interest in sources of State revenue
and build up his confidence. There was much less danger in
this experiment than in ignoring the Raja's growing love of
ease and irresponsibility. Besides, Taylor was there to
guide the boy at every stage and apprise him of revenue and
other aspects of administration as well. He had been often
telling the Raja about the need for economy in State
expenditure.
Instead of commenting on this proposal the Resident asked the opinion of Surapur people as to when did they expect the Raja to receive full powers? Since Taylor had never discussed this with anyone, not even with the Raja so far, nor would anyone have given his honest opinion for fear of consequences he could only offer his own opinion. He felt that the Bedars could get excited if transfer of power were deferred and the members of the Raja's family, particularly the Rani, would be looking forward to it with a view to acquiring influence. The peasantry and small merchants might be happy with prolonged British management but their opinion did not matter. Of the populace only the daftardars had expressed their apprehension of irregularities but Taylor himself used to allay these fears by assuring them that the Raja would learn by experience.

The Resident forbade Taylor from discussing cessation of Raja's minority with anyone. To the Government of India, he recommended the Raja's immediate participation in public business, adding that British management could continue beyond the Raja's attaining majority, if considered expedient. He proposed retention of Taylor as permanent Political Agent at Surapur, his advice be binding on the Raja and Taylor's salary to be paid by Surapur. Of course, retaining the British Agent could be made dependent upon the Raja's future conduct and management. In any case the Resident saw no potential ruling abilities in the Raja and feared that Surapur would relapse into chaos if the British officer were permanently and absolutely withdrawn.

The Governor General, Lord Dalhousie, agreed that "the young Rajah should be permitted and encouraged to
exercise a considerable share of authority in government during the period that will elapse before he attains his full majority. Then he shall have completed his 18th year. I apprehend that in accordance with usual practice the full authority over his state must be given to him". The Raja's consent to a British political agent's continuance, which was "in the highest degree desirable" could be invited. But if his State were orderly, his means adequate to his expenditure and he chose not to have a British political agent it could not be forced upon him. This however, was to be referred to the Court of Directors.

On receipt of Dalhousie's orders, Taylor who was then finalizing jamabandi, informed that as soon as the Raja met him at his camp he would transfer to him general control over expenditure and whatever other departments the Raja might desire reserving to himself only revenue settlement. He enclosed a draft letter to the Raja to be signed by the Resident. In this draft the Raja was informed that associating him in administration was a mark of the British Government's favour and confidence in him; that he must take his duties seriously, practise economy, continue public works, and not allow evil-minded persons to interfere. Taylor, of course, would assist him, but he must check his own daftar accounts. The Raja's partial participation dated from 1st Jamadi-ul-awwal, A.H. 1268 (22 Feb. 1852). He sent a grateful letter to the Resident informing that he had prepared a statement of expenditure from A.H. 1268 to date (evidently as an exercise), and making all the demanded promises. Though the reply was in Persian and Marathi it was obviously dictated and translated into English by Taylor for the Resident's benefit.
(c) Full Transfer of Power

Finding the Raja's age of majority approaching fast Taylor opined that it was now too late to set any qualifying test for vesting the Raja with full authority as had been suggested by him much earlier. Despite Taylor's advice the teenager was neglecting studies for which he had neither inclination nor talent and he could not have passed any test. As a matter of fact it was too late for Taylor himself to refer to such a test at this stage. He himself had failed to follow up his initial proposal and consequently none of the superior authorities (the Resident, the Governor-General in-Council or the Court of Directors) ever took it into consideration. The Resident pointed out that the Court of Directors only wished to be sure of the Raja's capacity to govern on which Taylor could send periodical reports. He emphasised that while 18 was the customary age of majority there was neither British regulation nor Hindu law that at that age a Raja must necessarily be vested with full authority, nor had the Raja been so assured the subject being under the consideration of the supreme authorities. While submitting these papers to the Governor General in Council Under Secretary W. Seton-Carr merely paraphrased these ideas pointing out that if the Raja was given full powers a little later than 18 it caused no great inconvenience. The Governor General in Council reiterated to the Resident that Court's orders were awaited and that neither precise time for full transfer of power nor any qualifications for the Raja could be prescribed at present. This reply was based on Lord Dalhousie's noting: "I adhere fully to the opinion expressed before. Though the
Government of India may have the power to withhold succession for the lad it has no reason for doing so; and I do not consider that we can at this late stage establish any standard of capacity beyond the assurance that he is not absolutely incapable."

Taylor's report on the Raja's ability to govern, was not very encouraging. The young Raja had given up checking accounts after initial enthusiasm was spent out. Though he might not be unduly extravagant having become aware of his unnecessary expenditure he was procrastinating in preparing a schedule of State expenses. He paid little attention to practical administration though quite keen to have full management. He had appointed some favourites in place of experienced hands. He was surrounded by unworthy companions who exercised a pernicious influence though his recent marriages had curbed his promiscuity. Taylor wondered whether his subjects could look forward to protection and unrestricted access to the Raja for redress of grievances. The Raja used be cut on hunting expeditions for days together. He was full of apparent sincere assurances, though. But the proof of the pudding was in the eating. Taylor's exhortations and remonstrations irritated him. Taylor felt that the second pattabhisheka, therefore, could be delayed by four more years. But he dared not suggest it frankly. He guardedly wrote, "It rests with Government to decide whether it is not more expedient to continue supervision till his good management warranted entire withdrawal". But if political considerations and policy in respect of other native states justified complete withdrawal one had to abide by its results. Moreover delay in complete transfer of power
would deeply hurt the Raja. The Resident agreed with him, though as a matter of fact it was futile to discuss the question on which Lord Dalhousie had already expressed his firm opinion and which was under submission to the Court for final decision. Taylor did so on demand from the Resident and presumably because the Governor General in Council's latest instructions were not yet conveyed to him.

On completing 18 years on 5th Zilhaj 1268 (20 Sep.1852) the Raja applied to Taylor as well as to the Resident for being vested with full authority, and sent Yenkappa Jellapalli to Hyderabad to plead his case. His humble petition provoked the Resident as an attempt to hustle the Government into decision. Besides, it referred to the Resident's promise of transfer of power which he strongly denied as having been made. Taylor himself was then at Hyderabad for medical treatment having left Jellapalli to look after the administration. Taylor did not like Jellapalli's minor mission and punished him by taking away his sanads for 2 jadis villages for his son. The Raja tried to shift the blame to Jellapalli but took Taylor's remonstrances in good spirit. Informed of the Raja's petition the Government of India ruled that present arrangement was to continue till the receipt of the Court's orders. The Court of Directors concurred with Dalhousie regarding the partial transfer to the Raja of public business not compelling him to have a British agent but added, "you will not fail to press on the young Rajah the necessity of maintaining the excellent system of administration now established and warn him of the consequences of falling into their former disorder." Before the Court's orders could reach Taylor he submitted another confidential report on the Raja. It contained a chanrasi's
(obviously Taylor's spy) account of how the Raja's companions were exhorting him to create disturbances to gain gadi, how he continued to neglect administration, entertain bad characters, and sulked at expostulations and admonitions. What really scandalised Taylor was the Raja's reported acts of sodomy. "I really do not know what to do with him, to save him or keep him even tolerably straight, or how to report on him to Government. I must tell the truth if there is no improvement and he must take his chance".

Nevertheless, when Col. Low took charge as Resident at Hyderabad, in accordance with Government's previous orders he invited the Raja's consent to Taylor's appointment as Political Agent. The Raja asked its meaning from Taylor who, while explaining it, added that it was a mark of distinction conferred by the British Government on important Indian states. As Taylor had not made clear whether his advice would be binding either in theory or in practice the Raja in reply with matching vagueness solicited British protection. It is interesting to see Col. Low follow Gen. Fraser's footsteps in this direction when he regarded the Raja's uncertain reply as sufficient for Taylor's appointment and spelt out the actual amount to be paid by the Raja towards Taylor's allowances. When this became clear to the Raja he refused the agency on the ground of expense. Surapur could not afford it. Dalhousie considered the Raja's reply to be presumptuous but stuck to his original stand that British political agency could not be forced upon the Raja.

He is of full age, and has a claim to his independence; nor can I recognise any right on our part to thrust upon him an adviser who is to take part in his administration. The Government of India might of course require the Raja to
receive Capt. Taylor as a political agent at his Court. But 
Shorapore is not of sufficient importance to justify 
this expense. The Raj should be made over fully to the 
Raja. He should be enjoined at the same time to bear in 
mind the good advice he has received and should be warned 
that his future prosperity will depend upon his own conduct. Dalhousie suggested that in any case Taylor, who was being 
considered for appointment in one of the newly ceded districts 
of the Nizam, adjoining Surapur, could keep an eye on the 
Raja's administration.

The Court of Directors, as usual, endorsed the 
Governor General's opinion. Besides, their letter containing 
it arrived too late. Meanwhile on 30th June 1853 Taylor 
handed over full charge to the Raja in a brief investiture 
ceremony. The Raja had been directed to enforce judicial 
decisions made during Taylor's time, protect officials 
trained by him, continue stipends to his relations and 
peshkash to the Nizam and abide by advice given by Taylor. 
The Raja was full of assurances and promises in person to 
Taylor and on paper to the Resident. Taylor handed over all 
revenue records and necessary English correspondence. And 
thus the British management of the principality came to an 
end. Later events proved it to be an interval rather than 
an end, but Dalhousie had not intended it. He withstood the 
pressure of local officials favouring continuance of direct 
British supervision. Despite the recommendations of the 
Resident and unfavourable reports from Taylor he did not 
flinch from what he considered as a principle of justice. 
As we have noted above Surapur in his eyes did not possess 
such political significance as would compel him to modify 
that principle. All the same in this instance he stands
The Court of Directors in their letter dated 12th April 1854 had specifically stated that it would be the duty of the British officer in charge of Raichur Doab bordering on Surapur to watch, advise, remonstrate or assist the Raja, of course through the Resident at Hyderabad. The Court had urged that the Raja must observe Taylor's engagements in respect of revenue and other matters, and that he must be warned, if necessary, of permanent forfeiture of the principality to the British if there was maladministration.

The centre of British control over Surapur had shifted in the past from Mathkal to Surapur itself. Now it thus changed to Raichur. But the Officer in charge of Eastern division of Raichur Doab was not Taylor but Maj. Hampton. Later Capt. Ivie Campbell officiated for him. It is they who submitted reports on the Raja's maladministration. One also gathers similar bits of information on it through Taylor's later report which, however, is inferential in nature.

As soon as complete power was transferred to the Raja, his private attendants, in addition to other parties, began to plunder the wealthy with impunity. This led to the migration of substantial cultivators, traders, bankers and industrious classes to the Nizam's or the Company's adjoining territories. Warning of diwan Bhimrao that this would invite British intervention put a stop to it. Though the Raja held durbar for an hour every day he only transacted routine business and took no interest in actual administration. He
indulged in his hobby of hunting, carried on a homosexual affair with the son of a dancing girl and got into the hands of vulgar companions who exercised unbounded influence over him. He resumed many jamiras worth more than a lakh of rupees only to lavish them on these favourites. Induced by one of them he opened the sluices of Bonhal tank merely to catch the fish easily; it resulted in loss of cultivation under it in a year of famine. Work on the Kachakur tank was left incomplete and the dispensary established by Taylor disbanded.

Though immediate plunder was stopped law and order broke down to an extent where offenders went unpunished. Bhimrao diwan settled private scores and oppressed his enemies. One Ruchappa Deesai who had plundered Sagar Shahpur (an enslave in Surapur belonging to the Nizam) was reported to have received the Raja's protection. Creditors tortured debtors to realize their dues, but went unnoticed. Cattle-lifting, particularly in border areas, which had been suppressed by Taylor, and plundering of ripe fields, received encouragement from the Raja and his creatures as proof of spirit and enterprise. Extortion often accompanied by torture was either ordered by the Raja or perpetrated by his companions. The Raja's confidants themselves indulged in criminal activities, received stolen property, and assisted criminals in every way. None, not even Brahmins, could afford not to bear arms in self-protection.

No one dared to complain, and even if one did, one had no chance of being heard. Officials connected with the civil court set up by Taylor at Surapur became notoriously venal. Profits were supposed to be so large that officers were for farming the judgeship! Consequently the court
fell into disrepute and eventually ceased to exist.

Such lack of protection to the ryats and oppression was bound to affect cultivation resulting in loss of revenue to the State. It was no wonder if Taylor found no trace of New Orleans variety of cotton cultivation later which he had been encouraging earlier. Sugarcane, fruits and similar garden produce used to be taken away without payment by the Raja's servants and companions during their frequent countryside excursions. But this pales into insignificance when compared to the indiscriminate grant of inam lands by forcibly dispossessing previous tenants. The Raja's companions procured blank orders to village officers and filled them up as they pleased. There was a scramble among the new inamdaras, the village wetandra and those with local power and interest for best lands. Waste lands brought under the plough by encouragement were taken away by them depriving the original cultivators of the fruits of their labour.

Lax and oppressive revenue administration, without any check on accounts coupled with bad seasons and scanty rains on account of which several cattle perished brought only Rs. 1½ lakhs as revenue in 1853-54. To raise the revenue the Raja began to impose irregular cesses and increase his demands. The treasury was exhausted soon enough and arrears of payment running into nearly 2 lakhs of rupees to the sibandi and hereditary officials, servants of the state, stipendiaries and annuity-holders accumulated. It was apprehended that the Raja would fail to pay the Hyderabad kista but he managed by raising loans. The Raja borrowed right and left, from local sahukars and seths, near and distant relations, friends and even a money-lender at
Bangalore. His creditors numbered 55, and amounts of loans ranged from Rs.8 to Rs. 32,000. Cloth worth Rs.18000 and a necklace costing nearly Rs.8,000 was bought on credit but never paid for. To raise funds he went to the extent of occasionally pawning the jewelry donated by himself to the Gopalswami temple at Surapur.

Such ruinous maladministration would have called forth not merely remonstrances but threats of annexation by the British. However, the immediate cause of severe protests by the British officials was the reported maltreatment by the Raja of his cousins, the sons of late Raja Pid Naik. The quarrel between the two was instigated and fomented by divan Bhimrao who bore private enmity towards them. The cousins were so ill-treated that he escaped to Hyderabad. The cousins themselves fled and finally took asylum at Devadurg. Their half-sister, daughter of Pid Naik’s concubine, was ravished by a favourite of the Raja and returned to her grandmother. Their families were forced to leave their ancestral houses which were pulled down and their jagirs were confiscated. Driven to destitution and despair the cousins conveyed to the British authorities their intention of creating disturbances on account of which they were kept under surveillance. The Raja’s vakil, when taxed, vehemently denied and said that this and other instances of maladministration were inventions of enemies. He might have been justified to an extent as relations between a raja and his jagirdars who often tend to be independent of him are frequently full of friction. However, his explanation was considered unsatisfactory and the Raja was threatened and exhorted to treat his cousins
properly and to provide for them. He offered to pay them Rs.500 per month in lieu of *jaïre* on condition that they settled their creditors who used to annoy him; he would not allow the cousins to return to Surapur. The Resident did not press for restoration of *jaïre* if their income was applied to liquidating their debts. Campbell, the Officiating Commissioner was against it, as there was no guarantee of punctual payment of cash stipend. The Court of Directors too doubted the wisdom of the Resident in agreeing to such an inadequate amount and urged mediation.

In the Resident's opinion the cousins had to acknowledge the authority of the Raja as the head of their clan before restoration of *jaïre*. However, he persuaded the Raja to increase the stipend to Rs. 900 p.a. and considered the subject as closed. Though the Court urged further mediation the subject was dropped for the time being and revived only during Capt. Taylor's second spell.

Although the picture of the Raja's administration as emerging through the British reports and correspondence appears to be so uniformly dismal it must be observed that it is exaggerated and coloured. Neither Maj. Hampton nor Capt. Campbell had firsthand information of the Raja's maladministration though they were quite assertive about it. Taylor suffered from the very human tendency to shine in contrast by painting a dark picture of his predecessor. Many other attenuating circumstances also must not be ignored. As noticed before, during the whole period of the Raja's regime natural calamities like famine, scarcity, and scanty rains beyond his control were in part responsible for dwindling revenues. The Raja was, after all, young and
inexperienced. It was the duty of 

experienced. It was the duty of `malatdars trained by Taylor to stick on and help. Instead, foreseeing disorders they resigned, on bloc at the commencement of his reign, and fled to the adjoining regions. At least Yenkappa Jellapalli, who was the most respectable, experienced, elderly relation of the Raja and to whom Taylor himself had entrusted local administration during his first spell should have continued to advise and support the Raja. But he was among the first to resign and get employment under the Company forsaking even his guaranteed jagirs. The Raja's conduct was certainly not such as could inspire confidence amongst them but if they had any mettle in them they would have chosen to face the odds in the interest of the State instead of following the line of least resistance. In their absence the Raja came completely under the influence of coarse companions and self-seeking men. The Raja's actions were more those of his advisers than his own, he being weak, yielding, ease-loving and easily influenced. His frequent change of divans may be as much an indication of his endeavour to find a suitable administrator as of his fickle-minded nature. His proposed employment of Bapuji Vikaji, a reputable Parsi administrator, to manage his revenues, though we do not know if it came about, is a pointer in that direction. If one could examine the personal record of many servants of the State, of whom Taylor himself had not much opinion, it is possible that the dismissals and replacements may be found to have been justified. Although the Raja had many other personal weaknesses he was not addicted to liquor or opium unlike his uncle or father and is not reported to have seduced women indiscriminately. As for the migration of
many people owing to oppression only defaulters had left according to the Raja. In fact even Campbell admitted that many watandars did feel secure enough to return. The Raja was gradually learning by experience. For instance, when he personally concluded jamabandi, cultivators in 200 villages threatened to desert on account of high assessment and he was obliged to make satisfactory promises to them. There was certainly reason for hope in the latter part of the Raja's rule when the Resident ceased to have any complaints about him. The assurances of the Raja's vakil that he was managing his own affairs, was inclined to do all that was reasonably required of him and desired to do well, in which the Resident also placed some reliance may not be taken at their face value; but the fact that such a convincing pleader of the Raja's cause continued to be in Surapur despite all the maladministration was a harbinger of hope.

B - The Revolt

After the outbreak of the mutiny at Meerut on 10 May 1857 many native chiefs in India began to be viewed with suspicion by the British. Rumours began to thicken and the whole political atmosphere became charged with distrust. The Surapur Raja too began to be enveloped in the hazy mist of mistrust.

First Reports

There was no dearth of informers and interested parties who began to circulate stories of the Raja's disaffection. Indian officials at Muddebihal near the borders of Surapur on the Bijapur side, reported on the Raja's usual hunting expedition with a large retinue, as if it were a most
alarming occasion. One Bhimrao in Surapur service alleged that the Raja was recruiting Arabs from Hyderabad and planning aggression on withdrawal of British troops to the north.

A Sittaram Bawa at Bangalore mentioned Surapur Raja as one among other Indian princes plotting the Mutiny. More important was the statement of one Mahipal Singh, son of Jawahar Singh, recently discharged from the Thagi Department who had been arrested for attempting to spread sedition in the 29th Regiment stationed at Belgaum and was executed on that charge. Mahipal Singh alleged that the Surapur Raja had sent him to incite the troops at Belgaum on the promise of some territory and reported that the Raja had informed him of his enlistment of Rohillas and Arabs. Mahipal Singh's statement was recorded on 14th August 1857. The Bombay Government itself did not place much reliance in the statement by a person who was hoping for mercy by large disclosures, but considered it worth investigation. Although Resident Davidson did not anticipate any overt act of hostility from the Raja he regarded him as a weak character, completely under the control of ill-disposed people and asked Lt. R.M. Taylor, acting Deputy Commissioner of Raichore Doab to keep a close watch on the Raja. He proposed to summon the Raja at a convenient time to Hyderabad for explanation. The Government of India approved of this plan obviously as the Resident stories of Raja's disaffection with a pinch of salt.

R.M. Taylor's Report on the Raja

On 29th September Taylor informed the Residency of the warnings he had issued to the Raja against creating any sort of disturbance. He had not been able to obtain any positive proof about the orders of Surapur Chief to Mahipal Singh.
But he had advised the Raja to disband his newly raised mercenaries and to appoint a proper new Diwan. In reply the Raja denied Mahipal Sing's allegations, proclaimed his fidelity to the British and applied for a pass across the Krishna River for horsemen whom he had discharged. The passes were probably not issued before Taylor could ascertain of the strength and destination of the horsemen. Taylor also reported that spies from Surapur had been sent to cantonments in Raichur with a view to finding out any aggressive intentions on the part of the British. But although Dasra was supposed to be the day for some disturbance it passed off peacefully and Taylor did not expect any trouble till the monsoon was fully over.

Capt. Campbell Deputed for Enquiry

However, alarms continued to be spread about the intended revolt at Surapur. In October 1857 Lt. Kerr, commandant of Southern Maratha Horse forwarded two seditious letters allegedly written by one Anandrao of Surapur. It was also believed that Nana Sahib of Kanpur had deputed to the Raja a brahmin envoy named Nana Sankeshwar. The Raja continued to be charged with strengthening his troops and collecting ammunition. Besides, he was also alleged to have organised dacoities in his own country (!) with a view to raising more money for greater adventures beyond his borders. In view of such vague but repeated reports about the Raja's hostility Resident Davidson decided to depute his 2nd Assistant Capt. W.H. Campbell for an on-the-spot enquiry into all the charges and to demand satisfaction from the Raja. A letter was accordingly issued to Campbell on the 27th December 1857.
Capt. Campbell arrived at Surapur on the 11th January 1858, with an escort of about 60 men. The Raja who had already been informed about this deputation received Campbell with all due courtesies. Campbell at once started his enquiries, held several interviews with the Raja who stoutly denied any hostile designs, and had talks with the newly appointed diwan Bhimrao. He could not gather any satisfactory information about Raja's complicity either with Mahipal Sing or despatch of any envoy to Nana Saheb. In his opinion the seditious letters of Anandarao were forgeries.

On reports of military preparations at the forts of Rainpalla and Wagholia, the Raja invited inspection and Campbell found not only these forts but even the one at Wandurg quite unprepared, containing only some old, useless guns while the gunpowder was enough only for pyrotechnical display. The Raja promised compensation to the parties who were alleged to have plundered with his connivance. A couple of horsemen in disguise who had gone for espionage at Rainpalla were fired at but only with a view to warning the neighbourhood to be on the alert. On the 21st of January Campbell reported that he did not apprehend any intended revolt on the part of the Bedars, who were, however, upset at the posting of British troops at the frontier. In fact even after a fortnight after his arrival Campbell could not arrive at any conclusive proof of the Raja's hostility. However, during all this period he noticed small bands of mercenaries entering into Surapur and some of them taking shelter in a mosque.
Meanwhile, Salar Jang, the Nizam’s Prime Minister, learnt through his intelligence service that the Surapur Chief had sent a couple of agents to Hyderabad for the purpose of enlisting Arab mercenaries. The Arabs refused because they found no guarantee about the period for which they would be required to serve and also presumably because they were afraid that they may be asked to fight against the British forces. The Minister issued orders for the arrest of the Surapur emissaries, promised apprehension of Arab jamiadars and passed on the information to Resident Davidson for necessary action. The Raja of Wanpuri too informed the Resident of the current rumours about the employment of Arabs for the Surapur Chief.

Capt. Campbell Secures Proof

In the meantime Campbell also pursued his enquiries relentlessly as a result of which on 27th January he reliably came to learn through Diwan Bhimrao that the Raja had issued notes of hand ordering five Arab and Rohilla chiefs named Tusdik Husain, Mir Arif Ali, Sidi Suleman, Sidi Nasib and Issat Khan to raise 500 men each for a period of six months at a salary of Rs. 35 p.m. for a horseman and Rs. 15 p.m. for a foot soldier. The following day the Raja himself acknowledge it and stated that he so acted on account of many reports regarding the apprehended annexation of his territory, purely for self-defence. He agreed to discharge about 360 men he had managed to enrol but he had neither the force to expel them nor the money to pay them off.
Resident Davidson orders movement of troops towards Surapur

As soon as Resident Davidson came to know from Campbell of some tangible proof of the Raja's hostility he at once ordered Capt. Wyndham of the Lingsugur Field Force (which was nearest the frontier of Surapur) with all available guns and troops to Surapur, who thereupon commenced to move with 2 12-pounder guns, 40 cavalrymen and 400 infantry. The Bombay and Madras governments were also requested for reinforcement so the Kurnool Movable Column under Maj. Hughes, left on 2nd February with two heavy guns manned by a half of European Company, 1 squadron native cavalry, 2 companies of native infantry and 2 companies of Highlanders. From Bolarum an artillery train under Capt. Biden with 4 light guns was to march. The Bombay Government ordered its field force at Kalladgi and Gen. Lester at Dharwar to co-operate in a combined attack on Surapur. This mobilisation of forces was in keeping with Davidson's policy of nipping in the bud the nucleus of even a possible revolt. He advocated a strong line, was against any attempt at conciliation and was keen on inducing among the people the fear of being crushed and suppressed by actual force in case of hostile designs. He requested Salar Jang to apprehend armed parties escaping from Surapur and to proclaim that it was an act of hostility to join Surapur Rajah.

Capt. Campbell Shifts his Camp

All remained quiet at Surapur, however, till the 31st of January, though Campbell sensed a strong feeling against him in the town. He also received reports of an intended
rising of Bedars at Devadurg. Presumably to investigate it and also to ensure his own safety Campbell left Surapur, crossed the frontier river and reached Devadurg. The Raja provided him carriage and suitable escort for this purpose.

**What Happened on 7th February?**

Meanwhile the mercenaries continued to collect at Surapur and the Raja was quite unable to get rid of them. By 7th of February Capt. Wyndham of the Lingsugur Field Force had already reached Surapur and camped there. But on the afternoon of that day he noticed hostile preparations in the bastions on the hillocks near Surapur ¼ miles away. So he ordered the camp to be struck and while it was in the process of shifting to more open ground, on a small hill on the left flank more Arabs and Rohillas continued to assemble. At about this time Capt. Campbell too had returned to Surapur finding safety in the presence of the armed detachment of Capt. Wyndham. The Raja presumably afraid of the belligerent activities of the Arabs and Rohillas whom he was unable to control, sent an envoy named Balwant Rao to Campbell to assure him of friendship and submission to the British. While this envoy was returning from Campbell he saw Tusduk Husain, one of the Rohilla Chiefs with his men going towards the British camp. A little later at about 5 O'clock the Rohilla Chiefs started firing at the British detachment. Active hostilities had commenced and continued till midnight. The Raja's troops consisting of Arabs, Rohillas and Bedars were estimated to be 5000 strong. The Raja who was at his palace at the time tried to stop it but was powerless to do so.
The following morning, on 8th February Capt. Wyndham received reinforcements from the Kurnool Movable Column which marched through Devadurg to Surapur. The terrain was rocky and difficult. Capt. Newberry of the 8th Madras cavalry (which formed part of the Kurnool Column) led the attack on the Raja's forces which had been firing upon them and in the course of the action was killed. His subaltern Lt. R.C. Steward was severely wounded.

Capture of Surapur

Capt. Wyndham did not feel confident enough to attack the fort and capture the town yet. He decided to await Col. Malcolm of the Southern Maratha Horse who was to arrive from Kalladgi (in Bijapur District of Mysore State). Action continued, but luckily for Wyndham protracted siege of the town was found unnecessary. A Muslim shopkeeper showed the way to the town, the British forces captured and plundered it. The Raja's seraglio which had taken shelter in a neighbouring village on the Raja's advice returned on the promise of safety.

The Raja's Flight

Where was the Raja while his capital was being plundered? Ever since the hostilities had commenced the Raja had tried to restrain his forces. But finding the situation getting worse than he feared he planned to flee the township on 7th night itself. He could not do so, however, as the Rohilla jamadars demanded payment of their wages and additional rewards, specially for killing Capt. Newberry.
The Raja became particularly agitated over the latter's death and confirmed his plan to leave the town secretly. He stalled the jamaats by promises of gold, told the inhabitants to leave the town but that he intended to remain to fight and secretly fled from it on 8th night, taking with him only a couple of retainers, a little cash and some jewelry. With Rohillas on one side and the British on the other he had no hope, he said to his divan.

The Raja's Surrender and Confession Statement

The Raja managed to reach Hyderabad and tried to meet the Resident. But before he could do so he was apprehended by the Nizam's agents and was handed over to the Residency. There he was kept imprisoned in a room at Secunderabad and arrangements were made for his trial. Before that he made a statement in which he vehemently denied ever having had any intentions to rise against the British and disavowed all responsibility for the attack on the British troops. His excuse for trying to raise the Rohillas was that he apprehended an attempt by Krishnappah Naik (a cousin of the Raja) to capture the throne.

Raja's Confessions to Taylor

The Resident naturally did not believe him and sent Capt. Meadows Taylor to dig out the truth from the Raja, expecting the Raja to be more truthful and communicative with his former guardian. The Resident's expectations were not belied. The Raja was much excited and therefore incoherent at the beginning. So Taylor had to interview him thrice, on 23rd, 25th and 27th March. In these interviews the Raja
came out with the plot to murder Campbell while at Surapur, messages sent by rulers of Southern Maratha states (Kolhapur, Akalkot, Jamkhandi, Mudhol, Juth, Miraj, Tasgaon) inciting him to rebel, the part played by Arab jamadars. He furnished Taylor with a list of about 86 persons who were active agents and conspirators according to the Raja. The list included not only Arab and Rohilla jamadars, but Raja's own relations and servants, former divans of Surapur, Gosain agents and Bedar chiefs. He admitted having got into the hands of such evil advisers, but repeatedly emphasized how he found it difficult to shake them off or to restrain them. He pleaded innocence and took credit for saving the life of Campbell.

The Trial

Even before Taylor was sent to secure confessional disclosures from the Raja the Resident with the approval of the Government of India had decided to try the Raja under a military commission, treating him as dependent of the British and not of the Nizam. Accordingly on 28th April 1858 a Military Court constituted under the authority of the Resident commenced its proceedings against the Raja. The Court comprised Brigadier William Hill, commandant of Hyderabad Contingent as President, Maj. Charles Burton as Judge Advocate conducting the proceedings, Lt. H.C. Wright as Interpreter and four other military officers. It examined five prosecution witnesses, viz. Capt. Campbell, Divan Bhimrao, Chansing, a chaprasi with Capt. Campbell, Balwantrao a jamadar sent by the Raja to Campbell and Mankojl Monar, a jamadar of Mysore Horse which arrived with Capt. Newberry. The Raja was allowed to examine Capt. Campbell, Divan Bhimrao
and Longappa daftardar (who actually wrote the notes of hand for raising Rohilla and Arab troops). The Raja submitted his own defence. The trial ended on 7th May 1858, when the Court delivered its judgement holding the Raja guilty of the charge of revolting against the British Government and sentencing him to transportation for life.

**The Suicide**

While the Raja was being conducted to Chingleput (in Madras Presidency) to serve his sentence at the first camp itself during the journey, on 11th May 1858, the Raja found an opportunity to put an end to his life. Lt. Picket, the officer in charge, had hung his belt with its loaded revolver over a chair and was sleeping in his bungalow. He came running on hearing a shot, found the Raja lying on the ground quite dead. The bullet had entered his stomach and passed through the spine. Lt. Picket was courtmartialed for his carelessness but sentenced only to be reprimanded.

**The Raja's role in the 'Revolt'**

The above is a bare narration of events as they took place. It is possible to embellish it and present the account as a struggle for freedom by the Surapur Raja. But one might do so only after ascertaining the Raja's motives and determining the true nature of his actions. At the outset it is quite clear that the only allegation which the Military Court could prove convincingly against the Raja was that between 29th December 1857 and 7th February 1858 he had collected a number of mercenaries. His own notes of hand and his confession were there to prove it. The Raja's defence was that the Rohilla Chiefs had managed to procure
the notes while he was in a drunken state. His plea was not accepted, since for purposes of law it made no difference and also because he had not disclosed these facts to Campbell till it became absolutely necessary. In his talks with Meadows Taylor the Raja had confessed that he had been exhorted by the various native chiefs in Southern Mahrashtra and northern Karnatak to join their general plan of rebellion against the British. But then he also persistently pleaded that he was misled by evil-minded people and had no hostile designs against the British. He repeatedly stated that in collecting the troops he acted from the fear of possible annexation of his state. If one were to judge the Raja's motives from his actions his defence seems acceptable. When Lt. R.N. Taylor, Deputy Commissioner of Raichur Doab asked him to dismiss his troops, he requested passes for them. He was instructed to dismiss his diwan Keshav Rao and appoint another; he did so and appointed Bhimrao in his place. His fort had no military preparations whatsoever. Campbell could not connect him with either Mahipal Sing or any deputy to Nana-sahab. Throughout he expressed an anxiety for Campbell's safety and saw to it as far as he could. He tried to dismiss his mercenaries but had no money to pay them off. He shed tears before Campbell while confessing to collection of troops. He was in his palace when hostilities commenced and refused to go out to the place of action despite the exhortations of his people. He trembled like a leaf when he heard of Capt. Newberry's death, decided to flee from his town and ultimately surrendered himself to the British. Throughout his trial he repeatedly and vehemently denied the charges brought against him. None
of these actions appear to be those of a person hatching a plan to free himself from British domination. And most of these actions were testified to by the prosecution witnesses themselves. Neither his conduct, ever since Campbell was deputed for enquiry, nor his proclamations were ever those of a man who had deliberately tried to rise against the British. Was the Raja then playing a game of duplicity, outwardly professing allegiance to the British while secretly encouraging his people to rise against them? If that were so, the Raja would not have fled from his capital and surrendered himself at Hyderabad. He possessed neither the shrewdness nor the ability to play such a difficult game. All in all, the Raja appears to have been a victim of circumstances, than anything else. Powerless to control his people and utterly incapable of leading them, ultimately he was willy-nilly carried away by the strong tide of events. It may be noticed that the Judge Advocate, Maj. Charles, Burton himself admitted that, "it is in evidence that the Raja did what he could to keep under control the elements of mischief he had brought together and there is little doubt that his efforts restrained them from earlier action, and very probably saved the life of Capt. Campbell ... the Raja's youth ... renders him an easier prey to the designing and seditious spirits which have now so long been sowing the seeds of rebellion broadcast through the land". Another court, at other times, might have given the benefit of doubt and acquitted the Raja. But under the violently disturbed condition of India then the British were determined to crush with a heavy hand anyone even remotely suspected of hostility against them. The military court's verdict was in keeping with what Resident Davidson had urged upon
the Supreme Government in his letter dated 3 February 1858.

"A severe example is absolutely necessary in the existing state of the country as the insolence and avowed hatred of these rages to our power and country are openly proclaimed, and it will be seen by the present instance that they are ever ready to form the nucleus of the rebellion against the British Government. I have no hesitation in saying that conciliation and a temporising policy hitherto adopted towards those lawless mercenaries will not have the same good result as the employment of coercion, and the fear of being crushed and suppressed by actual force, whenever they dare even to show a sign of rebellion towards British supremacy." The Resident did not agree that the Raja acted from fear alone; he was sure that the Raja was all along hostile and was only watching his opportunity to openly declare himself against the British. If this were true are we to presume that such an opportunity was lacking? Those Indian chiefs who had planned to proclaim themselves against the British did so, openly and at the earliest, even when they were inadequately prepared. If the Surapur chief was merely looking for an occasion to declare his belligerence, then Capt. Campbell's arrival, or Capt. Wyndham's march were sufficient provocation. We must, therefore, conclude that the Resident's opinion was influenced more by the temper of the times than by an objective view of the situation. He was a party to the then British policy of dealing with rebels in India.

**Surapur Raja and the Karnatak historians**

While the British Government dealt with the Raja as a rebel, there have been attempts to depict him as a hero
in the struggle for Indian independence. If late
V.D. Savarkar assigned such a role to the Surapur Raja
it is not only understandable but justifiable as well.
Savarkar's avowed purpose was to use history as a handmaid
for political aims. His object in narrating the events
of 1857-8 was to incite Indian youth to free themselves
from British rule through armed struggle, not to present
an objective account of the Great Revolt. More sober and
dispassionate history could be expected after independence.
And yet Dr. M.V. Krishna Rao and Prof. G.-.. Halappa, editors
of the first volume of History of Freedom Movement in
Karnataka choose to write about the Surapur Raja ... "his
heart was filled with a longing to extricate his country
from the clutches of the foreigners. He became aware of
the widespread and growing discontent among the people
against the foreign intruder all over India, and he decided
to stake his all for the freedom of his own land. So he
began to enlist Arabs, Rohillas and others in his army. ... 
An envoy came from Mna Sahib for confabulations, and
envoys from Surapur went to the Mna ... all these things
roused the young prince to action, for he was now sure of
succeeding in his attempt". In their haste to endow the
Raja with the halo of a hero, the learned historians have
conveniently brushed aside all the evidence quoted by
themselves towards the end of the volume, where they state,
"Meadows Taylor tried to make out that Venkatappa Naik
remained loyal to the British to the end and that he had
been sadly misguided by evil-minded advisers. Many of these
papers tend to confirm that impression but it is very
difficult to believe this version of his character,
especially in view of the fact that he told Taylor plainly
during an interview that he would never betray his comrades in the insurrection; and he preferred to kill himself rather than suffer the humiliation of four years in prison". As a matter of fact whatever papers have been quoted by them leads one to the conclusion that the Raja was an unfortunate victim of circumstances beyond his control. But the editors have not quoted all the papers bearing continuous numbers. The documents ignored by them further demude of the Raja of any desire for freedom. Had the editors cared to look into the remaining connected papers they would have come across Capt. Campbell's report that the Raja was more interested in his male and female senana and in shikar than in the management of his affairs; Capt. Meadows Taylor's reports wherein the Raja had given a long list of persons who were inciting him to revolt; the results of Campbell's enquiry which showed that the Raja never sent any envoy to Nana Sahab, nor received one from him. Of course it is possible to discredit the entire materials on the ground that they are from British sources. But it would not be fair to do so since they were the results of minute enquiries conducted on the spot and submitted to the government for necessary action. Contemporary recorded evidence cannot be brushed aside in such a cavalier manner. Not only the editors have ignored these papers without any valid ground; they have also given their own version which does not conform to the documents consulted by them and bristles with inaccuracies, besides being full of quotations irrelevant to the point at issue, viz. the Raja's role. Most surprising of all, while continuously harping on the Raja's intense desire for freedom, which in reality was non-existent, the learned historians infer that the Raja would have easily
given up that desire had Meadows Taylor been sent for 88 negotiations! These contradictions and inaccuracies further detract from whatever merit there might be in their attempt to dress up the Raja with a mantle of martyrdom which does not fit him at all. As we have seen before, like Louis XVI at Paris or Bahadur Shah Zafar at Delhi, Raja Venkatappah was more a victim of circumstances beyond his control than an ardent fighter for freedom.

**Significance of Surapur Events**

While the Surapur Raja never seriously meant to overthrow the British allegiance, the same cannot be said of the people of Surapur. The mutiny at Meerut and the rising of Nana Saheb at Kanpur certainly sent its reverberations through the Southern Maratha and northern Karnataka country. Juth, Jamkhindi, Jambgi, Koppal, Mundargi, Nargund, Kolhapur, Miraj - in fact, a number of southern Maratha states as they were called had a general plan of insurrection into which fitted the events at Surapur. Howsoever vague and ill-organised there is no doubt that in many of these places plots and schemes were being hatched either with or without the knowledge of their chiefs and Surapur figured in many of them. The rebels took the Surapur Raja for granted though he was unwillingly dragged into their schemes. But the brave Bedars were determined to stand by their chief. When Capt. Campbell was sent for enquiry they felt certain that he had come for annexation, and prepared or not, they decided to oppose him. As we have seen before the Arabs and Rohillas in the Nizam's domains were always ready to
join up any disturbances. With their help the Bedars resolved to rise in support of their lukewarm chief. Probably they were more inspired by their feudal loyalties than by patriotic fervour as it is understood now. Unfortunately these brave people had no proper leader nor were they adequately prepared for a clash of arms with the disciplined and mighty British forces. In spite of this, the events at Surapur kept the British in a state of alarm throughout 1858. Capt. Meadows Taylor reviewed and realized their true import better than Karnataka historians when he reported: "The Bedars had been actively engaged in insurrection and corrupted by the lawless spirit which infested the country. Many of their petty leaders were bold, unscrupulous men who on any pretext or provocation would have risen in arms again to their own destruction; and had this occurred there is little doubt that such an insurrection would not only have proved locally embarrassing but would have spread to the Raichur Doab, south Maharashtra and Nizam's frontiers on the Bhima where some of the Surapur Bedars had already fled and were sending taunting messages to their friends in Surapur on their quiescence. From April 1858 to the end of the year chiefs and sections of the Bedars were solicited to take up arms by Bedars of south Maharashtra and those in Hyderabad in league with the Rohillas and locally when in November 1858 a rising was projected a few 90 men actually assembled in arms". Luckily for the British there was no stir among the main body of Bedars in Surapur and Capt. Taylor could easily disarm them, literally as well as figuratively, by taking pledges for maintaining peace when the principality was sequestered by the British.
Notes and References:

1. 6th day in brighter fortnight in Ashwin, Rasli 1244. FPC, 9 May 1851, No.54. Raja Kristappa's second wife Lachehamma also gave birth to a son later but Rani Ishwaramma had no other issue. FPC, 22 Sep. 1849, No.102.

2. She told so to Gresley (FPC, 30 Nov. 1842, No.197) and Taylor privately believed that her fear was justified. Letter to Reeves, No.27.

3. FPC, 14 Sept. 1842, No.48.

4. FPC, 24 May 1843, No.59.


6. FPC, 7 Apr. 1848, No.262.

7. FPC, 5 July 1843, No.23.

8. FPC, 23 May 1845, Nos.127 and 135.

9. Idem., No.144. All the ceremonies at which large amounts were spent from public treasury have been briefly mentioned in official letters. Detailed and graphic descriptions are available in Story (pp.158-9, 192, 202-3).

10. Taylor was trying to get them from the industrial school run at Jabalpur by Thagi-Dacoit Dept. in return for maintenance charges of some criminals. FPC, 6 June 1851, No.216.

11. From the depositions of some witnesses, during the trial of an imposter we learn that an athlete used to teach the Raja physical exercises and that he was very fond of hog-hunting. Shikar was, of course, in his blood. It would appear that he knew something of precious stones too. FPP, A, Dec. 1867, Nos.11-3.

12. FPC, 22 Aug. 1846, No.97, and 31 Dec. 1847, No.634. The dramatic scene in Story (pp.238-41) describing the Rani's dislike of her son on account of his bad horoscope appears to belong to the realm of historical romance. Taylor had a weakness for astrology. Other references to the young Raja till that point in the Story appear to be reliable.

13. FPC, 9 May 1851, No.54, paras 73-88.


22. FPC, 20 Aug. 1852, Nos. 72-4 and K.W. (Underlining mins).
23. FPC, 8 Oct. 1852, Nos. 88-90.
27. PLFC, 24 Nov. 1852, paras 36-7.
29. It must be noted, however, that neither the Court nor the Govt. of India had specifically mentioned Taylor though he was the obvious choice.
30. "The Office of Political Agent is one of embassy and agency. He conducts necessary negotiations between that State and the British Government. He affords assistance, protection and advice when necessary". FPC, 15 Apr. 1853, Nos. 57-8.
31. Idem., Taylor's allowances would be Hyderabad Rs. 1815. The Raja was also required to pay escort and establishment charges of the agency. All told he would have had to pay more than half a lakh.
32. Idem., Nos. 59-60; FPC, 10 June 1853, Nos. 108-11.
33. PLFC, 12 April 1854, paras 30-31.
34. Story, pp. 279-81.
35. FPC, 12 Aug. 1853, Nos. 88-91. Taylor was offered a jagir worth Rs. 1,000 p.a., by the Raja but was forbidden from acceptance by the Company's strict rules reiterated by Lord Dalhousie. Even a pair of shawls presented by the Raja to him were auctioned by the Residency and the amount credited to the Company's treasury. Idem., FPC, 12 Aug. 1853, Nos. 88-91 and 16 Sep. 1853, No. 56.
36.
38. FPP, A, June 1860, No. 420.
39. The actual revenue from these jagirs was Hyd. Rs. 70,350. FPP, Part A, July 1860, No. 536, para 9.

41. Actually only the woodwork of the house was removed. The house itself was dilapidated. Taylor to Thornhill, 2 June 1858, FPP, Part A, July 1860, Nos. 556-69.

42. Campbell entirely disbelieved the Raja's or vakil's defence. Campbell to Davidson, 27 Jan., 16 Feb., 1855. FPC, 22 June 1855, Nos.77-9.

43. Davidson to Campbell, 12 April 1855, FPC, 22 June 1855, Nos.77-9.


45. PLFC, 20 Feb.1856, paras 49.

46. FPC, 4 July 1856, No. 64 & K.W.

47. FPC, 28 Aug.1857, No.82. 48. PLFC, 20 May 1857.

49. Perhaps the other side of the story might be available in a Kanada chronicle by one Keshvayya Purushakari. I have not been able to check it up. Moreover: contemporary correspondence is more reliable than a courtier's poetic composition.

50. FPC, 9 May 1851, No.54 and FPC, 7 Dec.1852, Nos.104-11.


52. Yenkappa Jellapalli, Shamsrro Ramraj, Keshav Rao Khasanchi, all in a period of about 1½ years. It appears that Shamsrro ultimately regained his office.


54. FPC, 9 May 1851, No.54.


57. FPC, 4 July 1856, No.64 & K.W.

57a. FPSP, 30 Dec.1859, Nos.135-215. These contain most of the relevant documents on the rising in Surapur. Some of these have been printed or quoted in extenso in HFMK, Vol.I, but without any reference numbers. It is surprising that the editors of the volume should have spent considerable amount of foreign exchange to procure only a minor portion of them in microfilm from the India Office Library, London and a good deal of labour on transcription when all the papers were readily available at the National Archives of India, New Delhi.
58. W.A. Goldfinch, Sholapore Magistrate to Hyderabad Resdt.,


60. FSC, 28 May 1858, Nos. 344-6. Dr. S.N. Sen has dismissed
the entire statement of the Bawa as a cock and bull sto
"Eighteen Fifty Seven," p. 401.


63. Idem. Davidson to Govt. of India, 12 Sept. 1857. The
date has been wrongly given as 12th Aug. in HFMK. Vol.I.
p. 235.


70. HFMK. Vol.I. pp. 242-5; FPSP, 30 Dec. 1859, Nos. 156, 153,
160; FSC, 26 Feb. 1858, Nos. 212, 254 and 26 Mar. 1858,
Nos. 195-6.


72. FPSP, 30 Dec. 1859, Nos. 166, 168-71; FPC, 16 Apr. 1858, No. 86
The brief account in HFMK. I, p. 247, contains many errors.
There was no surprise attack at night, nor did it con­
tinue till morning. Capt. Wyndham was aware of hostile
preparations, the attack started in the evening, and
ceased at midnight. Betrayal by Waghingheri Bhirao and
ill-treatment of Rani Rangamma are figments of editorial
imagination.

73. FPSP, 30 Dec. 1859, Nos. 174, 176. Contrast HFMK. I,
pp. 247-8, in which the editors state that the Raja left
for Naldurg with diwan Bhirao and a party of Bedars.

1858, No. 269. Contrast the statement in HFMK. I, p. 248
that the Raja went to Hyderabad to recruit Arabs and
Robillas.

75. Idem. Nos. 182-4. The editors of HFMK. I, have altogether
overlooked these papers and are misled by the people
but entirely false speech put into the Raja's mouth in
Story, pp. 403-5.

77. Idem. Nos. 187-9; HFMK, I, pp. 484-520. On the same page (254) after having quoted the Military Court's sentence of transportation of life the editors state that the Resident reduced the sentence of death (i) to transportation for life and that the Viceroy commuted it to 4 years imprisonment. The trial papers reached the Governor-General on the day the Raja committed suicide viz. 11th May 1858 and hence there could be no such commutation as is imagined by the editors or wrongly reported by Taylor in Story (p.414). Nor did the Resident have any powers in that respect.

78. PLSS, 24 June 1861, No. 83A. 78a. HFMK, I, p. 506.

79. Idem, p. 245.

80. Idem, p. 244.

81. Athrasho Satyavanache Swaptrtyasmar (History of War of Independence in 1857), pp. 396-7. This history, originally in Marathi, was translated into English owing to printing difficulties while Savarkar was in Europe. The original Marathi version could be published only in 1965.

82. HFMK, I, p. 235.


84. FPSP, 30 Dec. 1859, No. 149.


86. Idem, No. 149.

87. Some of these have already been printed, in earlier notes.

88. HFMK, I, p. 246.

89. Accounts of these are now available in Sources for History of Freedom Movement, Vol. I (published by Bombay Government). In view of these one cannot agree with Col. Malleson that the rising in Surapur was "the only serious attempt made to disturb the tranquillity of the Deccan". History of the Indian Mutiny, Kaye and Malleson, Vol. V, p. 63.

90. FPSP, A, June 1860, No. 420.