



influence, and for whose fidelity he could answer. The Muharaj consented, and went to live for a few days amongst the Bheels. He then came out of the country, escorted by one or two hundred Bheels, and threw himself under the protection of the Puwar<sup>(1)</sup> Chief of Dhar, who entertained him for a time. There happened to be at no great distance, that is about three or four kos from thence, an old retainer of the Holkur family, named Nagoo Punt,<sup>(2)</sup> with one or two hundred troops. Juswunt Rao, under pretence of an interview, plundered him of all his property, and drove him to fly for his life.

Kashee Rao Holkur no sooner heard certain intelligence of Juswunt Rao's proceedings, than he wrote to the Puwars to sieze him, but the Dhar Chief thinking the request insulting to his honor, gave notice to Juswunt Rao, and speeded his departure. The Muharaj went then to Dybalpoor,<sup>(3)</sup> and having with him three or four hundred men, he stormed and took the place, and besides some funds in money, got possession of another good mare. Thence he went to Mahedpoor,<sup>(4)</sup> a possession of the Holkur family, but the Jageerdar, through fear of Kashee Rao, refused to receive him. Juswunt Rao next went to Sarungpoor,<sup>(5)</sup> where he remained some days. There was one Khundoo<sup>(6)</sup> then with him as a menial servant, who had before been in the Ameer's service, and had only recently left it at Bhopal. This man, seeing the resolution and intrepidity displayed by the Muharaj in his desperate circumstances, told him of the Ameer's character and past

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(1) پموار رئیس دھار      (2) ناگو پھہ پندت      (3) دیبالپور  
(4) مہدپور      (5) سارنگپور      (6) کھندو





history, with which he was well acquainted, and said—  
“ If your Highness intends following the paths of high ambition and enterprise, it seems to me that you cannot do better than seek a friendship with the Ameer and unite your fortune with his. There is not his like to be met with in the present day, and he fortunately will now, probably, be at Bhopal, not very far distant from hence.” The Muharaj caught immediately at this proposition and sent the Khidmutkar to the Ameer. The man came to Bhopal, and told the Ameer of Juswunt Rao’s arrival at Sarungpoor, and of his designs for the future. The Ameer said, “ Muharaj Juswunt Rao Holkur is a Surdar of very high rank, it would be more fitting that he should send a man of consideration to make propositions to me.” The Khidmutkar returned with this answer; whereupon the Muharaj sent two Mahrattas, high in his confidence, to beg a personal interview. They came and stated, that the Muharaj was a noble of the highest rank, and had by him jewels of inestimable price, and that it would be well worth the Ameer’s while to have an interview and to unite with him. The Ameer upon this sent Gholamee Khan, (1) a confidential man of his followers, on whose intelligence he could place reliance, to see how matters stood. This man went to his camp and had an audience with Juswunt Rao, and having ascertained the real state of things, returned to the Ameer, and reported what he had discovered, saying, “ Of a truth, the Muharaj has not at present enough to provide himself with his night’s meal, but he is the son of a Chief of high dignity, and through him there will be a road opened to the management of great affairs, even to the very highest from behind the curtain.” The Ameer

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(1) غلامی خان





approved this suggestion, and determined to proceed in person to wait upon the Muharaj. But as he was about to depart, his men, who were much in arrear, became clamorous for their pay, and refused to march. The Ameer accordingly hit upon the following expedient to reconcile them to the project: he collected all the jewels he had of his own into a casket, which he gave secretly to Gholamee Khan, and desired him to bring it with any other similar empty boxes he could get, and to deliver the whole to him in public before the troops, with a declaration, that they were sent by Muharaj Holkur, as the earnest of future favor, and of entertainment for the troops, under the condition of immediate march towards him. Gholamee Khan did as he was directed, and the Ameer selecting the casket he knew, opened it, and took out the jewels before his men. In the box opened, there were a great many articles, and the troops supposing the other boxes to be similarly full, agreed to march: whereupon the Ameer departing from Bhopal<sup>(1)</sup> went to Shujaelpoor, and levied a contribution of six thousand rupees, which he divided on the spot amongst the troops. The Muharaj, with his two or three hundred beggarly followers, had come into the Shujaelpoor district to make a levy upon some petty villages, as was his wont, for his force would not allow of his approaching places of any size or consideration. The people of the country, however, resisting his exactions, had collected, and surrounded him, so that the Ameer was compelled to interfere to make them disperse preparatory to his own meeting with the Muharaj. Having effected this with little trouble, he sent word to the Muharaj of his being in the neighbourhood; whereupon Muharaj Holkur came to Shujaelpoor, and there the first interview took

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(1) شجاعپور



place between the two Chiefs with becoming state and attentions on both sides, and the foundations of a firm and lasting friendship were laid on the occasion. This happened in the Hejira year 1214.<sup>(1)</sup>

The junction of the Ameer was to Muharaj Holkur a source of great satisfaction and strength. It was determined, therefore, to proceed immediately against Muheshur, the old possession of the Holkur family. Marching from Shujaelpoor, and levying a contribution at Ashta,<sup>(2)</sup> the two Chiefs encamped in that neighbourhood. As the Ameer was at this time troubled with the lumbago, (pain in the loins,) it occurred to him to give away all the articles of his Toshuk-khana,<sup>(3)</sup> as an offering in the service of God, and to place himself firmly on the Musnud of faith, relying entirely for the future on the divine grace and protection. Having, accordingly, determined on this sacrifice, he gave away at once all the articles he possessed in the shape of utensils, raiment, tents, and the like, to the poor, and to those who needed them, reserving nothing, but the clothes he wore, and a single horse for his own riding. Muharaj Holkur seeing this, said—"There is a grand career before us, and we have glorious parts to play: it would ill-become either of us, after girding our loins to the great enterprise we have undertaken, to withdraw and give up our designs in pusillanimity; let us, therefore, jointly resolve to pursue our purpose at all risks, and to abide the severest tests of

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<sup>(1)</sup> A. D. 1799—5th June to 24th May 1800, which shows that there is an error. A. H. 1213, which commenced 15th June 1798, was probably the true year.

<sup>(3)</sup> تو شکھا نہ

<sup>(2)</sup> آشٹہ

<sup>(3)</sup> Toshuk-khana is the wardrobe for state dresses and valuable stuffs.





the touchstone of experience, so that our names may go down to posterity with credit on the record of time." If, he added, "it be the will of God that I should recover the property and possessions of my family, the half shall be yours." The Ameer accepted this offer, and said, "How true it is that he who gives in the service of God receives a hundred-fold. I have no love for goods or gold, but out of regard for you and yielding to your persuasion, and because I have been several times warned from the invisible world that high destinies await me, I consent to give the horse of my ambition the reins in the field of high enterprise." The Chiefs, after this conversation, continuing their march, encamped next at Bhadoor, <sup>(1)</sup> on the north bank of the Nurbuda. On the opposite side was a force of Sindheea's quartered at Hindia, <sup>(2)</sup> and employed to watch all the fords of the river, a duty which was very effectually performed. The Ameer finding the fords guarded, began to think that if this were the case, and there were no boats to cross at other points, the passage would prove difficult: He accordingly consulted with the Muharaj on the subject, who observed, that their purpose would best be answered by seeking boats if such were forthcoming, for to force a passage by the fords in the face of the enemy, seemed to be a desperate undertaking. The Muharaj employed to make the search a shrewd and active man, named Sham Rao Maree, <sup>(3)</sup> and he, sending people along the banks, brought intelligence that there were two or three Doongas, or small canoes, at about two kos off. The Ameer immediately he heard this, which was about three o'clock in the morning, sent off Kurum Deen Khan, his half-brother, and two or three hundred select horse, all matchlock men in mail, with



instructions to cross, without noise, by the boats at the Ghaut indicated, which was on the right or lower down the river, and immediately on arriving on the opposite side to move up with all speed to the ford by the direct road, and, when they approached the party on guard there, to fire altogether and charge home, trusting to be supported from across the river where the enemy had then no expectation of attack. The matchlock men, with Kurum Deen Khan, did as they were ordered, and, opening a fire in a body on the party at the ford, the latter took panic, and fled at once to the Town of Hindia. The Muharaj and the Ameer then crossed without opposition, and coming on the enemy from a quarter where they were not expected, made a considerable slaughter. Pursuing their success, they plundered the Town of Hindia, and got much booty there, and so first raised the standard of victory. The Ameer observed to Muharaj Holkur, that God had given them this prize in requital for the distribution of his property made some little time before as above related. The Muharaj said "It must be so." Halting at Hindia for the day, they marched the day following, and levying contributions from Khudwa, Phughtun-gaon, (1) and other places, arrived at a village close by Kusrod. (2) Next morning they came to the Ghat of that name, which they found guarded by two Battalions, a party of Dragoons, and four Guns, sent there by Hujur Beg Furingee, (3) Sindheea's officer at Muleshur, for the purpose of preventing access on this side: for the Muharaj's design of moving on that old possession

(1) کهدوہ ویپکتن گانون (2) کسراود (3) جبریگ فرنگی

(3) The Officer here referred to is the Chevalier Dudrenec, a Frenchman, who was first in Kashee Rao Holkur's service, and then came over to Jeevunt Rao as here related. He subsequently transferred his services to Doulut Rao Sindheea after being deserted by his men.





of his family had by this time got wind. The detachment was on the point of moving from Kusrod to take up its defensive position, when the Ameer determined to reconnoitre and watch its motions. He accordingly started towards the enemy with a few horse. The Muharaj seeing him in motion, rode after him, and said, "Surely you are not going to commit yourself in action with an enemy so strong with these few horse?" The Ameer said, "I am going to meet the enemy: If I gain the victory, do you come up and take a share in the glory: If I die in the battle, follow your own schemes." The Muharaj was silent; and the Ameer leaving Kurum Deen Khan, his brother, at the spot, went on with a few attendants on horseback and passing the Ghat, began leisurely to survey the enemy, and to examine his strength and dispositions. While he was so employed, some two or three hundred of his horse came up in small parties, and as it were, by degrees and by accident, joined him, and the men then said, "We are ready—why should the attack be delayed?" The Ameer was gratified with this proof of alacrity, and began skirmishing with the enemy. Sham Rao Maree, an officer of Holkar's, came up also and joined in the affair, and the Ameer was preparing to head a general charge, in order to try the metal of the enemy's courage, when at the first report of the scaling of the guns with the detachment, Sham Rao Maree turned to the right about, and his example took away many of the Ameer's horse, who also kept aloof, so that the Ameer was left with only seventeen troopers. With these, however, he charged home to a hillock, where piercing the enemy's line he made a considerable slaughter. Pursuing his success, he went against a battalion which had formed square at a little distance, and seemed disposed to make a stand. The number of troopers with the Ameer was, at this time, reduced to five or six, and they were somewhat behind



himself, seeing which Muhub Ulee Khan,<sup>(1)</sup> who was one of them, rode up and said, " You have not a soul with you just now: what is the use of charging alone?" The Ameer looking round, drew up, and was lost in reflection, and the Khan went to collect the scattered horsemen. But he had not gone far when a matchlock ball struck him on the leg, and lamed him for life. The Ameer not thinking it prudent to attack in front, where the guns were drawn out, ready charged and primed, went round and attacked the square with his eight or nine horsemen on one side, while about one thousand horse from the camp, advanced against them from a different quarter, and charged also with great bravery. In the midst of this, Muharaj Holkur, with Sham Rao Maree, and five or six more, came and joined the Ameer; and in the end, the detachment which had formed square, was overpowered and broken, and four guns and two elephants, and a large supply of stores and equipments, fell into the hands of the Ameer and Muharaj. The Officers of this detachment, who were with a small party of horse, at a little distance from the scene of its defeat, fled precipitately to the Chevalier Dudrenec, (Hujur Beg,) who taking panic, retired from Muheshur to Indor.<sup>(2)</sup> In short, this victory opened the way to the object of the two Chiefs' desires. Having encamped on the field for the night, they marched next morning to the bank of the Nurbuda, opposite Muheshur, and ordered Buhara Mul, Ahleea Bae's<sup>(3)</sup> old manager, to provide boats quickly to cross the troops, when it was promised, that Muheshur should not be pillaged. Buhara Mul hesitated

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(<sup>1</sup>) محب علیخان  
 (<sup>2</sup>) اندور  
 (<sup>3</sup>) بیہار امل مختار کارمہیشرا ز طرف اہلیا بائی



at first, but the threat of assault and sack of the town operated on his fears, and he at length complied, and, treating the Muharaj as the head of the Holkur family, provided boats, wherein he and the Ameer crossed, and both entered the city<sup>(1)</sup> in triumph together. Immense resources in money, goods, elephants, horses, guns, family jewels, and ferts came now at once into the possession of Juswunt Rao Holkur. The Ameer seated the Muharaj on a Musnud of State, and placed himself alongside. The Muharaj was not satisfied at this arrangement, but made the Ameer sit on the Musnud along with himself. Although Juswunt Rao being the son of a Khuwas,<sup>(2)</sup> (a slave girl,) was not entitled of right to the Musnud, he yet assumed this state, but coined money in the name of Khundee Rao<sup>(3)</sup> Holkur, Mulhar Rao's infant son, who was of full blood, and the legitimate heir after Kashee Rao. Nights and days were now spent in revel and rejoicing, and the Ameer himself gave an entertainment on the banks of the river, lighting up the water and illuminating the whole neighbourhood, and preparing tasteful boats of gay colours, filled with musicians, and witching women, who, with their dances and songs, would have made prize of the hearts of hermits a hundred years old. Thus he sat enjoying the scene, with the view of the water, and of the preparations before him, satisfied that the boat of his desires had now reached the shore of his hopes.

[Here follow twenty-eight verses, in hyperbolic praise of this entertainment, as they tell nothing new, and are in the common style of such effusions, the English reader will not desire to see them transferred to the page of this translation.]

(1) A. D. 1798.

(2) خواص (3) کهندي راو





CSL

## BOOK THE THIRD.

## CHAPTER II.

1798.

*Muharaj Holkur's adventures and enterprises continued in union with the Ameer up to the first separation of their forces.*

ON the day after the entertainment above mentioned, the Ameer went to wait upon the Muharaj, whom he found sitting on his Musnud of State. Reflecting that two swords cannot remain in one scabbard, the Ameer, through an innate generosity of disposition, went and sat down alongside; and, although the Muharaj importuned him to come and sit on the Musnud, he refused, saying—"The Musnud here was your father's, I give you joy of its possession, but sit myself on the Musnud of faith and reliance on the providence of God, aiming even at higher objects, but biding my time." The Muharaj yielded, and with the Ameer entered on business of state. The Perguna of Seronj was now assigned to the Ameer as his share of their present acquisitions, and he sent Yoosuf Khan to manage his interests there. As the engagement, the Muharaj had come into with the Ameer to divide equally, was beginning to be felt by him as inconvenient,





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and the Muharaj was seeking the means of evading performance, he began at this time to tamper with the Ameer's men, to set them to demand higher pay, and so to win them over to his own service. The secret came out through one of the Ameer's confidants, who brought the intelligence of these practices to the Ameer. His anger boiled at hearing of them, and he observed to his friends—  
“ See what an insidious scheme the Muharaj is hatching in return for all my services, and when he has not yet half attained his own purposes. What can I hope from him hereafter after such an example of his perfidy?”  
The Ameer's faithful followers all replied with one voice, that “ As the Muharaj had first begun the foul play, it would be fair to play with him the same game, and if success attended their cause, the Ameer might aim to establish himself in independence, and even in supremacy without troubling himself hereafter to keep to the terms of the partnership.” The Ameer hearing this advice turned away his face, and thus resolved within himself; that as the Muharaj showed the disposition thus early to play him false, it would be better to leave his service for a time on the first opportunity, that he might acquire a better estimate of his value. While this was passing at Muheshur, Hujur Beg Saheb (the Chevalier Dudrenec,) detained at Indor, and won over to take service with him, some Afghans who were coming, on the strength of the Ameer's reputation, to join his troops. Getting also some Mahratta horse together, he marched with a considerable force to attack the Muharaj at Muheshur. Hearing of his design, the Muharaj was in great perplexity, and came immediately to the Ameer whom he found enjoying himself on the river. With many protestations he addressed the Ameer, saying,—“ The enemy are now coming in strength, without your zealous service and assistance





I have no hope." The Muharaj continued, that he saw nothing for it, but to retire and wait until their own force should be further recruited. The Ameer at first answered in ill-humour, having in recollection his recent ground of discontent, but was pacified by the intreaties and protestations of the Muharaj, and then gave it as his opinion that it would be discreditable to turn their backs upon the enemy without an action, that they must, therefore, trust for victory to God, the disposer of events. The Muharaj, deriving confidence from these exhortations, began making his arrangements, but the Chevalier Dudrenec (Hujur Beg,) came upon him before they were complete, and arrived with his troops at the Jâm Ghat, which is only seven or eight kos from Muheshur. The Muharaj and the Ameer accordingly went out with a light force to meet him, leaving their rear guard and baggage at Choolee, <sup>(1)</sup> which is three kos from Muheshur. The enemy were at the top of the Ghat, the Ameer and Muharaj in the valley below: there was, consequently, no means of attacking him, except at disadvantage, still the Ameer contrived from the morning till the afternoon, so to harrass his march, that notwithstanding this advantage, and that his object was to descend into the valley, he could make in that time an advance of only three kos, and that with extreme difficulty. The Ameer and the Muharaj then returned to their camp, which was two or three kos to the north of Muheshur, and gave their men leave to go into the town for provisions, keeping only a reserve of two or three hundred horse, with four guns, in readiness, to check any sudden attack. Hujur Beg (Chevalier Dudrenec,) came up and encamped

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(<sup>1</sup>) جولي





at a short distance, that is, about a kos or two off. In the midst of this the report of artillery was heard, and intelligence arrived that Sham Rao Maree, who had remained behind, when the rest of the troops came to camp, was engaged with a party of the enemy at a place about a kos distant. The Muharaj came in alarm to the Ameer, and said, "There is Sham Rao Maree hotly engaged, we must support him." The Ameer said, "It is evening, and the time is short, it would be wrong to bring on a general action at this hour. The Maree is only skirmishing, why need he be supported." The Muharaj was not satisfied, but went out himself towards the party of Sham Rao. The Ameer now reflected, that if he held back, men would put a bad construction on the motive, and attribute it to cowardice: He accordingly went out likewise with about one hundred horse, that were ready at hand, and coming upon the enemy, entered immediately into action. The Muharaj had with him near five thousand horse, but they kept aloof, and did not engage: Of the Ameer's men too, several hung back when the artillery opened upon them, so that there remained only about twenty-five men about himself, when he made his charge: Still not thinking it creditable to retire, he rode home against the enemy with these few, and began laying about him with sword and spear like another Roostum, and did great execution. A body of the enemy was broken and put to flight; the evening, however, was coming on, and the Ameer looking behind him, saw that only five men still stuck by him. One of his attendants then reminded him, that he was alone with his glory, having no attendant, but God's Providence; accordingly he turned homeward, but on arriving at camp, found the main body of the enemy already engaged with the infantry and troops left there, and that the Ameer's and Muharaj's foot





soldiers being mostly raw levies, had given way, so that the four guns in position had been carried. The Ameer immediately charged with the horse in his company the rear of the enemy, and was actively engaged, making considerable slaughter amongst them, when the Muharaj came up with a few attendants; and, as it was so dark that there was no distinguishing friend from foe, the Ameer was on the point of attacking him spear in hand. The Muharaj, however, recognizing the Ameer, called out—"Hold brother, it is I;" whereupon the Ameer staying his charge, drew up, and as it was late, both Chiefs commenced retiring from the field. The enemy seeing a knot of people sent a party against them, whereupon the Ameer turned and put them to flight. Having been successful wherever they were personally engaged, as related above, the Ameer and the Muharaj at last began to think of seeking a place to pass the night, but hoping that something might yet be done first, they, with their small party, rode boldly into the enemy's camp where there was great confusion, the ground having but just been taken up, and every body being busy pitching tents, and running backwards and forwards. Several of the enemy were killed in this attack, and in consequence of the darkness preventing them from distinguishing friend from foe, it produced serious consequences, and gave occasion to a heavy slaughter amongst them: for the troops in front turned against those in the rear, and the artillery fired in the dark, and there was a great turmoil and confusion all night. The Muharaj and the Ameer retiring from the field came to a Baolee, <sup>(1)</sup> or large well, distant about two kos from Muheshur, and there dismounted. Some

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(1) باولي



other horse came in and gathered round them, amongst others, a Mokhtar, or agent of Paegah<sup>(1)</sup> horse, came up, against whom the Muharaj had conceived a rancorous personal hate, but whose corps was too numerous and too attached to give the opportunity of punishing or disgracing him openly. He was riding, engaged in conversation with a trooper, when the Muharaj recognized his voice, and said to the Ameer—"This man I know to be my deadly enemy, though I have been compelled by circumstances hitherto to dissemble and appear friendly to him. He is now in my power—I will dispatch him." The Ameer said—"You are the master, do what you think proper." Whereupon the Muharaj mounting and riding up to the man, killed him on the spot with a stroke of his sword. The two Chiefs then returned to Muheshur with about fifteen or twenty attendants. They found upon enquiry, that of their whole army not a man was there, except one or two hundred who were in the fort panic-stricken. Seeing this, the Muharaj and the Ameer went to the jewel store and taking as many of the most valuable articles as they could well carry, left the place forthwith, and went to Dhurumpoor, <sup>(2)</sup> in the Dhar territory, which is about seven or eight kos from Muheshur. Here the stragglers were collected, and the Muharaj retired to Doorjunpoor, <sup>(3)</sup> which is in the mountains and jungles occupied by Bheels, and on a height commanding an important pass through that country. He staid here for some time, and conferred a Khilat, <sup>(4)</sup> or dress of honor on the Chief of the Bheels, with other presents and tokens of favor on men of that race. His plan now was to cut off the supplies from the enemy's army, in which service

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(1) پایگاھ (2) دھرم پوری (3) درجن پور (4) خلعت



the Bheels were calculated to be most useful. With their aid the routes of supply to Mubeshur were effectually stopped. The Ameer also tampered with the Afghan horse in the service of Hujur Beg, (Chevalier Dudrenec) and offering them increased pay, won over a great number, through whom he raised a tumult and mutiny in the Chevalier's army. The Ameer, indeed, made a vow, that he would not rest until he should get the better of this officer, nor would he wear a turband until victory should crown his efforts. The time for fulfilling this vow soon arrived. The Chevalier Dudrenec reduced to straights for want of supplies, sent to the Ameer to offer to come to terms with the Muharaj. The Ameer reported the message, and the Muharaj proposed to draw the Frenchman into terms for the purpose of circumventing and treacherously slaying him, but the Ameer would not hear of such a thing. This, he said, would be very cowardly, and besides, "who shall venture to raise a hand against those who make their peace through me?" The Muharaj yielded, and terms were granted, whereupon the Muharaj went by Dybalpoor to Gonda<sup>(1)</sup> in Dhar, and thence sent the Ameer to give assurance to the Chevalier Dudrenec, who was at the Jâm Ghat<sup>(2)</sup> above Mubeshur, and to receive his surrender. This officer met the Ameer and gave him a salute with all honor, and carried the Ameer to his own tent. At sight of the shawl handkerchief, with which the Ameer's head was bound, he took the covering from his own head, and with hands joined,

(1) ديبالپور کوندہ

(1) Sir J. Malcolm calls this place Burgouda, and says it is six miles S. W. of the British Cantonment at Mhow, and nineteen miles on the same direction from Indore, on the high road from thence to Mubeshur.

(2) گھاتہ جام





said, "As your vow forbids your wearing a turband till you have conquered me, see the object accomplished, bare headed, I lay my head's covering before you, and acknowledge myself to be defeated. Nay, if you wish to make me prisoner, here is my sword, I surrender it, and you may take me to your camp." This was conformable to the English custom, for with them, when any one is made prisoner, or put under arrest, the surrender of the sword is the symbol, as if the sword was the jailor, or custodier of its owner. The Ameer was pleased and satisfied with this speech, and the Chevalier gave the Ameer his own turband, and himself put on the shawl handkerchief of the Ameer, so as to make an exchange of turbands. He then took the Ameer to Mubeshur, and transferred to him all the treasure, stores, and jewels, and went back along with him to be presented to the Muharaj in his camp. The Muharaj could not, in consequence of the Ameer's protection, place him under restraint, but in his heart he designed him evil. It happened that, on that very night he was sitting on the bank of the Nurbuda, amusing himself with firing at a Mushal, set alight on the river when the matchlock burst, and inflicted a severe wound in his eye.<sup>(1)</sup> Of a truth, he that knows all things secret and divulged is not to be deceived. In the twinkling of an eye upon the eye of the Muharaj fell this just retribution for the treacherous designs he meditated against the Chevalier Dudrenec. In the end, the Muharaj set a garrison in Muheshur, and re-organizing the defeated brigade of the French officer, restored him to the command of it on his own behalf, and sent him to occupy and administer Tonk and Rampoor, which, for a long time, had belonged to the

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(1) Juswunt Rao lost entirely the sight of one eye by this accident.



DUDRENEC ENTERTAINED AND SENT TO TONK. 111

Holkur family, having been wrested from Jypoor by Mulhar Rao, as related in the Sketch of the Mahratta History above given. The Chevalier, accordingly, marched for this purpose by the route of Kota, while the Muharaj, with the Ameer, moved to Nolae<sup>(1)</sup> in Malwa, and levied a contribution upon the place. The Ameer now represented to the Muharaj, that the army was too large to be subsisted in one body, and it would be better to separate their respective forces, and each to levy contributions for the support of his own troops, holding themselves in readiness to re-unite in case of necessity. The Ameer's advice was approved and adopted by the Muharaj. The above events occurred in the Hejira year 1215.<sup>(2)</sup>

(<sup>1</sup>) نولاي

(<sup>2</sup>) The Hejira year 1215 began on the 25th May 1800, and finished on the 13th May 1801. This date must, therefore, be an error. See next Chapter where the Hejira year 1214 is given for subsequent events. The Hejira year 1213 must be the true period. Sir J. Malcolm gives the year 1798 for the events related in this Chapter, and the Hejira year 1213 commenced 15th June 1798 and ended on the 3d June 1799.



## BOOK THE THIRD.

### CHAPTER III.

1799.

*Separation of the Muharaj and Ameer—the former goes to Soondhwara and levies tribute on Kota—The Ameer marches to Seronj—attacks Sagur—defeats and besieges the Raja, who applies to Nagpoor for succour—Defeat of the Ameer.*

THE Muharaj marched from Nolaee into Soondhwara, <sup>(1)</sup> and there levied tribute on the Kota Raja, <sup>(2)</sup> and contributions on all the neighbouring towns and villages. The Ameer left his brother, Kurum Deen Khan, and some horse, with the Muharaj, and attached to him for a guard a company from Alum Khan's <sup>(3)</sup> battalion, under command of Mohummud Shah Khan, <sup>(4)</sup> an Afghan of the company, well acquainted with every branch of drill and discipline, and who, besides commanding the party of infantry, was to teach this part of the military profession to Kurum

<sup>(2)</sup> راجہ کوتہ

<sup>(1)</sup> سوندھوارہ

<sup>(3)</sup> یک نشان ازبتان عالم خان کمیدان

<sup>(4)</sup> محمد شاہ خان



AMEER KHAN SEPARATES FROM HOLKUR. 113

Deen. He then took his leave of the Muharaj, and went with the rest of his troops, by Shujaelpoor,<sup>(1)</sup> Shah-jehanpoor and Bhurseea,<sup>(2)</sup> levying contributions as he passed, to Seronj, where Yoosuf Khan had established himself as Amil on the Ameer's part. Raee Himmur Raee, on the strength of the friendship which had subsisted between him and the Ameer at Bhopal, was also employed in the management of this district, and a Sunud was given to him for the villages of Anundpoor and Mukroda,<sup>(3)</sup> in the Seronj Perguna, to be held by him and his descendants in full hereditary property. The Ameer had at this time seventy or eighty thousand horse in his train. With this force, marching from Seronj, he levied a contribution on Mulhargurh,<sup>(4)</sup> and thence moved to Itawa,<sup>(5)</sup> in Sagur, upon which he levied sixty thousand rupees, thence to Khimlasa,<sup>(6)</sup> which paid the same, and thence he advanced to within three kos of Sagur. He had scarcely taken up his ground when Ubhajee,<sup>(7)</sup> the Raja of the place, came out with eighteen thousand matchlock-men, four thousand Bundeelas, and three or four thousand horse, and met him on the line of march. The Ameer made a charge in person after his wont, and many of the enemy were put to the sword. Ubhajee was driven back, and slowly retired to the town of Sagur, seeking shelter behind its walls. The Ameer encamped a kos from the town, and employed himself for a week in opening trenches against the place from a point near the river side. One day, Khyr Mohummud Khan,<sup>(8)</sup>

(1) شجاع پور (2) شاہ جہانپور بہرہیا (3) انند پور مکروڈہ

(4) ملہار گڈہ (5) اتاؤہ علاقہ ساگر (6) کھملاسا

(7) ابھاجی راجہ (8) خیر محمد خان



with Nuzur Mohummud Khan,<sup>(1)</sup> and some other of the Ameer's men, to the number of about seventeen, left the trenches, and were amusing themselves in a garden a little to the left, when two hundred of the élite of the enemy's horse sallied out from their works, and attacked them. The Champions of the faith held out against these odds with great intrepidity, and drove back the enemy, distinguishing themselves much in the presence of both armies. The Ameer had been seven days employed on this siege, and was, in consequence of a boil, which troubled him, lying in his palkee in the trenches, when, on the eighth day, Ubhajee made a sally with his entire force, viz. four thousand Bundeelas, eighteen thousand matchlock-men, and eighteen guns, and attacked the batteries. The Ameer tying up his boil with a bit of cloth, mounted his horse immediately, and with about five hundred troopers, got round to the enemy's rear, and a large party having collected to oppose the sally in front, Ubhajee was completely defeated, and retreated into the fort, where he was close shut up. The besieging army, following up the victory, mastered the town, and gained there a large booty of jewels, rich stuffs, and other valuable articles, besides the enemy's guns and stores, which also fell into the Ameer's power. The booty was inestimable, so much so, that Ubhajee afterwards made out a list of his losses which he sent to the Peshwa, wherein he set down the plunder, taken on this occasion, at nine crore of rupees.

VERSE.

When Sagur was stormed, the Ameer decreed  
 The sack of the town as the soldier's meed,  
 All rushed to the city its wealth to win,  
 Not a house, nor a corner but they got in ;

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(<sup>1</sup>) نذر محمد خان



A FORCE ARRIVES FROM NAGPOOR. 115

They found there full many a hoard of gold,  
 And jewels, and rich stuffs, of price untold—  
 All, all were supplied to their hearts full lust,  
 Till gold in the market was cheap as dust—  
 Proud rode the Ameer, and his star shone bright,  
 When he took up in Sagur his quarters that night.

In short, having mastered the city, the Ameer caused a battery to be immediately raised within it against the fort, which still held out. Ubhajee was now disposed to submit, and terms were made with him for a prompt payment of two lakhs of rupees, and the trenches against the fort were accordingly broken up; but Gholamee Khan, who was the agent employed by the Ameer to negotiate with Ubhajee, brought intelligence that there was immense treasure buried in the fort. He accordingly told the Ameer that the sum demanded was inadequate, and advised breaking the engagement concluded, in order to get more. Unfortunately the lust of this treasure got the better of the Ameer's good faith, and cancelling the engagement he had already signed with Ubhajee, he recommenced operations for the siege of the fort. Ubhajee being reduced to extremity, applied to Rughoojee Ghosla, of Nagpoor, for succour, promising to surrender Choupura Gurh and Gurh Mundela<sup>(1)</sup> as the condition of relief. Rughoojee sent immediately a brigade under Benee Singh<sup>(2)</sup> Sirdar, with forty thousand horse, Arabs, Pindarees, and all included, and with a strong artillery, to relieve Ubhajee. The Afghans, in the Ameer's service, had raised a tumult in camp on the score of pay, and the Ameer, in consequence, had pitched his tents

(<sup>1</sup>) چوپورا گڑھ و گدھ مندلہ      (<sup>2</sup>) بینہی سنگھ

(<sup>2</sup>) This is the Chief who was slain in the storm of Gawelgurh, when taken by the Duke of Wellington in 1803.





away from their quarters, so that the siege of the fort was not pushed as it might have been. The Ameer, however, had written to Kurum Deen Khan to press the march of Muharaj Holkur to his succour from Soondhwara, where he still was, and Kurum Deen was on march along with the Muharaj, but they were not less than five or six stages distant, when the army of Rughoojee, of the strength mentioned, came up by forced marches and arrived in sight of Sagur. The Ameer now reflected that, if he were to engage these troops before the arrival of the Muharaj, the whole glory of victory would be his own—whereas, if he waited for the Muharaj, that Chief would have the credit of the battle. Influenced chiefly by this motive, he moved out to engage the Nagpoor troops as they came to their ground near Sagur. The Ameer had two thousand of his old Rohilla horse in the army brought by him to Sagur, and as many foot soldiers. In the attack he made on the enemy, on their approach to Sagur, these men behaved pretty well: about sixty of them stuck by him in his charge, and with these he rode home into the enemy's ranks, committing great slaughter. But while he was thus engaged, a battalion of the enemy drew up near the spot and delivered its fire on the Ameer's party, whereby several of the sixty men were killed or disabled. Only nine stuck by him after this, and he was surrounded on all sides. The fight grew so hot that the reins of the Ameer's charger were cut through, and the horse being very spirited, in one of his lunges when free from the control of the rein, threw the Ameer, and galloped back to the other troops, who seeing the horse without its rider, gave the Ameer over for lost, and took to flight. In the mean time the Ameer found himself only slightly wounded with a spear, but surrounded by the enemy. He re-mounted, however, on a trooper's





horse, but not feeling at home on a strange charger, he avoided close combat, and made the best of his way from the field. When well out of danger, it occurred to him that all this defeat and difficulty had come upon him as a just punishment for his bad faith to Ubhajee, in cancelling the agreement with him after it had been signed. Having got together about two or three hundred of his straggling horse, he enquired where the reserve and baggage were, and was told that the Suwars and Pindarees of the enemy had attacked and overpowered them; whereupon he immediately, with the men about him, rode after these miscreants, and made them desist from molesting his troops. He then turned against an advancing body of the enemy, who paying little attention to his party in consequence of their small number, or perhaps mistaking them for some of their own troops, were taken by surprise and overpowered. The Ameer exerted himself like an angry lion, and so riding up to his own artillery, which were in the enemy's power, he made a stand for their recovery. But as the artillery men were scattered over the field, and the means were not forthcoming to bring the guns away, he was compelled to retire, which he did to the banks of the Duhsan<sup>(1)</sup> river.

The Nagpoor army had no design of entering into battle with the Ameer, but on the contrary, Bence Singh's object was to mediate some adjustment with Ubhajee, therefore there was no occasion at all for the Ameer to have committed himself in this action. But such was the will of God, whose ways are inscrutable. The affair happened in the Hejira year 1214.<sup>(2)</sup>

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(<sup>1</sup>) دھان

(<sup>2</sup>) A. D. 1799.—5th June 1799 to 25th May 1800. The exact date of this battle is nowhere given.





Kurum Deen Khan, with Muharaj Holkur, had arrived at Seronj on their way to join the Ameer, when they heard of his defeat. The former came by forced marches with five thousand men, he had under his command, to succour him, and great was the Ameer's satisfaction at his arrival. He told his brother of the misbehaviour of the Afghans, particularly of Himmud Khan, <sup>(1)</sup> of Akbur Khan, <sup>(2)</sup> and some others, whereat Kurum Deen Khan's anger being excited, he mounted immediately, and attacked and drove the miscreants out of camp, pursuing them for ten or twelve kos, and destroying many. The Ameer was pleased at their punishment. In the mean time, Muharaj Holkur learning from general report how complete was the Ameer's defeat, and that his army was quite broken up, came to Seronj with the design of re-taking it into his own possession. The Ameer wrote to him, however, that although matters had gone hard with him, chiefly through the misconduct and treacherous behaviour of some of those whom he had trusted, yet he had escaped with life and was unhurt, and had thoroughly ascertained the strength of the enemy, so if the Muharaj was disposed to take his own revenge for what he had heretofore suffered at the hands of Rughoojee Ghoosla, the opportunity was still favorable. The Muharaj was not then inclined to the enterprise and kept aloof: The Ameer, accordingly, went to Seronj and had an interview with the Muharaj. There were at this time, with the Ameer, about ten or twelve thousand horse and foot, chiefly consisting of those who, having got rich upon the plunder of Sagur, had gone off, but having spent or deposited their booty, had since rejoined. The Muharaj breaking up from Seronj, went



HOLKUR'S PROCEEDINGS AND THE AMEER'S. 119

by Rutlam, Jhalwa, and Mundisor, (1) levying contributions on each place, and so came to Indor. It was at this time that Kashee Rao Holkur started from Poona for Kandes, (2) with one or two thousand horse and foot. Juswunt Rao, however, successfully tampered with his escort, and they thinking meanly of Kashee Rao, whereas Juswunt Rao had established a name for courage and enterprise, and seemed to them better fitted for high fortune and a more proper person, therefore, to be at the head of the Holkur family, seized the former and delivered him to Juswunt Rao, who kept him a close prisoner in the Fort of Galna. (3) The men he re-organized and entertained in his own service. The Ameer now marched from Seronj and laid siege to Jhansee. (4) But Bala Rao Ingolia came to its succour, and begged the Ameer, on the score of old friendship, not to molest the place. The Ameer said, he looked upon it as far from friendly in Bala Rao to interfere between him and a place, upon which he considered himself free to levy tribute. But he added, "Be it so this once! but not again," and so he separated from Bala Rao in friendship, and went to Nya Surree, (5) where he established a garrison, and then to Siperee Kolarus. (6) Ambajee Ingolia, Sindheea's officer, here met the Ameer, and settled amicably for the Holkur tribute due from the place; accordingly the Ameer returned to Seronj. The time of the Hoolee (7) now approached, and the Ameer, with his brother, Kurum Deen Khan, made an entertainment for its celebration. Many were the musicians of skill, and the dancing girls of sweet voices and witching grace, and women with

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(1) رتلام جھالوہ منڈیسور (2) خاندیس (3) گانہ  
 (4) جھانسی (5) سرای نو (6) سپیری کولارس (7) ہولی



Narcissus' eyes and tulip cheeks, who were collected on this occasion, and great was the revel, and the joy, and the delight of the guests.

[The English reader will pardon the omission in this place of a second string of twenty-eight verses in hyperbolical praise of the dancers and singers, and other delights of these revels.]

As the Ameer began to find, that his affairs could not be carried on without provision being made for fresh incomings beyond the fixed revenue of his immediate possessions, he moved from Seronj to Shujaelpoor, and surrounded the place. The men of his army, finding a way into the town, began crowding in, hot for plunder, when the Ameer sent Kurum Deen Khan, with a party, to assist in preventing a promiscuous pillage, and he was aiding the men of the town in barricading streets, and otherwise opposing the rabble, when a chance matchlock ball struck him in the breast, and this promising young man was killed upon the spot. The intelligence was brought forthwith to the Ameer, who was making his arrangements for besieging the fort; and deeming it unbecoming to allow his private feelings to get the better of the duty he had in hand, he first completed the investment, and compelled the fort to surrender. Then giving way to his grief, he performed his brother's funeral obsequies with all honor. The Ameer placing a garrison in Shujaelpoor, promoted Saleh Mohummud Khan, (1) his sister's son, to the rank and offices of Kurum Deen Khan, placing with him Mohummud Shah Khan, the deceased Khan's Toshukchee, (2) (Chamberlain,) who was disciplining and teaching drill to a corps recently raised

(2) ترشکچی

(1) صالح محمد خان





and attached to him. Mohummud Shah Khan finding Saleh Mohummud's temper difficult to manage, left him soon after, and coming back to the Ameer, remained in attendance on his person.

Muharaj Holkur having gone to Indor, was making arrangements for his marriage, of which the Ameer hearing, it seemed to him proper to send Raee Himmud Raee to be present on his part. The Raee accordingly went to Indor and waited on the Muharaj. It is the usual way of wilful fate to be always endeavouring to break the glass-ware friendships of ambitious men against the stones and stumbling blocks of discord; accordingly, the Muharaj, at this time, conceived a suspicion and hate to the Ameer, and began plotting to get rid of him by treachery. He was instigated and encouraged to this mainly by one Guja Koonwur, <sup>(1)</sup> son of the late Commandant of Shujaelpoor, who found refuge in his camp, and was much dissatisfied at the Ameer's having placed a garrison there to his family's exclusion. This man's words were as oil poured into the fire of the Muharaj's discontents, and converted his dislike into deadly hate. The Koonwur, one day, said to the Muharaj, in order to sow the seed of further mischief—"The Ameer is tampering with Kashee Rao Holkur, and has it in design to seize your person. Have you not observed that he disregards all your orders, and does all sorts of things injurious to your interests? At Shujaelpoor he committed great cruelties, and a number of lives were lost. It is a pity that, as you are the head of this state, and a Hindoo, such things should be done in your name." This kind of speeches set the

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(1) گجا کنور



Muharaj's jealousy in a flame against the Ameer. He asked Raee Himmur Raee whether the Ameer would come in person if invited. The Raee did not then know of the Muharaj's brooding discontents, so he answered with simplicity—"Why should he not come?" and the Muharaj, accordingly, forthwith dismissed him to bring the Ameer. The latter, upon receiving the invitation, lost no time in setting out with a small retinue of about one hundred men, leaving the rest of his army where it was. He was already on the road, when, before intelligence of his movement had reached the Muharaj, Guja Koonwur, who was become intimate, and was admitted to Juswunt Rao's debauches, said to him at a drinking party—"What makes you think the Ameer will come? See how he has already asserted his independence at Shujaelpoor." The Muharaj upon this, not using due discretion in his cups, ordered some of his officers to be ready to march to seize the Ameer, and to bring him by fair or by foul means to his presence. A force had moved for this purpose, and was in march the first stage from Indor, when the Ameer and his party fell in with it on their way thither. Hur Nath Chela, (1) who was in advance of the rest of the party, at the head of two or three thousand horse, coming up to the Ameer's Suwaree, made his Sulam to him. The Ameer asked what he was come for, and the Chela, who was a shrewd man, and saw at once that the Ameer knew nothing of the Muharaj's designs, answered promptly that he was come to give the Ameer the complimentary meeting (Istiqbal). In the midst of this, Sham Rao and Chimna Bhao, and some other officers of the Muharaj came up, and they made a similar reply to the Ameer's

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(1) ہرناتھ چیلہ





enquiry, and all turning round went back towards Indor with the Ameer's party. As they rode along the road, they began conversing with one another, saying—"Here the Muharaj has sent us with the worst designs against this man, and he quite unsuspecting places himself in our power—what are we to do?" The Ameer seeing them talking thus to one another in a mysterious manner, began to suspect something wrong, and besides it occurred to him, that so large a party would not have come out to meet him without a purpose. He then reflected that if he could get the Sirdars to mount elephants, and to go on before himself, he should have no fear of present treachery. Accordingly, he called up his Suwaree elephant, and making it to kneel, invited Sham Rao and Chimna Bhao to take seats in the houda, excusing himself by saying, it would be impossible for him to ride on the elephant while they were on horseback. Although they saw through the Ameer's purpose, yet as they did not wish their secret to transpire, they were obliged to yield to the Ameer's pressing entreaties. The Ameer then ordered his horsemen to keep close behind and on both sides of the elephant, and so the Suwaree proceeded till it arrived near Indore. When intelligence of the Ameer's approach was conveyed to the Muharaj he received it without a word, and though it was usual for him to come out two or three kos to meet the Ameer, he did nothing of the kind on this occasion. But when the Ameer's Suwaree arrived within a mile of the city, he came with great apparent indifference and greeted him coldly. The Ameer penetrated the mystery, but he spared none of the outward forms of cordiality, and enquired after the Muharaj's health with all earnestness. The people about Juswunt Rao said, that he was fatigued with sitting up the night before, and not in his usual





health and spirits. The Ameer, however, discovered from his style of address and manner, which were quite different from what they used to be, that he himself was no longer in favor. Truly, the heart is the mirror which reflects all objects. The Ameer after this, went one day to wait upon the Muharaj, and found Guja Koonwur sitting with him in earnest and close conversation. The Koonwur immediately began accusing the Ameer of cruelties committed at Shujaelpoor, and asked by what right he had done what he had done. The Ameer replied, "By the right of the sword, by which I took the town." That cursed one, whose heart was burning with envy and hate at the plunder of the place, drew a dagger from his belt, and cried, "And I am one who can apply the knife to the throat of the villain who does so." The Ameer was in great wrath at being so spoken to, and wished to revenge the insult by dispatching Guja Koonwur on the spot, but the Holkur officers interfered and prevented bloodshed. Sham Rao Maree who alone of that knot of foolish men, possessed sense and judgment, reproved the Muharaj in open Durbar, for allowing and countenancing such an outrage, and taking the cursed Koonwur by the hand, led him out, saying, "You are bent on the ruin of this house, which to you will involve no loss." Then turning to the Ameer, he said, "Your passion is now up, you had better retire for a while." Whereupon, the Ameer rose and left the Durbar. The Muharaj yielding to Sham Rao Maree, made apologies to the Ameer, but still there was discord and a bad feeling between the two Chiefs, and the Ameer retired to his quarters, keeping aloof from the Durbar, whereupon the Muharaj sent too brigades to pitch their tents close to him, being bent apparently on getting rid of him by some treachery. The Ameer, after four or five days, reflected that nothing





but evil could come of his remaining on such terms with the Muharaj, and that if their ill-will were once to break out into flame, the extinguishing of it would be difficult, if not impossible: therefore, that it would be better to make advances towards a reconciliation, and so restore the old cordiality which subsisted, if it could be brought about, and if not, that he should keep aloof for a time. Keeping his motives to himself, he went alone one day and asked for an audience of the Muharaj. The people in attendance reported his coming, when the Muharaj asked, "What can he have come for?" They replied, "He is quite alone;" whereupon the Muharaj gave order for his admission. The Ameer said his purpose required privacy. The Muharaj ordered every body away. When the room was cleared, the Ameer taking hold of the Muharaj by the waistband, with his left hand drew a kutar or dagger, which he had by him concealed for the purpose, and presenting it said, "Settle at once your heart's purpose against me. If you think your fortunes will be benefitted by killing me, do it now! there is nothing to prevent you—on the contrary I solicit death at your hands. If men envious of me, have urged you to pursue this line towards me, see here is my life at your service." The Muharaj made apologies for his conduct and dismissed his suspicions, and the old cordiality was restored between him and the Ameer, and they met as before—to the shame, disgrace, and vexation of the cursed meddler who had sowed the seeds of this mischief. Every thing being thus adjusted, the Ameer, after a few days, returned to his own army, leaving the Muharaj at Indore. This happened in the Hejira year 1216. (1)

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(1) This date must be an error for 1215, or probably 1214.—The events related occurred all in 1799 and 1800—whereas the Hejira year 1216 commenced on the 14th May 1801, and ended on the 3d May 1802.





## BOOK THE THIRD.

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### CHAPTER IV.

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A. D. 1800.

*Mahajee Sindheea's family dissatisfied with Doulut Rao—come to Oojein, and are circumvented and plundered by Muharaj Holkur—they join Lukhwa Dada at Cheetoor, who defeats the Ameer's army while he is away—Lukhwa is in return driven into Shujaelpoor by the Holkur forces—joined by Ambajee—He escapes and flies to Dutteea—the further pursuit of him given up.*

THE Baees of Mahajee Sindheea, <sup>(1)</sup> that is, his wives and concubines, quarrelling with Doulut Rao, left Poona, and came about this time, attended by twenty-five thousand horse and foot, to Oojein. Muharaj Holkur looked upon this as a God-send, and immediately opened a friendly

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(<sup>1</sup>) بائيان مہاجی سندھیہ

(<sup>1</sup>) From the time of Doulut Rao Sindheea's accession, he was opposed by Mahajee's three widows, supported by Baloba Tanteea, a confidential Minister of the deceased Chief. This man was a Shenwe Brahmin, of the same caste as Lukhwa Dada, to whose rise he had been mainly instrumental. Doulut Rao early threw himself into the hands of Surjee Rao Ghatkia, whose daughter he afterwards married, and by his means



MAHAJEE SINDHEEA'S WIDOWS CIRCUMVENTED. 127

correspondence with them. Dissembling his purposes he came to Oojein, and encamping close to them had an interview, in which he said, that the seizing of Doulut Rao would answer no purpose of his, but he would do it out of regard for them, and that the supremacy of the Sindheea family might pass into their hands. That it was great presumption in Doulut Rao to act independent of them, and so with words to the same effect he brought the Baees to look upon him as their staunch friend and associate. The Muharaj had but a small body of troops with him, whereas the Baees' escort was strong. He could not venture, therefore, openly upon any thing to their prejudice. He accordingly wrote to the Ameer to join instantly, as he had a plan to consult him upon. Doulut Rao Sindheea had then recently written to the Muharaj, warning him against having any communication with the Baees; to which the Muharaj wrote in reply, that if Doulut Rao wished it, he would secure all their persons and send them back to him, or settle their business in any other way he desired. In the mean time he had brought the Baees to believe him so wholly of their party, that they had not the slightest suspicion of his designs. Oh, God! Oh, God! that the world should so

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the party of the Brahmins was broken, and most of those who held offices, were dismissed. They made head, however, in the Dukhun, and there was much mutual violence, until Surjee Rao Ghatkia being removed and placed under restraint, a reconciliation took place. In January 1800, Surjee Rao being set at liberty by the advice of Baloba, who had been restored to power, intrigued again for the ruin of the Brahmins, and seizing Baloba, imprisoned him at Ahmednugur, where he died. His brother was blown from a cannon, and Nurayun Rao Bakhshree, of the same caste and party, was fastened to rockets and sent into the air. These violent proceedings added to the measures taken about the same time against the adherents of Nanha Phurnuvees, who was also a Brahmin, raised a strong party against Doulut Rao, and the Baees heading it retired from the Dukhun to Oojein. Of the Baees, Lukhshmee Baees was the eldest, and principal widow of Mahajee. The youngest, Bbugeeruthee Baees, who was very handsome, was accused at one time of intriguing with Doulut Rao.



teem with deceit and treachery; and that men, for the sake of the enjoyments of a few short days, for such is the limit of their span of life, should commit frauds and crimes to the loss of their good name for evermore, especially persons of rank, and men of distinction and high place in the world—to see such men practising dissimulation and meanness!! Had they in their hearts but a tenth decimal of the piety, and fear of God, and regard for their future state, which they ought to have, what blessings and bounties might they not expect from his Providence and invisible workings in their behalf, which, notwithstanding all their wickednesses, are even now so signally displayed in their favor! But, as are men's dispositions, so will their actions be.

The Ameer hastened to Oojein<sup>(1)</sup> upon receiving the Muharaj's summons: but the latter, doubting whether the Ameer might not thwart his views, determined to settle the affair with the Baees before he arrived. Accordingly, on the night of the very day before he was to reach Oojein, the Muharaj, without warning given, and while all were in profound sleep and supposed security, opened his artillery suddenly on the Baees' camp, and in the confusion which ensued during the dark, wherein friend was not distinguishable from foe, the troops which composed their escort were overpowered and dispersed. The Baees mounting horses, went off with a few attendants, and sought refuge with Lukhwa Dada, a Sardar of Sindheea's, who was at the time at Jawudh,<sup>(2)</sup> administering that country for Dowlut Rao. The Muharaj got possession of the Baees' Toshuk-khana,<sup>(3)</sup> and of jewels of

(3) توشکخانه

(2) جاودہ

(1) اوچین





immense value, besides all the artillery and stores of their camp. He also invested Oojein, and levied a contribution from it. In the very midst of all this, the Ameer arrived at Oojein, and waited on the Muharaj, and complimented him on the courage and skill which had achieved so vast a conquest from helpless women. The Muharaj feeling the sarcasm, let his head sink upon his chest, and made no reply. In the mean time, the Baees had induced Lukhwa Dada to take up their cause, and that Surdar placing them for security in Cheetor, <sup>(1)</sup> marched by the route of Sondhwara towards Shujaelpoor. The Ameer's army was at the time at Shahjehanpoor, not far from thence, under the temporary command of Gholamee Khan, whom the Ameer had left in charge, while he hastened over to Oojein upon the Muharaj's summons. There was thus no efficient officer present, and Lakhwa Dada deeming the opportunity favorable, attacked the troops, and threw them into confusion, without experiencing any resistance. He thus took the guns and baggage of the Ameer. It so happened, that the Ameer dreamed that very night that his army had met with some disaster. In the morning, therefore, he took a hasty leave of the Muharaj, who asked the cause of his hurry: The Ameer told his dream, whereupon the Muharaj said, "You must have attained the state of the holy men of older days to tell me this." The Ameer replied, "Although no one can pretend to a knowledge of futurity, still, when a man is peculiarly favored by Providence, it frequently happens that things are revealed to him by dreams. I have myself had frequent experience of this."





The Muharaj made no further answer, and in the course of the day, the Ameer starting from Oojein, came to Tirana, (1) and in the morning heard there of the defeat of his troops by Lukhwa Dada. Continuing his advance, he fell in with the stragglers, and asked the particulars of the action; which gathering from them as well as he could, he went on towards the enemy, until upon the road he met a party of his own special horse, flying sorely dispirited and pursued by a party of the enemy. The Ameer charged the pursuers immediately with the men about him, and stopped the pursuit: putting the enemy to flight, he followed them for five kos, until he recovered his own guns, which had been left in their hands, and then encamped on the bank of a river close by. From hence he wrote to the Muharaj for succour, saying, he had frequently helped the Muharaj in his difficulties, and now hoped for a return. The Muharaj marched immediately to his aid from Oojein. Ambajee Ingolia also co-operated, acting under the orders he had before received from Doulut Rao Sindheea to seize Lukhwa Dada whenever he could lay hands upon him. Lukhwa Dada was at this time at Shahjehanpoor—thither the Ameer, with the Muharaj and Ambajee, proceeded, and, surrounding the place, Lukhwa was soon reduced to extremity. He however, had made his peace privately with the Ameer, promising that if an opening for escape were left him, he would in future act in concert with him in all matters when required. To this effect, a regular engagement was ultimately entered into on both sides. The Ameer having yielded to his conditions, mentioned them to the Muharaj, with whose assent the arrangement was concluded. Lukhwa



Dada, therefore, being thus assured, came out of the town one night and went off to Kheecheewara. (1) The Muharaj, to save appearances with Ambajee, whom he was watching an opportunity to seize, though outwardly treating as a friend, sent the Ameer along with him in pursuit of Lukhwa Dada, while he remained himself at Shahjehanpoor. The Ameer, with Ambajee, came to Rajgurh, (2) in Oomutwara, and having no real wish to sieze or distress Lukhwa Dada, made no great haste in the pursuit. The Muharaj wrote to him to go no further, but to contrive to get Ambajee into his power, but the Ameer liked not the scheme. Reflecting, however, that if he continued in company with Ambajee, the Muharaj might conceive suspicions, he suggested to that officer that it might be as well for him to march a stage or two in advance or in rear. Ambajee, who was not wanting in acuteness, saw through the proposition and acted accordingly, keeping out of the Ameer's way: the Ameer then marched to Patun, (3) where he was joined by the Muharaj. Lukhwa Dada went to Tomya Bichhar, (4) and was joined by Raja Jysingh and Doorjun Sal, Keechhees, and so reinforced, he suddenly surrounded Bala Rao Ingliha, whom he reduced to great straits. In the mean time, the Muharaj and the Ameer moved from Patun to Raghoogurh. (5) Dowlut Rao Sindheea, however, ordered Monsieur Perron from Hindoostan, against Lukhwa Dada. The latter, therefore, making a hasty composition with Bala Rao, went to the fort of Seonda, near Dutteea, (6) in Bundelkhund, where he was well

(1) کہسپی وارہ (2) راجگڈہ علاقہ اوست وارہ (3) پاتن

(4) تومین بچہار (5) راجگڈہ (6) سیوندہ دتیا





## 132 FLIES TO DUTTEA—THE AMEER'S PROCEEDINGS.

received by the Chief, Raja Chhutor Sal. Upon this, Mons. Perron on one side, and Ambajee and Bala Rao on the other, went against Seonda, and laid siege to it. Raja Chhutor Sal, of Dutteea, was killed, and Lukhwa himself wounded in the defence of this place, and the latter retired to Dutteea which was deemed too strong to be attacked, so the armies of Sindheea returned to their cantonments.

The Muharaj and the Ameer, in the mean time, marching from Raghoogurh came by the route of Seronj to Mulhargurh, where levying tribute upon several dependencies of Sagur, they were attending to their own affairs, when Close, a Furingee<sup>(1)</sup> in Sindheea's service, commanding a brigade, came to Seronj, and encamped there. The Amil, on the part of the Ameer, being alarmed, wrote to the Ameer, complaining of excesses committed by this brigade. On hearing of it, the Ameer taking leave of the Muharaj was proceeding to Seronj, when he heard that the Furingee had gone off to Aroun,<sup>(2)</sup> whereupon he rejoined the camp of the Muharaj. The joint army was now again too large to be subsisted at one place. The Muharaj accordingly proposed, that he should cross over into Soondhwara, while the Ameer proceeded against Sagur. The Ameer approved the plan, and acted accordingly. From Sagur he made the demand of tribute, and reduced Ubhajee to straights, so as to induce him a second time to apply to Rughoojee

(<sup>1</sup>) كلوس صاحب فرنگي

(<sup>1</sup>) The Translator has failed in every endeavour to trace the proper name of this officer.

(<sup>2</sup>) ارون





## DEFEATS A FORCE FROM NAGPOOR. 133

Ghoosla for succour, and to urge that it should be sent with all haste. Raja Rughoojee, of Nagpoor, ordered a brigade to march immediately, but the Ameer hearing of its approach, moved to Deoree Koorchhamur, <sup>(1)</sup> in Bundelkhund, and there an action ensued, in which he gained a complete victory over the Ghoosla army, but as night came on, its retreat was not much molested. Thence the Ameer retired to his own cantonment (at Seronj,) and staid there some days.

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(1) دیوری کورچھامر

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## BOOK THE FOURTH.

WAR BETWEEN HOLKUR AND SINDHEEA—OPERATIONS IN HINDOOSTAN AND THE DUKHUN, TO THE TAKING OF POONA BY JUSWUNT RAO.

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### CHAPTER I.

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A. D. 1801.

*Doulut Rao sends an army against Holkur under command of Bulwunt Rao Batkura and Major George Hessing—It is defeated.*

WHEN Doulut Rao Sindheea heard of the treatment the Baces had experienced at the hands of Juswunt Rao Holkur, he dispatched the brigade of (Jorus Saheb Furingee,) <sup>(1)</sup> Major George Hessing, with twenty thousand horse and Pindarees, the whole under the command of Bulwunt Rao Batkura, <sup>(2)</sup> to punish the Muharaj.

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<sup>(1)</sup> Jorus Saheb is a corruption of George Saheb—Major G. Hessing was at this time in command of his father Colonel John Hessing's brigade. The Major is the same officer who was in command of Agra when taken by Lord Lake, and who died not very long ago at Calcutta.

<sup>(2)</sup> بلونت راو باتکرہ





This general arrived, without a halt, at Oojein, when the Muharaj was in Soondhwara making collections. The latter looking upon his force to be insufficient to meet the enemy in the field, marched from thence to Hooree, <sup>(1)</sup> a dependancy of Oojein, which is one stage from Hindia, and there falling in with two battalions which were in march to reinforce Batkura, he overpowered them, and being elated with the success, wrote to the Ameer to say, that if he did not desire to join, victory was not dependent on his presence. Doulut Rao himself came up at this period to Hindia, on the south bank of the Nurbuda, and began making arrangements to cross a heavy train of artillery which he had brought with him. The train had passed, when the Muharaj hearing of it made an attempt to carry it, and an action <sup>(2)</sup> ensued, but upon chain shot being fired from the heavy guns, which cut to pieces whole files at once of the Muharaj's troops, they hesitated to face them, and were defeated. Juswunt Rao upon this failure, retired to Indor, and wrote with all urgency to beg the Ameer to join, in order that he might be strong enough to meet Batkura. The Ameer, though he had taken a little offence at the Muharaj's first letter, still seeing that the good of the cause required that Batkura should be opposed and put down, and thinking it would have a bad appearance if he kept out of the battle, commenced his march from Shujaelpoor, and leaving his rear guard and stores at Tirana on the road, brought up a light force to join in the operations against Batkura. He commenced an attack immediately upon

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(<sup>1</sup>) هوري

(<sup>2</sup>) Near Sutwas, above the Ghats, into Malwa. Captain Brownrigg commanded Sindheea's troops, and defended himself ably in a strong position. The affair occurred in June 1801.





his arrival, being determined to show an example of promptitude and intrepidity by being before-hand with the Muharaj. He accordingly surrounded and skirmished with the enemy from morning till evening, and as it grew dark, retired again to Tirana, where his rear guard and baggage had remained. Bulwunt Rao Batkura and Major G. Hissing taking alarm at this boldness of the Ameer, retired towards Oojein, and took shelter under the walls of that town. The Muharaj, who was at the distance of one march only from the field, and heard the cannonade, asked what the firing could mean, and was told, it was the Ameer engaged with Batkura—at hearing which, he was highly delighted, and came by a forced march to join him.

The Muharaj had at this time two brigades with him, one, called the Bheelun<sup>(1)</sup> Kumpoo, and the other, the Muharaj Kumpoo; of these and of the horse he made an equal division, and put the Bheelun brigade, with half the horse, under the Ameer's command, while he kept the rest under his own. The two divisions then invested Oojein, and reduced Batkura to great straightness.<sup>(2)</sup> An action at last took place between the Bheelun brigade, which was with the Ameer's division, and the enemy's brigade, and the latter were getting the better, when the Commandant of the brigade came in all agitation and haste to beg succour of the Ameer, who, advancing with the men about him, charged home upon the enemy, and broke his ranks with some slaughter. A number, however, of the Ameer's horse fearing for the discharge of the enemy's artillery and musquetry, edged off and kept

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(2) A. D. 1801, July.

(1) بھیلن کھپو





aloof, and hence some confusion ensued; in consequence of which the Ameer thought it expedient to retire from the fight and move towards these men. The Muharaj's troops, who were standing at a little distance, seeing this, betook themselves to flight, thinking the Ameer's men were the enemy. The Muharaj, however, recognizing the Ameer's standards, rallied his men, by telling them the body they feared was the Ameer. They were thus brought up again, and the Muharaj having concerted a plan of attack with the Ameer, the latter went back to his own ground and exhorted his men not to fail him in a second charge, which it was proposed to make simultaneously from both sides. At this time the shot came pouring like hail, nevertheless the Ameer made repeated charges, till at last the enemy's ranks were pierced, and the work of the sword and spear commenced with great slaughter of the fugitives. In the mean time, the Muharaj had charged on his side, and the conflict was equally hot there, the men being engaged in close combat, showed examples of bravery, which reminded the beholders of the battles of Roostum and Asfendiar. The enemy at last were driven to think themselves fortunate if they could escape with life.

## VERSE.

The Chiefs have advanced to the thick of the fight,  
The Ameer to the left, Juswunt Rao to the right—  
Now, Holkur, the lion, most forward appears,  
But look at that charge—'tis the gallant Ameer's.  
See the former has drawn forth his falchion of trust,  
And many brave soldiers have bitten the dust;  
Look again to the other side, there the Ameer  
Deals death to the foe with his unerring spear;  
Both rivals in courage and rivals in fame,  
With sword or with spear the result is the same.





The ranks that vowed vengeance are scattered, dispersed—  
Hope flies from the foe and his taunt is reversed ;  
Pell-mell, helter-skelter, they run from the field,  
To their fate even Hessing and Batkura yield—  
Thus defeat fell on Doulut Rao's army so proud,  
And the Victors their Pæans in triumph sang loud—  
Great the booty that fell to the conquering host,  
Chiefs! divide ye the glory, enough is the boast.

In short, Batkura and Major G. Hessing were so utterly defeated, as to fly with four or five horsemen only in attendance on them, and so concealed themselves within the walls of Oojein, which being close by, afforded refuge. The Muharaj and the Ameer took their guns, baggage, and an immense booty in stores, horses, elephants, kettle-drums, standards, &c. They then levied a contribution on Oojein. <sup>(1)</sup> There were near two hundred Europeans of Major Hessing's brigade killed in this action, with numberless sepoy, &c. besides the Suwars of Batkura. The two victorious Chiefs remained some time in that neighbourhood. The battle, above related, was fought in the Hejira year 1217. <sup>(2)</sup>

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<sup>(1)</sup> There were sixteen European Officers killed in this action, and seven more were beheaded after surrender. Including all classes of Christians, the number slain, may have been nearly as stated in the text.

<sup>(2)</sup> A. D. 1802, 4th May to 1803, 22d April, which is another error of date—for the battle was fought in July 1801, that is, in A. H. 1216.

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## BOOK THE FOURTH.

### CHAPTER II.

A. D. 1801.

*Doulut Rao Sindheea detaches a large force under Surjee Rao Ghatkia and Sudasheeo Rao against Muharaj Holkur—Battle of Indor—Muharaj Holkur defeated.*

**B**ULWUNT Rao Batkura and Major George Hessing being thus shamefully defeated, betook themselves to the Dukhun, and there reported to Doulut Rao Sindheea their own mishap, and the loss of Oojein.<sup>(1)</sup> Doulut Rao writhed in an agony of vexation and rage at hearing of this disaster, and marching with all haste from the Dukhun, encamped on the southern bank of the Nurbuda river, and detached thence, against Holkur, a force under Surjee Rao Ghatkia<sup>(2)</sup> and Suda Sheeo Rao,<sup>(3)</sup> consisting of the brigades of Burandee Saheb,<sup>(4)</sup> (Major Brownrigg) Sutluj Saheb, (Major Sutherland) and of

(1) Bulwunt Rao may have gone to the Dukhun, but Major Hessing came to Agra, and was seen there by Sir Charles Metcalfe in February or March 1802.

(2) سرچی راو گھاتکیہ (3) سدا شیوراو

(4) Burandee Saheb is Major Brownrigg, who took service afterwards with the English, and was killed in Hurreeanah towards the end of 1803. Sutlej Sahib is Colonel Sutherland, who was broken by M. Peron, and died at Muthra. Michael Feloze's son is the present Jean Baptiste Feloze.



140 FRESH TROOPS SENT AGAINST HOLKUR.

Michael Feloze's son, with a battering train, also his own Rusalas of Cavalry, and Kureem Khan's<sup>(1)</sup> and Cheetoo Khan's<sup>(2)</sup> Pindaras, making all together, Mahrattas and Hindoostanees, horse and foot, not less than fifty or sixty thousand men. The two generals crossing the Nurbuda, advanced upon Oojein. Hearing of their approach, the Muharaj, by the Ameer's advice, marched to Indor with both his brigades and the reserves of both armies, that is, of his own and of the Ameer's; and he sent forward the Ameer with fifteen thousand elite of the horse, mostly in mail, to meet and harass the enemy, while he remained himself at Oojein with twenty thousand horse ready for light service, and to act as circumstances might suggest. The Ameer falling in with the enemy, kept him in play, and harassed his line of march for an entire week, but seeing his own great inferiority in numbers, he wrote at last to the Muharaj, that as the enemy was in great strength, it was adviseable he should bring up his troops also, when, having effected a junction, he hoped they might obtain some great advantage.

The Muharaj immediately broke ground, and, joining the Ameer, surrounded the enemy for five days, reducing Sindheea's army to great distress, so much so, that in the course of that time they only made an advance of ten kos. On the sixth day, the Muharaj and the Ameer made an attack on Suda Sheeo Rao, but Surjee Rao moved up all the brigades to his support, and thus brought on a general action. It so happened, that in consequence of there being some Juwar<sup>(3)</sup> and other fields between

(<sup>1</sup>) کریم خان      (<sup>2</sup>) چیتو خان

(<sup>3</sup>) جوار A grain (Holeus Sorzum,) that grows like Indian Corn, and to the same height.





the Ameer and the Muharaj, the ground over which the action spread extended to a distance of three kos, and the Ameer and the Muharaj were engaged at the extremities of this space out of sight of one another, so that there was a want of proper concert between them.

The Muharaj led a charge, which brought him directly upon the enemy, but the Ameer had no knowledge of it, and Surjee Rao accordingly drove him back with loss, taking some of his guns. The Ameer no sooner heard of the misadventure, than he hastened to the quarter and recovered the lost guns, but felt much vexation that the attack had been made without letting him know of the intention, for, with proper concert, by God's help, the enemy must have been extinguished like a lamp that has burnt out its oil. This will be quite manifest, when it is considered that, although the enemy were strong in cavalry at the point, yet their horse were only Pindaras, who make no stand in close fight, and hold it no disgrace to throw away their shields and fly from the field. Whereas the Ameer had his body of Afghans of the same tribe with himself, tried men, desperate in fight, who always behaved well, and with a high sense of the necessity of maintaining the honor of the Afghan name.

After the above affair, the skirmishing and harassing system was continued for five more days. On the sixth, the Muharaj and Ameer adopted the following plan:—Sending off their baggage and reserves to the further side of Indor, so as to be well in their rear, they placed the city between them and the enemy, and took post behind a deep ditch or nulla, which is to the north of it. The guns were placed in battery at a point which covered the ditch in question, and the Muharaj took post immediately





## 142 JUSWUNT RAO MAKES A STAND AT INDOR.

behind them, while the Ameer, with his fifteen thousand horse, threatened the enemy's rear from a point about three kos off from the Muharaj's station.

Major Brownrigg, who commanded Sindheea's brigades, seeing this disposition, went to Surjee Rao, and undertook to secure a victory if he would answer for watching and keeping in play the Ameer. The guns, he said, he would certainly capture on that condition, but as the Ameer's cavalry were difficult to handle, and it was essential that he should not interfere with the battle in front, he advised that all the horse not required for his own attack, should be turned against him. Surjee Rao approved this plan, and directed Major Brownrigg, with two brigades and two thousand horse, against Juswunt Rao and the artillery, while he turned the rest of the army, consisting of two brigades of infantry, with all the cavalry and Pindaras, the Jinsee, or train, &c. under his own immediate command, against the Ameer. From morning to three or four P. M., the fire of artillery and musquetry continued on both sides. As the Muharaj and the Ameer had no knowledge of the enemy's plan of battle, the Ameer sent to solicit aid from the Muharaj, fearing to be overpowered, and he, leaving Hurnath Chela, Chimna Bhao, and Sham Rao Maree, <sup>(1)</sup> to support the artillery, came himself round with a large body of horse to join the Ameer. Major Brownrigg no sooner heard that the Muharaj had left the post he was attacking, in order to join the Ameer, and that there was nobody of any experience or credit to oppose him, than he made a charge of both horse and foot with all haste upon the battery where

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(1) Sir J. Malcolm calls this Chief Sham Rao Madik, but the name is always written Maree ماري in these Memoirs.





all the guns were posted. The enemy were evidently gaining advantage, in that part of the field, over Holkur's troops, when the Muharaj called to the Ameer, to make haste and protect the guns, while he staid to maintain the fight where he was. The Ameer went with a loose rein, but as it was a distance of three or four kos that he had to ride, he out-stripped his main body and arrived at the point with only three hundred horse. Surjee Rao seeing his opportunity in the movement of the Ameer, attacked the Muharaj and gained the victory over him, continuing the pursuit to the further side of the town of Indor, where was the Muharaj's reserve and baggage. In the mean time, the enemy's brigades having crossed the ditch or river, had already taken the guns in their position; when the Ameer arrived at a gallop on the bank. He immediately determined to cross, in order to annihilate the assailants. They opened upon him, however, with grape and round shot, before he was well over, and the shot fell about him like the rain of the day of judgment, and by an unfortunate accident, the Ameer's horse, named Burchhee Buhadoor<sup>(1)</sup> was killed on the spot. The Ameer's nephew, Saleh Mohummud Khan, dismounted immediately, and gave up his horse to the Ameer, and getting another from a common trooper, mounted again by his side; but from the loss of time, in consequence of this accident, and from the Ameer's men supposing, when his horse fell, that it was all over with their General, they had, for the most part, taken to flight. The Ameer, however, continued the fight with the companions still about him, and recovered thirty-five of the Muharaj's guns, of which the enemy had made themselves masters.

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(1) برجہی بہادر



The battle <sup>(1)</sup> continued till two hours of the night had passed, (about seven or eight P. M.) when seeing nothing further to be gained, the Ameer retired towards the camp and rear guard. The Muharaj was doing the same thing when the two Chiefs met, and the Muharaj said—"If such be the will of God, there is no help! but we require now the aid of the Almighty. Let us look out for ground on which to encamp for the night." About this time it was reported that there was a considerable body of the enemy following the Ameer's men, and close at hand. The Ameer could not bring himself to fly before them, so he turned upon the enemy and staid their pursuit, making many of them provender to the sword of his revenge. In the course of the night, the two Chiefs arrived at Jam-gaon, <sup>(2)</sup> which is one stage from Indor, and there encamped. For a week, the defeated armies remained there.

One night, the Ameer went over to the Muharaj, and found him in loud and bitter lamentation. The Ameer asked, why he thus grieved, when the Muharaj replied, that so long as Sindheea was with his army in the Dukhun, his own troops had the ascendancy in Malwa, and supported themselves without difficulty, but he could now see no chance of keeping them together, for he had nothing in his treasury wherewith to pay them, while from inferiority of number and equipment, they were evidently unequal to cope with the enemy. The Ameer said,

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<sup>(1)</sup> This battle was fought on the 14th October 1801. On the side of Sindheea, there were fourteen of DeBoigne's regular battalions present. Jusuunt Rao Holkur's Infantry was very inferior, and the loss of the day was ascribed to this cause. The defeat was complete, and if properly followed up, would have been fatal to the Holkur cause.





"Trouble not yourself about this matter, I will find a remedy. Pray only that the great God may open upon us the gates of his bountiful mercy." The Mubharaj asked how this was to be brought about. The Ameer said, "I recommend our immediately marching from this place, and levying contributions for our support, avoiding for a time any action with the enemy." The Mubharaj said, "How can we move a mile without money?" The Ameer thereupon rose and went over to his own camp, and called there a council of all his officers and Sirdars, and thus addressed them: "Let every one who studies his own ease, at the sacrifice of that of his family and children hereafter, take his discharge immediately. On the other hand, those who are prepared for harrassing duty by night and day, for wandering over deserts, and scaling mountains in search of high fortune, let such follow me." All replied immediately-- "If our heads were this instant to be severed from our bodies, we would not consent to leave your service." An agreement was accordingly entered into on the spot, and the whole party knelt in earnest prayer for success to their future enterprises.

The Ameer having thus assured himself of the disposition of his own men, returned to the Mubharaj, and stated that he had quite satisfied his people, and if the Mubharaj would send for the influential men of his army, and ascertain their dispositions also, it would be well.

Accordingly, the Mubharaj called a meeting of them, and asked what was their feeling as to a continuance in his service. Some of them at first, disguising their sentiments very imperfectly, talked in such a manner as to show their inclination to be for abandoning the service;





but on further consideration, through the Ameer's persuasion, and upon being assured that the Afghans would be true to the cause, which was a great source of confidence to them, all were brought to profess a seeming acquiescence.

Accordingly, next day, the Muharaj and the Ameer both moved towards Rutlam and encamped, but their followers were comparatively few, and the desertions were great, and many never moved from the old ground. The Ameer then hit upon this expedient to bring up those who hung back. He paid a rupee round to every Suwar present, and gave out that this was to be the daily pay of every horseman who might choose to continue in the service, and that it would be paid daily in cash. After the second day's march he made a similar issue to all present, seeing which, all those who remained at the ground about Jam, came on and joined. The Ameer then went to the Muharaj and said—"I have no more money left for distribution. Do you now come forward with some aid to the cause." The Muharaj, accordingly, for that day, issued the daily pay to the men of both armies. On the next day, again marching, the armies made themselves master of a place belonging to Sindheea, which was full of valuable property, so that a large booty was obtained. The fame of this brought in a great number of stragglers who were hovering about, and began to see that plenty and wealth were still within reach under the old standard. Accordingly, from this time forward, the army appeared in the field as respectable in number as ever.

Again marching, a contribution was levied on a place belonging to the Dhar Chief, and then the army being sufficiently recruited, attacked and carried Rutlam, which



belonged to Sindheea, and pillaged it. Here a very large booty in money and stuffs, and likewise a store of cloves, cardamums, sugar, &c. fell to the people of the two camps, so that all were provided to their heart's content. The army then moved upon Jawudh<sup>(1)</sup> in Malwa, near Neemuch,<sup>(2)</sup> and here it was that the brigade of the Chevalier Dudrenec (Hujur Beg.) joined. It had been on march from Muheshur to Tonk Rampoorra, in order to attach itself to the force of Monsieur Perron, but was brought back to join the Muharaj by the agency of Sham Rao Maree, a servant of Holkur's, who had been detached to Kota, and there tampered with the men. The Chevalier himself separated from them, staying where he was. The Muharaj, and the Ameer, having thus recruited their forces and fortunes, returned to Indor, and the Muharaj consulted with the Ameer as to their future proceedings, for he was convinced that something must be done, inasmuch as it was impossible to remain where they were, and support their army in the vicinity of Sindheea's superior force.

It was resolved, that the two brigades of infantry, with a body of cavalry, should be left at Indor, and that the Muharaj and Ameer should move on Muheshur, the latter taking with him five hundred picked men, and that endeavour should be made to raise funds in that neighbourhood. This plan was accordingly adopted. Doulut Rao Sindheea, however, hearing of these proceedings, sent Kureem Khan and Cheetoo Khan, with other Pindaras, to attack the troops of the Muharaj and Ameer. They surrounded Indor, and reduced the brigades left there to



some straight, for both the leaders of credit, that is, the Muharaj and the Ameer being away, there was nobody left fit to command. The Indor army accordingly being hard pushed, retired to the Simrorghat, (1) which affording a strong position, it encamped, deeming the ghats and ravines a protection. The Pindaras, however, coming upon these troops, again harassed and got the better of them, when, upon the intelligence reaching the Muharaj's ears, he detached the Ameer to their succour. The Ameer took with him from Muheshur one hundred of his own horse and about two thousand of the men of his reserve, and went towards the detachment that was in jeopardy. The Pindaras came out against him and attacked him on the line of march, surrounding his party on all sides. The Ameer threw his rear guard and baggage into a village close by, and went boldly out with his horse to meet the enemy, crossing a rivulet for the purpose. The Pindaras had laid an ambuscade, and came suddenly from their cover to a close charge. The Ameer seeing the preparation for this, called out—"Let no one fire his matchlock till I give the word, and when the enemy is quite close, and I do give it, let all fire and charge together, and the result must be fatal." The men did as ordered, some of them putting two or three bullets into their matchlocks, and so waited till the enemy arrived quite close to their position. The Ameer then gave the word to fire and the effect fully answered his expectation. A great number of men were at once put hors de combat, and the Pindaras losing heart, gave up their design of attacking the Ameer's party, and retired. Their retreat was soon converted into flight, and the Ameer then joined

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(1) گھاٹہ سمروڑ



the Muharaj's troops who had been hemmed in and surrounded by the Pindaras, and carried them back to Indor, where they were soon joined by the Muharaj himself. All the infantry, viz. both brigades, then took the route to Kandes, <sup>(1)</sup> the rear guard and baggage being left at Muheshur, while the Muharaj and the Ameer, with Imaum Buksh and Kader Buksh, <sup>(2)</sup> Pindaras, and other Suwars, turned suddenly upon Oojein, and passed the night at a spot distant from the city about four kos. Early in the morning, the Pindaras of the party were ordered to show themselves, and draw out the Pindaras from Oojein towards the spot where the Ameer and the Muharaj were. Accordingly, the Holkur Pindaras going towards the ground where the camels of Sindheea's army were grazing, brought away three hundred of these animals, which the enemy were afraid to attempt to rescue. The Ameer and Muharaj carried them off with them and returned to Indor. Thence marching by Dhar, Amjhera, Jhaloda, Duloollea, and Purtabgurb, <sup>(3)</sup> levying contributions as they went, they reached a place between Jawudh and Neemahera, <sup>(4)</sup> where they halted for some days. Thence they marched to the great Nâth-Dwara, <sup>(5)</sup> and endeavoured to get into their power the Nathjee Poojaree, <sup>(6)</sup> the head of the Brahmins at that place of sanctity, in order to extort money from him. He, however, had fled on first hearing of the

(1) خاندیس

(1) The spelling of this name is wrong in the Persian original, it should be Kandes, کاندیس from Kan, a mine, and Des, country.

(2) امام بخش قادر بخش

(3) دھار - اجمیرہ - جہانپور - داولیا - پرتاب گڑھ

(4) نیماہیرہ (5) ناتھ دوارہ کلان (6) ناتھ جی پوجاری



approach of the two Chiefs. From the inferior Brahmins fifty-thousand rupees were obtained, and the army then went to lesser Nāth-Dwara, <sup>(1)</sup> where only six thousand were realized. Hearing of these proceedings, Sindheea's army under Bala Rao Ingliā, Suda Sheeo Rao Bukshee, Kureem Khan, and Cheetoo Khan Pindaras, and having with them the two Brigades of Shekh Kulub Ulee <sup>(2)</sup> and Dawes, of Perron's service, came against the Muharaj. When this army had arrived at a short distance from that of Holkur, the Muharaj, not choosing to meet it in the field, marched off, along with the Ameer, by Shahpoor to Tonk, <sup>(3)</sup> levying contributions as they went. Sunkh <sup>(4)</sup> Saheb's (Captain Symes's) battalion, one of Perron's, which had been left for the defence of Tonk, fled on hearing of the approach of the Muharaj and Ameer, and took refuge in the Fort of Rampoorā, which is now called Uleegurh <sup>(5)</sup>. The Muharaj and Ameer marching from Tonk by Aleegurh, Indurgurh, <sup>(6)</sup> and the Lakheree <sup>(7)</sup> pass, arrived within three kos of Kota, and levied there a contribution, which was divided forthwith amongst the men in company. Here there was a halt made, until the enemy's troops came near, when the two Chiefs, starting again through Haraotee, by Gogul-Chupra, <sup>(8)</sup> Rajgurb, and Patun, <sup>(9)</sup> and levying contributions every where as before, came to Ashta, <sup>(10)</sup> where also a levy was made, and the army then crossed the Nurbuda

(<sup>1</sup>) نانہد واری خورد (<sup>2</sup>) شیخ کلب علی (<sup>3</sup>) شاہپور ٹونک

(<sup>4</sup>) The Officer referred to by this name is Captain Symes, Commanding a Battalion of Nujeebs, in Monsieur Perron's first Brigade. He died at Sekundra a short time before the war with the British.

(<sup>5</sup>) علی گڑھ (<sup>6</sup>) اندر گڑھ (<sup>7</sup>) گھاٹ لاکھیری

(<sup>8</sup>) ہاراوتی-گورگل چہہرہ (<sup>9</sup>) راجگڑھ پاتن (<sup>10</sup>) اشٹہ



near Hindia, and moved to Khurgaon Buteesee. <sup>(1)</sup> Here a halt was made of some days to allow the baggage and rear-guard, which had been summoned from Muhe-shur, to join, and both Chiefs then passed by the Sondh-wah <sup>(2)</sup> fort and ghat—the Muharaj with the design of moving on Chandor, while the Ameer should penetrate into Kandes. It was settled between the two that there should be no promiscuous pillage henceforward, but that the system of levying contributions should be put in force, and that the two armies acting separately should demand them every where, let the territory belong to whomsoever it might. If payment were refused and the troops opposed, the place should be carried and the garrison put to the sword, and the Chiefs at the head of the resistance, utterly ruined and destroyed.

These transactions occurred in the Hejira year 1216. <sup>(3)</sup>

(<sup>1</sup>) کھرکون بٹیسے (<sup>2</sup>) ازگھاتہ قلعہ سوندھوہ

(<sup>2</sup>) Called Sindhwa in English maps.

(<sup>3</sup>) A. D. 1801, 14th May to 3d May 1802.—The original has here 1219 Hejira, but it is evidently a mistake of the transcriber. The events occurred mostly in 1801. Jansunt Rao appeared in Kandes in the early part of 1802.





## BOOK THE FOURTH.

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### CHAPTER III.

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A. D. 1802.

*Muharaj Holkur proceeds to Chandor, and the Ameer towards Doulutabad by the way of Oosur and Jalna—Falls in with Sudasheo Rao, Sindheea's General—Affair at Alee Khundee—The Ameer avoids a battle and retires before the enemy, but is attacked and suffers defeat.*

THE two commanders of high fortune having conceived that it would conduce to the further rise of the star of their destiny were they to separate for a time, the Muharaj marched for Chandor<sup>(1)</sup> and thence to Nasik-nirung, which is on the Godavuree, <sup>(2)</sup> and after having levied contributions there he returned to Chandor, where he fixed his head-quarters. The Ameer also deeming it expedient to traverse Kandes, commenced his march and arrived at Maleegaon, <sup>(3)</sup> where he levied a contribution. Crossing the ghat there he came upon the territory of Inchor, <sup>(4)</sup> the

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(<sup>1</sup>) नासक नरुङ्क (<sup>2</sup>) गुदावरी (<sup>3</sup>) मालीगान (<sup>4</sup>) अनचुर