To

William Chaplin Esquire,
Commissioner in the Deccan,
Poonah;
No 2015

Sir,

1. I do myself the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, Dated the 25 January last, giving cover to a letter from the Hon'ble Court of Directors, to the Government, respecting the measures pursued towards the Bheels of Khandeish, and calling my attention in reference thereto, to three questions, to enable it to decide, as to the Policy hitherto pursued, with regard to these Bheels.

2. The first question requires information as to the correctness of the opinion entertained by my predecessor that the great majority of the Bheels of Khandeish properly belongs to the villages in the plains.

3. Throughout the greater portion of Khandeish proper with few exceptions the Bheel forms a member of the village community and the duty attached to his office is that of village watchman. In return for discharge of this duty he often enjoys a portion of Shnam Land which is now however generally waste. He also always receives certain ascertained

Note: Baglan does not belong to Khandeish proper neither does Kutwar which is a tract comprising the Districts of North and West of Kokurumunda.
due in grain from the villagers besides special rewards, which he occasionally obtains for special services. In those Pargannah not immediately adjoining one or other of the range of hills by which the Province is bounded on the North and South, these village Bheels have generally among themselves, no superiors, enjoying influence or power or commanding respect, either as official or Patrimonial and hereditary chiefs, the only persons who are obeyed, if obedience be paid at all is to him who has aquired the greatest reputation as a leader of Banditti, or failing that who may be the oldest and wisest of the tribe. In their capacity of Jaglas, which is a wuttanny or Hereditary office, they are entirely subject to the authority of the Patells of their villages, and it is their duty, not only to watch the village lands and protect them against the depredations both of stray cattle and plunderers, but also to escort travellers and trace the footsteps of thieves. To this has always been added a general idea that they are responsible for all Robberies but this is a responsibility that has seldom been attempted to be exacted, in any other way, than by exciting them to use their very best endeavours to discover the offenders, and as far as possible to recover the property, their private means being so perfectly inadequate to make any reparation from them. In villages in which the numbers of the jaglas have increased and the Wuttanny dues are in consequence not sufficient for the support of all, a portion of the family discharges the Wuttanny duties, the others obtaining a livelihood by bringing grass and wood from
the fields, by engaging themselves as watchmen to individual cultivators, who may have valuable crops, such as garden produce or sugar cane or the ground which may not be sufficiently defended by the surveillance of those guarding the grounds generally. In some districts or villages where Collies are Jaglas, the Bheels usually employ themselves in one or other of the way mentioned. The instances in which other than Bheels are Jaglas are not at all frequent. They also engage themselves as labourers in weeding and when the village to which they more properly belong, cannot afford their employment, they for a time depart to the different peiths or market-towns in their neighbourhood, where they find it as guards and in various other ways, and they sometimes also settle in other villages, the Jaglas of which may have become extinct or be absent pursuing a life of depredation, in the latter case generally as sookwastees ie persons having no local rights or ties or obligations, that oblige them to continue in the place of residence they may have chosen, larger than they themselves like/ and the former both as sookhwasties and as Wuttandars, Wattans being often acquired in this way.

4. The same condition of the Bheel society exists in every respect in all the districts adjoining the hills except that in some of those besides the village Jaglas there are District Naiqs, and except in the more western parts of Baglan, and the in the tracts near Kokurmoonda to the Northwest of the Province where the Bheels form a majority of the population and are generally the proprietors and the
cultivators of the soil. In the Southern Range of Hills there are with reference to Bheels having claims on the Province, no more that three Naiqs who in reference to the Hutees which they have lately acquired, I may designate the Naiqs of the Caldurry Range of the Satnalla Range, and of the Arrmudee Range of Hills. The proper residence of the first however being Kucee near the Untoorpass, of which village they are or were the Fatells, of the second Tielwarry near the Gaoleetta pass, and of the last Mr Birlikiera, above the Fort of Kunnara towards the Deccan or South but the last mentioned place having been long waste owing to the irregular habits of the Bheels, the Arrmudee Naiqs have latterly resided, when not in a state of rebellion, in a village belonging to the Desmookh of Delhi.

It appears that the two last mentioned Naiqs trace back their claims to a very remote period. How far they do this with truth, I apprehend they themselves do not know. The oldest tradition probably that can be trusted to, is that in the time of Aurungzebe their ancestors, after a long course of depredations were seized, but again released on professing the Mahomedan faith on which occasion their authority as Jagla Naiqs, in certain Districts in the vicinity of the Ghautes was either formally recognised, or for the first time established. Their duty being besides being careful that the Iaglas of those Districts dischared their assigned service in

Note: This however they have renounced after the Marratta supremacy and have returned to Idolatory.
their respective villages to give escorts to travellers, through certain passes in the Chat near their villages. My enquiries do not enable me to ascertain much of the history of those Naiqs, till recent times, all accounts however agree in representing, that unless strictly watched and controlled, they have never long discharged their duty with fidelity, every change of Government, and every internal commotion having provided a signal for them to quit their homes, and to take up their abode in Hutties or temporary posts, formed in the fastness in their neighbourhood where having been joined by village Jaglas, and any other vagrants who might offer for these lands were not always composed entirely of Bheels/ they sallied forth, and violently appropriated to themselves all they could reach. To such conduct, as soon as the more pressing affairs of state allowed, succeeded military expeditions, which usually were terminated by the return of the Jaglas to the plains, and eventually by the submission of the naiqs. In such struggles the Bheels were always great sufferers and it would be difficult to account for the continuation of habits that generally cost them so dear, otherwise than by reference to the institutions of the country and to the religious prejudices of the Bheels themselves. According to the former the Bheels are considered as a degraded race. To this they may not form early impressions, attach any importance since every where around them caste regulates the orders of society, but while it must cut off all those more kindly and
more human feelings which in other classes even the Indian community are generated between man and man by a more equal intercourse, than their situation allows them to hold, with the great mass of the people, it is not to be wondered at, that so situated, they should yield themselves without much remorse to those habits, which according to the little religious traditions existed among them, they believe they were first created to follow "Those of Robbery and rapine", without any fellow feelings for the resort of the Community who hold them so low and so degraded, with such an impression as to their destiny, from their birth, incurred even by the duties assigned to them in society to hardship, and especially to live in the open air, and to the use of arms, and caring but little for a life which were under the most favourable circumstances affords them few comforts, or little gratifications beyond that enjoyed by the brute creation the course they have always run should not excite much astonishment. If other castes who are lower still than the Bheels, in the scale of society, do not follow similar habits it may be attributed not to any greater regard to the society which rejects them, but to the notions instilled into them, from their birth of the destiny assigned them in life, to which they early learn to conform like those from whom they derive their region and with whom they associate. Thus the Mahr and the Hulaloore are more peaceable members of the community than the Bheels, because their religious traditions assign to them duties of
the most peacable Discription and which they never attempt
to quit because they feel that they have stepped out of the
sphere in which they were intended to move. If to the
Bheels all other parts are not so degraded it is because
they are not so completely destitute of all those claims
that usually command considerations as those of Khandeish,
and because some of those earlier impressions which may be
supposed, so strongly to influence the latter are moderated
by the different circumstances in which they find themselves
placed. Thus they have landed property and this of itself
is enough to give importance to them in the opinion of the
multitude and likewise to impose some obligations on them
as proprietors and the respect of others teaches them also
to respect themselves. Independant of this, they are not
so exposed to want nor so incised to hardship as the Jagla
Bheels and therefore not so reckless of their own and others
lives. In proportion as these essentials are present or
absent, the Bheels are more or less civilised and inclined
to live in peace and quietness. In Baglan for instance,
where though they have property, yet as it is either waste
or divided between great numbers the effects its possession
produces the character of the Bheels has been diminished in
the exact ratio of the little advantage it has in latter
times. From these causes, produced to its owners, who have
accordingly made a neater figure as robbers than they could
probably otherwise have done. If the Bheels around
Kokurmoonda however have been also aggressors their having been so, resulted more from internal feuds, from aspiring to independence of their feudal superiors and other such causes, than to a mere desire of plunder, though once they had yielded to the incentives adverted to, as their patrimonial means were not adequate to the subsistence of the retainers they were obliged to maintain, they also from necessity, had sooner or later recourse to depredations to make up the deficit.

6. Following the bent of their inclinations the disorder of the Bheels reached a great height during the struggles for power between the Mahomedans and the Marrattas, and after these ceased, they were greatly promoted by the state of authority all over the country, divided as it was among different powers and their Jageerdars and especially towards the southern parts of Khandish, by the Hills in which the Bheels took refuge, forming a boundary line between the Marrattas and the Nizam. Favoured by all these circumstances they resorted to their Hutties and a long series of aggressions, on the one hand and of attacks on the other, at last led to an arrangement it is said, in the time, of Nana Purnavese, with the established Naigs, under which the Arrnuddy Naiq was entertained as part of the Establishment of the Fort of Dher with 3 to 10 men himself receiving 10 or 12 rupees a month, and his followers 7 or 8 in addition to which his exactions, made from the Furgunnah of Dher, over
the Jaglas of which his Naiqship extended, was fixed at
one maund of Grain, and 5 Rupees from each village. Those
of the Sathmalla Naiq, were fixed on a similar footing for
Challesgaon, and Dher and Challesgaon were the only
Districts on this side the Ghauts whence these Naiqs were
acknowledged to have a right to make such collections. I
cannot however trace from the accounts of the best informed
that the Bheels were ever very faithful to the engagements,
or that the Government was ever entirely relieved of the
necessity of coercion. Strong posts were maintained all over
the country. Yet the Bheels lost no favourable opportunity
of having recourse to plunder and aggression, as a proof of
which I may mention that in recent times both the Bheels
above mentioned, had established Hucks, in other districts
than those of Dher and Challesgaon, and which were admitted
by my predecessor in his engagement with them, but though
they have so extended their exactions they are not received
as Jagla Naiqs in those districts, but merely as exactions
of blackmail or as considerations for forbearance from
plunder.

7. Things continued to fluctuate from better to worse
and vice versa till the great famine in 1804/5 when the
country was abandoned by the great majority of its
inhabitants and the Bheels were probably as much driven by
necessity as by their natural habits, to have recourse to
rapine for a subsistence, deprived of their usual support,
by the depopulation of the villages whence they derived it, and having a decided aversion to industry, of a regular and systematic nature, they all flocked to the Hills, where they did not long hesitate as to the line of conduct which they should pursue, not only did those who might have been considered as Naiqs place themselves at head of bands, but other were soon able to muster large bodies, who attached themselves to their fortune as persons of energy sufficient to ensure success to their expeditions and those who also assumed the appellation of Naiqs or were styled so by their followers. Oppressed by these Bands, by a bad Government by various political disturbances, and by the pinadaries, who so often made Khandesh and the fastnesses in its vicinity, their places of rendezvous, the country, made little or no advance in recovering from the effects of the famine till it became subject to our Government in 1818. In the period that had intervened, the plains had become covered with Jungle Whole districts had nearly become depopulated and travellers only ventured to pass through the country under the protection of strong escorts. During this time, the Hills were studded by the Hutties of Bheels who, as above shown, from nothing had risen to the distinction of Naiqs, and of cruel Scourges of the community at the same time and by the same means and there was no dragging on, even an insecure and miserable existence without engaging these Robbers as protectors or paying them for their
forbearance. The history of the connection of the Kaldurry Bheels with the districts of Errondole and Borenar will illustrate and confirm the truth of these observations.

The Errondole Zemundars state that the country having been run waste owing to the Great famine about 22 years ago, and by the disturbances exerted by Holkar, it continued entirely depopulated for a few years, in 1215 however it was some what repopulated. When the Bheels became very troublesome plundering travellers and sacking villages, to stop which, with the leave of Local Government they sent a deputation, to these congregated in the Kaldurry and agreed with one of their number named Chandoo Naq to protect their districts. Bringing him to their district and settling that he should receive 4 Pahelies of Grain and 2 Rupees in money form the large villages and half the same from the smaller ones and 10 Rupees from the Cusban with certain fees on merchandize transported through the country to be defrayed by the merchants. This Chandoo entertained about 20 to 30 followers to enable him to discharge his duty and continued to do so till nearly the termination of the Paishwas Government when his Bheels were detected among a Band of Highway Robbers and he fled, and shortly afterwards died. Since which his family has not protected the districts.

In Borenar in 1219 from a similar cause the Desmookhs and chief Patells made a similar arrangement with Jundoola Akria and Gerd Naq also of the Kaldurry Hills and they
continued to discharge their duty till the war of 1227 when they renounced the same and their chouth was not paid. Before 1219 these Bheels, the Zemindars distinctly state, had no revenue in their District. Gird Naiq was soon after killed and Jundoolah is one of those who has been transported. The information respecting the connection of these Bheels with other districts, though the call for it was particular, has not been afforded in an equally minute manner but there seems reason to suppose from the instances quoted that it was not except probably with the districts contiguous to the hills, in any case more ancient.

3. In the foregoing remarks I have chiefly had in view those Jagla Bheels of Khandeish proper who made the Adjenta Range of Hills, the headquarters of their predatory assemblages to the westward in the Ghauts that separate Baglan from the Northern Concoun. The majority of the aborigines are Bheels and many of them, as already noticed hold property in Jagheers on condition of guarding certain passes or tracts under grants from the Moghuls. But what from the causes, that have embalmed society in other parts of the Province and from dissention among the copartners, most of their own villages having been run waste they also give unbounded licence to those propensities that rendered their tribe at that time the bane of society.

9. Proceeding North from Baglan come to the districts of Bhamore and Nowapoor the scene of aggressions of Teghy Khan
to whom the Hon'ble Court adverts. This person, as stated by my predecessor and noticed by the Hon'ble Court, was a Patell who took advantage of the time and by the most daring aggressions obliged a poor and depressed people in a manner deserted by their Government which was too much occupied by its internal feud to attend to matters of such minor importance to pay him some portion of their wretched earnings made the assumed plea of protection but really for forbearing to plunder. As he rose with the disturbances, that harrassed the country so under any circumstances that put a period to them, he must naturally have expected to be one of the first, who would be obliged to return to that obscurity, whence he had so criminally raised himself to notice, that his fortune was otherwise to be attributed to the spirit in which the arrangement for terminating these evils was conducted. These not only allowed him to remain at his native village but conceded to him its revenue besides an annual pecuniary consideration in lieu of and though this would not appear from Major Briggs' mode of adverting to the same/equivalent to his exactions.

10. To the Northward of the districts of Nowapoor and Nundoorbar lies Kokurmunda, the country surrounding which on the West and North is occupied by various Sheels and other Chiefs. These also like those of Baglan compose a majority of the population of the country and cultivate the soil as well as fill the office of Patell, instead of
as in the plains of Khandeish only discharging the duties of watchmen. Many of them too are hereditary chieftains of Villages and even of more extensive tracts enjoying, besides the rent of their own lands, long established dues as Grass from some of the Government Villages, as well as right to sundry exactions on merchandize carried through or near these Districts. Though in the recent terms of general confusions, the rival chieftains of this quarter could not forbear from adding to the miseries not only of their own but the neighbouring country. Yet in general, they soon perceived the change that the transfer of the country to our Government would enforce, and had the good sense to accommodate themselves with a good grace, to our early invitations to relinquish the funds which they had so long cherished, but which if persisted long, would have felt lead to their ruin.

11. All considerations of these last mentioned Chiefs whether Bheels or others, inclusive of Taghy Khan, as well as the Bheels of Baglan might have been omitted in this reply to the first query of the Hon’ble Court since however criminal their excesses might have been, yet as they had not like the Sathmolla and many of the Sathpoora and other Bheels forsaken their native villages. While perpetrating them no measures of my predecessor even contemplated obliging or ever obliged them to quit the same whether they were situated among the Hills, or more open tracts in their neighbourhood.
On the contrary those measures by throwing a veil over the past and proving the commencement of a new order of things, enabled many who otherwise would probably have to this day, been outlaws to return to their homes and this gave them an opportunity of endeavouring, by their future good conduct, to atone for the past.

12. The Bheels who occupy the Sathpoora Range next claim attention.

13. Of these the first of any consequence commencing on the Western extreme is Dewjes Naíq. The father of this person Jooja Bheel was a servant of the Bheel Patell of the Village of Chirlee of the district of Sooltanpoor. He was employed by this Patell as his midman of communication with the authorities of the district at length however, taking advantage of the troubles which were then commencing, he joined with two others viz - Jumshu Bheel of Raneepoor and Owjia of Anndicrra and began to plunder and rob in the District of Sooltanpoor. These aggressions led to demonstrations of attack being made on the part of the local authorities, but says the account from which I quote 'The Bheels had their friends who interfered to prevent this'. They at times had no fixed place of residence but generally lived in the Hills subsisting while they were in season on the Mohwa and mango fruits and afterwards by indiscriminate plunder. It was one of these practices to write threatening
letters in the names of people having or pretending to have claims and those not attended to, they plundered the villages and the Kulwars or village stock yards—seized hostages for the ransom they procured the amount of which their friends above alluded to, who mixed in society were the mediums of negotiating. They also set fire to villages and completely sacked them while driving off the whole of cattle of a village was an every day practice. Having risen to importance as scourges of the Country the local authorities were at last forced to attack them but failing in such a negotiation which on the part of the Bheels was only meant to effect the removal of a present restraint followed at length they settled at Gnabie Amba a place of difficult access in the Satpoora Hills on the verge of the Akramee Raj which they got possession to occupy from the then chieftain of Akramee. Here they established a Huttee or regular plundering colony to which all the vagabonds of the Country were welcome. After sometimes they seized the son of the Patill of Padulda, who having represented this aggression to Tuckojee Holcar then on his way to Poonah, they were summoned to the camp of that chieftain, but did not repair to it till after cowl was given to them for their safety. On this occasion it was settled that Jooja, the Head Robber was to be taken into monthly pay with 25 followers at 125 Tuckas or 62½ Rupees a month and that the Patell’s son was to be realised. The Bheels adhered to this arrangement for few years that Juckajee Holcor lived but on his death returned to their usual courses. They then soon
found means to pick a guard with the local authority and again retire to Chabla Amba. About this time Eswunt Rao Holour as a fugitive sought on asylum from the Akranee Rajah which the Rajah refused saying that his was a patrimonial principality and that its loss might to be imurred by interfering in State quarrels. He however pointed out the collections of Bheels and mercenaries under Jooja at Chamba Amba—who were at any rate plundering the Country and whose operations it would therefore, favour to receive him. Eswunt Row accordingly joined them and enrolled the whole of the Gang, amounting to 1000 or 1200 Bheels and semdeans mercenaryes in his service, when under his name and authority they immediately attacked and carried Sooltanpoor—took the deputy of the Mamutdar prisoner and plundered and sacked the place, and though they afterwards retired on the Mamutdar's coming against them in force, they continued the most cruel depredations in other quarters. After a short time when hard pressed they passed Eswant Rao on to the Dharmgaon Hills and the Government's troops having dispersed they renewed their atrocities seizing Hostages and extorting engagements to pay them blackmail, at the same time again possessing themselves of the post of Sooltanpoor. In Sunne 1210 Buagus Khan made great exertions to expel them from this fort but failing he endeavoured to open a negotiation—they however killed his agent after which he retreated. Jushu and Awjee, Jooja's associates
afterwards on going to Gungta were seized and given up for a reward of Rs. 5000 by the Wussavas and they were put to death. To obtain pardon, the narrative says they each offered their weight in silver without effect. In 1211 Eswant Row deputed Rowjee Holkar to Sooltanpoor who the same narrative states only succeeded in some what restoring order by putting to death every Bheel that fell in his way. In 1213 Eswant Row Holkar himself coming to Khandaish in his way to Poonah, Jooja paid his respect to him in person when in consideration of the assistance he had formerly given, he presented his son, the present Dewjee with a Horse, a dress and Gold bangles. "It was also" Say Zemeendars "stated that the village of Chicklee was bestowed on him in Jagheer, but we never had the grants presented for registration on own Dafter nor did he ever enjoy the village". On this occasion it was stated that all the bonds extorted from the district should be restored and that all claims made by them should be cancelled for 13000 Tuckas or Rupees 6,500. In this agreement of which a copy is forthcoming, nothing was said of the employment of Jooja with 25 followers at 125 Tuckas a month, neither is the village of Chicklee mentioned. The Bheels not withstanding all this only remained a few years quiet. In 1221 they again resumed their former courses and made exactions under the pleas of the Bonds which they had cancelled in 1213. On this occasion the mamlutdar to induce them to be quiet ordered that they should receive an allowance from every plough in
the district. At length the Akranee Rajah and Jooja quarrelled and the former attacked Chabla Amba and set it on fire expelling the Bheels and killing Jooja. This occasioned a renewal of every kind of outrage on the country by Dewjee till the settlement made with him by Major Briggs.

14. I have thus particularly traced the history of these Bheels to place before the Hon'ble Court, an instance of the case with which a Bheel bent on pursuing a course destructive of the comfort and happiness and even the lives of the rest of the community arrives at the rank of Naiq and to the habit of being treated with greater Courtesy, and made more of, than any of the Hundreds who suffers from the wrongs he has done them. The detail also shows how completely devoid of good faith they are and how little they are at any time to be trusted.

15. Ramjee, Ryajee, Auchittia were all of them persons from villages situated either in the Satpoora Hills or in their neighbourhood. They had posts of refuge on the confines between the districts of Sooltanpoor and Talnere at a place called Mahoo Kochee. They had no property and no retainers but those who congregated to them some of them, form the villages of the Satpoora and many from the plains merely for the sake of plunder. They had no established or authorised claims on the country and owed their notoriety and even their success as Robbers merely to the anarchy of the times a moment of remissness on the part of Police induced numbers to flock to the standard of such Ruffains to whom they owed no service or treaty and who only remained
with them, so long as their interest or pleasures suggested.

16. Omitting the mention of Robbers of inferior note I may now observe that farther east we had Goomany Naiq who occupied a village called Mukwar on the line of road from the Province via Sindwa to Malwa. This is a village of the Talnere District part of which the whole of the district of Amba which there are several extensive vallies capable of cultivations and accordingly many villages occupied by all. In this respect the Sathpoora is unlike the Hills on the Southern Boundary of the Province, the latter being Ghauts of abrupt ascent, leading from the low plains of Khandish to the table land of the Deccan, and containing few or no spots favourable for the plough while the former is an extensive range of alternate Hill and valley as its name, which signifies/seven folds/imports, many of the vallies being not only both romantically beautiful but also very fertile or rather, for it is now merely a continued waste, capable of being rendered very productive.

17. Goomany Naiq, though he resided in Mukwar, had also his Huttee or post to which when he wished to plunder, he resorted for the greater security which it afforded from surprise. This Huttee was on Hill of ascent, in the neighbourhood of his village, and as the other Bheels, though belonging to recognised villages, took their
distinctive appellation from these their temporary places of resort so said Goomany Naiq, who styled himself Rajeesree Rajah Goomany Naiq Raj Mahalkur. Rajmahal being the name of his Huttee and signifying in its literal sense, the "Royal Residence".

The Goomani Naiq's right to the revenues of the village of Mukwar was, I believe rather tolerated than recognised by the Mahrattas, here his father Dhun Singh Naiq, who was the first of this family that raised himself into notice invited by holding out the hope of plunder with impunity, all the profligate of the country whether from Neivar or from Khandeish, and about 1203 for the first time established a right to Huq under the denomination of Chouth from the Districts of Talnere and Asba as well as some dues from Choprah and fees from all travellers through the Sindwah pass. On our entering the country Goomany Naiq was early in his professions of submission and to his charge was entrusted the protection of the Sindwah pass for which duty though he continued to exact the usual fees from travellers in remuneration and which was all that under the former Government he enjoyed in return to this duty thereof he was besides allowed a personal salary with a considerable establishment of the charge of the Government. The present condition of this Naiq is a proof of the manner in which he answered the expectations. Such liberality was calculated to warrant for having entirely failed in his duty by rendering his place of abode a resort to thieves and of murderers.
and refusing to give them up when traced thereto, a force was sent against him who dispersed his followers. After they had committed various atrocities and a reward offered for his apprehension he was brought to trial and found guilty when a sentence of imprisonment for life passed upon him, was commuted by Government, into banishment for life.

The conduct of this Naiq like that of Jooja and Dewjee, whose history is before given shows how little dependance is to be placed on engagements with Bheels.

19. It is here worthwhile as it will throw light on the question put by the Hon'ble Court to enquire who were the followers of Goomany Naiq that were apprehended both during the operations against him and shortly afterwards as connected with him. Of these out of ten who were brought to trial with the Naiq himself, only two had been for any length of time inhabitants of his village. The other Jaglas of villages in the plains and some of them had left them only a short time, antecedent to the rebellion of the Naiq. The names of these Bheels and their villages are as follows:

Wullud Rutton, of Moorawud district Betawad to the Taptee.

Jowjee Bheel of Dangree to the south of the D. (south of the Taptee)

Samlea Wullud Boudrea, of Kurdee District Amba situated in a village of the Southpoora Hills.
Arjomee Wullud Bhuk of Bhuna District Cangoore.
Sondee Bheel of Bhoogur District not known.
Nathoo Wullud Mogul of Wukma Goomany Naig's own village.
Kellea Wullud of Ditto -- Ditto -- (Mogul of Wurma -
Goomany Naig's own village)
Nutton Bheel Wullud Ameen Bheel of Butcorle District Amba.

Besides these there were several seized to whom no particular crime could be attributed beyond that of having been attached to the Naig, and this was not itself deemed under all circumstances of the case sufficient to put them on a trial. These were - Rama Wullud Neemba Kolul of Veeranul District Yuwal.

Junglea Wullud Killea Bheel of Dholey District
Chopraa Kanjee Wullud Nubbajee Bheel of Peemply District Baglan
Gokma Wullud Jan Naig of Talnere Mamsing Wullud Mowjee Bheel of Tunbee District Kumassu Baglan but at present of Talnere.
Aylea Wullud Deo Naig of Talnere in all six persons, not one of whom belonged to the Sathpoorah Hills, all of them being vagrants from different parts of the country who were either in the pay of the Naig and liable to Dismissal at pleasure, or allowed to his residence by the hope of being able, as for a long time, they were to plunder with impunity.

20. Since the trial, another of the seven persons who murdered Bore Khan and who carried the spoils acquired by that crime to Goomany Naig, have been seized. His name is
Rajiah and he is an inhabitant of Runnalla of the District of Numdoorbar from which however he has for several years absented himself. Going as is frequently the case from one depredator to another and committing many crimes, till at last he joined Goomany Naiq.

21. It has likewise been ascertained that the three Bheels yet at large, concerned in the murder in question, all belong to the District of Numdoorbar. Joined with these murderers, also were the Bheels of Jynuggur a village of the Sooltanpoor District who entertained them on their way to, and from the scene of this offence, and who no doubt by spies at Kokurmunda ascertained the intended journey of Bore Khan and gave the information that led to his murder. This latter point was not proved on the trial though there is little doubt of its truth, but what was proved is sufficient to show that the connection that exists between the Gangs in the Hills and their relatives in the plains, and how they worked into each others hands as well as how difficult it will ever be to control the Jaglas if any Bands are allowed to remain in the Hills.

22. As containing the most of decisive evidence of the same nature as afforded by the above examination of villages in the plains to which the followers of Goomany Naiq belonged, I may further solicit your attention to the lists which accompanied my despatch to you of the 30 June 1825. These show that all the Bheels captured in the Huttees or Bheels in the Hills had their proper domicile in the plains either
in the Nizam’s dominions above or in Khandiesh below the Ghauts. No domicile is assigned to some of the Naiqs in the list No 1, but Jundoola for instance belonged to Kenee and so did his son Kumlajee as well as Dyajee and Doobojee being Nos 3, 15, 16 & 17 respectively of that list to whom no residence is assigned and all of them could similarly be traced to recognised villages in the plains or in the vicinity of the Hills.

23. Proceeding Eastward along the Sathpoora Range we have Dusreith Naiq who has Hucks in the Amba and Choprah districts besides others of recent establishment on these districts which have however been admitted and compounded for. This person lives in the Hills but on the Neemur side of them, and though formerly he conducted himself like a Pindaree, he has of late not given any great cause of annoyance in this quarter.

24. Further on again towards Boorhanpoor are the Mahomedan Bheels, the appellation of whose tribe is Turvee. These Bheels are to be found in the districts of around Yawul, Sowda and Rawere. On our conquest of the country the Turvee under Cannia were in great force in the Hills adjoining the districts just enumerated. This cannia had certain Hucks

Note: Sir John Malcolm conceives this to be a title but it is merely the name of a tribe the lowest of the tribe assuming it as well as the highest and the whole looking upon it only as family surname.
in the Purganna of Rawere of which he might be considered the head Jagla or Watchman, the village watchman in most of the villages being of his Turvee tribe. His proper place of residence was at the village of Godoe Loharra which may be seen on the verge of the Hills to the North of Chunansal, a large village a little to the North of a straight line, drawn between Rawere and Sowda. Here and in the neighbouring villages in the plains his family had lands which they cultivated, being entirely on those villages while so occupied, and at other times retreating to a post which they erected for themselves about a mile from Goobe Loharra.

There taking advantages of the time they collected a formidable force and stepped entirely beyond the obscurity in which they had till then lived, joining the Pinadarees and adding the friends of foreign aggression to those acquired by most remorseless depredations on their neighbours. At last Cannia could muster several hundred men and it was found necessary to attack him and drive him from his fastnesses by military operations. Many of his followers were captured by Major Mac Bean. A list of these captives containing a specification of the country of each is on record and a reference to this document will show that in breaking up this band no such violence as forcing those freebooters to forsake the Mountains of their Nativity was committed.

25. By a fortunate coincident Cannia Turvee the present head of this family presented himself to me first as I was
commencing the foregoing remarks on his tribe, and I embraced the opportunity to ask him, "who were the persons that had associated with Cunnia when he was in such force in the Hills". His reply was, "The Bheels of Naemaur on the one hand and of the Districts of Khandeish on the other hand and Indarees, Janiah himself has latterly taken up his abode of his own accord in Rawere. Shabaz Khan and the other members of his family of any note being dead.

26. There are some other Turvees of note in the Districts of Arrawud Sowda and Yawul. The Jaglas too in all the villages of the Yawul District and in the these near the Hills in the Districts of Sowda and Turvees. The other Jaglas in Sowda towards the Taptee being of the Cooly Tribe. The Patill of the village Chinchatta which is a village situated on the verge of the Hills of District of Rawere and the vicinity of Groobe Loharra is also a Turvee. This person however has no Hucks and no pension. He now resides in Chinchatee which by assistance given by my predecessor he has been able to repopulate principally by people of his own tribe. Another families of this tribe are Wuttundar Jaglas of Kullunda Koonira Keroda, and Buckhara of Yawul and have besides Hucks on a few villages in the Sowda district. Against 500 Beegas of land in Arrawud and pension of 240 Rupees a year. The Hucks of Sowda were as stated by Cunia Turvee conceded about 40 years ago by the villagers to induce these Bheels to permit them to lead quiet and secure lives. These persons being merely what may be armed Huqdares
all the Jaglas both of Yawull and Sowda whether Turvee or Cooly, may be considered as independent of any Naiq and of each other.

27. I have now laid before you in greater details; perhaps than was required but for the call of the Hon'ble Court a sketch of the Bheel tribes in the Province as far as regards their proper and recognised places of abode in all instances I may here observe before quitting this subject that there are in villages and that no assemblages of habitations can be considered as a village or authorised place of residence but such as is duly recorded on the Books of the Officers of the districts. The western parts of Baglan excepted in a hundred cases almost to one the village are situated entirely on the plains, in a few instances only being in the valleys or on the table land of the Sathpoora Hills. It is only I may also notice where a vicinity to the Hills favoured systematic aggressions that any Bheels such as the Jaglas has been able to raise himself to the consideration of a Naiq or a leader of Bandetti and extorter of blackmail.

28. The correspondence of Major Briggs admits to several Naiqs but many of these were the junior members of the families just adverted to and had no separate rights of their own being merely entitled to a share in those of the families or they were regular Naiqs from the Nizam's Country and their relatives or as shown by the foregoing remarks they were leaders of Banditte to whom the title of
Naiq was accorded by their followers and by the country when speaking of them.

29. A false importance has I think been given to those Bheels who resorted the Ajunta and Satapura Hills, by signifying them with appellation of Chiefs. This term has I apprehend led the Hon'ble Court to consider them as the proprietors of extensive mountaneous tracts in which they have from time immemorial ruled at will over a numerous train of warlike vassals and retainers and possessed of the power of plunder have only considered their right to do, so limited, when those liable to their depredations paid them forbearing from the exercise of the same but the country will now I trust appear to be the case.

30. Rore Naiq who is senior of the Arrnuddy Bheels and who is now in Jail, in reply to a question I put to him on this subject said that "They only occupied their Hutties in the Hills when they were apposing the Government", or in other words plundering the country. Even this Naiq who has 1500 Rupees a year could not resist the temptation of going to a distance to plunder his Pardhan or minister and his commanders now and always have been in the Hills. These persons are named Darud and Daria and though only Jaglas of Hurrapoor a village situated in the plains near Challeesgam, they too are called Naiqs. They have long pretended to be at variance with Rore Naiq, and have even burned his House if we may designate the Hovel of even a
Bheel Naq by that name, to give a semblance of reality to their being at unity with him, but his is believed to be only a part of a system by which these people continue to desire advantages from plunder at the same time that by a pretender reformative habits they either are allowed to realise their Hucks or enjoy a pension in lieu of them.

31. I shall only add that I hope these observations imperfect, as from the impossibility of obtaining any thing like recorded information they must be, will still enable the Hon'ble Court to observe, that the opinion of my predecessor as to the great majority of the Bheels being inhabitants of the plain is perfectly correct, as well as that wherever this was not the case, they have not as exemplified in regard to those of Baglan and the North Eastern District, been obliged by any measures of my predecessor to quit the same.

32. The next point on which the Hon'ble Court requires information is whether the allowance granted to the Bheel Naigs were equivalent to the first claims they possessed when we acquired the Province of Khandeish and adequate to their maintenance and to that of such member of retainers as were necessary for the efficient performance of the Political duties assigned to them in virtue of the agreements into which they entered with Major Briggs.

33. To enable the Hon'ble Court to see what the Bheels formerly received and what the agreements with Major Briggs
assigned to them I have drawn out the accompanying figured statement and to it I beg to refer.

34. I have referred to almost all the arrangements and find that in some of them a specification of the Hucks commuted for are stated and that in others it is only in general terms mentioned that the Hucks formerly enjoyed in such and such districts are commuted for, or allowed, in addition to the pensions granted by the agreements. The annual document is a translation of the agreement with Chiel Naiq's family/chiel Naiq's name is however not mentioned, it being usual in such documents only to mention the names of the seniors/a perusal of which will I hope be considered by the Court as a satisfactory proof that there was no room left for that freebooter or his family to dispute as to whether they were paid for service independent of their Hucks for which they were bound to perform certain services. Indeed but for that remark of the Hon'ble Court it would have been necessary to have adverted to this point. Chiel Naiq himself, in his letter addressed to Captain Hodges, as quoted in the 25 Para of the Hon'ble Court's letter not disputing that a commutation had been stipulated for, but only asserting that it had not been made on a sufficiently extensive scale to include his claims on the district of Lulling concerning which assertain I shall offer some observ­vations in the sequel. The figured statement above referred to will show that the commutation of the Hucks of this family was fixed on the most liberal footing.
35. I cannot discover at the present moment that any formal agreements were entered into with the Baglan and Lohnere Naiks but the details of what was granted to them are enumerated in Major Briggs' letter to the Hon'ble the late commissioner dated 24 Sept 1818 and are also in so far as the villages are concerned again noticed in a scrutiny recently by your orders instituted into certain Jagheer claims, and which I will soon submit to you. The pecuniary allowances of the former Government to be Bheels in the Baglan and Lohnere quarters were rather in the nature of establishment than of Hucks and therefore in the opinion of my predecessor they either admitted of modifications and accordingly were modified or it is probable through at this distance of time I cannot trace the facts, that some parts of the establishments of the former Government were merely paper masters, and that my predecessor may have conferred to the Bheels all that they had been actually in the habit of receiving. This surmise derives strength from the different accounts given of the former payments to the Bheels of Lohnere by the Zemindars of that district and by an old and well informed servant of the former Government, the former stating the pay to have been 5 Rupees the latter 2 Rupees to each Bheel claims to Hucks of any kind or Gerrass or Jagheers appear to have been disallowed except in a few instances where the exactions were very recent and no wise (?) admitted by our predecessors or where the claims had been discontinued or resumed by the former Government. The disallowances I may also remark are
but few compared to the items confirmed for in many cases it was deemed politic to conclude what might fairly have been disallowed. Thus in Dusarut Naiq's case he plainly admits in his agreement that his exactions from Nasseerabad, Arrawud Chandsur and Jullode are recent and had not been confirmed, but on his stipulating to renounce the same he received Rupees 50 a month in lieu of them all which he distinctly stated in the agreement.

36. Also in the case of Rore Naiq of the Arrnuddy though originally he had only under the confirmation of the Khishwas Government, the Hucks of the District of Dher yet those more recently established of Nembait and Chukulwal were as may be seen by Major Briggs' letter to the Hon'ble the late commissioner of the 27 September 1818, accorded I may here also adduce as an instance of the liberality characterizing these settlements and of the anxiety to satisfy the Naiqs that in the arrangements with those of the Arrnuddy, was included in their Hucks on certain districts of the Nizam, as noted very particularly in Major Briggs' letter to the Hon'ble late commissioner first quoted.

37. Where the parties acknowledged their claims to be usurpations it was a matter of policy not of right to confirm or withhold them, for had such claims been invariably and indiscriminately admitted, it might have tended to encourage others to try their fortune at a game which had been so successful.
38. On the whole I cannot find that in any case there is any doubt as to whom Hucks were connected for stipends nor when the stipends are in addition to the Hucks, nor can I learn that any right to which a plausible pretence was set forth, for less one just one, has been withheld unless as in Baglan supposing the former establishment to have been all maintained it may be thought that because certain Bheels were employed as portion of them, we were bound to continue them at the same pay.

39. As to the question whether the allowances as paid were sufficient for the maintenance of the Naiqs and the retainers necessary to enable them to discharge their duties. I beg leave to say, that embracing as the settlement did all except as above stated in Baglan, and in one instance in Arrowed that the parties to them were at any time received for the duties stipulated for when the country was more populated and more productive than now is, and even in many cases granting recent exactions or Gratuities over and above all these, there can be no doubt that they are generally amply provided for. In Baglan however some of the Jagheer villages of the Bheels are waste, and so far they may be purchased and therefore even if they did not under the former Government get all that was charged on their account they may be deserving of some further consideration, the more especially as in some instances the same number of persons who were formerly supposed to be employed is still generally considered to be avoidable and in all cases the same duty is
supposed to be discharged. These considerations chiefly
induce me to make a recommendations in behalf of these
Bheels, for though I doubt much the utility of such Establish-
ments yet if we maintain them at all, we should probably
maintain them efficiently even if they were not so kept up
by our predecessors. To the duties of the Jagla Naiqs I
have already adverted I need not therefore add that the
village watchmen to be superintended by them, are all
separately maintained, while in as far as regards the Ghauts
or Passes, if they had been really desirous, that they should
be not infested, they themselves ceasing to do so, was tantamount
to securing at least nine tenths of this object, not withstanding
this they had means such as they never before enjoyed, for
though their Hucks may normally have amounted to the sums
admitted, yet it is to be recollected that in the present
state of the country, they could not have honestly realized
one third of the same many of the villages being waste, and
others though people, very poor. Even in the best of times,
such an amount as they now receive on account of Hucks was
never that I can learn, realised, while a great portion of
what was actually recovered from the villages, was embezzled
by agents who were maintained from the same source. The
chiefs in the north western quarter in engaging to protect
roads and passes bound themselves to do no more than at any
rate was their duty, and their interest, if any hoped to
make any thing to their toolls or their estates, so that what
has been granted to them was really a gratuity.
40. The case of Teghy Khan to which I have before admitted I will hereafter again notice while the statement will show that his interests have been consulted to as great an extent as had he been more deserving than he was, they ought to have been. The last point on which information is called for by the Hon'ble Court is whether the allowances in question were regularly and fully paid to the respective parties.

41. On this subject I may observe that no complaint has ever been made except by Chiel Naiq, to which I will further advert in the sequel and by Goomany Naiq, when on his defence, he accused the moamlutdar of Thalner of intercepting 20 Rupees a month of the sum allotted for his establishment. The particulars of this case are fully adverted to in the 13 para of my letter of the 15 July last transmitting the trial of Goomani Naiq, I will here therefore only add that all the assertions of that person underwent an investigation by Captain Hodges who found that except in the instance in question, there was no room for blame being attached to the Moamlutdar even in this instance which I do not by any means wish to defend the Naq's personal allowance was not at all infringed upon, nor was the money appropriated by moamlutdar to his own use. Nor more than 5 Rupees of it, not in every respect, on account of the Naq's Establishment which was not at any rate confined to Bheels, but included Mahrattas and even Mahomedans and others of foreign districts - other than the instances admitted to, I beg again to state, that I have not heard of the slightest complaint. To More Naiq who, as already stated got 1500 Rupees a year and who is now in jail,
I put a question on this subject, to which without hesitation he decided answered "that none his salary had ever been kept back by anyone". It is very true that the Establishment was dishonest, but I donot think that with more ample and less hazardous means which were available to them of gratifying their desires, they coveted such small gleamings as at the utmost could have been, acquired from the pensions of the Bheels especially as they would not for a moment trust to their silence or to their living peaceably while they knew that any deviation from their engagement would be likely not only to bring them into contract with the police, but with the officers Commanding Detachments to whom any communication of bad faith on the part of the Cutcherry, in regard to the payment of stipends, if once made, and it would hardly have been concealed by parties in want of an excuse for their crimes, would have been sure to have immediately reached Major Brigg's knowledge and met with its just punishment.

42. Circular sent to all districts by collector to ascertain if any complaint has ever been made on the score of their not having been paid and that no such thing has happened, and as but few of the Mamlatdars now in the Districts, were in office at the time, that the Hon'ble Court's remarks refer to. I have no reason to think that any concealment has been made on this point. Independent of this every facility is given to every species of complaint and many of the Bheels especially from Bagian and the north western parts of Khandeish have lately
been with me on a scrutiny that I have been making at your instance, concerning their claims to their Jagheer villages, but on no occasion did any of them make any representation of any part of their income being withheld. I need hardly mention as an exception to the above observations, a representation made by Jaunia Turvee who as already remarked in this dispatch has just been with me of a small sum having been lately stopped from his pay and kept in deposit, to urge him to make every exertion to discover and apprehend some thieves who lately committed burglary in Rawere, because this has been by my order, and both this and the cause are well known to Jaunia.

43. I also exonerate the Establishment of ever having indirectly or indirectly contributed, at least intentionally either to the excitement of the disorders of the Beheels or to their protractions when excited. My belief however is founded on negative circumstances only; i.e., on no traces of such a fact being at this day visible in this quarter, and of my never ever having heard it surmised here. Your opinion however which the Hon'ble Court quoted in the 50 para of its letter would lead to a contrary impression, in as far at least as regards the failure of Major Satters' operations the more especially as you state that opinion was founded on the result of certain inquiries, which you had made just subsequent to the receipt of Major Briggs's Despatch of the 18 June 1821 which tended in some degree, to confirm the belief that such may have been in past the case. It is probably to be regretted that you did not specifically mention in your letter to Major
Briggs of the 31 July 1821 the information derived from these inquiries, as alluded to in your Despatch to Government or what Major Briggs did not request you to do so in his reply to your letter, as the then knowledge there of might have enabled that Gentleman, in carrying on the Enquiry directed by the para of that communication, to have traced facts which probably cannot now be discovered.

44. I cannot at this time discern the grounds on which a suspicion was existed in your mind that it had become the interest of higher classes of the native revenue officers to prosecute the Bheels with a view to perpetuate their own malversations. Concept as the Establishment was at that time was, neither do I find any proof of concert of their part with the Bheels nor that measures were bad recourse to, to defeat in any case, the operations carried on against them. One case is indeed in the correspondance forwarded under date 18 Mar 1821 mentioned by a female Bheel of a former mamultdar of Challeesgaon having allowed to the Bheels to purchase supplies for a marriage. She says that before the troops came, they got provisions from Challeesgaon by the mamultdars' order that 4 to 5 Bheels went there/to Challeesgaon/and told him/maamultdar/they had marriage in the Hills and they wanted cloth and provisions and he gave them permission to purchase what they wanted and that Ankoos Naiq paid 20 Rupees for the things brought. Even accordingly the evidence they got the provisions but once, and for a special occasion, and however this may be viewed, it could not have interpreted with
Major Lottus measures, as it accused before his detachment was formed neither case any inference hostile to the establishment generally be inferred from this single fact that had it ever been more criminal than it really can be considered. The Mymlatdar however was punished for the exercise of his discretion in this case by his dismissal in August 1821 in consequence of May Satter's representations and your letter to my predecessor of he 31 July 1821. There are also in some parts of the correspondence general complaints of information not being afforded by Mymlatdars, but such complaints may be made and yet the Mymlatdars may not be to blame, since it is often impossible that they can give correct information of the lurking places of the Bheels, when our troops being employed against them, they disperse to their better concealment. The complaints of the villagers giving food to the Bheels are I doubt not founded on fact but can we blame them considering to what they are exposed? On doing so should we draw a conclusive therefrom of the corrupt practices of the higher authorities? I respectfully thank not. The Sebundy posts in Paika and Kunnaira may have been to blame, but left greatly to themselves, irregulars are seldom, to be trusted, however positive, the injunctions of their immediate superiors in the Districts or at the Huzzoor, may be. Otherwise Major Salter's complaints refer to Nizam's officers and Patells. The Mymlatdar of Syzapor who is so particularly alluded to in the depositions forwarded by Major Salter to the Brigade Major on the 4 June 1821 being an officer of the Nezam.
45. Had it, as stated by Major Briggs in his letter to you addressed, dated the 9th August 1831 been the interest of the Establishment here, to have acted so as to have protracted Bheel aggressions, the great good that had then been effected, could not have been accomplished. This letter suggested some reasons though only probably of a secondary nature, for the continued aggressions of the Bheels. That of two noted robbers remaining in the Hills, was itself quite sufficient to account for a hostile deed. Indeed with such scapegoats on which to lay the blame of all these sins, the majority of the Jagla Bheels are ever busy at what they conceive their calling considering too, that the Hills are on our frontier, towards the Nizam's possessions, and as liable to be occupied by his Highness's freebooters as our own, we may occasionally expect that they will be resorted to by some discontented people. Our observation to this effect was formerly submitted to your consideration by Major Briggs which led to a comparison being drawn between the success of our exertions here in reclaiming the Bheels, and that of the exertions of the authorities in Malwa, but here it should be kept in view that the Bheel who be taken himself to the Hills leaves no interests behind him which he at all values, exposed to risks and thereby a great tie which operations with powerful expect on the Bheels in other quarters who are cultivators and proprietors of the soil, and ever sometimes hereditary chieftains ruling over numerous feudal vassals and aids the exertions of authority, is wanting. My experience of the lawless tribes of Guzerat has always shown that those who had least to care for, were the most difficult to manage. There however, many of these tribes have valuable possessions and
almost all are more or less cultivators, yet Guzerat has
never been long without some local disturbances. I should
even suspect that Malwa and other parts in that quarter are
seldom without them. What I know of those places in my vicinity
leads me to think I may say so much. It would be worth while
with reference to these observations, to enquire if much of
our disappointment has not arisen from having formed too
sanguine expectations. It has never been found an easy matter
altogether to repress the aggressions of local Bandite having
retreats amidst the fastnesses of mountains and extensive
jungles, and who never presume openly to oppose the troops or
police employed against them, neither can it be for the same
reason any reflection on the irresistible nature of our power
that we do not at once succeed in this object as well it might
be said that the power of England is disgraced, since not­
withstanding all the efforts of her fiscal many at sea and
trained bounds and even the aid of the Military on those,
she cannot put down smuggling. I really doubt if we had reason
to hope for great success than has been attained for which
there probably is no where a people with so little inducement
to lead peaceable lives, and in every respect so void of
principle, and of local or personal ties and attachment as the
Bheels, neither is there in all likelihood, a country of equal
extent, and in such a Jungly and barren state, and so over run
with a marauding race, where on the whole fewer excesses, many
as these are, are now committed. If this is not flattering
still if fact, and I think it so, it is strongly vindicatory.
It is I fear the fate of this country, a fate imposed on it
by its own institutions that it should be more or less exposed to the evils complained of, so long as the cause remains. While the religious prejudices of any class teach them to be thieves, and at the same time do not, by offering inducements to regard the other classes with affection and esteem, or even to respect themselves, in any wise blunt the propensities, with such prejudices are calculated to excite, while I say such is case, it will be long before the best directed exertions, will be completely successful in putting down rapine and robbery. I think the whole tenor of Indian History shows these remarks to be well founded even in the best time of the Moguls the Bheels were always had subjects. Fear may have often proved a check but that impression removed, as complete a scene of rapine followed, as if no period of good order had ever intervened. Even when the impression has been general yet some bold and daring spirits have always been starting forth—who have despised suggestions and created disturbances. Local authorities cannot always be to blame for the vices that are created by institutions. Neither should we hope, that we are to be entirely exempt from the evils that result from circumstances beyond our power nor blame ourselves because we came to control moral causes by physical force—not even at once by appeals to the interests of the parties.

46. I will now, the same securing to be required by your communication, offer a few remarks on some
parts of the Hon'ble Court’s letter and in doing so I trust that I shall not be accused of arrogance or want of profound respect, if in any instance the light in which my conviction may force me to consider certain points, may be different from that in which they are viewed by the Hon'ble Court.

47. The Hon'ble Court observed that before military measures were resorted to, it was incumbent to ascertain that conciliatory measures had been fully tried in vain. As generally speaking recourse was first had to other measures, the only question probably at issue, is, how long, all things considered, it was incumbent to confine our endeavours to such measures only. Had it been purely a question that affected the Bheels alone, it would clearly have been our duty, to have long borne with, and to have shown the most indulgent, consideration to be a people so sunk in moral principles and so accustomed to licentious courses, or had it involved an undoubted right of the Bheels, to commit depredations and an acknowledged and admitted liability of the people generally to submit to them, then too, considering that the confirmed habits of the Bheels might have expected for a long time to cause them to commit breaches of their engagements, or to withhold any surrender of their undoubted rights, we should probably have been warranted/ however desirous we might naturally have been to alleviate, if not to remove such a state of oppressions on the one hand, and wretchedness on the other/ in longer temporizing and endeavouring by bounties and kindness to induce them to conduct themselves consistently with the safety
of the lives and property of our other subjects. If however the interest of others than the Bheels were involved, and that too most vitally, and if these depredators', barbarous and cruel as their habits have long been, we are well aware that they could claim no privilege of appropriating to themselves the property of their neighbours, with impunity/ for even admitting that they consider themselves as born to be robbers, they have no tradition that teaches them that in following this avocation they were to be exempted from the penalties that on detection it usually retails, it will probably be admitted that we were bound not too long or too tenderly to consult their wishes, while at the same time they, continued to prey on the country.

48. In this latter point of view, I am induced to think, that all was done, that on duty to the other interests entrusted to our charge warranted in the way of conciliation; we offered an amnesty for the past in all cases whether the offences it extended to were committed antecient to, or after our conquest of the country, and this offer was accompanied by a promise of providing for all just claims, which promise, as all saw, was in every case redeemed, by all those claims which had any colour of right being guaranteed, but if it was human policy to be conciliatory in this manner, it was also our duty to be prompt in using our utmost endeavours to crush every marauder who did not avail himself of the opening offered, to reconcile himself with the society he had so long outraged, and as a matter of example to visit with severity all who having entered into engagements, chose afterwards to return to those courses for
the abandonment of which they had stipulated. To have done otherwise would have been to have exposed to great risk the welfare of the community generally, when we were bound to protect, to gratify a people, who pursuing the life they did not, saving our wish to correct, even the worst habits, by as lenient measures as possible one claim on our consideration, at all to be put in completion with those which the safety of the other class, pressed so strongly on our attention.

49. Even too, with reference to the Bheels themselves, I will venture to observe that while we so widely opened the door to their return to society, it was our duty as far as we could, to convince those who entered and returned or who hesitated, that they could in future promise to themselves no advantages compared to the risk, and danger that would result from not cordially embracing preferred boon. It should in this discussion never be lost sight of that we were dealing with a people that had long been accustomed to set every other principle but that of violence at defiance, and who were but seldom themselves in consequence open to conviction, but by the application of that principle.

50. The Hon'ble Court instances the advantages of the conciliatory measures of General Smith, as quoted by Major Briggs, but those after all only led to agents being sent, by those robbers to that officer in 1816 and 1817 and to their probably refraining from plundering his followers. That they produced no good to the country generally is evident, from the state of that period, which was worse than any that had been recollected by the eldest persons alive. Besides even
the limited advantages that I suppose to have accrued from the conciliatory measures of General Smith, were the fruits rather of the conviction of the Bheels, that he could coerce where conciliation failed, than of these measures only. Even the settlement of Major Briggs which he, I think, erroneously attributes to the confidence inspired by General Smith, was more probably owing to a similar impression of our power to coerce than to that confidence. In proof of the justice of the observations I may here quote the orders of Major Briggs himself as noted in the 8 para of the Hon'ble Court's letter. These are "The Bheels of Arrnuddy lying between Unky and the kunner Ghaut have notwithstanding their professions of obedience to both to Mr Elphinstone and myself consistently invaded our Country to the north and south of Chandore range". This must have happened after the intercourse of the Bheels with General Smith in 1816 and 1817 for 'till after that period they could have made no professions to Major Briggs, nor probably either to Mr Elphinstone, and it is a proof both that the good produced by that intercourse was confined to the General's own camp—and also that there could be no confidence, on the part of the Bheels towards us, when they were so acting.

51. The Hon'ble Court's despatch states in the 10th para that the principle obstacle to the success of conciliatory measures was the want of confidence on the part of the Bheels necessarily resulting from a long series of provocations which they experienced from the bad faith cruelty and treachery of former Government and so which may be originally traced the habits of plunder which a long period of general confusion rendered invertebrate. I am rather inclined however to consider
I have considered it of some consequence to set this matter in what I am led to think proper point of view, as it makes all the difference of placing the Bhils in this description either...

...and in circumstances as even supposing it bore the race a grudge to preclude the possibility of making it more miserable. The persecution of the Government could only in this case have followed provocations on the part of the Bhils, even these persecutions were often moderated by circumstances and considerations that we would not listen to and it was but seldom that a desire was enkindled, to lead a reformed life, that the most unqualified amnesty as to part atrocities was not accorded. Indeed this was often the case to a fault, and more perseverance, in systematically visiting offences with punishment might have produced in the end more salutary effects.
in the situation of a deeply injured and irrelated race or in
that of a tribe who had by long giving a licence to the most
lawless habits rendered them abnoxious to the severest penalties.
In the one case it would follow that we had not long enough tried
to sooth their passions exacted by tyranny and oppression, nor
made recompense enough to them for the injuries to which they
had been subjected. In the other it may follow that we forbore
too much, that if the life of our industrious citizen was
sacrificed, or the situation of another was reduced from plenty
to want by a too long indulgence of a desire to conciliate a race,
which had by its own misdeeds, placed itself in the condition in
which it stood, we were fastidious to a degree inconsistent with
the discharge of our primary duty.
53. I may notice in advertance to the 12th Para of the Hon'ble
Court's letter that the observations submitted in reply to the
Hon'ble Court's first query, show that the Bheel caste does not
present an uniform feature throughout this jurisdiction. A great
majority are Jaglas, which class with a few naiqs, are along in
the habits of forsaking their native villages for the hills, which
occupy the plains of the Province. The others are of the more
respectable class of land holders and cultivators, these reside
in the western and north-western quarters and are those probably
to whom my predecessor alludes, when he is quoted by the Honou­
rable Court as contradicting his own statements on other occasions
and also of being at variance with the statement of Sir Jhon
Malcolm.
54. Adverting to the settlement with Bheels made by Major
Briggs and Captain Hodges in September and November 1818, the
Honourable Court seem to question their equitable nature both in reference to the want of means by which to judge of the adequacy of the concessions, or the propriety of the disallowances, and to the dismissal of the followers of the Naiqs who had taken refuge in the hills and providing for those Naiqs and a part of their families only, which deprived them of the power of performing the stipulated duties.

55. As to the objections of the Hon'ble Court I may observe that the followers, where they were Bheels being inhabitants of the plains, and constitutionally members of the village Bulettee, and where not Bheels being mere mercenaries from all quarters at the hands of the Naiqs, it will be admitted that they still less required to maintain retainers to enable them to adhere to their negative duties viz "to abstain from molesting travellers and from making demands on villages". These points certainly were more likely to be attended to in proposition as the Naiqs were destitute of retainers.

56. As to the adequacy of the concessions and propriety of the disallowances, I may remark that the former, as already shown comprised all that had been usually admitted by the former Government with after an addition thereto and that the latter were few in number and related, as in Baglan, to optional payment on account of Establishment, to very recent impositions, neither sanctioned by long usage, nor by any authority or to claims that long had been resumed and I may add that on the score of the disallowances I have not heard the least subject of complaint by any one, nor have they, that I can learn, ever led to any discontent or disturbance. The salah and Pugree of 200 Rupees annually to Chandoo Naiq who is now dead was purely a gratuity beyond any thing he was entitled to, for the abandonment of his predatory habits, a circumstance which shows the desire
to conciliate that throughout was predominant.

57. The Honourable Court make with great disapprobation the intimation to Teghy Khan's Brother but Teghy Khan was merely a fortunate Robber and the greater part of what he claimed was the fruit of crime and not sanctioned either by long standing or by the former Government, but notwithstanding this he received an adequate compensation in lieu of it, by a pension of Rs 1200 a year and the revenue of two villages. As to the intimation itself, it should be recollected that it was addressed to a robber, who made violence the rule of his own conduct and who was wavering between the policy of containing his criminal carrier, and of accepting provision, quite sufficient for his maintenance, and more than but for the conciliatory nature of the proceedings in regard to such people, he could have had any right to expect, Teghy Khan is now dead and his family enjoys the advantages of the liberal policy adopted towards him.

58. It is true that this provision was not equal to what Teghy Khan got by robbery. This Major Briggs himself admits, but he at the same time adds, that what he allowed to that person he had no claims to. The Hon'ble Court observes that in "the formation of settlements with such marauders there would undoubtedly be great difficulties in ascertaining what their established claims really were between their demands and our concessions, there would probably remain many cases a wide difference. But our proceedings towards them should always have been characterized by conciliation and liberality" - now in this case the established claims were trifling, while he received a considerable pension, and two villages that more than covered them, thus I am induced to think, treating him with utmost liberality.
59. In ad\verting to the 17th and 18th Para of the Hon'ble Court's despatch I beg to refer to what has already been said, both as to the precise and distinct nature of the engagements concluded with the Bheels, as well as to there not being an instance on record of complaint having been made of a breach of those engagements, but that of the unfounded one of the Cheil Naiq, and also of my never having heard of a surmise even of any of the aggressions of the Bheels having been caused by any part of their pension having been withheld by the Kutchury servants. Indeed with the spirit that actuates the Bheels as evinced in the correspondence of Cheil Naiq, there is no doubt that had the Kutchury servants so acted, it would have been made known to all. The inference drawn from this source therefore by the Hon'ble Court may be considered as satisfactorily replied to unless in reference to your inquiries you can confirm the Honourable Court's suspicions.

60. I do not think that Hon'ble Court could by observations of the 17 and 18th paras have in view to object to the means adopted against the Bheels previous to engagements being entered into by them on the score of right, but of policy, for it seems clear that the right to compel the Bheels to respect the lives and property of our peaceable subjects was antecedent to and perfectly independent of any such engagements. As to the policy of the question, it will only probably be necessary to recollect, that of the Bheels were not in the enjoyment of their rights independent of any engagement, it was the fault of the situation in which they had voluntarily placed themselves, not of any act of Major Briggs, or even that I can learn of the preceding Governments and also that the choice of that situation was made because they considered its harvest would prove more abundant than any income derived
from authorized sources. But the fact is, that besides the advantages they derived from sacking villages and plundering travellers they actually, as far as the conditions of the people would admit not only in most instances exacted their legal dues but extended them to new tracts of country as well as increased their amount. This being the case, the policy of attacking them if they continued to plunder, whether they entered into engagements were formed or not deserves but little consideration since it cannot be said that Bheels had a right either inherent or incidental to plunder. These engagements having been entered into, they undoubtedly imposed on the Government the necessity of good faith, in all that related to them and gave the Bheels in case of their being broken, a color for any proceedings they might choose to resort to. But even then, I think they had no tenable plea for having recourse to violence, till they had complained and refused redress. I am aware it is said by the Hon'ble Court "that the complaints of the Bheels it was evident from experience would not lead to any enquiry and would be answered only by menaces carried into immediate execution" - but if this experience is founded on the malversations in the Revenue Department, I have already shown, that the cases were of a very different nature, and therefore, I may now add that experience drawn from the one case, is not applicable to the other. Besides the records show causes for the operations carried on against them.

61. The tardiness with which many of these plunders embraced the offer of engagements as also adverted to in the 17 and 18th Paras is to be attributed to other causes than to a supposed breach of the engagements entered upon on the part of the local authorities.
To relinquish the life they were leading was a course very far from the wishes of the Bheels. They had indeed been too long accustomed to it and it had too abundantly supplied all that their savage habits required, for them willingly, to renounce it for the limited gratification which a fixed income would have afforded. If for the Naiks such a change was unpalatable it was more so for those who adhered to them, who comparatively speaking recited in the plenty which their lawless courses yielded, and who by forsaking them, returned not only to a listless life but also to an income not more than sufficient for their support, as well as to a humble station in the community and corresponding duties, more of all which could be agreeable to them after passing a long time in the state of the rudest independence almost of all restraint, for when in the hills, beyond yielding a very slight obedience to their leaders they were all equals, and they shared in all that was got by plunder the extent of which was only limited by their own exertions. We may fancy how unpleasantly the call to return to their proper stations and duties must under such circumstances, have sounded to the Bheels of the hills, and have even if tempted by the prospect of provision their leaders felt inclined to yield, the adherents must have thwarted their inclinations.

62. The Hon'ble Court next advert the spirit in which military measures were conducted and their results and first proceed to the notice of Chief Naik as illustrative of these. This naik with others of his family had entered into engagements by which they were to receive 619 Rupees a year, in commutation of their huqs, on the usual conditions but scarcely had they done so,
than they attacked the village of Dhamangaum after calling on it to pay them 500/- Rupees than they asserted to be due to them, and threatening if attention were not paid to the demand, to destroy the Inhabitants or cut off their ears and noses. On being called to account for the attack on this village Chiel Naiq in extenuation thereof, set up claims, which both Captain Hodges and Major Briggs subsequently asserted to be unfounded. The Hon'ble Court appear however to think that the Naiq may have had some excuse both from the loose wording of the engagements made with him which I have shown already could not have been the case, and also from Capt Hodges not mentioning any thing regarding the asserted claim on the district of Dhoolia, though he gives a negative to that set up against the district of Lulling but the fact is that the district of Lulling and Dhoolia is the same, and a perusal of Cheil Naiq's letter suggests, that by mentioning the debt of 800 Rupees twice, it was only meant to impress the recollection of the fact more thoroughly (thoroughly?). I may now add, in reference to the assertions of Major Briggs, and Capt Hodges, that I have carefully enquired as to the Justice of Cheil Naiq's claims and that I find them to have been totally unfounded, local officers of the District of Dhoolia or Lulling knowing cheil Naiq, nothing but as the plunderer of Dhamangaun and no Bheel Naiq nor other Bheel having claims in the district, nor any except the established jaglas, having claims on the town of Dhoolia itself.

63. Stress appears to be indirectly laid by the Hon'ble Court on the fact that the attendance of Cheil Naiq's family to enter into engagement was compulsory, but I humbly apprehend that to give this plea in this case any weight, it should be proved that what the Wheels were compelled to agree to, was something in itself
unjust to them, and not urgently required with reference to the
interests of all the other members of the community. If it was
not unjust to the parties and was necessary to the welfare of
every other inhabitant of or traveller through this Province then
reference which I apprehend is drawn from the fact of compulsion
will not hold. How in general are any people with arm in their
hands brought to agree to renounce rapine and violence. Certainly
only in general by compulsion? The law itself which forbids
robbery and murder is compulsory in regard to all who may be
so inclined. It is not urged that the Bhels had a natural
right, to punish plunderers, without taking the trouble by
compulsion, or any other means, to induce them to agree to
relinquish their aggressions. But having taken that trouble,
though the right could not be rendered stronger thereby,
it yet removed all objections to the exercise of it, in as far
as the ignorance of the people and their debased moral condition
might be concerned. As to the recency of the engagement in Cheil N
Naiq's case that fact cannot mitigate the offence, for propor­
tions to their recency the recollection of the obligations that
had been submitted to, must have been lively, and feeling this,
their breach can only be looked upon in the light of an insult
which had in view to ascertain how far we were prepared to punish
breaches of such engagements so that had it, at such a crises,
been allowed to pass with impunity, it might have been followed by
much evil.

64. The next cases noticed by Hon'ble Court are those of the
Bhels ordered to be hanged by Colonel Huskisson, and of
Pillajee Deshmukh, and the resorts to military law, as well as
the prisoners sent out of the Province and transported without
trial.
65. With reference to the person recommended by Col Jardine to be executed, and ordered for execution by Colonel Huskinson, I observe on the 14th March 1819, that Maj Briggs as stated in his dispatch to the late commissioner dated the 16th of the same month addressed to Col Huskisson requesting that his order might be countermanded until the prisoner was tried by a Court Martial and the sentence confirmed by him. I do not however observe, any further notice on this subject, so that it is probable neither the trial nor the execution took place. The case of Pillajee Deshmoockh was submitted to Court Martial, and therefore the only objection that can be urged to it, regards the tribunal, and the process of the trial and execution. The case was fully proved and the culprit deservedly met his fate, while though objections may be urged to the employment of military law, none can be urged to a resort to Military tribunal, whilst that law exists. I shall not advert to the discussion of the Hon'ble Court concerning the authority with whom, it rested to confirm the sentences of Court Martial. Further to observe, that is clear from Major Briggs own opinion as expressed in his letter to Colonel Imlock dated 03rd April 1821 he even then considered he acted under sufficient authority from the Supreme Government.

66. In regard to prisoners confined and transported without trial, this the correspondence shows to have arisen out of the peculiar nature of the circumstances under which the country was labouring. It was actually found impossible to enlist the aid of the community in behalf of our exertions, but by promising that they should not be exposed, in consequence of such aid to revenge of the Bhels and the Hon'ble Court itself advertising to the
statement contained in Major Salter's letter of the 13th May 1821 and to the fact that the promise referred to, admits that the expediency of keeping Bhheels so apprehended, under restraints, was a necessary result of the previous proceedings. The merits of these proceedings I trust this discussion will place in proper point of view by showing the nature of the aggressions and conduct of the Bhheels. Possessed indeed of all correspondence regarding the Bhheels of Khandesh, which details the numerous and violent aggressions which they committed on the persons and property of our other subjects there will ultimately appear I trust but little doubt, either in regards to these proceedings on that in consequence of the circumstances by which he was constrained, and under which the country suffered my predecessor had only the choice of alternatives, neither of them calculated to be satisfactory in their result, though both of a very different nature, one of which was to go on as owing to Major Briggs exertions, with fewer difficulties to encounter, we now do, and regularly to place all offenders on their trail - the other to issue the proclamation under which he enlisted the aid of the community. By the former course before he could have attained that reform which he effected, much more time would have been lost and many grievous injuries would have been sustained by the society. By the latter a departure from common, and in all cases when a great emergency like that of freeing a whole province from the dire effects of rapine and violence as was the case here does not exist, very essential form was involved but the notoriety of the guilt of the parties, was great, and the exigency, was of the most pressing nature.
67. As connected with the correspondence, between the late commissioner and Major Briggs which is adverted to in the 28 para of the Hon'ble Court's despatch, I beg to refer to you to my letter of the 8th instant reporting that the persons showed by Major Mc Bean were liberated on the 11th October 1819 when Rupees was given to each of them to enable them to reach their homes. These prisoners, I may add, were not Bheels but mercenaries.

68. The Hon'ble Court characterizes as harsh the proceedings in regard to the Bheels, as applied to men acting in blind obedience to their Chiefs and accustomed invariably and implicitly to obey them, whether for good or for evil. The observations, however as to the blind fealty of the Bheels to their leaders, does not seem to be born out by the actual state of the case, in as far at least, as those in the Hills were concerned, since the Bheels that usually congregated in the Hills were from all quarters, and acknowledged no obedience, but while they lived in the habitation of Robbers, the duration of which residence depended entirely on their own pleasure. But if the case had been otherwise it was necessary, I humbly but sincerely think to convince the majority of these people that they had other and more paramount obligations than blind obedience to Chiefs who only rendered them to the instruments of cruelty and oppression. And thus to form the first link in the choice of the civilization and reform, we might always supposing the case to be otherwise than it is by so doing have eradicated feelings and attachments of long standing but if they fostered habits and principles it was with the rights of
the rest of the society, we should not only have gained in proportion, but the parties themselves, would have also benefited in as much as they would have been relieved from fetters that bound them, to a service both of danger and defiance of all moral obligations and also to a life, if some times of licentious indulgence, yet often of misery and want.

69. I may here advert to an expression in the 52nd para of the Hon'ble Court's despatch of regret on the part of the Honourable Court that Major Briggs's exertions had as quoted from that Officer's reports, effected so much as he states, and remark that I have great hopes the Hon'ble Court will cease to entertain this feeling when it is fully informed of the real condition of the Bheels to which in this instance in particular Major Briggs adverts, these Bheels possessing no domicile in the Hills, no patrimonial estates nor inheritance of any kind there or elsewhere except that of hereditary village watchmen, or the heads of the village watchmen of certain Districts, and no retainers, even the village watchmen who acknowledge particular Naq as their official heads, not being able to give personal attendance on them, without neglecting the duties for which they are paid by their villages, the duties too of the naigs requiring them to remain in the plains or in same village on the verge of the Hills, that they may at all times be accessible to the officers of Government and give them their services and assistance,
which it will be acknowledged they never could do, when infirme
in their hutties or camps in the Hills.

70. In the 54th para the Hon'ble Court states that there
appears to be nothing in the peculiar character of the Bheels
to render the making and keeping as engagements more difficulty
with them than with other tribes similarly circumstanced. This
I acknowledge to be true if Bheels be compared with Bheels —
and not merely Bheels against other classes of robbers —
considering in the former light, some idea may be found of the
way in which this tribe does keep engagements, from the history
of Nandusing as given by Sir John Malcolm, other proofs are
evidents in the course of the Bheels transactions in Khondeish,
and in the instances of Goomany and Bore Naig. The Bheels have
no principles, and it is impossible they should have, trained as
they are. The only impulses they obey are fear and necessity.
If it be said that even among thieves there is honor (honour),
so far I will admit the Bheels are often exemplary, tho (though)
even in this respect too, they frequently fail. As to the trans-
action of Khuldurry Bheels returning the money that they had
received in commutation of their huqs, their future conduct is
its best commentary. There Bheels returned immediately to
their predatory practices and having been apprehended were sent
out of the Country. Even had this not happened, I will respect-
fully contend that reasoning concerning motives from such an act,
we should not lose sight of the character of the actors. Tried
by this test the proceeding in question of the Kaldary Bheels
does not, I conceive suggest the conclusion of the Hon'ble Court
who would seem to consider it as a proof of good faith. I am
rather inclined to attribute it to a conviction that they could not
reform from robing, and to a fear, that the having in their
possession as it were, the King's bounty while they gave a loose to
their propensities would make their breach of engagement be more
sincerely insisted.

71. On the whole considering the anarchy and confusion, and the
Bandittee to which this country when it fell into our hands was a
prey. I feel at this distance of time, that my predecessor had an
arduous duty to perform and that considering the impossibility of
procuring at once trustworthy people, to fill the responsible offi-
cers under his control, and the great difficulty with such a multi-
plicity of business to attend to, of superintending all those
officers it is astonishing how much great good as connected with the
police, was effected. Neither should the value of these exertions
be understood because they did not prove completely successful, nor
the power of the British Government be deemed the less irresistible,
because it has not reached all the disturbers of the public peace,
secreting themselves as they do, in fastnesses, and only like beasts
of prey venturing abroad under cover of the might, or in the absence
of force. I am clearly of opinion also, that my predecessor would
have been for more open to Censure, had he by too protracted attem-
pts to conciliate these people exposed the Country to their further
aggressions, than from at once acting with vigor (vigour) against
them in every case where to found these hold back or saw them
hesitating. On either hand there was a great responsibility as
the strictures of Hon'ble Court evince. Yet I think he chose that
attended in the end with the least risk of doing wrong.
72. No one can question the liberal course which is recommended by the humane policy of the Hon'ble Court in the 67th Para of its letter and the propriety of being patient and forbearing with people like the Bheels, by evincing a liberal indulgence for their jealous prejudices and ancient and inveterate habits as far as can be done, with more paramount duty of protecting the lives and property of our other subjects, had as I have said before, the Bheels been an unmixed race, had their habits, had operations only on and among themselves, then there would not have been such urgent reason for immediately desiring their discontinuance, but affecting as these did others, it rather becomes a question if they were not borne with longer than was humane, whether as regarded those who were then victims or even as regarded the Bheels themselves, since our motives may have been misunderstood by them, and they may have thought either that we would be more tolerant than our predecessors, or that we felt we could not repress their habits, either of which impressions if exerted, will go a great way to account for the resistance they subsequently offered.

73. I will only, on taking leave of the Hon'ble Court's observations suggest that should a tabular picture be formed from the correspondence regarding the Bheels of the measures of Major Briggs on one hand, and of the repeated rejections of all advances, the frequent breaches of engagements, the reiterated aggressions of the Bheels, and the consequent sufferings of the people on the other. Carefully in all instances marking the
dates, it would prove that we began with consililation and though
one half the crimes of the Bheels are not recorded, continued it
longer probably than it was prudent. I would from this table
myself, if my other avocations admitted - but as time short I
can only thus shortly advert to the impression made upon me, by
a perusal of the records in regards to these facts. Throughout
the whole discussion the Hon'ble Court does not lay any stress
on the misery suffered by their peaceable subjects at the hands
of the Bheels, while in a review such as is embraced by their
despatch this was a subject which it seems to me deserved to be
prominently act forth. If it be objects of great importance to
study the interests of those who are addicted to robbery and
murder, and who adore industry, and to provide for their wants,
what may it not be, to attend to the security of those following
the occupation of civilized life, who not only purchase their
protection by contributing to the revenue of the State, but also
support the Bheels who rob and murder them. I am aware of the
humanity of the Hon'ble Court has in view as the result the
security of this class, as well as the happiness and reforms of
the Bheels, but while it is inculcated that the latter was to be
sought after with much tenderness, and consideration little is
said this very omission gives to the proceedings already held,
a greater appearance of harshness than I humbly think they would
have exhibited if examined with reference to the sufferings of
our other subjects, as held in view during their whole progress
and always deemed on the spot, if not as a primary, yet as an
equally important consideration.
74. The foregoing observations and table by which they are accompanied will have anticipated much of what it would otherwise have been necessary to say in reference to the other points to which my attention is directed in your letter of the 25th January last.

75. You will be able for instance to see from them the nature of many of the pecuniary rights claimed by the Bheels. In Baglan many of them have been little other than Mahally Establishments which were modified by my predecessor. In the Mutuar or Districts near Kokurmoondah they consist of Khooutes, and may be considered in the light of the chulas of Guzerat being both for the use of the road through the districts of the Chieftain who make the exactions and for protection or for the latter only, or they are purely the fruits of the consideration of Government. Thus coer Jewa Wussawa's personal allowance may in that part be ascribed to the liberality of Government and in part of a commutation of relinquished usurpations besides which he enjoys several valuable Established Khooutes.

76. To Teghy Khan's claims as well as to those generally of the Bheel Naigs I have sufficiently adverted already, I shall only therefore add that however they have at any time been admitted by our predecessors or ourselves, they all more or less originally partake of the nature of blackmail, and had their origin in the same circumstances. They are taxed wrongly by the Bheels from the subjects of Government without much system or method in their administration and which to make the most of what could not be stopped without greater perseverance than they were included to submit to, have been allowed under the express
or implied considerations of these enjoying them— forbearers, 
when they are merely Huqdares from plunder, or when they are 
naiqs, superintending the village Jaglas, in the districts that 
pay them or guarding certain passes and affording protection to 
merchants. But these duties they have always discharged very 
loosely and never more so than within 20 or 30 years last 
proceeding the British acquisition of the Province.

77. As to means possessed by the collector for ascertaining 
that the dues were faithfully discharged, I have already stated, 
that I do not think they have been withheld — the parties have 
usually been paid in the districts in which they reside and their 
receipts have been duly forwarded as vouchers. But what I most 
rely on, is the absence of complaints on this score, and my 
conviction that the person who would hesitate, in cheating a 
Bheel from the little dependence that could be placed on him I 
see many of the Pensioners frequently, and my assistants and myself 
are often in the districts, so that if any malversations in this 
respect took place they would not long remain concealed. Should 
future information or enquiries prove that I deceive myself or 
that I am deceived by others in this respect I will not fail to 
report the same for your information.

78. As to the Bheel Society it has little form. In the majority 
of the Districts, there are no Chiefs, though now and then 
individuals are more respected than others. Where there is a 
naiq, the succession is hereditary, but all the members of the 
family share in the dues of the Wuttan. This Wuttan is of two
kinds - that of hereditary district waiq who sees that the Juglas of the district do their duty and in return enjoys certain dues, or that of a Huqdar merely, in which case no duty is in general exacted - The Huqs having in such instances been granted to induce the Bheelis to refrain from plunder and continued on the same grounds though on the part of the Bheel the contract has been very often broken. The power of the Naiq especially where he is not possessed of hereditary property or estate/these remarks having this class principally in view/is nothing more than the parties like to avoid. On marriages or other occasion of rejoicing they make a small donation as a sugarial due but I do not believe they do any thing more. If the Jugala Wattaudar of any village in their range should become extinct they can nominate to the duty. In other respect Jaglas sell and buy their Wattaus but I should not suppose they brought many years purchase. When in the Hills the discipline necessary in a state of warfare may have caused the naiq to be invested with greater authority and he had often his Purdhans and his commanders as well as his intelligence department the duties of which last consisted in getting information of victims and of the approach of the Police or the troops of the Government. But even in the Hills power was exercised with great linite and it was not necessary to do otherwise, for offences committed on the Community were meritorious acts, not claims, while they seldom had much temptation in their own society to rob or to steal. Jealousies sometimes produced bloodshed but even these matters were generally left to the parties themselves
if the body could not easily appease their irritated feelings. It was not the interests of the Naigs to diminish his hand by becoming a party in such quarrels for he could have done little else by interfering, and as far as the ends of their assemblage were concerned, a murderer was probably the best man for the promotion of them. Their wives are in general very faithful and cheerfully share in the hardship of their husbands, who when they are in the Hills - mainly indeed depend on them for food for all their subsistence on which occasions is drawn from the plains. Of this fact the correspondence on the subject of the Bheels appears numerous and most satisfactory proofs, and were anything wanting to show that these tribes could never have had a domicile in these fastnesses this would supply it, for no regularly constituted society in India is without its dealers in food, especially when like the Bheels the society itself does not constitute to the production of grain or any other articles of subsistance. Both the men and women of the Bheel race are very hard featured and markedly distinct and different from any other race. They are very filthy and do not one of them affect any neatness of person or appearance even in the rudest way -- the clothing indeed of the men is generally not more than the barest calls of decency require. They can live on the mowra and other products of the wilds for a long time, but generally they show every sign for being badly fed. This is not because they cannot find employment, for they could all cultivate if they chose, but because they are inveterately idle and would rather eat half a meal of indifferent food provided they are not
obliged to work, than a good and substantial meal if not procurable but by industry. Though averse however to regular employment, they will undergo great hardship in an irregular way, in plundering expeditions and in evading the search of the officers of Justice. Their village duties seldom impose any labour. They often live in the fields at their appointed station with their families, and all their stock and effects, which do not generally consist of more than a wretched cow or buffalo, a few fowls, a small fishing net, now and then a matchlock, and a sword, but always bows and a plentiful supply of arrows, with a few earthen Pots. They kill game, and plundering they designate shikar or spoil, they are very cruel, and as they do not value life will any day become assassins for a trifling recompense. They are also very revengeful, they themselves indeed compare their enmity to the bite of a snake. Though generally in as far as regards food they are very abstemious they set no bounds to their indulgence in liquor, when they can command it and rather than be deprived of it long they will commit any excess. When in liquor they often quarrel and have recourse to their swords, but I doubt believe such affrays create lasting feuds. The marriage feast of a Bauia derives celebrity from the quantity of ghee and sugar which is consumed in it but that of a Bheels own all its date to the quantity of liquor provided. This of course they get without applying to the former or the former breaks through the engagement by which he is bound, probably both.

79. They have little or no religion. Though the Hindoo casties - yet they will and eat the cow. The pretend to have many meetings connected with religious rites, but they are only feigned to be on this account - in order to cover the real object which is that of
a strong muster for plunder. Those of the northern parts of the Province are reckoned better Hindoos than those to the south of the Taptee. At the marriages of the former Brahmins officiate, but not at those of the latter. They do not respect Brahmins nor Bhuts nor any other religious characters — at least when put in completion with plunder. They rob all alike and murder too without any compunction. It was only the other day that six of them plundered a poor Brahmin pilgrim proceeding measuring his own length on the ground all the way to Jagga nath of his few pots and all his little stock of apparii. They are destitute of Good Faith — at least if they have any, they confine it to themselves. Their plunder they divide equally, except when under a hereditary or self constituted leader and then his share is a count. They will go to a great distance to plunder, and what they acquire is usually divided on the spot, if they be not living in a Huttee in the Hills, in which case it is carried there and shared out, often however when congregated for the occasion, from the villages in the plains, if they anticipate an eager pursuit, the plunder is entrusted to one of the party in whom all have confidence, or it is hid for a time in an old well or other secure place but however this may be they lose no time, after a robbery, in dispersing to their different villages and by so doing frequently obliterate every means by which they might be traced.

80. The Potails are often afraid of them, and are obliged to buy their good will by winking it, if not assisting in their aggressions but frequently there can be no doubt, they also
encourage them and share in the spoil.

81. The Mahomedan Bheels are more civilized, they speak Hindustani and while they are cleaner they have better features, and do not appear so distant or so mean a race - but in their respect they are as bad as the Hindoo Bheels.

82. As I have already remarked those Bheels possessed of property demean themselves better and are even a better looking race than the Jagales. These, as already frequently remarked, live in the western and north western quarters. They have more sway with their dependents, who may be considered to look up to their Chiefs as to feudal lords - these Bheels may be easily reformed if their Chieftains set the example - and this, constrained by the force at Kokurmoordah and influenced by the advise of Captain Rigby, they seem inclined to become.

I have the honour to be Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

Galanah
10th March 1825.

A Robertson
Collector

(Source: Robertson to Chaplin, DCP 208, Letter No 2015)