

supply of European artillerymen and guns. The members of that government were not quite certain who this Ballajee Rao was, "but as, according to the best information they could obtain, he was said to be the head of all the Mahrattas," they agreed to assist him, if he would send a detachment of his army to meet and escort their troops to his camp. The Peishwa's whole object consisted in the application, and there the matter of course dropped. They army of Sulabut Jung having joined the Mahrattas, Bussy, than whom no Frenchman better knew the art of display, prepared his artillery, and in the face of the two armies, amounting to 100,000 men opened a fire on Savanoor, so heavy and efficacious as to intimidate the garrison and excite the lasting admiration of the besiegers. Prior to this the Peishwa, through the agency of Bulwunt Rao Mendlee, one of his own officers, had contrived to detach the Ghorepurays from the alliance, and Moorar Rao, in consequence, it is said, of his former engagements with the French, procured the interposition of Bussy in his favour with the government of Sulabut Jung, of which this Mahratta chief was, it will be recollected, a dependent. The nabob of Savanoor was admitted to terms, and on giving up a part of his territory, and making due submission to Sulabut Jung and the Peishwa, a reconciliation took place. Muzuffir Khan was entertained, probably at first secretly, in the service of Sulabut Jung, and Moorar Rao Ghorepuray, with his own and the Sondoor Mahrattas, returned to Gooty in the month of May.

A considerable part of these arrangements was preparatory to the secret scheme contemplated by the Peishwa and Shah Nuwaz Khan, of compelling the French to quit the Deccan. Shortly after the fall of Savanoor, it was intimated to M. Bussy that the services of his corps were no longer required by the soobehdar of the Deccan. This unexpected communication at once laid open to Bussy the extent of the machinations against him, and he took his measures for counteracting them with admirable prudence and decision. Few Europeans in India have been placed in greater difficulties than those which were surmounted by M. Bussy on this occasion. His corps consisted of 200 cavalry and 600 infantry, all Europeans, 5,000 sepoys, and a fine train of artillery, enough to have made the whole army of the Deccan pay dear for their treachery; but Bussy knew

the influence of the deserter Muzuffir Khan over some of his oldest sepoys, and had great reason to doubt their fidelity. He was surrounded by a host of enemies in a part of the country where he was an entire stranger, and he at once adopted a plan which divided his enemies, secured his retreat, and enabled him to recover his power at the court of Sulabut Jung. He accepted

June 14 his dismissal from the service, demanded passports to Mausulipatam, and marched straight to Hyderabad, where, immediately on his arrival, he occupied some strong buildings, and prepared for defence.

After he quitted the allied camp, his design having been suspected, a detachment was sent in pursuit of him, accompanied by 6,000 of Sulabut Jung's Mahrattas, under Ramchundur, the son of Chunder Seyn Jadow, and Janojee Nimbalkur (Rao Rumbha) of Kurmulla; but Bussy effected his purpose with little loss. One of his first acts on discovering the conspiracy was to write off an account of his situation to Pondicherry and Mausulipatam, where the French authorities used every possible exertion to reinforce him. He also expected a body of 600 recruits, Arabs and Abyssinians, whom he had enlisted at Surat; but Janojee Nimbalkur, hearing of their approach, intercepted the party, and killed 50 of them before they submitted as prisoners.

Shah Nuwaz Khan was with Nasir Jung when he lost his life in the Carnatic, and although he had dissembled his enmity, he was never reconciled to the French. He had a better opinion of the English nation, and at his suggestion an application was made to Madras for a body of troops to assist in expelling Bussy. That presidency would have taken advantage of an offer which accorded so entirely with their views, but the disastrous account of the capture of Calcutta, on the 20th June, by Shujah-ud-Dowlah, nabob of Bengal, the grand-nephew and successor of Aliverdy Khan, arrived at Madras in July, and obliged the English to send every disposable man to recover their lost settlement, and avenge the fate of their murdered countrymen.

In the meantime Bussy maintained his post at Hyderabad against the army of Sulabut Jung, and contrived to secure in his interests Ramchundur Jadow and Janojee Nimbalkur, the principal Mahrattas in the Moghul service. They did not oppose the advancing reinforcement from Mausulipatam, and although

great efforts were made to cut them off, the troops joined Bussy in the middle of August.

A reconciliation with Sulabut Jung immediately took place, and Bussy, for the time, attained greater power than ever. Muzuffir Khan was not surrendered to the French, as Bussy desired, but he was dismissed from the service, and shortly after appeared at Poona, where, on making humble apologies to the Peishwa, and many promises of future good behaviour, he was again entertained, contrary to the advice of Sewdasheo Chimnaje.

The Peishwa returned to Poona on the 20th July, and, in a reconciliatory letter, announces that event to Mr. Bouchier; begs of him to send some gentlemen to Poona for the purpose of settling several points of importance, but requests that Gheriah may be immediately restored. He also informs the governor of an unsuccessful attack by the Portuguese upon the fort of Ponda—an attempt made, as afterwards appears, for the purpose of deterring the Mahrattas from the projected conquest of Goa, contemplated by Sewdasheo Rao Bhow. The Portuguese viceroy lost his life at Ponda by the misbehaviour of his troops, but other events prevented the Mahrattas from attacking Goa. Mr. Bouchier, amongst the arguments used to induce the Peishwa to take back Bancoote in exchange for Gheriah, lays great stress on its advantageous situation as a barrier to the Mahrattas against the Portuguese. Ballajee, in reply, does not conceal his contempt for that nation, and artfully parries the argument by hinting at an effectual method of obviating the necessity of a barrier by at once assisting to expel them.

As soon as the weather permitted, Mr. John Spencer, accompanied by Mr. Thomas Byfield, both members of the Bombay council, proceeded to Poona according to the Peishwa's request. Although Mr. Spencer was junior to Mr. Byfield, the executive part of the mission was committed to him, and he conducted it with ability. He had a long interview with the Peishwa in the beginning of October, at which Rugonath Rao and Sewdasheo Rao Bhow were present. By that time the restoration of Bussy's influence at the court of Hyderabad was known, and the Peishwa was sincere in a desire he expressed of obtaining the services of a body of English troops. But Mr. Spencer was instructed by the president in council, who acted upon fresh orders from the

Court of Directors, to evade any solicitation of this nature that might be made, and to decline entering upon the engagement for which troops had been sent out in the preceding season—a scheme which was therefore never communicated to the court of Poona. Mr. Spencer told the Peishwa of the application which the Madras presidency had received from Sulabut Jung for a body of English troops to assist in expelling the French, a connection of which Ballajee Rao unreservedly expressed his disapprobation.

A treaty was concluded with the Peishwa at Poona on the 12th October. The exclusion of the Dutch from the trade of the

October 12 Mahratta dominions, the surrender of Gheriah within 24 days after the departure of Mr. Spencer and Mr. Byfield from Poona, and the cession of 10 villages, including Bancoote, with the sovereignty of its river, to the East India Company, are the substance of 18 articles of which the agreement consists. The Peishwa also consents to waive all claims on the honorable company up to the date of the treaty, to give Toolajee Angria no territory below the Ghauts, to settle an equivalent with the Seedee for one-fourth of the customs levied by him from the vessels in Bancoote river, and to exact no additional inland duties on English merchandize.

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From A.D. 1756 to A.D. 1760

AS SOON AS the rains subsided, Rugonath Rao was sent into Hindostan, accompanied, as before, by
A.D. 1756 Sukaram Bappoo as his dewan, and joined by Mulhar Rao Holkar. The Peishwa prepared
A.D. 1757 a large army which was destined for the Carnatic, under his own command, but he did not cross the Kistna before the ensuing February.

In his negotiation with the Bombay presidency, the paramount object of Ballajee Rao was the possession of Gheriah; that obtained, as he had waived all claims on the East India Company, he still pretended a right to the recovery of the treasure and stores carried off as prize by the captors. He again addressed a letter to the king, and forwarded it, as before, through the Madras government. His letter to that presidency, accompanying the address to his majesty, was not couched in the strain of frankness and cordial friendship he had assumed to Mr. Spencer—a change which is the first indication of European politics in any degree influencing the conduct of the Mahrattas. It was occasioned both by the renewal of war between Great Britain and France in the month of May preceding, and by the late misfortunes, and still uncertain state of affairs, at Calcutta. This policy was adopted, not probably with any hope of restitution, but preparatory to demands for chouth and surdeshmookhee from the Moghul provinces of the Carnatic Pyeen Ghaut, in which the English had now so direct an interest.

Sixty thousand Mahrattas appeared before Seringapatam in the month of March, and demanded an enormous sum as arrears of tribute. On their march to that capital, the independent principalities south of the Kistna had all, except the nabob of Kurpa, made suitable submission, and the Ghorepurays attended their countrymen with a body of 6,000 horse. As Nunjeraj,

the minister of the Mysore state, who had usurped the powers of the administration, declared his inability to pay the contribution demanded from Seringapatam, a battery of 30 cannon was opened against it by Sewdasheo Rao Bhow, under the direction of Muzuffir Khan. Negotiation was for a time at an end, but a shot having struck the top of the Hindoo temple of Runga Swamy, and a gun happening at the same instant to burst in the battery, which killed several of the men who worked it, the circumstance was accounted ominous by both parties; a compromise ensued, by which the Mahrattas agreed to take 32 lakhs of rupees, instead of a much larger sum demanded in the first instance. Five lakhs of rupees were immediately paid in money and jewels, and districts assigned in trust for the remainder. The Peishwa next intended to retake the districts of Sera, Bangalore, Ouscotta, Balapoor, and Kolhar, to which the Mahrattas could claim a right since the days of Shahjee, although they had been successively wrested from Venkajee, and his successor, of the house of Tanjore. The district of Sera was occupied, but, on the approach of the monsoon, the Peishwa returned towards Poona with the greater part of his army, and, owing to the lateness of the season, had great difficulty in re-crossing the Kistna. Bulwunt Rao Mendlee was left with a large detachment for the purpose of reducing these ancient possessions, and with a power, somewhat discretionary, of levying the chouth and surdeshmookhee from Arcot. Bulwunt Rao took Ouscotta belonging to the nabob of Kurpa, and Moolwaukil was given up. Kudapannattum was also taken, and peremptory demands made upon the nabob of Arcot for the payment of arrears of chouth, which was, after much discussion, settled by the nabob for two lakhs in ready-money, and two and a half lakhs in assignments. The members of the Madras government endeavoured to annul the agreement; they had, in the first instance, evaded the claim, by representing the disordered state of the province, the expenses and the efforts they had made for the support of order and the preservation of the country, and the scanty revenues which the territory still yielded. They also endeavoured to divert the Mahrattas towards the French districts, or northern circars; but Amrut Rao, Bulwunt Rao's dewan, adhered firmly to his demands, and succeeded in obtaining them.

Moorar Rao Ghorepuray had retired to Gooty in consequence of not being put in possession of one of the captured forts, which appears to have been promised; the Peishwa had authorised Bulwunt Rao to comply with his wish, provided he was certain he could be depended upon, but Moorar Rao had joined a confederacy against his countrymen, by uniting with the nabobs of Kurpa, Savanoor, Kurnoul, and others, to which the confederates solicited the support of the English; a want of troops, however, prevented the presidency of Madras from availing themselves of an auxiliary force, which, in any ordinary season, would have induced them to resist the Mahratta demands. It is not ascertained whether Bulwunt Rao complied with the latitude allowed in favour of Ghorepuray, but Moorar Rao is not mentioned as having acted on either side in a battle fought by the Mahrattas on the 24th September, near Kuddapah, against the nabobs of Kurpa and Kurnoul, in which Bulwunt Rao Mendlee was victorious; the nabob of Kurpa was killed, and his capital plundered; but Abdool Nubee Khan, the cousin and heir of the late nabob, still defended the country, and occupied the Mahrattas for a period much longer than they could spare. In the meantime, the Mysore government, by the advice of Hyder Ally, then rising into notice, having broken their agreement, refused to pay the stipulated contribution, and expelled the Mahratta agents from the districts assigned for that purpose. The Peishwa prepared a force under Gopal Hurry at Poona, intended ultimately to unite with Bulwunt Rao against Mysore, supported by a body of 10,000 Mahrattas, which, towards the end of the monsoon, were employed near the Godavery, under the Peishwa's son, Wiswas Rao. But as Gopal Hurry could not cross the Kistna before November, and might not be joined by Wiswas Rao until the beginning of the year, the Peishwa directed Bulwunt Rao to reduce Bednore. He recommends him "to march to that place as soon as possible, that the garrison had been very sickly, that the rana's son, as well as the rana, was dead, and that the whole would fall into his hands before the arrival of Gopal Hurry, when they must conjointly attack Chittledroog."

Had this scheme been practicable at the time, it would in all probability have prevented the rise of Hyder Ally; but Bulwunt Rao was detained in the districts of Kuddapah, or in levying

FROM A.D. 1756 TO A.D. 1760

contributions from polygars, until the month of February, and before that date events had occurred at the court of Hyderabad which called Bulwunt Rao's force to the northward, and fully employed the attention of the Peishwa.

Sulabut Jung, by the advice of Shah Nuwaz Khan, had appointed his brothers, Nizam Ally and Busalut Jung, as governors of provinces—the former to Berar, and the latter to Beejapoor, whither they had proceeded in 1756. Bussy, in the end of that year, departed from Hyderabad, accompanied by his dewan Hyder Jung, to regulate the French districts to the eastward, and was thus employed when an opportunity presented itself of reducing some of the English factories in that quarter. Sulabut Jung, in the meantime, took the field, and his operations, at the suggestion of Shah Nuwaz Khan, were directed against Ramchundur Jadow, ostensibly to call him to account for not keeping up his established quota of horse, but in reality to punish him for not acting against the French reinforcements when marching from Mausulipatam to join Bussy at Hyderabad. Jadow was deprived of most of his jagheer; the minister spent the season in revenue arrangements, and Sulabut Jung, attended by his brother Busalut Jung from Adonee, cantoned for the rains at Aurungabad, after having taken the government of Doulutabad from Sadut Bokharu, the killidar in whose family it had been from the time of Aurungzebe. It was now given in charge to a dependent of Shah Nuwaz Khan; and here began a scene of intrigue as eventful and complicated as might occur to the fancy of a dramatist. The sum of the plot seems to have been to confine Sulabut Jung in Doulutabad, to place the government in the hands of Nizam Ally or Busalut Jung, and to expel the French from the Deccan. The Peishwa was probably in the first instance apprized of it, and the real object of Wiswas Rao's march to the Godavery may have been to aid the design. As late as the month of September he did not, as may be observed by his instructions to Bulwunt Rao, expect that it would obstruct his designs on the Carnatic.

In the month of August a pretended sedition was raised by the soldiery at Aurungabad on account of their arrears of pay. Shah Nuwaz Khan was beset by their clamours; he neglected to satisfy their claims; the troops insisted on his being removed from the

administration; demanded his dismissal from Sulabut Jung, and the appointment of Busalut Jung as minister in his stead. Although, contrary to his own wishes, Sulabut Jung yielded to their request, the troops were not to be satisfied, and Shah Nuwaz Khan was forced to seek safety in Doulutabad, where he prepared to defend himself against their unjustifiable violence. It is conjectured that the conspirators may have expected Sulabut Jung would pay the seemingly injured minister a visit of condolence in the fortress, but some of his immediate dependents, perhaps the European officer at the head of the French guard, suspected a snare, and induced Sulabut Jung to promise the minister protection, but to demand his submission. The exercise of a little common sense in upholding right rules often disconcerts the deepest cunning; but the derangement of the plan only thickened the plot. Shah Nuwaz Khan, on being desired to surrender, fired on the troops. Nizam Ally was summoned from Berar by Busalut Jung to assist in the siege; Shah Nuwaz Khan called in the assistance of the Mahrattas as allies, but some person about Sulabat Jung, who had more penetration than himself, prevailed on him to countermand the advance of Nizam Ally. The latter, however, declared he could not hear of his brother being so treated by a rebel minister without hastening to his support. He advanced accordingly, and troops from all quarters were called in by Busalut Jung. Still, however, the troops attached to Sulabut Jung, of whom 200 were Europeans and 500 disciplined sepoys left by Bussy, were not to be overpowered with impunity, and the conspiracy was aimed rather at the liberty than the life of Sulabut Jung. The Mahrattas began to plunder the country: the necessity of union was now much talked of, and Shah Nuwaz Khan suffered himself to be prevailed upon to submit. Great preparations were made to oppose the Mahrattas. Nizam Ally, to whom the office of minister had been resigned by Busalut Jung, made all the dispositions for the order of battle and of march. The humble post of protecting the baggage was assigned to Shah Nuwaz Khan. The friends of Sulabut Jung remonstrated against his allowing his brother to have the entire management of his army, and, his pride and resentment being aroused, he told Nizam Ally that he could not submit to it. The latter at first affected indignation, but afterwards so completely soothed

his brother by assurances that his welfare and honor were his only care, that Sulabut Jung forgave all, obliged him to take back the seal of state he had resigned, and bestowed on him their father's title of Nizam-ool-Moolk Asif Ja. Very shortly after this reconciliation, intelligence was received that Ramchundur Jadow, proceeding to pay his respects and join the army of Sulabut Jung, was attacked, surrounded, and driven into the town of Sindkheir, where he was besieged by the Peishwa's troops. Orders of march were instantly issued; but the same influence which hitherto had prevented Sulabut Jung from falling into the power of his enemies, once more frustrated their designs. He would not move. Nizam Ally, however, proceeded to Sindkheir, went through the farce of rescuing Ramchundur Jadow, of beating the Mahrattas, and compelling them to make peace. Although the latter, with more show of reason, afterwards claimed the victory, the nominal defeat was a disgrace to which Ballajee Rao would willingly have submitted, in consequence of his having received a cession of territory, yielding an annual revenue of upwards of 25 lakhs of rupees. How Nizam Ally could reconcile this transaction to his brother cannot be ascertained, and can only be accounted for by supposing that the agreement was secret. Ballajee Rao returned with Nizam Ally to Aurangabad as a friend; but the arrival of Bussy, with a well-appointed force, consisting of 200 European cavalry, 500 European infantry, 5,000 sepoys, and 10 field-pieces, besides his detachment with Sulabut Jung, threw the whole cabal into confusion, and, except the audacious Nizam Ally, intimidated the rest of the conspirators. All were ready to pay their respects, and no one more prompt than the late minister Shah Nuwaz Khan. He had been led farther into the mazes of intrigue than he had contemplated; he had seen enough of Nizam Ally to be assured that Sulabut Jung was a better man, and he was probably sincere in his desire to replace everything on its former footing; but, once embarked, there is no saying where the current of factious guilt may drive, or who shall be absorbed in its whirlpool.

Bussy, with the measured manner which it became him under such circumstances to assume, paid his respects to Sulabut Jung as the superior whom he served; met the Peishwa half-way in a

tent prepared for the occasion; visited Nizam Ally, but, as one whose designs were more than suspicious, accompanied by a strong escort; received Busalut Jung; but referred Shah Nuwaz Khan, who had descended from his rank as minister, to his agent Hyder Jung, for the double purpose of marking a distinction, and obtaining, through his keen-sighted dewan, thus placed on an equality with the ex-minister, a complete insight into the views of the faction.

Thus so far Bussy acted right, for he actee of himself; but the disadvantages to a European in India, however honorable and upright his intentions, who suffers himself to be guided by natives beyond a proper regard to their opinions and prejudices, and who is dependent on them for the interpretation of the language, are exemplified in the subsequent events.

Shah Nuwaz Khan unfolded everything to Hyder Jung; but, as was likely under such circumstances, ascribed his motives rather to the weakness of Sulabut Jung than to his jealousy of the power of the French. The friends of Shah Nuwaz Khan had strongly advised him to put no confidence in Hyder Jung; and his conduct in this instance is attributed by his countrymen to that inexplicable pre-destination which is a rule of their faith. On being made acquainted with the scheme, under such colouring as Hyder Jung thought fit to give to it, Bussy was led to deceive Shah Nuwaz Khan by promises of forgiveness and restoration to the ministry. To have restored Shah Nuwaz Khan was now, perhaps, the wisest expedient that could be adopted. He was respected in the country, knew its resources, and, notwithstanding the fictitious want of money he had created, the revenues under his management were in a state of progressive improvement. He had experienced the irresistible power of the French, the weakness and futility of faction, and he had seen the premature disposition to villainy in the bold mind of the young Nizam Ally.

Bussy, if he found it inconvenient to replace him in the ministry, had not even the excuse of necessity for stooping to duplicity; he had only to act on the broad principle of right, and trust to what was in his power—a strong arm and a good cause. But influenced, unfortunately, by the representations of an Asiatic, his conduct became entangled in the tricks and

intrigue which true wisdom despises. His plans seem in this instance to have had no very definite purpose even in his own mind, though there is abundant ground to suspect that his dewan may have contemplated his own elevation, and played deep for the high place of Moghul minister in the Deccan.

Hyder Jung having corrupted the killidar of Doulutabad, Bussy became the principal actor in a scheme by which he gained little honor from having obtained possession of that fortress. Shah Nuwaz Khan was made prisoner, and the greater part of Nizam Ally's troops were debauched by bribes, amounting in all to eight lakhs of rupees, and came over to Hyder Jung. Of the number was Ibrahim Khan Gardee, who had been brought up as an officer of sepoy's under Bussy, and had gone over to Nizam Ally in Berar, in consequence of having incurred Bussy's displeasure. The Peishwa, who was very desirous of possessing Doulutabad, returned from a position 50 miles to the west of Aurungabad, and in vain used every argument with Bussy to prevail upon him to deliver it up to the Mahrattas. Nizam Ally, however, in the hope that the Peishwa would join him after their late transaction, promised the fort of Doulutabad, and many other cessions, as the price of an alliance which should raise him to the viceroyalty of the Deccan; but Ballajee Rao saw no advantage from his overtures.

Busalut Jung, the present minister, was neither of a dangerous nor a formidable character, but he was capable of being made an instrument either for a good or a bad purpose. For some reasons it would have been ill-advised to remove him, especially as he had become secretly inimical to Nizam Ally, whose audacity pointed to extreme measures, from which Busalut Jung recoiled; but the designs of Hyder Jung remained incomplete whilst Nizam Ally was at liberty; he therefore determined on placing him in confinement, as well as Shah Nuwaz Khan; and at first thought of immuring him in Doulutabad, but the influence of Nizam Ally, even with the soldiery who had quitted his service, was considerable, and the proximity of Doulutabad to the province of Berar made that fortress a fitter prison for Shah Nuwaz Khan than for Nizam Ally. Whether Bussy ever would have authorised his dewan to take the steps he meditated is certainly very questionable; if he had, it is not

improbable that Hyder Jung, in time, would have sacrificed his French friends to his own ambition. Hyder Jung and Nizam Ally had now each their own reasons for dissimulation; the one proffered friendship, and the other affected content. Hyder Jung wished Nizam Ally to accept the government of Hyderabad, that he might be nearer Golcondah, where he intended to imprison him. Nizam Ally received the proposal with much seeming satisfaction: intercourse was re-established, and everything was made ready for departure; Hyder Jung paid him a visit prior to his setting out, and Nizam Ally, having prepared for his reception, murdered him in the tent. A great tumult ensued as soon as the event was known; the French line beat to arms; Shah Nuwaz Khan, who was confined under a guard of Europeans and sepoys, was supposed to be the instigator of Hyder Jung's murder, and a Hindoo soobehdar of French sepoys, with all of whom Hyder Jung had been extremely popular, entered the tent during the uproar, and put Shah Nuwaz Khan, together with his son and Yemen-ud-Dowlah, to death. Nizam Ally fled towards Burhanpoor the same night. The tragedy was thus close on the 11th May. The Peishwa with the Mahratta army returned to Poona, and Bussy, shortly after, not choosing to encourage Sulabut Jung in a war against Nizam Ally, bent his course towards Hyderabad. When on the march to that capital, he received from M. Lally those peremptory orders of recall which at once deprived his nation of the great power and influence he had established. The Mahrattas, like the rest of India, were unable to comprehend such an inexplicable measure; the removal of the French garrison from Doulutabad, and the actual march of Bussy towards Pondicherry, was viewed by Ballajee Rao with wonder and with joy; but Sulabut Jung, to whom the departure of M. Bussy was equally unaccountable, saw in it the extinction of his last hope in the world, and, until soothed with assurances of the probability of his return, he continued in a state of perfect despair.

It has been stated that the Peishwa returned from a position 50 miles west of Aurungabad for the purpose of trying to prevail upon Bussy to give up Doulutabad; but the reason of his having moved to the westward, in the first instance, remains to be explained. The Bombay presidency, as we have seen, had long

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been urgent with the Peishwa to aid them in establishing their trade and privileges on a secure and respectable footing in the city of Surat; but finding they were not likely to obtain his aid, they, with abundant caution, proposed trying to effect the object themselves, and Mr. Ellis, the agent on the spot, arranged a plan which promised certain success. The Peishwa, apprized of everything that was going forward, sent Shunkrajee Punt, the soobehdar of Kallian, to amuse Mr. Bouchier, until he should find it more convenient than it was at that juncture to detach a force to Surat; but Shunkrajee Punt, judging by the president's indifference, and the preparations of the armament, that they would proceed to the execution of the enterprize by themselves, Ballajee Rao determined to prevent it, by making a feint of threatening the presidency itself. With this view he moved from Aurangabad a few marches to the westward, and, by means of the native agent employed by the English at Poona, he made them believe that he was about to march for Nassuck, and thence to Bassein with his army; he also caused the agent to insinuate that the Mahrattas were treacherous people, not to be depended on, and that it would be prudent to keep a strict guard on the island of Bombay. The governor in council, on receipt of this intelligence, *unanimously resolved* not only to defer the expedition,

A.D. 1759 but to desire Mr. Ellis to send down all the military and marine force he could possibly spare, to defend the settlement. This remarkable instance of credulity proves the great want of experience of the Bombay government; they,

March 4 however, got possession of Surat castle some months afterwards, though with considerable loss of officers and men.

The Peishwa's first object, on the opening of the season, was to detach a force under Gopaul Hurry to Mysore, for the recovery of the districts from whence the Mahratta agents had been expelled by Nunjeraj, at the suggestion of Hyder Ally. Gopaul Hurry established the Mahratta thannas, took Cenapatam by surprise, and besieged Bangalore. The Mahrattas were opposed by the Mysore army, which was on this service intrusted, for the first time, to the rising general, Hyder Ally; and the campaign terminated in the payment of the 32 lakhs of rupees before stipulated, one-half of which was paid in gold, and the other

by bills on the security of bankers; after which the Mahrattas evacuated the pledged districts, and peace was concluded with the state of Mysore. Gopaul Hurry then proceeded to the Damulcherry pass, whilst the French were besieging the English in Madras, and endeavoured to exact money from each of the belligerents, but he was treated with considerable contempt by both parties. To be revenged on the French, he took possession of the temple at Tripittee, intending to have collected the offerings at the ensuing festival; but the main body of his troops was recalled to Poona, and the garrison he left in the temple was driven out by troops belonging to the nabob of Arcot.

Sulabut Jung had appointed Busalut Jung his dewan at the suggestion of M. Bussy; their union was certainly the most likely mode of upholding the government of Sulabut Jung, and overaweing the factions at his court; but the party of Nizam Ally gained strength as soon as Bussy had departed for Pondicherry, and the only French troops in the Deccan were confined to their own districts, the northern circars, under M. Conflans.

Nizam Ally, soon after he reached Burhanpoor, exacted a heavy contribution from that city; and Mohummud Anwar Khan, the person who 40 years before had contributed, by his advice, to obtain the chouth and surdeshmookhee for the Mahrattas, is said to have died in consequence of the harsh treatment to which he was subjected. With the money thus obtained Nizam Ally began to raise troops. He was shortly after again joined by Ibrahim Khan Gardee with his corps when he quitted Burhanpoor, and took up a position about 100 miles south of that city, at the town of Basum. The minister, Busalut Jung, instigated Janojee Bhonslay, Sena Sahib Soobeh, to attack his brother; accordingly, Bappoo Kurundeea, one of Janojee's officers, intercepted his artillery, which was coming to join him from Burhanpoor, and took the whole of it. In consequence of this aggression, Nizam Ally made a sudden march towards Ankolah, which he surprised and plundered; but being attacked by a superior force, under Janojee in person, he retired to Burhanpoor, for the purpose of equipping some guns for Ibrahim Khan. As soon as he had furnished himself with this auxiliary, invaluable

against Mahrattas, he returned, attacked, and completely defeated Janojee's army. His success soon obtained him friends; Janojee concluded an alliance with him, and he had received encouragement from the Peishwa. He had also been courted by the English, not in consequence of his victory, but as a son of Nizam-ool-Moolk who, beyond reconciliation, had committed himself with their enemies the French. As soon, therefore, as he understood that Sulabut Jung had quitted Hyderabad, for the purpose of assisting the garrison of Mausulipatam, which was besieged by the English, Nizam Ally, after taking possession of Aurungabad, moved towards the capital.

The advance of Nizam Ally hastened the conclusion of a treaty between Sulabut Jung and Colonel Forde, although Busalut Jung, who was partial to the French, endeavoured to obstruct the arrangement. The treaty did not provide for the assistance of the English against Nizam Ally, as every inducement on that point was resisted by Colonel Forde. Sulabut Jung returned to Hyderabad, where, on the arrival of Nizam Ally, much dissension arose among the brothers, but Sulabut Jung was constrained to restore the office of dewan to Nizam Ally, and Busalut Jung departed for his government, the seat of which was Adonee.

At the court of Poona the principal affairs of administration continued under the management of Sewdasheo Rao Bhow. His able coadjutor, Ramchundur Baba Shee, had been dead for four or five years, and his wealth, which was great, had been left at the disposal of the Bhow, who appropriated one-third for charitable and religious purposes, and shared the remainder equally with the son of the deceased. Sewdasheo Rao was violent and avaricious, but active and vigorous; and though proud and unbending in his character, he had a large share of good nature and of good sense. He was corrupt, but not in the opinion of his countrymen, for with them to take money for assistance or support in a good cause is legitimate and avowed—a principle which, if tolerated on whatever pretence, in any public officer of a government, must soon spread universal peculation, bribery, and misrule.

His friend Ramchundur warned him on his death-bed of the opposition and jealousy he might expect from Gopika Bye Rastia,

the Peishwa's wife, as soon as her children became of an age fit to be intrusted with public affairs. To prevent these, Sewdasheo Chimnaje was the first to propose that the Peishwa's eldest son, Wiswas Rao, should be early employed; and he honorably endeavoured to instil into all the sons of his cousin the necessity of great acquirements for enabling them to fill the high stations to which they were born, and always recommended that they should be engaged in business and in war, as early as possible. The affection which Ballajee Rao had always shown towards his cousin Sewdasheo Rao received a severe shock by his intended desertion when he went to Kolapoor; and notwithstanding the conduct of Sewdasheo Rao, both towards her sons and in the administration, the seeds of hatred, perceived by Ramchundur in the mind of Gopika Bye, grew up the more rank when the actions of the minister were such as defied detraction, and ought to have silenced her jealous fears. The activity and diligence of Sewdasheo Rao were a reproach to the less energetic disposition of the Peishwa; but, independent of jealousy, where confidence has once been shaken, abundant materials for discord continually arise between a prince and his minister, without the influence of a woman's wiles to blow it into flame.

The forms of courtesy and the appearance of perfect concord continued until the return of Rugonath Rao from Hindostan, when the minister, having found reason to blame the expenditure and arrangement that had taken place during the campaign, by which a debt was brought against the state, instead of booty to its coffers, Rugonath Rao told him "he had better take command of the next expedition himself", and abruptly quitted the apartment; their dissensions continuing, spread to the rest of the family, and soon became publicly known. Whether encouraged by the mere circumstance of their differences, without the connivance of any of the parties, or actuated solely by personal revenge, is not ascertained, but an attempt was made on the life of Sewdasheo Rao, instigated by Muzuffir Khan, the officer already mentioned as having been received into the Peishwa's service after his dismissal from that of Sulabut Jung.

Sewdasheo Rao did not approve of his being re-admitted by Ballajee Rao; and Nizam Ally, having dismissed the corps of

Ibrahim Khan Gardee as a conciliatory concession to Sulabut Jung, they were immediately entertained by Sewdasheo Rao. Ibrahim Khan was the kinsman of Muzuffir Khan, but the latter, who had just returned from an expedition against a Koolee raja near Surat, probably suspected that this measure was a prelude to his own supersession. The assassin he engaged, who was one of his own corp, attempted to strike the blow in a durbar tent, pitched on the spot where the British troops are now cantoned, and where Sewdasheo Rao was seated for the transaction of public business. He would have effected his purpose, but Nagojee Goozur, an active sillidar, who stood behind the Bhow, seized the assassin's arm, and the point of the dagger caused but a slight wound in his back. The man was put to the torture, and confessed that he was employed by Muzuffir Khan. The latter, on being sent for, did not deny the fact; and, without further enquiry, he was instantly led out to execution, and put to death, with the criminal he had hired. A Purvoo, in the employ of Muzuffir Khan, being also implicated, was thrown into a hill fort, and never after heard of—the usual fate of state prisoners sent to hill forts by the Mahratta government.

In having been determined that Sewdasheo Rao should take command of the army during the ensuing season, whilst the civil administration was committed to Rugonath Rao, the troops were assembled for the purpose of proceeding to the northward, when accounts arrived of the success of an intrigue for the surrender of Ahmednugur, which was betrayed into the hands of a Bramin agent of Sewdasheo Rao, by Kuwee Jung, the Moghul killidar, for a sum of money. A war with Hyderabad immediately ensued. Sulabut Jung and Nizam Ally were ill-prepared for this event; their army was in arrears, and mutinous; an insurrection, caused by Soorya Rao, the deshmoorkh of Neermul, had just been quelled; and the resources of the country, during the late factious intrigues, had been neglected or wasted. But the disgrace of relinquishing without a struggle the ancient capital of the Nizam Shahee kings, the reduction of which a century and a half before had cost so much Moghul blood, prevailed over the sober dictates of prudence, and the main army, without preparation or equipment, but with a vast quantity of baggage and cumbersome artillery, moved towards Beder, and

from thence to Dharoor. Sulabut Jung and Nizam Ally, attended by a small force of 7,000 or 8,000 men, were moving towards Oodgeer.

The Peishwa in person proceeded to Ahmednugur with a large army, intended as a reserve, whilst Sewdasheo Rao moved in an easterly direction, took the fort of Buhadurgurh on the Beema, and was on the borders of the Moghul territory, when he received intelligence of the enemy's motions and position as already described. He immediately detached a force in advance, when Sulabut Jung and Nizam Ally, instead of quitting the artillery which accompanied them, and pushing forward to their main body, took post at Oodgeer, and began to waste their ammunition in skirmishing with the Mahratta light troops. This injudicious conduct afforded Sewdasheo Rao leisure to bring up 40,000 horse; whilst the regular corps of infantry, 5,000 strong, with a light artillery under Ibrahim Khan Gardee, was advancing to reinforce him.

The brothers saw their error when too late; but they moved from Oodgeer in hopes of being able to join their main body, or that troops from Dharoor would be sent to their support. In both these expectations they were disappointed; the troops at Dharoor, either entirely occupied in watching the motions of the Peishwa, or not apprized of their situation, made no effort to relieve them. The Moghul guns made little impression on the open straggling horse of the Mahrattas, but the constant skirmishing impeded the march, and in a few days Ibrahim Khan Gardee, with his infantry and guns, arrived. His artillery, which was served after the European manner, made great havoc on the crowded bodies of Moghul cavalry, and those who ventured to extend their order were immediately charged by the Mahrattas, whilst their grain and forage were effectually cut off. Nizam Ally attempted to negotiate, but Sewdasheo Rao desired him to surrender—a disgrace to which neither of the brothers would submit. A desperate charge was made on Ibrahim Khan's corps, which was completely broken, eleven of his standards taken, and many of his men killed: but this success was but of short duration; a body of Mahrattas attacked the right wing under Shoukut Jung, and cut nearly 3,000 Moghuls to pieces.

Nizam Ally renewed his negotiations, and sent his seal of state as minister to Sewdasheo Rao, signifying that he left it to his generosity to make the terms. A treaty was accordingly concluded, by which the forts of Doulatabad, Sewnerree, Asseergurh, and Beejapoor were given up to the Mahrattas, the possession of Ahmednugur was confirmed, and districts yielded, which included the province of Beejapoor and a part of Beder; together with the province of Aurungabad, excepting the city and two of its pergunnas, Hursoul and Sittarah. The annual revenue of these cessions amounted to upwards of 62 lakhs of rupees; and, according to an obvious policy, invariably observed by the Peishwas, 41 lakhs were given over as military jagheer to his officers, who always shared in the advantage or disadvantage by territory acquired or lost. The Moghul possessions in the Deccan were now confined to an insulated space, which must, it seemed, be soon wholly overwhelmed. A compactness and power would thus be insured to the Peishwa's dominion, which promised to preserve the Bramin ascendancy, and spread the authority of Hindoos over the vast empire where they had, for many centuries, been a conquered people in their native land. The pre-eminence to which the Mahrattas had attained was animating and glorious; their right to tribute was acknowledged on the banks of the Coleroon, and the Deccan horse had quenched their thirst from the waters of the Indus. The Mahratta people felt a pride in the conquests of their countrymen; and action, enterprize, and wealth raised them in political consequence above the mass of that humble race, who, by a system of opinions, stand fettered among nations in the growth of wisdom, and are content to live and to die in the same occupation, and with equal apathy, as their thousand progenitors. How far this stimulus in Maharashtra might ultimately have improved them, or elevated them in the scale of human nature, may be left to the consideration of those who indulge in such speculations; but in their conquests, certainly, no other nation can sympathize: they were not animated by that patriotism which devotes itself merely for its country's weal, or its country's glory; the extension of their sway carried no freedom even to Hindoos, except freedom of opinion; and it rarely brought protection, or improved the habits and condition of the vanquished. Destruction, rapine,

oppression, and tyranny were their more certain concomitants; and although entitled to the negative praise of not being blood-thirsty, they were unfeeling and ungenerous victors. The Mahratta people, however, who have not followed the profession of arms, and where families, unconnected with camps and courts, have lived content in the simple enjoyment of their hereditary rights and fields, are, except in one respect—their habitual disregard of truth, which is strangely contrasted with their probity in dealings with each other—a remarkably moral, kind, humane, and hospitable race.

Ballajee Rao had achieved a conquest by the exertions of his cousin, which afforded the highest gratification to his ambition; but it was not unalloyed. Accounts of great reverses were, about the same time, received from Hindostan, which lead us back to notice the principal events, that had taken place in that quarter.

21

A.D. 1760 and A.D. 1761

THE REVOLUTION AT the fallen Court of Delhi, which took place in the year 1754, did but increase the troubles and confusion in the northern parts of India.

A.D. 1754 The new vizier, after evincing much hardihood during a mutiny of his troops, which he quelled

by a merciless attack and plunder of all the body in which it broke out, having left Alumgeer II, an emperor he had raised to the throne, in the capital, departed with the emperor's son, the prince Ali Gohur, towards Mooltan and Lahore—provinces which he proposed to reannex to the imperial throne. These vast tracts of territory were conquered, as has already been mentioned, by Ahmed Shah Abdallee; and Meer Munnoo, who first

A.D. 1758 defended them against him, afterwards accepted the government of them from the Abdallee King. Meer Munnoo died suddenly: his son,

though still a child, was confirmed in the government by Ahmed Shah, under the guardianship of the widow of Meer Munnoo. Great mismanagement ensued; universal poverty and misrule drew many to swell the numbers of a sect which had subsisted for a considerable period under the name of Seiks, and whose rapid increase tended to augment the confusion of the country. The son of Meer Munnoo died; and the widow, who still, as guardian, claimed the right of governing, after being confined for a time by one of her own officers, at last submitted to a compromise, and shared the authority with him. Under these circumstances, Meer Shahabodeen, the vizier, reasonably concluded that to obtain possession of the country would not be difficult; but he did not extend his views to the defence which it would be necessary to prepare against the coming of the Abdallee to recover them. It appears that a daughter of Meer Munnoo had been betrothed to Meer Shahabodeen. To aid his projects, he first

gained traitorous Adina Beg, who had been the first cause of the Abdallee invasion; and, in consultation with him, Meer Shahabodeen, on his arrival in her neighbourhood, sent to the widow of Meer Munnoo, applying for his affianced bride—a request from the vizier which, on the part of the widow, was received with much satisfaction, and with which she readily complied. But Shahabodeen seized the government, conveyed the widow of Meer Munnoo to Delhi, and appointed Adina Beg to the charge of the provinces.

Ahmed Shah Abdallee, enraged at these proceedings, crossed the Attock with a large army, the provinces were unresistingly again occupied, and the king marched onwards to Delhi. Meer Shahabodeen humbled himself, and Ahmed Shah condescended to forgive him; but Delhi was plundered, and its unhappy people again subjected to pillage, and its daughters to pollution. The city of Muttra shared a like fate, and Agra was only saved by the breaking out of a violent disease in the camp of the Afghans, which compelled their king to abandon his conquests, and hasten beyond the influence of pestilence to the more congenial climate of Cabul. He returned early in the year 1756. Prior to his quitting Delhi, he had sent his own son Timoor Shah as viceroy of Punjab, including Mooltan and Lahore; and had appointed Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah, a Rohillah chief of reputation, to the office of Meer Bukhshee, and to the rank of Umeer-ool-Oomrah at the imperial court. Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah, prior to the coming of the Abdallee, had attached himself to Meer Shahabodeen; and the latter, displeased at his being set up as his own rival, and promoted without his concurrence, as soon as the Abdallee retired, stripped him of his honors, and conferred his rank and appointment on Ahmed Khan Bungush. The Emperor Alumgeer, with Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah, was in possession of Delhi; and, as the one supported the other, Meer Shahabodeen determined to reduce them. For this purpose, on the advance of Rugonath Rao into Malwa, where he arrived in the end of 1756, Meer Shahabodeen entered on an alliance with Rugoba; and by his assistance soon recovered Delhi, and the control of the emperor's person. Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah must have fallen a prisoner into his hands, but Mulhar Rao Holkar, who was more friendly to all the Rohillahs than any of the other Mahratta chiefs, protected Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah,

and aided his escape from the citadel to his own territory, situated about 70 miles to the north-east of Delhi.

Rugonath Rao remained for a time encamped in the neighbourhood of the capital, when he was summoned to a great conquest, splendid indeed, but to it may be ascribed the immediate cause of the disastrous war which first checked the progress of the Mahrattas, and distinctly marks the date of their decline.

Ahmed Shah Abdallee, before he appointed his son Timoor to the viceroyalty of the Punjab, gave him, as his minister and adviser, Jehan Khan, who, apprized of the knowledge which Adina Beg Khan possessed of the resources of the country, applied to him, and for a time derived benefit from his management of some distant districts. Adina Beg was invited to Lahore, but, suspicious of Jehan Khan's designs, he refused to go, and withdrew to the mountains. He was therefore treated as a rebel, but he successfully opposed the troops sent against him, by raising the Seiks, who, from devotees and mendicants, now appeared as soldiers. He also invited the Mahrattas into the province, and Rugonath Rao, then at Delhi, embraced the proposal with alacrity, met and totally defeated the Abdallee governor of Sirhind, speedily overran the country, and entered Lahore as a conqueror in the month of May 1758. He appointed Adina Beg sur-soobehdar of Mooltan and Lahore, and left Shabajee, a relation of Sindia's, to support him with a body of Mahratta troops. Rugonath Rao then returned towards Poona; but his improvidence in this as well as in most expeditions of his life was very conspicuous; the magnitude of his conquests brought no revenue to the exchequer; and upwards of 80 lakhs of rupees, over and above his receipts, were charged on the present occasion—a circumstance which, as has been alluded to, called forth the strictures of his cousin, and gave vent to those feelings of family jealousy with which Sewdasheo Rao Bhow was beset.

Rugonath Rao, before he quitted Hindostan, left Mulhar Rao Holkar and Duttajee Sindia in Malwa, whilst Junkajee, the son of Jyapa Sindia, remained near Delhi at the head of a body of troops, for the purpose of collecting tribute from the Rajpoot states, and of supporting, if necessary, the troops in Lahore.

Ranoojee Sindia, so much distinguished under the great Bajee Rao, had three legitimate and two illegitimate sons; of the for-

mer were Jyapa, Duttajee, and Jooteba; of the latter, Tookajee and Mahadajee. The whole of the five sons survived their father, except Tookajee. Ranoojee Sindia died shortly after Shao; his sons Duttajee and Mahadajee were generally employed to command the troops with the Peishwa, whilst Jyapa was acting in Hindostan.

In consequence of a dispute between Ram Sing and Bejee Sing, the sons of Abhee Sing, raja of Joudpoor,
A.D. 1759 regarding the division of their father's territory after his death, the former solicited aid from the Peishwa, who directed Jyapa to support Ram Sing and settle their affairs. Jyapa was at first successful against Bejee Sing, whom he besieged in Nagpour; but the latter, following the infamous example of his father in regard to Peelajee Gaekwar, engaged two persons who, under the promise of a jagheer, repaired to Jyapa as accredited negotiators, and, watching their opportunity, assassinated him. Of the murderers one escaped, and Jyapa's army retired, but Rugonath Rao afterwards accomplished the object of the expedition, took Ajimere, and established a tribute over the Joudpoor territory.

The most distinguished of the remaining sons of Ranoojee were Duttajee and Mahadajee, who first brought themselves into notice against Sulabut Jung and the French in the war of 1751. Both of them were now left in Hindostan, and not long after Rugonath Rao's departure, Duttajee, incited by the restless vizier Meer Shahabodeen, advanced with a large force to reduce the territory of the Rohillahs. Operations were at first directed against Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah only, who, being unable to withstand such numbers, took post and entrenched himself on the bank of the Ganges, until relieved by Shujah-ud-Dowlah, who, although he detested the Rohillahs as much as his father had done, was yet sensible that to unite against the Mahrattas was the only chance of safety to himself. Upon the advance of Shujah-ud-Dowlah, Govind Punt Boondelay, the soobehdar in charge of the Peishwa's share of Bundelcund, was directed by Duttajee to advance with his troops, and lay waste the whole territory of the Rohillahs—an order which he promptly obeyed, and committed great havoc both in the Dooab and east of the Ganges, where he drove the whole of the chiefs to seek shelter in the

Kumaon hills. Shujah-ud-Dowlah advanced towards Govind Punt, and, as soon as he came near, detached a part of his army, principally composed of Gosaeens, who attacked and routed Govind Punt with great slaughter, and drove his troops with much confusion across the river, in which many of them were drowned.

After this event, negotiations having opened with Duttajee, he was induced to grant terms, not on account of the defeat of Govind Punt, but from having received intelligence that Ahmed Shah Abdallee was advancing in great force to recover the provinces of Mooltan and Lahore. Although the Rohillas anxiously looked to the arrival of the Abdallee, and were then in communication with him, they did not hesitate to give the assurances of friendship to Duttajee, and confirmed their agreement on oath. Shujah-ud-Dowlah joined in similar declarations, with more sincerity at the time, as he bore a personal and hereditary dislike to Ahmed Shah, which generally has much effect on the political conduct both of Hindoos and Mahomedans, and he dreaded the invasion of the Abdallee as much as the encroachments of the Mahrattas.

Whilst these events were passing between the Mahrattas on the one part, and the Rohillas and nabob of Oude on the other, Meer Shahabodeen, in consequence, it is said, of discovering a correspondence with Ahmed Shah Abdallee, put the emperor, Alumgeer II, to death, together with his own relation, Intizam-ud-Dowlah. He then raised to the imperial dignity a son of Kaum Bukhsh, the youngest son of Aurungzebe, by the title of Shah Jehan; whilst Ali Gohur, or Shah Alum, the son of the late nominal emperor, after having some time before ineffectually applied for aid to Wittul Sewdeo, one of the Peishwa's officers, and to Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah, was used as an instrument by the crafty Shujah-ud-Dowlah, and became the nominal head of a confederacy against Meer Jaffier and the English in the well-known warfare of Bengal. Meer Shahabodeen, after having perpetrated those execrable deeds, in order to await the issue of the approaching contest between the Mahrattas and the Abdallee, sought protection with Sooruj Mull, raja of the Jaths, who, with mistaken generosity, afforded him an asylum in one of his forts.

The Mahratta officer in Lahore was speedily put to flight, before Duttajee and Holkar could advance to his assistance.

Ahmed Shah crossed the Jumna with the main body of his army, for the double purpose of favouring the junction of the Rohillahs, and of procuring forage and supplies with greater facility. At the same time his advanced division continued to march on, and Duttajee, fancying it was the main army, retired skirmishing. Holkar, who was in the rear of Duttajee, at some distance, also retired. They had not 30,000 men in both their armies, which appear to have been nearly equally divided. Holkar was negotiating with Sooruj Mull for his assistance, which the Jath promised, but refused to act in the field whilst the Mahrattas were so weak.

In this manner they gradually fell back along the west bank of the Jumna; but their excesses had made the peasantry their enemies, and they were unusually deficient in regard to intelligence. Whilst the Abdallee vanguard occupied their attention in front, Ahmed Shah, assisted by the local knowledge and activity of Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah, suddenly crossed the Jumna, near Delhi, took the division of Duttajee Sindia in flank, completely surprised them, and scarcely one-third of their number escaped. Of that number were Mahadajee Sindia, and his nephew Junkojee, the son of Jyapa; but Duttajee and Jooteba were killed.

Holkar, on the news of this disaster, continued his retreat with great expedition until beyond Agra, where, stopping to take breath, he heard of a large convoy of supplies escorted by the troops of Ahmed Khan Bungush, and intended for the Abdallee camp. On this intelligence he crossed the Jumna, took or destroyed a great part of the convoy, and again retired until he reached Sekundra, east of the Jumna, but south of the Chumbul, where he fancied himself secure. A body of Afghans, however detached from their main army, overtook him by a prodigious march, and routed his troops with great slaughter.

Accounts of these reverses reached the Peishwa when encamped on the Manjera river, after the conclusion of the treaty by which so large a portion of the Deccan was ceded to him. Sewdasheo Rao, exulting in his late victory, requested permission to accompany Wiswas Rao, recover the lost reputation of the Mahrattas in Hindostan, and drive the Afghans beyond the Attock—a proposal in which the Peishwa acquiesced. The natural violence of the Bhow's temper was increased by the

family jealousy he had experienced, and the factious intrigues to which it gave rise. His pride was augmented by his extraordinary good fortune in the late campaign, and the spirit of military enthusiasm, so dangerous in a general without experience, took complete possession of his mind. Success had inspired him with a blind confidence, which salutary reverses in a humbler sphere would in all probability have amended; but it is unfortunate that such lessons cannot always reach individuals in high command until the interests of their country and the lives of thousands may have been sacrificed to the effects of their arrogance and indiscretion.

The Deccan army, prepared to accompany Sewdasheo Rao and his nephew, amounted to about 20,000 chosen horse; besides 10,000 men, artillery, and disciplined infantry, under Ibrahim Khan Gardee, whose corps was doubled, after the late service against Sulabut Jung and Nizam Ally. The equipment of this army was more splendid in appearance than any Mahratta force that ever took the field. The camp equipage, which, in the former expensive campaign, had been brought back from Hindostan by Rugonath Rao, was employed as part of the decoration. The lofty and spacious tents, lined with silks and broadcloths, were surmounted by large gilded ornaments, conspicuous at a great distance; immense particoloured walls of canvas enclosed each suit of tents belonging to the principal officers; vast numbers of elephants, flags of all descriptions, the finest horses magnificently caparisoned, and all those accompaniments of an Indian army which give such an imposing effect to its appearance, seemed to be collected from every quarter in the Bhow's camp. Cloth of gold was the dress of the officers, and all seemed to vie in that profuse and gorgeous display characteristic of wealth lightly acquired. It was, in this instance, an imitation of the more becoming and tasteful array of the magnificent Moghuls in the zenith of their glory.

The principal officers with the Bhow's division were Bulwant Rao Gunput Mendlee, Shumsher Buhadur, Naroo Shunkur (Raja Buhadur), Wittul Sewdeo (Vinchorkur), Trimbuck Sewdasheo (Poorundhuree), with many of the chiefs or connections of the old Mahratta families, who were now but secondary personages in the Deccan, owing to the power of the Peishwas, and the consequent ascendancy of the Bramins.

A large army remained with Ballajee Rao, but orders were despatched to all the Mahratta commanders to join the standard of Sewdasheo Rao Bhow as he advanced towards the Moghul capital. Accordingly, before he crossed the Chumbul, Mulhar Rao Holkar, Junkojee Sindia, Dummajee Gaekwar, Jeswunt Rao Powar, Appajee Rao Atowlay, Antajee Mankesir, Govind Punt Boondelay, and many others of less note had joined with their troops. Most of the Rajpoot chieftains sent parties of their horse; vast numbers of Pindharees, and irregulars of all descriptions, flocked to the increasing host; it seemed the national cause with all Hindoos; and Sooruj Mull, through the agency of Holkar, was induced to meet the army with 30,000 men.

The experienced Jath, however, soon perceived that the unwieldy assemblage under the Bhow, clogged with a cumbersome artillery, and suiting their movements to those of an attendant body of infantry, were ill-adapted to the purpose of the war. He proposed, therefore, that the families and all the heavy equipments should be placed either in Gwalior or Jhansee, or under the protection of some of his own forts, whilst the Mahratta horse and his own could cut off the supplies, and by constant skirmishing, oblige the Mahomedan princes to withdraw, and compel the Abdallee to retreat. Holkar coincided in this opinion; but Sewdasheo Rao had an aversion to Holkar, the enemy of Ramchundur Shenwee, and from the connection between Holkar and the Jaths he imbibed a prejudice against Sooruj Mull. Common report had spread accounts of wonders performed by Europeans; Sewdasheo Rao himself had witnessed the effects of French discipline and artillery; he had gained great advantages by the employment of Ibrahim Khan, and, he haughtily contemned the only advice which might have ensured success. The army proceeded to Delhi, and attempted the citadel at once. A party of the Mahrattas clambered up one of the towers, and got inside, whilst the main body was assaulting the gateway, and the besieged busy in defending it; but the Mahrattas who had made good their entrance, without ever thinking of opening the gate to keep possession of the place, began to plunder, for some time without interruption, but being at last discovered, the whole body, as helpless as an unarmed mob, were driven out by about twelve men. The assault was therefore

deferred, batteries were opened, and in a short time the fort capitulated. The Bhow, on this success, proposed placing Wiswas Rao on the throne, and making Shujah-ud-Dowlah his vizier.

As the Jumna was already unfordable, Sewdasheo Bhow cantoned his army at Delhi, where his innumerable followers consumed everything in the neighbourhood; all articles of provision and supply became scarce, but the first difficulty that appeared to the Bhow was the want of treasure. In this respect, however, he was more provident than in others; he brought two crores of rupees with him from the Deccan, and Holkar, Sindia, Govind Punt Boondelay, and the Rajpoots furnished three more; but the prospect of want of funds induced Sewdasheo Rao to seize the gold and silver ornaments of the imperial audience-chamber, and to destroy the throne—from all which he only procured the sum of 17 lakhs of rupees.

Against this procedure both Holkar and Sooruj Mull remonstrated in the strongest manner, as they considered it both impolitic and indecorous; but Sewdasheo Rao treated their opinion with scorn, on which Sooruj Mull with his whole force quitted the army in disgust, and the Rajpoots, at the suggestion of some of their friends in the Mahomedan camp, withdrew from the confederacy.

In the meantime Ahmed Shah Abdallee, whose camp was opposite to Anopshuhur, on the Ganges, had through Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah prevailed on Shujah-ud-Dowlah to make common cause with the Mussulmans against the Hindoos; but as Shujah-ud-Dowlah was less inimical to the Mahrattas than any of the other confederates, Sewdasheo Rao used many endeavours to conciliate or detach him from the alliance, opened a private communication, and also made him the organ of a public negotiation, which continued to be carried on for months between the Mahrattas and the Abdallee. Both the public and private intercourse was laid open by Shujah-ud-Dowlah to his allies, and his answers were dictated at their suggestion.

When the violence of the monsoon had subsided, Sewdasheo Rao raised Mirza Juwan Bukht, the son of the absent Shah Alum, to the throne of Delhi, and proclaimed Shujah-ud-Dowlah vizier of the empire. He then left Naroo Shunkur (Raja Buhadur) with a garrison in the citadel, and proceeded in person to

Kunjpoora, a fortified town strongly garrisoned, which he breached and stormed. Ahmed Shah had been very desirous of relieving this post, but the Jumna was not yet fordable. He, however, moved his camp to the banks of that river, continued to amuse the Bhow by negotiation, and, after some failures, at last discovered a ford, which he crossed 20 miles above Delhi; a great part of his army had gained the western bank before the Bhow would give credit to the intelligence, and the whole of the Mahomedans were across by the 25th October. On the following morning the advanced guards of the two armies had a severe action, and both sides claimed the advantage; the Mahrattas intended to attack next day, but Holkar was still anxious to adopt the predatory plan, and act against their supplies. Ibrahim Khan expostulated in a very violent manner; he said it would be abandoning him and his corps to destruction, and that he would turn his guns on the first body of cavalry that followed such an advice. These dissensions were with some difficulty suppressed; and, during their continuance, the Mahrattas retired, skirmishing, to Panniput, where Sewdasheo Rao, by Ibrahim Khan's advice, intrenched himself. He dug a ditch 50 feet wide and 12 feet deep, and raised a rampart on which he mounted cannon, round both his own camp and the village of Panniput. Ahmed Shah likewise encamped with his allies, and fortified himself by placing felled trees around his army.

The Mahomedan force consisted of 41,800 horse, 38,000 foot, and about 70 pieces of cannon: these were choice troops, but the irregulars not mustered were very numerous, and probably amounted to as many more. The Mahrattas have been reckoned at 55,000 horse and 15,000 foot, with 200 pieces of cannon, besides their Pindharees and followers, of whom there are supposed to have been upwards of 200,000 souls.

Soon after the armies had taken post, Sewdasheo Rao directed Govind Punt Boondelay to cut off the enemy's supplies, in which he was for a time very successful; but Attaee Khan, sent out for the purpose, having come suddenly upon him when in a mango grove with only about 1,000 of his men, the rest being dispersed plundering, attacked and killed him, cut off his head, and presented the acceptable present to the Abdallee king. Before the death of Govind Punt, there was a probability that a

treaty might be concluded, and the officers in both armies had visited each other; but as Sewdasheo Rao declared that Govind Punt was only in quest of forage for his own army, mutual accusations of treachery inflamed both parties, and negotiation for a time ceased. The loss of Govind Punt was followed by another misfortune; a party of horse in charge of treasure, each man carrying a bag, were returning with it from Delhi, but having in the night mistaken the Afghan camp for their own, they were cut off with the whole of the treasure. Nevertheless the Rajpoots, although they had deserted, contrived to assist the Mahrattas with money, and Sooruj Mull sent a very large sum, which safely reached their camp; but the distress was soon extreme, and the battalions of Ibrahim Khan became clamorous for arrears. Holkar proposed that they should attack with their horse, and leave the Gardees (such was the name by which the regular infantry were distinguished) to take care of the camp—a taunt to which the Bhow showed himself superior by acceding to the proposal.

This attack was made on the 29th November on the left of the Abdallee camp, where Shah Wulee Khan, the vizier of Ahmed Shah, was posted. The Mahrattas, in number about 15,000, broke in, charged at all they met, and although the Afghans stood, they were broken, and upwards of 2,000 of them killed; at last the vizier having been supported from all parts of the camp, the Mahrattas retired with the loss of 1,000 men. Holkar led on that occasion; and, although there was constant and daily skirmishing, in which the Mahratta horsemen individually killed their antagonists, there was no action of importance until the 23rd December, when Sewdasheo Bhow, Wiswas Rao, Holkar, Bulwunt Rao, Gunput Mendlee, and several other commanders came out to attack Shah Wulee Khan, who, attended by a body of horse, was proceeding to a mosque in the neighbourhood, and was surrounded by this host of Mahrattas. Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah and many other officers came out to support him, and a very desperate conflict ensued. Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah having advanced beyond the others, towards the entrenchment, Bulwunt Rao then acting as the dewan of Sewdasheo Rao, an officer of courage and experience, instantly seized the advantage, and charged him furiously; 3,000 Rohillahs were killed, and Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah

for a time in great danger of being taken; but Bulwunt Rao, in the moment of victory, was shot, after the close of day, by a musketball, when the Bhow, greatly afflicted by his loss, thought only of retiring to his entrenchment with the body of his friend. Actions took place almost daily, and the Rohillahs and Sujah-ud-Dowlah earnestly tried to bring on a decisive action. But Ahmed Shah steadily refused, in which he showed himself a good general, acquainted both with the minds of men and the science of war. The irritable impatience in his own camp, where the hardships were trifling compared with the Mahratta distress, told him precisely the state of his enemies, and that every day's delay in their situation only rendered the prey more certain. The Mahrattas were starving: the improvident waste to which they had long been accustomed rendered them totally unable to bear privation, and in action gave them full time to reflect on the state to which they were reduced. Sewdasheo Bhow saw that it was now impossible to avoid a decisive battle; and, although he still negotiated, his own judgment told him it was hopeless. A vast body of his followers, whom hunger had made careless and daring, issued forth from the entrenchment in the night to procure food for themselves or their famished families, when they were discovered, surrounded, and butchered by the Afghans. The Mahrattas called to be led forth to fall by the sword, and not to be left to die in long endurance of useless misery. The chiefs applied to the Bhow, who

6th January 1761 approved of their resolve, and with his ordinary manner, and in perfect composure, distributed the usual *pan* and *betel* at breaking up of the assembly. Orders to prepare for battle were issued to the troops. All

7th January the grain in store was distributed, that they might have one full meal that night; and on the 7th January, an hour before the break of morning, the Mahratta troops were moving out of their entrenchment, left in front; their cannon, swivels, *shuternals* or musquetoons mounted on camels, and their rockets, marched first, covered by Ibrahim Khan Gardee; next came Dummajee Gaekwar's horse, followed by those of Wittul Sewdeo, Sewdasheo Bhow and Wiswas Rao, Jeswunt Rao Powar, Shumsher Buhadur, Mulhar Rao Holkar, and Junkojee Sindia.

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In this order they slowly advanced towards the Abdallee camp with every symptom of hopeless despair, rather than of steady resolution. The ends of their turbans were let loose, their hands and faces anointed with a preparation of turmeric, and everything seemed to bespeak the despondency of sacrifice prepared, instead of victory determined. Sewdasheo Rao gave over his own wife and several of the principal families to the particular care of Holkar. His reason for this is supposed to have been that Mulhar Rao was the only chief who might expect to find favour with the unrelenting Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah, by whose counsel Ahmed Shah was greatly swayed, and Holkar was therefore the only person whose influence was likely to obtain their eventual protection. Sewdasheo Rao, just before he

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moved out, sent a note to one of the carcoons of Shujah-ud-Dowlah, who had been employed as an agent in their negotiation, in which was written—"The cup is now full to the brim, and cannot hold another drop," and requested that if anything could be done it might be immediate. At the time this note was received, the scouts of Shujah-ud-Dowlah brought intelligence that the Mahrattas were moving out, on which he proceeded straight to the king, whom he found asleep in his tent with his horse saddled at the door. On being awoke he asked—"What news?" and, when informed of the exigency, mounted his horse, and rode forward about a mile in front of his lines, where he at first began to doubt the intelligence; but by this time the Mahrattas had drawn up their army in the same order as they had moved out, with Ibrahim Khan on the left and Junkojee Sindia on the right; their artillery was placed in front of their line, and a general discharge of cannon announced that they were ready. Upon hearing this, the king, who was sitting upon his horse, smoking a Persian kalleoon, gave it to his attendant, and with great calmness, said to Shujah-ud-Dowlah—"Your servant's news is very true, I see." He then ordered out his army, which drew up with its artillery in front. His grand vizier, Shah Wulee Khan, with the Afghans, was posted in the centre; from which Ahmed Khan Bungush, Hafiz Rehmut, and Doondy Khan, Rohillahs, with Umeer Beg and Berkhardar Khan, formed the right wing; and on the vizier's left were posted Shujah-ud-Dowlah, nabob of Oude, and Nujeeb-

ud-Dowlah, Rohillah. Shah Pusund Khan, with a choice body of Afghans, secured the extremity of the left flank. In this order the battle began with a general cannonade, and the lines drew near to each other. Ibrahim Khan Gardee, supported by Dummajee Gaekwar, advanced resolutely on the Rohillahs in the right wing of the Mahomedan army, covering his left flank from the attack of Umeer Beg and Berkhordar Khan, by wheeling back two of his battalions in an oblique direction from their right. On the right of the Mahrattas, Junkojee Sindia was immediately opposed to Shah Pusund Khan and Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah. The last advanced, throwing up a succession of embankments to cover his infantry—a most extraordinary labour, which he probably undertook with a view to ultimate defence, that in case, as was not improbable, the desperate impetuosity of the Mahrattas should break through the troops, each embankment might then prove a rallying-point.

Sewdasheo Rao, with his nephew and Jeswunt Rao Powar, were opposite to the grand vizier. The great Bhugwa Jenda, or standard of the nation, was raised in the front, and three Juree Putkas were in the field. Ahmed Shah was at some distance in rear of the Mahomedan army. When the combatants respectively had outmarched their artillery, the Mahratta cry of Hur Huree! Hur Huree! was distinctly heard; the battle then very soon became general, and a tremendous charge was made full on the centre, where the troops of the grand vizier, of which 10,000 were horse, were guilty of a great mistake in not advancing to meet the shock. The Mahrattas, in consequence, broke through them, but riders on both sides were dashed to the ground. The dust and confusion were so great that combatants, whilst they fought hand to hand, and grappled in the strife of death, could only distinguish each other by the Mahomedan Allah! and Deen! or the incessant Hur! Hur! Mahdeo! which rent the air from the Mahratta host. Shah Wulee Khan, in full armour, threw himself from his horse, and the bravest of his men followed his example; but most of the Afghans gave way. "Our country is far off, my friends," said the vizier—"whither do you fly?" but he was left for a time, defended only by the broken remnant of his force. Ibrahim Khan Gardee, though with the loss of more than half his men, and himself wounded, was successful;

near 8,000 Rohillahs lay dead or wounded; but the left wing of the Mahomedan army was still unbroken. This state of the battle was, about noon, reported to Ahmed Shah, who now evinced the collected decision of a great commander. He directed a chosen band of his personal guards to enter his encampment, and drive out every armed man who had retired from his duty—an order which they promptly executed. Troops were soon sent to support the right wing, and the grand vizier was directed to make repeated charges with 10,000 men at full gallop on the centre of the Mahrattas; whilst Shah Pusund Khan and Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah supported the vizier by simultaneous attacks on the flank. These onsets were still met and repulsed; but the physical strength of the Afghans, in the protracted and close struggle, was an overmatch for the slighter frames of the Hindoo natives of the south. The Mahrattas, however, on this terrible day fought valiantly; and no chief was reproachable except Mulhar Rao Holkar. Of his countrymen none doubted his courage, but he did not do his utmost to support his prince, and some do not hesitate to accuse him of treachery. A little after two o'clock in the afternoon Wiswas Rao was mortally wounded; on seeing which Sewdasheo Rao Bhow descended from his elephant, sent, as is said, a message to Holkar "to do as he had directed, and mounting his horse, a famous Arab charger, disappeared in the confusion of the fight. The message to Holkar, if it ever was sent as he alleges, proved instantaneously fatal. Holkar went off, Dummajee Gaekwar followed, and in a moment resistance on the part of the Mahrattas ceased. All was then flight and confusion. Thousands were cut down, and vast numbers perished by suffocation in the ditch of their entrenchment; men, women, and children crowded into the village of Panniput, where they were surrounded for the night; and here it might seem that the greatest barbarians would have been touched with some feeling of mercy; but the Afghans showed none. To the eternal disgrace of themselves and of humanity, they next morning coolly took out the unfortunate victims, and divided them in their camp. They retained the women and children as slaves; but they ranged the men in lines, and amused themselves in cutting off their heads, which they afterwards piled as trophies in front of their tents. The body of Wiswas Rao was found, and Ahmed Shah having

sent for it to look at, the Afghans assembled in a tumultuous manner, calling out—"This is the body of the king of the unbelievers; we will have it dried and stuffed to carry back to Cabul."

Shujah-ud-Dowlah and the Rohillahs prevailed on Ahmed Shah to permit the body to be burnt by the Hindoos. Shujah-ud-Dowlah also endeavoured to save Junkojee Sindia and Ibrahim Khan Gardee, who were among the wounded prisoners; but the enmity of Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah to the name of Sindia was inflexible, and the crime on the part of Ibrahim Khan, of having fought on the side of Hindoos against the true believers, decided his doom. They were both put to death. A headless trunk, supposed to be the body of the Bhow, was found at some distance from the field of battle, and there is scarce a doubt of his having been slain, but his fate was never accurately known. Jeswunt Rao Powar fell in the field, but Shumsher Buhadur escaped wounded from the battle, and was one of the many massacred by the peasantry. Wittul Sewdeo (Vinchorkur), Dummajee Gaekwar, and Naroo Shunkur, with part of the garrison at Delhi, returned to their own country. Of the fighting men, one-fourth only are supposed to have escaped, and of the followers about an equal proportion; so that nearly 200,000 Mahrattas perished in the campaign.

Sooruj Mull treated such of the fugitives as reached his territory with the greatest kindness, and the Mahratta nation to this day view the conduct of the Jaths on that occasion with gratitude and regard.

During the period when Sewdasheo Rao was shut up in his entrenchment, news of his situation from time to time reached the Peishwa, and in the month of November he moved to Ahmednugur, and from thence to the banks of the Godavery. In December the intelligence became still more alarming. Janojee Bhonslay joined him with a body of 10,000 men, and the army moved towards Hindostan. In the middle of January, when crossing the Nerbuddah, a cossid (or letter carrier) belonging to the soucars, who was engaged to reach Aurungabad in nine days from Panniput, met the Peishwa's army, and mentioned that the Mahrattas were defeated. He was brought to the Peishwa, who opened the letter in his charge, and read its fatal

contents—"Two pearls have been dissolved, 27 goldmohurs have been lost, and of the silver and copper the total cannot be cast up." From these words the fate of Sewdasheo Rao, Wiswas Rao, the officers, and the army was understood.

A confirmation of the account by the arrival of some persons from the army soon placed it beyond all doubt; amongst the first of the fugitives was Ballajee Jenardin, nephew of Baboo Rao, and afterwards well known as Nana Furnuwees. His mother was taken by the Afghans, but his wife escaped, as did Parwuttee Bye, the widow of the unfortunate Bhow. Grief and despondency at once spread over the whole of Maharashtra. All the military families had to mourn relatives, missing or slain, and the Peishwa never recovered the shock. He slowly retraced his steps towards Poona, but his faculties were much impaired; a rapid decay of the constitution ensued, and he expired in the end of June, at the temple of Parbuttee, a conspicuous building erected by him in the southern environs of the city of Poona.

This event so closely following the fatal field of Panniput, contributed to increase the general gloom which overhung the country. Ballajee Bajee Rao was one of those princes whose good fortune, originating in causes anterior to their time, obtain, in consequence of national prosperity, a higher degree of celebrity, especially among their own countrymen, than they may fully merit. Ballajee Rao, however, was a man of considerable political sagacity, of polished manners, and of great address. His measures are marked by an excessive cunning, which Bramins in general mistake for wisdom; he practised all the arts of dissimulation, and was a perfect adept in every species of intrigue. A strong example of the worst species of Bramin character is shown in the manner by which he compassed the destruction of Suckwar Bye Sirkay. The private life of Ballajee Rao was stained with gross sensuality; but though indolent and voluptuous, he was generous and charitable, kind to his relatives, and dependents, an enemy to external violence, and to that sort of oppression which such violence implies; on the whole, he may be regarded as rather a favourable specimen of a Bramin in power.

Previously to Shao's death, little amendment took place in the civil administration; but the territory, under the immediate care of the Peishwas, had been in a progressive state of improvement

since the time of Ballajee Wishwanath, principally owing to the abolition of the pernicious system of letting out the revenues of districts in farm, and to the encouragement afforded to the villagers to protect themselves from the exactions of every petty chief who had the means of enforcing contribution in money, forage or provisions. Ballajee Rao appointed fixed mamlitdars or soobehdars, each of whom had charge of several districts, and sur-soobehdars were placed in the more distant provinces, under whom there were several mamlitdars. There was, in the first instance, no sur-soobehdar in the territory between the Godavery and the Kistna; the intermediate districts, the best protected and most productive under the Mahratta rule, were entrusted to the Peishwa's favourites and courtiers, some of whom were his relations. They held absolute charge of the police, the revenue, and the civil and criminal judicature, and in most cases had power of life and death. They were bound to furnish regular accounts, but they always evaded settlement. They governed by deputy, and remained at court, whether in the capital or in the field, in attendance upon the Peishwa. Their districts were of course extremely ill-managed, and in very great disorder; the supplies furnished for the exigencies of the state were tardy, and, in comparison with the established revenues, insignificant.

The commencement of a better system is ascribed to Ramchundur Baba Shenwee, and, after his death, Sewdasheo Rao Bhow improved on his suggestions. Ballajee Rao was sensible of the advantage to be derived from bringing the collectors of revenue under control; he had not sufficient energy for the undertaking himself, but he supported the measures of his cousin. Fortunately, Sewdasheo Rao found a fit person in Balloba Manduwagunnee, whom he appointed sur-soobehdar over the soobehdars and mamlitdars in question; and, after much opposition and odium, not without the necessity, in one instance, of resorting to force, he compelled them to produce their accounts, displaced one or two, and made large recoveries on account of the government. This was a very great step towards amendment in one department, nor were others neglected. A Shastree of respectability named Bal Kishen Gargeel, was appointed head of the Poona Nyadeish, or court of justice; and the police, which had generally been an object of some attention in their camps, was

much invigorated at the capital. The Peishwa himself had little genius for civil government, but a strong inclination to all sorts of political intrigue. Sewdasheo Rao was open to bribery, and the Mahratta nation generally had not obtained sufficient leisure for great improvements in civil arrangement; they had scarcely begun to lay down rules when they were called off by some foreign war, or internal dissension. But under the government of Ballajee Bajee Rao, punchayets, the ordinary tribunals of civil justice, began to improve; because power, if it did not always examine and uphold their decrees, at least did not interfere to prevent the decisions of the community. The Mahratta dominion attained its greatest extent under Ballajee Rao's administration; and most of the principal Bramin families can only date their rise from that period. In short, the condition of the whole population was in his time improved; and the Mahratta peasantry, sensible of the comparative amelioration which they began to enjoy, have ever since blessed the days of Nana Sahib Peishwa.

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IN THE END of September, Mahdoo Rao, the second son of the late Peishwa, then in his seventeenth year, proceeded to Satara, accompanied by his uncle Rugonath Rao; and received investiture as Peishwa from the nominal raja, who remained precisely in the same state of imprisonment, under the obdurate Tara Bye, as before described, until her demise, which happened in the month of December following, at the great age of 86. To the last moment of her existence she maintained her inveteracy against Ballajee Rao and Sewdasheo Rao, declaring that she expired contented, having lived to hear of their misfortunes and death. The raja's condition was afterwards so far improved that he was brought down from the fort, and suffered to live a prisoner at large in the town of Satara. At a subsequent period he was permitted by Mahdoo Rao to appoint agents for the management of his Patell dues in several villages, and the collection of his other hereditary claims as deshmookh of Indapoor.

Sulabut Jung and Nizam Ally were at Beder when news of Ballajee Rao's death reached them. The latter, as nominal dewan, had already usurped the entire powers of the government; and deeming the present opportunity favourable for recovering the lost districts from the Mahrattas, he began, under various pretences, to concentrate a large army in the neighbourhood of Aurungabad.

Rugonath Rao, naturally fond of power, contemplated, with no small satisfaction, the prospect of gratifying his favourite inclination during the minority of his nephew. When the preparations of Nizam Ally gave reason to expect a rupture with the Moghuls, he became desirous of putting an end to some existing disputes between the presidency of Bombay and Ramajee Punt, the soobehdar of the Concan, which had arisen in conse-

quence of protection afforded by the English to their ally, the Seedee of Jinjeera, who had been besieged the preceding season by Ramajee Punt, assisted by a corps of Portuguese. The conduct of the Bombay government on this occasion was equally judicious and spirited. They saved a petty chief, by whom they had frequently been much accommodated, prevented his throwing his island into the hands of any other European power, and compelled the Mahrattas to respect the British flag, which was hoisted at Jinjeera when Ramajee Punt, after every representation, persevered in his intention of reducing the place. Mr. Crommelin was president in council at this juncture, and an agent having arrived on the part of Rugonath Rao for the purpose of accommodating all differences, an agreement was concluded by the Bombay government, and Govind Sew Ram on the part of the Peishwa. A gentleman was also sent to condole with Mahdoo Rao on the occasion of his father's death—a customary form which civility requires. The agreement itself was rather an assurance of civility and friendship than a definite treaty; but Rugonath Rao, being ill-prepared to resist the expected invasion of the Moghuls, wished eventually to obtain from Bombay some European soldiers and guns, and prolonged the negotiation for that purpose by sending another wukeel to Bombay on pretence of making some alterations in the agreement, but in reality to negotiate for military aid.

The English East India Company, from the example of their great commercial rivals the Dutch, had early been desirous of obtaining territory. Partly from this circumstance, and the representations of their servants for the last 20 years, they had been exceedingly solicitous to obtain possession of the island of Salsette and the fort of Bassein, not only on account of the advantages expected from the revenue, but as advanced positions essentially necessary to the security of the island and harbour of Bombay. The overtures of Rugonath Rao, therefore, met with the readiest attention; but although he offered to cede territory yielding a revenue of one lakh and a half of rupees at Jumbooseer, and to make several other concessions, yet as the favourite island of Salsette was not of the number, the alliance was suspended.

As the danger from the threatened invasion increased, the overtures were renewed, even Salsette was offered, and though not by any accredited agent, the president and council were



sanguine in their hope of accomplishing their object, especially as by every succeeding day's account the Mahrattas, without aid from the English, were likely to be completely worsted.

No period indeed for the last 40 years had been more favourable for the restoration of the Moghul authority in the Deccan. The loss of the battle of Panniput was imputed by the Mahratta sillardars solely to the misconduct of the Bramins; the Bramins of the Desh, or country above the Ghauts, acknowledged the fact, but declared that it was to be ascribed entirely to the mismanagement of their brethren of the Concan. The violent party feelings, which arise under every government on occasions of reverses, were heightened in the loose confederacy of this nation by the prejudices of ignorance and of caste; under such circumstances, where so very few could distinguish between misfortune and misrule, dissension was a natural consequence. Nizam Ally was not yet sufficiently apprized of those dissensions to reap advantage from them; but even if he had possessed the requisite information, one of his first acts, the destruction of the Hindoo temples at Toka, a village upon the Godavery, would have prevented his being joined by any party. It was nevertheless celebrated by the Mahomedan soldiery as a triumph, and Nizam Ally was pushing on towards Poona, when Ramchundur Jadow, and most of the Mahrattas in the Moghul service, disgusted by the insult offered to their religion, deserted to the Peishwa, and carried with them Meer Moghul, the youngest son of Nizam-ool-Moolk.

The Moghuls, although they continued to advance, were opposed with increasing spirit; and after they were within 14 miles of Poona, Nizam Ally was induced to listen to overtures, and relaxed in an original demand for the restoration of the whole territory conquered by Ballajee Rao. An accommodation took place, by which cessions to the amount of 27 lakhs of rupees of annual revenue from Aurungabad and Beder were relinquished by Rugonath Rao as the price of peace; and the negotiation for European assistance from Bombay was abruptly terminated by extravagant and impertinent proposals from Ramajee Punt.

After the conclusion of the treaty, the young Peishwa, attended by Trimbuck Rao Mama, maternal uncle of the late Sewdasheo Chimnajee Bhow, was sent into the southern territory for the collection of revenue, and Nizam Ally returned towards Beder, where

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he imprisoned Sulabut Jung in the month of July, and about 15 months afterwards secured his usurpation by the murder of a brother, whose natural imbecility would have prevented his ever becoming a formidable rival, whilst unsupported by a foreign power.

Shortly after the return of Mahdoo Rao to Poona, disputes arose between him and his uncle, in consequence of Mahdoo Rao's desire to be admitted to a share in the administration. Rugonath Rao, as well as Sukaram Bappoo, and several other ministers, were much offended at his presumption; conceiving that affairs could not be conducted without them, they threw up their situations, but Sukaram Bappoo, whose object was to keep well with both parties, resigned, as if a matter to which he was compelled, and always contrived, as far as he was himself concerned, to keep open the door of reconciliation. Mahdoo Rao, in the promptest manner, requested Trimbucket Rao Mama to act in the situation of dewan, which he accordingly undertook, assisted by Gopaul Rao Govind Putwurdhun, jagheerदार of Merich; and it is worthy of remark, as extremely creditable to the selection of so young a man, that Ballajee Jenardin Bhanoo, already mentioned, and afterwards well known as Nana Furnuwees, and Hurry Punt Phurkay, were at this period employed as personal carcoons by Mahdoo Rao.

Trimbucket Rao's acceptance of the office of minister excited great jealousy towards him in the mind of Sukaram Bappoo, and an irreconcilable aversion on the part of Rugonath Rao. This state of feeling, aggravated by the strongest animosity between Anundee Bye, the wife of Rugonath Rao, a woman of a very violent character, and Gopika Bye, the widow of the late, and mother of the present, Peishwa, inflamed the parties to open hostility. Rugonath Rao having quitted Nassuck, to which place he had retired, proceeded to Aurungabad, where he was received with the greatest attention by Moraud Khan, governor of that city, immediately assisted with Moghul troops, and in a very short time was joined by a large body of Mahrattas. With this force he proceeded towards Poona, and, half-way between Poona and Ahmednugur, attacked the army of his nephew, which, being very inferior, immediately gave way. Nizam Ally was advancing to the support of Rugonath Rao; Janojee Bhonslay,

without avowing his intentions, was approaching from Berar, and every appearance indicated the probability of a great revolution in the Poona government, when Mahdoo Rao, with remarkable foresight and decision, immediately resolved on throwing himself into the power of his uncle, as the only means of preventing a complete division in the state. Whilst his associates were directed to seek their own safety, Mahdoo Rao presented himself before his uncle, urged his reasons for making the concession with much propriety, and, although the latter placed him in confinement, he was obliged to yield him that respect which, at the height of his prosperity, Rugonath Rao himself could never command. As the price of the Moghul alliance, he had promised to restore the forts of Doulutabad, Sewneree, Asseer-gurh, and Ahmednugur, and territory, from the cessions made in January 1760, yielding a revenue of 51 lakhs of rupees, or an equivalent to that amount. Nizam Ally, finding that a reconciliation had taken place, affected great satisfaction; and having come to Pairgaom on the Beema, a friendly interchange of civilities took place, and orders were issued for the delivery of the districts stipulated, but these orders, for reasons hereafter explained, were suspended, and none of the promised forts, except Doulutabad, were ever relinquished.

Rugonath Rao being now uncontrolled, appointed Sukaram Bappoo and Neelkunt Mahdeo Poorundhuree his principal ministers, bestowing on the former a jagheer of nine lakhs of rupees, and conferring on the latter the command of the important fort of Poorundhur, which, since first obtained by Ballajee Wishwanath, had been hitherto carefully retained in the Peishwa's family. Rugonath Rao's next proceeding was still more imprudent. On the demise of Jugjeewan, Pritee Needhee, he had been succeeded by his nephew, Sreenewass Gungadhur, more commonly known by his original name, Bhowan Rao; but Rugonath Rao having displaced him, raised his own infant son, Bhaskur Rao, to the dignity of Pritee Needhee, and appointed Naroo Shunkur (Raja Buhadur), the same officer who, for a time, commanded in the citadel of Delhi, to the office of mootaliq, which was in effect conferring the office of Pritee Needhee upon him. Ramchundur Jadow, who had in the preceding year deserted the Moghul standard, was restored to the rank of Senaputtee, formerly held

by his great-grandfather, the famous Dhunnajee; but, as he was disappointed in a promise made to him of receiving, as Senaputtee, the sovereignty of Guzerat, he took the first opportunity of making his peace with Nizam Ally. Kanhojee Mohitey was appointed Sur Lushkur, and Wittul Sewdeo (Vinchorkur) was also raised to high rank. The situation of Peishwa's Furnuwees, which, since the time of Ballajee Wishwanath, had been continued in the family of Bhanoo, was taken from Moroba Baboo Rao, and conferred on Chintoo Wittul.

These changes occasioned much discontent; but when Rugonath Rao, in order to gratify his revenge towards Gopaul Rao Putwurdhun, attacked and took the fort of
A.D. 1763 Merich, it caused disaffection in many persons,

who were before disposed to support him in the government during the minority of his nephew; and Gopaul Rao, with several others who had suffered by his measures, readily listened to overtures which were made to them by Wittul Soondur, the minister of Nizam Ally. This minister was a Bramin of the Yajurwedee tribe, who was raised to the office of dewan, with the title of Raja Pertabwunt, at the period when Nizam Ally confined his brother. Jealous, it is said, of the arrangement concluded by Moraud Khan, Wittul Soondur persuaded Nizam Ally that he had now an opportunity of completely reducing the Mahrattas, and that the most advisable policy was to overturn the government of the Concan Bramins, to declare Janojee Bhonslay regent, of which situation (the raja of Satara being incompetent to the task of governing) it should be pretended that Janojee, by the death of Tara Bye, became the proper representative. To this scheme Janojee readily acceded; but Nizam Ally, whose duplicity rendered him true to no plan, whilst his minister was thus negotiating, secretly renewed a correspondence with the raja of Kolapoor, by which he intended to have an eventual competitor in reserve, in case Janoojee's claims should prove inconvenient. Everything seemed to promise success; Meer Moghul, having been neglected by Rugonath Rao, returned to his brother; Moroba Furnuwees, Sewdasheo Ramchundur (the son of Ramchundur Shenwee), Bhowan Rao (the dispossessed Pritee Needhee), Gopaul Rao Putwurdhun, and many other persons joined the Moghuls. The former

agreement, known as the treaty of Pairgaom, was broken off before the districts were restored, and hostilities recommenced. Rugonath Rao was not prepared for this event, but derived the greatest assistance from his nephew, who on this emergency, although still retained in a state of confinement, afforded his uncle the full support of his influence and counsel. Mulhar Rao Holkar and Dummajee Gaekwar were both present with Rugonath Rao; the army was not sufficient to contend with the undivided force which accompanied Nizam Ally, but they were lightly equipped, and that circumstance, in Holkar's opinion, made them superior to the enemy. They advanced as if to give battle, but avoided an action, passed the Moghul army, and proceeded to Aurungabad, which they attempted to escalate, but were repulsed. On the approach of Nizam Ally, they went off towards Berar, entered the districts of Janojee Bhonslay, and plundered in their usual manner. They levied a contribution of 60,000 rupees from Mulkapoor, and, on being pursued, returned to Mungy-Pyetun; thence they turned off in a south-easterly direction, and committed great havoc in the Moghul territory. Nizam Ally followed them for some time, but, seeing it was impossible to overtake them, he marched straight on Poona, which he determined to plunder; and Rugonath Rao, for the purpose of retaliation proceeded towards Hyderabad.

As soon as it was known at Poona that the Moghul army was approaching, most of the people removed as much of their property as they could carry away, and fled to the hill forts, or into the Concan. The Peishwa's family and the state papers were sent off towards Singurh, but Bappoo Kurundeea, one of Janojee Bhonslay's officers, advanced so rapidly that some of the property belonging to the fugitives was taken, the village below Singurh was set on fire by his troops, and many manuscripts and state papers, illustrative of Mahratta history, were totally destroyed.

Nizam Ally encamped at a short distance from the city, and allowed his army to plunder it; after which houses not ransomed were torn down or burned. He next proceeded towards Poorundhur, and from thence ravaged the country as far east as the Beema; but the violence of the rains was such as to induce him to adopt the resolution of cantoning his army until the opening of the season. For this purpose he intended to have gone



to Beder, but Janojee Bhonslay persuaded him to alter the destination to Aurungabad.

In the meantime Rugonath Rao had returned to watch his motions, the wall which surrounds the city of Hyderabad had prevented him from making any impression on the Moghul capital, but he exacted a contribution of 1,80,000 rupees from the suburbs. He had opened a secret negotiation with the Mahratta chiefs in the army of Nizam Ally, and found Janojee Bhonslay, the only one whose defection occasioned serious alarm, willing to listen to an accommodation. His ambitious hopes, formed on joining the Moghuls, had been damped from a suspicion of the duplicity of the dewan, Raja Pertabwunt. Upon a promise, therefore, of receiving territory yielding a revenue of 32 lakhs of rupees, being a portion of that which was promised to Nizam Ally as the price of his assistance to Rugonath Rao, he agreed to withdraw his support, and soon found a very critical opportunity.

As the Moghul army pursued their route towards Aurungabad, Rugonath Rao followed them some marches in the rear. On arriving at the Godavery, Nizam Ally, with a part of his force, crossed over, leaving the dewan with the remainder, at Rakisbone, on the south bank of the river, until the whole of the stores and baggage had been sent over. At this juncture, Janojee, on pretence of not receiving money to pay his troops, quitted the dewan, and encamped at a distance. This movement was the signal to Rugonath Rao, who made a rapid march, attacked the Moghuls, and, after a sanguinary conflict, finally routed them with immense slaughter. Raja Pertabwunt, the dewan, was among the slain. The resistance was very determined on the part of the Moghuls, and continued for nearly two days. Rugonath Rao was amongst the foremost in every attack, and at one time, almost alone, was completely surrounded and cut off from his troops; but his own determined bravery, and that of his friend Sukaram Hurry, who fought by his side, enabled him to defend himself until rescued by his nephew. Throughout the battle the young Peishwa particularly distinguished himself, both by personal energy and the judicious support which he sent, not only to his uncle, but to different points of the attack. The loss on both sides was very great, and on that of the Moghuls is said to have amounted to 10,000 men.

Nizam Ally at first endeavoured to aid his dewan by a cannonade from the opposite side of the river, but without effect. He thus became a spectator of the destruction of his troops, without the possibility of succouring them, and was afterwards obliged to retire within the walls of Aurungabad, lest the Mahrattas should be able to ford the river. This object they accomplished in a few days, and arrived at the city, which they again attacked without success, and a number of them were killed. Immediately afterwards Nizam Ally visited Rugonath Rao, and with that apparent contrition which he could so well affect, laid all his errors to the fault of his late dewan, and so worked on the weakness and good nature of Rughoba, that he not only forgave all that had happened, but, in consideration of the aid with which he had been furnished in his distress, he wished to bestow upon Nizam Ally such part of the cession of 51 lakhs made by the treaty at Pairgaom as remained at his disposal, after deducting the assignment of 32 lakhs promised to Janojee. His ministers, however, dissuaded him from following his inclination to its full extent, and he was induced to confine the gift to ten lakhs, so that nine lakhs of the original cession was saved, and a new treaty was concluded with Nizam Ally in October.

At the time of delivering the deeds by which Janojee was paid for his treachery, Mahdoo Rao openly reproached him for his duplicity to both parties, and vehemently condemned the unprincipled and unworthy motives by which he had been drawn in to become a tool for the subversion of a government which had aggrandized his father's house, and raised the Hindoos to the power they enjoyed. This manly candour in a young man educated in a Bramin court, is the more remarkable when we consider the control under which Mahdoo Rao was still held, but over which his judgment and ability were gradually obtaining the ascendancy.

Bhowan Rao was restored to his rank of Pritee Needhee upon the death of Bhaskur Rao, which happened about the period when the treaty with Nizam Ally was concluded. The fort of Merich was restored to Gopaul Rao; and although Moroba Furnuwees was not immediately appointed to any share of the hereditary duties of his office, it was bestowed on his cousin,

Ballajee Jenardin, who I shall hereafter designate by his common appellation of Nana Furnuwees.

Whilst the Mahrattas had to maintain these struggles in the Deccan, a new power was rising on the ruins of the Hindoo dynasty of Mysore, under the celebrated adventurer Hyder Ally Khan, which to the southward promised, in a very short time, at least to confine the Mahrattas to their native boundary. Busalut Jung, still hopeful of forming an independent kingdom in the Carnatic, took advantage of the absence of the Mahrattas to plan the conquest of their southern districts, and with this view obtained the alliance of Hyder, whom he appointed nabob of Sera, precisely in the same manner as the Raja Shao used to confer unconquered territories, the right to which, as Colonel Wilks has observed, "could only be inferred from the act of granting." Busalut Jung and his new ally had reduced Ouscotta, Sera and Bura-Balapoor, by the end of 1761; and Busalut Jung, soon after, being apprehensive of an attack from his brother Nizam Ally, returned to his capital at Adonee; but Hyder prosecuted his conquests. In 1762 he reduced, or exacted tribute from, the polygars of Chota-Balapoor, Raidroog, Harpoonelly and Chittledroog. In 1763 he conquered Bednore, and confined the ranee and her adopted son in the fort of Mudgerry; Fuzzul Oolla Khan, one of his officers, overran Soonda, and early in the ensuing year Hyder defeated the nabob of Savanoor. He left Fuzzul Oolla Khan in that quarter, to occupy as much as possible of the Mahratta country, whilst affairs of government required his own return to Bednore. Fuzzul Oolla Khan accordingly took Dharwar, and established Hyder's posts nearly as far north as the Kistna.

The Mahrattas were not unconcerned spectators of the rapid progress of Hyder Ally, and a large army was assembling at Poona to be directed against him. Mahdoo Rao insisted on his right to command this army, whilst his uncle remained at Poona to conduct the government; Sukaram Bappoo joined in supporting the Peishwa's pretensions on this occasion, till at last Rugonath Rao yielded his consent, but quitted Poona in anger, and retired to Anundwelee near Nassuck. The discussions prior to this arrangement delayed the advance of the Mahratta army beyond the time which mere preparation required, and Gopaul Rao

Putwurdhun, who had crossed the Kistna in advance, was defeated with great loss by Fuzzul Oolla Khan. Early in the month of May, Mahdoo Rao entered the Carnatic with an army of 30,000 horse, and about the same number of infantry. Fuzzul Oolla Khan, leaving a strong garrison in Dharwar, fell back on Hyder's army, which had quitted an intrenched camp prepared at Annawutty, and advanced to a strong position, where, when joined by Fuzzul Oolla Khan, the whole army under Hyder's personal command has been estimated at 20,000 horse and 40,000 foot, of which one-half were disciplined infantry. Mahdoo Rao's superiority in cavalry enabled him to obtain more correct intelligence than his adversary, and, assisted by the experience of Sukaram Bappoo, it was determined not to attack Hyder's united force in the position he had chosen. Detachments were therefore employed in driving out his garrisons from the towns and villages north of the Wurda. This plan of operations induced Hyder to try stratagem for bringing on a general engagement, for which purpose he moved out with 20,000 men, intending to retire and draw the Mahrattas towards his reserve, which remained in its first position under Fuzzul Oolla Khan. Such a shallow artifice proves how little he then knew of his enemy. The Mahrattas, as is their usual practice, showed a few men, small bodies began to skirmish, and drew Hyder forward, until their parties, still retiring, but gradually thickening, at last presented solid masses of horse, moving round between him and his camp. Hyder was obliged to change his intended feint of retiring into steady dispositions for a retreat to his camp, which was not effected without considerable loss. Next day his army fell back to the entrenched position at Annawutty; and Mahdoo Rao, as the rains had set in, fixed his headquarters at Nurindra, north of the Wurda, sending his horse for shelter into all the villages 20 miles round. After the defeat of Hyder, Abdool Muzeed Khan and Moorar Rao Ghorepuray joined the Peishwa, who, as Ramchundur Jadow had rejoined Nizam Ally, formally restored Moorar Rao to his rank of Senaputtee, as the representative of the family of Ghorepuray—a circumstance the more creditable to the Peishwa, as he declared it but an act of justice to the descendant of the gallant Suntajee, so ill-requited in the reign of Raja Ram.

As soon as the season permitted, Mahdoo Rao laid siege to Dharwar, which capitulated after a breach had been made. The whole country north of the Wurda was then in his possession, except Moondogoor, which continued rain prevented his investing; but when the weather cleared up, it was speedily reduced. Perceiving that the war would terminate successfully, he requested Rugonath Rao to join and assume the command—a remarkable instance of self-command in a general so young, and obviously proceeding from motives purely conciliatory, though at the same time more creditable to the heart of the individual than the judgment of the prince. Rugonath Rao accordingly left Nassuck, and arrived as the army was about to cross the Wurda.

Mahdoo Rao's intention was to cut away the thick woods which surrounded Annawutty, and get between Hyder and Bednore, which the Mahrattas had no sooner
A.D. 1765 begun to carry into execution, than Hyder decamped with precipitation. The country was so close that, for the first two days, the Mahrattas could only harass the rear of Hyder's army; but on the third day, the country becoming more open, a body of the Peishwa's troops were moved between Hyder and Bednore, which compelled him to stand an action. His troops were attacked with impetuosity, and many of them immediately sought shelter in the woods. Hyder reached Bednore with only 2,500 horse and 10,000 infantry, the rest of his army being for the time dispersed, and several thousands of them destroyed. As the Mahrattas advanced, all the garrisons surrendered on the first summons, except Anuntpoor, which held out for some time, until Hyder had got together some of his dispersed army, when he entered upon a negotiation with Rugonath Rao, to whom both the conduct and conclusion of the treaty were wholly intrusted. Hyder engaged to restore all districts and places wrested from Moorar Rao Ghorepuray, to relinquish all claims on the nabob of Savanoor, and to pay 32 lakhs of rupees to the Peishwa. The terms were by no means approved of by Mahdoo Rao; but having once granted full authority to his uncle, he adhered to the agreement, and made no objection where an attempt to remedy what was defective would have been a departure from good faith. He quitted the Carnatic, and recrossed the Kistna in the end of February.

Mahdoo Rao, whilst anxious to conciliate his uncle, and willing to relinquish as large a share of power as was consistent with the dignity of his situation, and his duty to the state, had to contend with the intrigues of party, and to resist the counsel of his mother, Gopika Bye, who naturally jealous, and inflamed by the violent behaviour of Anundee Bye, the wife of Rugonath Rao, advised her son, as a measure of self-preservation, to place his uncle under restraint. Mahdoo Rao, however, long entertained hopes of being able to avoid such an extreme measure. Rugonath Rao, though frequently perverse, was not untractable, except when exposed to the influence of his wife; he probably would have acceded to his nephew's views, but for the malicious and desperate woman by whom his ambition and resentment were alternately excited. The Peishwa was sensible that Rugonath Rao could, at this period, obtain the aid either of Nizam Ally or of Janojee Bhonslay, and, as affairs then existed, perhaps of both. For although Nizam Ally boiled with resentment against Janojee, on account of his treacherous defection, there was, as yet, no breach between them which could not have been speedily accommodated, for purposes of mutual aggrandizement. Nizam Ally during this year had made a successful campaign south of the Kistna, and had reduced his brother Busalut Jung to submission and obedience. The conquest of Hyder Ally and the nabob of the Carnatic, or rather his supporters the English, prevented him from extending his sway over those countries, to the southward of the Kistna, conquered by Aurungzebe, and forming a part of that viceroyalty which his father had seized, and to which he had succeeded by usurpation and murder.

Under these circumstances, with regard to Nizam Ally and Janojee, Mahdoo Rao deemed it his safest policy to conciliate the one at the expense of the other. He soon found that Nizam Ally would readily enter on an offensive alliance against Janojee, with the ultimate hope of engaging the Mahrattas in co-operation against Hyder. A secret compact was accordingly entered into

about the beginning of the ensuing year, the
A.D. 1766 particulars of which, if ever committed to
writing, have not been discovered, but the
objects of it become tolerably obvious from a variety of facts. The

FROM A.D. 1761 TO A.D. 1766

united armies of the Peishwa and Nizam Ally invaded Berar, compelled Janojee Bhonslay to sue for peace, and to restore three-fourths of the districts he had gained by his double treachery during the former war—a politic moderation on the part of Mahdoo Rao, who still left Janojee something to lose, but made it apparent, from what follows, that the Moghuls rather than the Mahrattas were gainers by the invasion. Of the districts which were thus restored on the 4th February, nearly two-thirds, or a tract of territory equivalent to 15 lakhs of rupees of annual revenue, was given up to the Nizam on the 16th of the same month, and stated in the accounts of the Poona government as ceded “for the firm establishment of peace and friendship.” It is more than probable the agreement pointed to conjoint operations for the ensuing season in the Carnatic; but circumstances occurred in the meantime which materially changed the relative situations of the contracting powers.

The English East India Company, after they had overcome their rivals the French, and found time to contemplate the situation into which they had been hurried by national hostility, the treachery of the native powers, the ambition of their servants, and the bravery of their troops, were astonished and alarmed at the height to which they had ascended, and would have relinquished a part of their acquisitions, in order to purchase security for the remainder. But those who fully understood their situation were convinced that they had already gone too far to recede, and that they must be prepared not only to resist, but to punish, aggression.

All the states in India were inimical to Europeans of every nation, and even when bound down by treaties, they were at best but faithless friends, who would never maintain an alliance unless when controlled, either immediately or remotely, by their interests or their fears. Their jealousy, no less than their prejudice, would have prompted them to extirpate the foreigners, and the English had, therefore, only the choice of offensive or defensive war. To have adopted the latter would have lost them the advantage of all favourable conjuncture, and must have obliged them to oppose the united armies of the natives, instead of having to contend with their divided force. They might, indeed, have avoided the contest by resigning the trade, privileges

and dominion they had acquired; but those mistaken philanthropists, who imagine that the happiness of India would have been secured by such a sacrifice, required no other answer than is afforded by the series of mismanagement, and devastation which it has already been my duty to record.

It is not my province to trace the rise of the British power in India, but many of the principal events which led to our ascendancy in that quarter are blended with the Mahratta history; and these, as hitherto, I shall endeavour to describe, without favour to my own nation, and without the equally unjust bias which is apt to arise from a desire to guard against so natural a partiality.

The records of the company's government in India are, probably, the best historical materials in the world: there we find the reasons for every undertaking, the steady rules intended for conduct, the hurried letter from the scene of action, the deliberations of the council, the separate opinions of the members composing it, and their final judgment. The scrutiny, censure, or approval of the Court of Directors from a remote situation, and after a long interval, bring to recollection all that was done and all that was speculated, what has occurred in India in the meantime, and what opinions have stood the test of events. Many inconsistencies appear both in the orders of the Directors at home, and in the measures of their governments abroad, which frequently arose from causes irremediable or excusable, such as the distance of the supreme power, and the defective information at the different presidencies. The divided nature of the authority in India was also, for a long time, a source of great evil; and even after the act of Parliament had passed, which vested a control in the president and council of Bengal, the defects, as might have been expected, were not immediately remedied; for it generally requires time and a judicious exercise of power, to fit any new law to the end for which it is framed.

Much corruption and many reprehensible acts are to be found, especially before the affairs of India had attracted the full attention of the British legislature and nation; but not only is every act and every deliberation which other governments have generally the power to conceal, recorded in detail at the different presidencies, but the personal animosity of individuals composing



the governments has given the most glaring interpretation to mere errors, and has sometimes occasioned gross misrepresentation of facts. On the other hand, many services, performed without any great degree of exertion or ability, have, in consequence of their results, been extravagantly praised, and given a tone to Indian despatches which prejudices sober judgment, and obscures the honor of toils and of virtues, to which in every department, both civil and military, our countrymen in India have founded claims as just as the instruments of any government, ancient or modern.

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From A.D. 1766 to A.D. 1772

WHILST UNIVERSALLY ADMITTED that
unwieldy dominion is the forerunner of certain
A.D. 1766 decline, it is not always considered that, under
some circumstances, conquest may be too slow
as well as too rapid. Illustrative of this observation, we have some
striking examples connected with the history of Maharashtra,
particularly in the decay of the Portuguese and the rise of the
Mahrattas. The middle course, as steered by the English, and
the steady march of aggrandizement which they have hitherto
pursued in the East, is to be ascribed to the remarkable men
who have, at various periods, directed the councils and their
armies; and to the caution of a body of merchants, who, though
pleased at the gain, were appalled at the venture, and who feared
the loss of all they had acquired by each succeeding contest into
which they were plunged.

Lord Clive, who returned from England to assume the govern-
ment of Bengal in May 1765, not only perceived that it was
impossible for the English to recede, but was convinced that to
advance was essential to their preservation. Of the three great
powers—the Mahrattas, Nizam Ally, and Hyder—the first was
considered the most formidable. As early as the end of the
year 1761, immediately after the death of Ballajee Rao, when
Mr. Vansittart was president of the council in Bengal, it was
intended to expel Janojee Bhonslay from Kuttack; and it was
proposed, not only to the governments of Madras and Bombay,
but to the emperor of the Moghuls, to Sulabut Jung, and Nizam
Ally. Although the sister presidencies, for various sufficient
reasons, disapproved of the expedition, it was prevented, not
seemingly on account of their disapproval, but at the request of
the nabob of Bengal.

The Court of Directors were desirous of seeing the Mahrattas
checked in their progress, and would have beheld combinations of

the other native powers against them with abundant satisfaction; but they were apprehensive of the consequences of granting a latitude to their own servants, or of being engaged as umpires or auxiliaries; and their instructions were designed to prevent their becoming involved in hostilities, especially as principals, in any case short of absolute defence. With these cautious views, however, they were anxious to attain two objects, which they deemed of vital importance to their security; the first, of old standing, was one in which the Mahrattas were directly concerned, the possession of Salsette, Hog Island, and Caranja, in the neighbourhood of Bombay, which every year tended to render more important; the second, the accomplishment of which devolved more particularly on the presidency of Madras, was the occupation of the five districts formerly belonging to the French, on the eastern coast of the peninsula, best known as the Northern Circars. With respect to the first, the Mahrattas, though but a few years before they scarcely regarded the English, were now too jealous of their aggrandizement, willingly to relinquish the island alluded to; besides which, they attached peculiar value to these possessions, as the fruits of their success against an European nation. In regard to the second, Guntoor, one of the five districts in question, was appropriated as the jagheer of Busalut Jung. Nizam Ally, having at one time offered to farm the remaining four to the nabob of Arcot, it was hoped he might allow the company to occupy them on the same terms; but although the Madras government offered six times more than he had ever before received, he positively refused to rent them to the English.

In consequence of this obstinacy on the part of Nizam Ally, Lord Clive determined to take possession of the districts at all events, and for this purpose obtained a grant of them from the emperor. The Madras government occupied Rajamundree by force, and it is not surprising that Nizam Ally should have treated as mockery all assurances of their being actuated solely by motives of self-preservation. Encouraged by the deference with which representations were still made to him by the English, and by his alliance with the Mahrattas, Nizam Ally threatened the English with extirpation, and endeavoured to incite Hyder to invade the Carnatic. The Madras presidency, in considerable

alarm, tried to form an alliance with Hyder, but he refused to receive the envoy. In this dilemma, Mr. Palk, the governor of Madras, referred to Lord Clive, who recommended a connection with the Nizam, which should have for its object the subjugation of Hyder, and an alliance for restraining the spreading power of the Mahrattas.

The prospect thus held out to Nizam Ally precisely suited his views. He wished to reduce Hyder, and to humble the Mahrattas; he knew the value of regular troops, and he readily listened to the proposals of the English; but as he had already leagued himself with the Mahrattas against Hyder, he deemed it most advisable not to break with Mahdoo Rao, until he had effected the overthrow of the usurper of Mysore. A treaty, however, was concluded between Nizam Ally and the English, by which the Madras government agreed to pay seven lakhs of rupees a year for four of the districts, or to assist Nizam Ally with two battalions of infantry and six pieces of cannon. In case the troops should be required, the seven lakhs of rupees were to be appropriated for their expenses.

The Mahratta court seem to have perceived the object of this combination, and Mahdoo Rao, without waiting for his ally, if such he could be termed, crossed the Kistna in the month of January, and, before the end of March, took Sera, Ouscotta, and Mudgerry, released the ranée of Bednore and her adopted son, who had been confined in Mudgerry; and after levying 30 lakhs of rupees of tribute from Hyder, and collecting nearly 17 more from different parts of the Carnatic, was prepared to return to Maharashtra before Nizam Ally had made his appearance. When the English and Nizam Ally wished to have brought forward their pretensions to share in the Mahratta tribute, their envoys were treated with broad and undisguised ridicule. It is not positively known whether Mahdoo Rao was apprized of the ultimate design of the alliance between Nizam Ally and the English, nor is it ascertained what agreement existed between Nizam Ally and the Mahrattas, but we have an unsupported assertion of Nizam Ally's minister, Rookun-ud-Dowlah, that his master had been duped by the Mahrattas for the third time; at all events, it could not have escaped the observation of Mahdoo

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Rao that the English in the war against Hyder voluntarily appeared as auxiliaries to one of two contracting parties, and that, upon the subjugation of Hyder, Nizam Ally, by the English aid, could dictate, as the Mahrattas probably otherwise would have done, in any partition of his territories. This proceeding, therefore, on the part of Mahdoo Rao, which has been alluded to as ordinary Mahratta artifice to anticipate the plunder, was a measure perfectly justifiable, for the purpose of effecting an important political object, and disconcerting the plans of his enemies. He re-crossed the Kistna in the end of May, leaving the Moghuls and their allies to settle with Hyder as they best could.

The subsequent treachery of Nizam Ally in joining Hyder against the English, and the circumstances which induced him, by a fresh act of treachery, to desert Hyder and renew the treaty with the English, have been elsewhere distinctly and fully recorded; and as they belong not to this history, it is only necessary to mention, in order to preserve a connection with subsequent events, that a new treaty was concluded, on the 23rd February 1768, between Nizam Ally and the English, which, though framed on the basis of that which was settled in 1766, differed from it in some very essential particulars, the most remarkable of which was their arrogating to themselves the right and the power to dispose of Hyder's territories. The treaty declared Hyder a usurper; the Carnatic Bala Ghaut was taken from him by Nizam Ally, as Moghul viceroy in the Deccan, and the office of dewan, for the future management of that territory, conferred upon the English company, for which they agreed to pay an annual tribute of seven lakhs of rupees. Nizam Ally further consented to cede Guntoor, the remaining district of the northern circars, upon the death or misconduct of his brother Busalut Jung. The Mahrattas, without having applied to become parties to this absurd treaty, were, by a special clause, to be allowed their chouth from the territory thus disposed of. The Peishwa had no interference in the war fare which continued for some time between the English and Hyder; the line of conduct which he adopted, and which will be explained in the regular narrative of events, may be ascribed partly to policy, but principally to the internal situation of his empire.

Rugonath Rao, in the preceding year, after the campaign against Janojee, had set out on an expedition into Hindostan,

accompanied by Mulhar Rao Holkar. The prosecution of an intended reduction of many places formerly in the possession of the Mahrattas, or tributary to them, was obstructed, in the first instance, by the death of Mulhar Rao Holkar. His grandson Mallee Rao, only son of Khundee Rao, and a minor, succeeded to his possessions, but died soon after, which gave rise to a dispute between Gungadhur Yeswunt, the dewan, and Aylah Bye, the widow of Khundee Rao, now lawful inheritor. The dewan proposed that some connection of the family should be adopted by the widow; but to this Aylah Bye, although her dewan's proposal was approved of by Rugonath Rao, would by no means consent. Supported by her own troops, by the Peishwa, and by the voice of the country, she appointed Tookajee Holkar, an experienced sillidar, a great favourite with the late Mulhar Rao, but no relation of the family, to the command of her army, retaining under her own management the civil administration of the extensive family jagheer. To the death of Mulhar Rao Holkar may probably be attributed the inactivity of the Mahrattas during this campaign, and the failure of Rugonath Rao in an attempt to reduce the rana of Gohud, a petty chieftain of the Jath tribe, whose uncle rose into notice under the Peishwa Bajee Rao, but who, upon the defeat of the Mahrattas at Panniput, rebelled against them. Rugonath Rao, after a protracted siege of the town of Gohud, accepted a tribute of three lakhs of rupees, and shortly after proceeded towards the Deccan, where he arrived in the month of August, some time after the Peishwa's return from the Carnatic. On Mahdoo Rao's intimating his intention of meeting his uncle at Toka, the latter strongly suspected that there was a plan laid for seizing him. The fact appears to have been that Rugonath Rao's views, at the suggestion of Anundee Bye, were directed to dividing the sovereignty of the empire, and, conscious that attempts to strengthen his party had been discovered, he dreaded the consequences. Mahdoo Rao intended to make a last effort to reclaim his uncle, to repeat his offers of conceding a principal share in the administration, or to give him a handsome but moderate establishment in any part of the country where he might choose to reside. It was not easy to overcome Rugonath Rao's suspicions so far as to induce him to meet Mahdoo Rao, but an interview was at length effected by the mediation of Govind Sew Ram.

Mulhar
Rao
Holkar

Rugonath Rao at first refused all offers, and expressed his determination to retire to Benares. Mahdoo Rao replied that he thought such a resolution extremely proper, and, indeed, that he *must* either take the share of the administration which was proposed, or have no interference whatever in the government. To this last proposal Rugonath Rao, piqued at the decided tone which his nephew had assumed, affected the readiest compliance, and gave orders to his officers, in charge of the forts of Ahmednugur, Sewneree, Asseergurh, and Satara, to obey the orders of Mahdoo Rao; he declared that all he desired, before renouncing the world, was the payment of the arrears due to his troops, and a suitable provision for his family and attendants. Mahdoo Rao agreed to pay 25 lakhs of rupees in three months, to place at his disposal a jagheer, situated about the source of the sacred river Godavery, yielding 12 or 13 lakhs of rupees of annual revenue, and including six forts, amongst which were Trimbuck, Oundha, and Putta; but Rugonath Rao was dissatisfied, and only sought a fit opportunity to assert his claim to half of the Mahratta sovereignty.

Mahdoo Rao at this period was courted by the English and Mohummud Ally on the one part, and by Nizam Ally and Hyder on the other. Mr. Mostyn was sent to Poona by the Bombay government, for the purpose of ascertaining the Peishwa's views, and of using every endeavour, by fomenting the domestic dissensions or otherwise, to prevent the Mahrattas from joining Hyder and Nizam Ally. An alliance was not to be resorted to, if it could be avoided, but if absolutely necessary, the conquest of Bednore and Soonda, regarding which the Mahrattas always regretted having been anticipated by Hyder, was to be held out as an inducement for engaging them in the English interests.

The Mahratta court evaded all decisive opinions or engagements, but candidly told the envoy that their conduct would be guided by circumstances. The Peishwa, however, could not quit the Deccan whilst his uncle's conduct manifested symptoms of hostility; and Sukaram Bappoo's intentions, always affectedly mysterious, continued equivocal.

Towards the end of the fair season Rugonath Rao had assembled a force of upwards of 15,000 men, with which, in hopes of

being joined by Janojee Bhonslay, he encamped, first on the banks of the Godavery, and afterwards in the neighbourhood of Dhoorup, a fort in the Chandore range. It was at this period, when despairing of having another son, that Rugonath Rao adopted Amrut Rao, the son of a Concan Bramin, whose family surname was Bhooskoottee. His principal supporters in rebellion were Dummajee Gaekwar, who sent him some troops under his eldest son, Govind Rao, and Gungadhur Yeswunt, the dewan of Holkar, who was not only a zealous partizan of Rugonath Rao, but entertained a personal pique against the Peishwa, the origin of which is too remarkable to be omitted. At a public durbar in Poona, after Rugonath Rao had retired from the administration, Gungadhur Yeswunt took an opportunity of saying, in a contemptuous manner, "that in the present affairs, his old eyes could distinguish the acts of one who only saw with the eyes of a boy;" Mahdoo Rao, to the astonishment of all present, jumped from the musnud, or cushion of state, on which he sat, and struck him a violent blow on the face—a singular instance of the effects of anger in a Bramin court, among a people remarkable for their decorum.

Mahdoo Rao, on hearing of the formidable rebellion under his uncle, in order to anticipate a design formed on the part of Janojee Bhonslay to support him, immediately marched to Dhoorup, where he attacked and defeated Rugonath Rao's troops, forced him to seek shelter in the fort, obliged him to surrender, conveyed him a prisoner to Poona, and confined him in the Peishwa's palace.

The season of the year prevented Mahdoo Rao from taking immediate notice of the hostile intentions of Janojee, but he was publicly engaged in negotiations with Nizam Ally and with Hyder, in which he had a triple object: his chief design was to punish Janojee, and his first care was to engage Nizam Ally in an alliance for that purpose; the second was to draw the tribute from Mysore without the necessity of sending Gopaul Rao's army from Merich, as Hyder, fully occupied in the war with the English, might be thrown off his guard by his extreme anxiety to procure the aid of the Mahrattas; the third object was to deter the Bengal government from entering on an alliance earnestly solicited by Janojee, from the fear that Mahdoo Rao, aided

by Hyder and Nizam Ally, would ruin the company's affairs on the coast of Coromandel before their forces from Bengal could join Janojee in Berar.

The governor and council at Bombay, although the agent then at Poona, Mr. Brome, reported precisely as Mahdoo Rao wished him to believe, being less directly interested than Madras, were the first to perceive the depth of this well-planned scheme; and

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Hyder, as soon as his eyes were opened by finding that the tribute was required as a prelude to the Mahratta alliance, improved on the deception, and endeavoured to turn the reports then in circulation to his own advantage, by drawing the presidency of Madras into an alliance with himself.

Mahdoo Rao, when he gave out that his preparations were intended to assist Hyder, amongst other stratagems to mask his real designs, sent his fleet to cruize off Bombay harbour; but Visajee Punt, the commander from Bassein, on being called upon by the governor and council to explain his conduct, gave as an excuse that he was watching two Portuguese ships, and assured the president that the Peishwa had no intention of breaking with the English. This assurance strengthened their opinion, and was soon confirmed by reported commotions, the preparations of Janojee Bhonslay, and the advance of a combined army of Mahrattas and Moghuls, under the Peishwa and Rookun-ud-Dowlah, towards Nagpoor.

Janojee laid a judicious plan for the campaign, and opposed the invaders on the old Mahratta system, in which Mahdoo Rao was less experienced than in the half-regular kind of warfare to which his attention had been directed. The artillery, the Arabs, and the infantry partially disciplined, the numerous tents, and the heavy equipments of the Peishwa and Rookun-ud-Dowlah unfitted them for the active war of detachments which Janojee pursued.

The combined armies entered Berar by the route of Basum and Kurinja. Naroo Punt, the soobehdar of the province on the part of Janojee, attempted to oppose them, but was defeated and killed; his nephew, Wittul Punt Bullar, retired towards Nagpoor; where Janojee and Moodajee, with their families and baggage, were encamped. As the Peishwa advanced, they moved

off to the westward, and as no attempt was made to cut them off from Gawelgurh, as soon as Mahdoo Rao passed to the eastward, they lodged their families and baggage in that fortress, and were joined at Wuroor Zuroor by their brother Sabajee, at the head of a large detachment. Mahdoo Rao plundered Nagpoor; Janojee made no attempt to save it, but moved to Ramteek, where his whole force united, Bimbajee, the fourth brother, having joined from Chutteesgurh; Janojee then made a feint, as if intending to proceed towards the Peishwa's districts to the northward. Mahdoo Rao, however, was not tempted to follow him; he placed thannas in various districts, collected the revenue all over the country, and laid siege to Chandah. Janojee, in the meantime, wheeled off to the westward, and, marching with extraordinary diligence, passed Ahmednugur, and began to plunder the country on the route to Poona. Mahdoo Rao had at one time proposed, after his capital was destroyed by Nizam Ally, to surround it by a strong wall; but this design was, on mature consideration, abandoned, lest it should ultimately occasion irreparable loss, by holding out a security to property which was best insured by a dependence on the strong hill forts of Singurh and Poorundhur. The inhabitants, on Janojee's approach, sent off their property as usual; and Mahdoo Rao, as soon as he was apprized of the route he had taken, sent Gopaul Rao Putwurdhun and Ramchundur Gunnesh with 30,000 horse in pursuit of him; but Janojee still plundered in the neighbourhood of Poona, and Gopaul Rao was justly accused of being secretly in league with him. The Peishwa and Rookun-ud-Dowlah raised the siege of Chandah; Janojee moved towards the Godavery, pretending that he was about to give fair battle to the Peishwa in the absence of Gopaul Rao, whom he left at some distance in the rear. Nothing, however, was farther from his intention; he passed the Peishwa's army near Mahoor, but detached Bappoo Kurundeea by a circuitous route, who suddenly fell upon the baggage, and succeeded in carrying off a portion of it. Both parties, however, were tired of the war; they had mutually sustained heavy loss; and Janojee, although hitherto as successful as he could have expected, was sensible that, if hostilities continued, they must end in his ruin; but his principal alarm was caused by some intrigues with his brother

Moodajee, and he readily embraced the first overtures of pacification afforded by a message from Mahdoo Rao. A treaty, or in the language of the Peishwa, who did not admit the independence which treaty implies, an agreement, was concluded, on terms extremely favourable to the Peishwa, on the 23rd March—eleven days prior to the masterly manoeuvres by which Hyder Ally dictated a peace to the English at the gates of Madras.

The agreement between Mahdoo Rao Peishwa and Janojee Bhonslay, Sena Sahib Soobeh, was concluded at the village of Kunkapoor, on the north bank of the Beema, near Brimeshwur, and consisted of 13 articles, by which Janojee restored the remainder of the districts he had received for deserting the Moghuls at Rakisbone, and gave up certain sequestrated shares of revenue, or an equivalent for what rightfully belonged to Fuith Sing Bhonslay, raja of Akulkote. The tribute of ghasdana, hitherto levied by the Sena Sahib Soobeh from the Peishwa's districts in Aurungabad, was discontinued, and in lieu of such tribute due from any other district belonging to the Peishwa or Nizam Ally, a stipulated sum was to be fixed, and paid by an order upon the collectors; but in case the Moghuls should not pay the amount, the Sena Sahib Soobeh should be at liberty to levy it by force; he was neither to increase nor diminish his military force without permission from the Peishwa, and to attend whenever his services were put in requisition; to protect no disaffected sillidars, nor to receive deserters from the Peishwa's army; to maintain no political correspondence with the emperor of Delhi, the soobehdar of the Deccan, the English, the Rohillahs, and the nabob of Oude. A wukeel was permitted to reside with the English in Orissa, and at the court of Nizam Ally, but his business was to be strictly confined to revenue affairs. Janojee Bhonslay also submitted to pay a tribute of rupees five lakhs and one (5,00,001) by five annual instalments. On the other hand, the Peishwa agreed not to molest Janojee's districts by marching his forces towards Hindostan by any unusual route; to pay no attention to the pretensions of his relations, as long as he continued their just rights; he was to be permitted to send a force against the English, who were represented as troublesome in Orissa, provided his troops were not required for the service of the state. There are a variety of other items mentioned in the

agreement, but the above are the most important; the form of the Sena Sahib Soobeh's dependence upon the Peishwa is maintained throughout; but it seems more particularly marked by avoiding the usual terms of an offensive and defensive alliance, instead of which the Peishwa agrees, at the request of the Sena Sahib Soobeh, to assist him with troops in case of an invasion of his territories by any other power.

Of the advantages obtained by Mahdoo Rao, Nizam Ally received three lakhs of rupees of annual revenue, and one lakh was conferred on his minister, Rookun-ud-Dowlah.

After the close of the campaign against the raja of Berar, the Peishwa sent an army into Malwa, under the command of Visajee Kishen Beneewala, accompanied by Ramchundur. Gunnesh, Tookajee Holkar, and Mahadajee Sindia. Their proceedings will be hereafter detailed; but some circumstances connected with the last-mentioned person, domestic affairs at Poona, and operations in the Carnatic demand our previous attention.

Mahadajee Sindia, after the death of his nephew, Junkojee, although his illegitimacy was against his succession, had, by his services and qualifications, established claims to the family jagheer, which it would have been both impolitic and unjust to set aside, especially as there was no legitimate descendant of Ranoojee alive. His birth tended greatly to lower his respectability in the eyes of the Mahratta sildars—a circumstance which was a cause of Sindia's subsequent preference for Mahomedans and Rajpoots, and occasioned an alteration in the constitution of his army. Rugonath Rao, seemingly without any reasonable cause, wished to see him appointed merely the guardian of his nephew, Kedarjee Sindia, the eldest son of Tookajee—an arrangement of which the Peishwa disapproved; and this difference of opinion not only widened the breach between Mahdoo Rao and his uncle, but ever after inclined Mahadajee Sindia to Nana Furnuwees, Hurry Punt Phurkay, and several others, the ostensible carcoons, but the real ministers, of Mahdoo Rao.

When ordered to Hindostan on the expedition just adverted to, after all the commanders had obtained their audience of leave, Mahadajee Sindia, presuming on the favours shown to him, continued to loiter in the neighbourhood of Poona. Mahdoo

Rao, who at all times exacted strict obedience from his officers, had particularly desired that they should proceed expeditiously, in order to cross the Nerbuddah before there was a chance of obstruction by the swelling of the rivers from the setting in of the south-west monsoon; but two or three days afterwards, when riding out to Theur, his favourite village, 13 miles from Poona, he observed Sindia's camp still standing, without the smallest appearance either of movement or preparation. He sent instantly to Mahadajee Sindia, expressing astonishment at his disobedience and presumption, and intimating that if, on his return from Theur, he found a tent standing or his troops in sight, he should plunder his camp and sequester his jagheer. Mahadajee took his departure promptly; but this well known anecdote, characteristic of Mahdoo Rao, is chiefly remarkable from the contrast it presents to the future power of Mahadajee Sindia at the Mahratta capital.

The Peishwa seized every interval of leisure to improve the civil government of his country. In this laudable pursuit he had to contend with violent prejudices and with general corruption; but the beneficial effects of the reforms he introduced are now universally acknowledged, and his sincere desire to protect his subjects, by the equal administration of justice, reflects the highest honor on his reign. His endeavours were aided by the celebrated Ram Shastree, a name which stands alone on Mahratta record as an upright and pure judge, and whose character, admirable under any circumstances, is wonderful amidst such selfishness, venality, and corruption as are almost universal in a Mahratta court. Ram Shastree, surnamed Parboney, was a native of the village of Maholy, near Satara, but went early to Benares, where he studied many years, and upon the death of Bal Kishen Shastree, about the year 1759, was selected for public employment at Poona, without either soliciting or declining the honor of being placed at the head of the Shastrees of the court. As Mahdoo Rao obtained a larger share of power, Ram Shastree was at great pains to instruct him, both in the particular branch which he superintended, and in the general conduct of administration. An anecdote related of him is equally creditable to the good sense of himself and his pupil. Mahdoo Rao, in consequence of the conversation of several learned Bramins, had for a time

Bal
Kishen
Shastree

been much occupied in expounding and following the mystical observances which the Shasters enjoin. Ram Shastree perceived that to oppose this practice by ordinary argument would only lead to endless disputes with Mahdoo Rao, or rather with his associates; but one day, having come into the Peishwa's presence on business, and found him absorbed in the contemplation enjoined to Hindoo devotees, during which all other faculties are to be suspended, the Shastree retired; but next day, after making the few arrangements necessary, he went to the Peishwa, and formally resigned his office, which is politely expressed by intimating an intention of retiring to Benares. Mahdoo Rao immediately apologized for the apparent impropriety of his conduct the day before, by stating the cause, which he defended as excusable and praiseworthy. "It is only so," replied Ram Shastree, "provided you entirely renounce wordly advantages. As Bramins have departed from the ordinances of their faith, and assumed the office of rajas, it becomes them to exercise power for the benefit of their subjects, as the best and only apology for having usurped it. It behoves you to attend to the welfare of your people and your government; or, if you cannot reconcile yourself to those duties, quit the musnud, accompany me, and devote your life strictly to those observances which, I fully admit, our faith enjoins." Mahdoo Rao acknowledged the justness of the rebuke, and abandoned the studies which had misled him.

The benefits which Ram Shastree conferred on his countrymen were principally by example; but the weight and soundness of his opinions were universally acknowledged during his life; and the decisions of the punchayets, which gave decrees in his time, are still considered precedents. His conduct and unwearied zeal had a wonderful effect in improving the people of all ranks; he was a pattern to the well-disposed, but the greatest man who did wrong stood in awe of Ram Shastree; and although persons possessed of rank and riches did, in several instances, try to corrupt him, none dared to repeat the experiment, or to impeach his integrity. His habits were simple in the extreme; and it was a rule with him to keep nothing more in his house than sufficed for the day's consumption.

One of Mahdoo Rao's first acts was to abolish the system of forcing the villagers to carry baggage—a custom then so preva-

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lent in India, that when first done away in the Mahratta country by Mahdoo Rao, it occasioned discontent among the men in power, and many secretly practised it. But the Peishwa having intelligence of a quantity of valuable articles conveyed in this manner by order of Visajee Punt, soobehdar of Bassein, seized and confiscated the whole; remunerated the people for being unjustly taken from their agricultural labours, and at the same time issued fresh orders, which none, who knew his system of intelligence, ventured to disobey.

In the ensuing fair season Mahdoo Rao had leisure to turn his attention to affairs in the Carnatic. Hyder, after concluding peace with the English, and obtaining a promise of their eventual support, was under no alarm at the prospect of a war with the Mahrattas. He not only evaded their demands for the payment of arrears of tribute, but levied contributions upon some of the polygars tributary to the Peishwa—an encroachment which Mahdoo Rao was not of a disposition to tolerate. In the month of November he sent forward a large body of horse under Gopaul Rao Putwurdhun, Mulhar Rao Rastia, and the cousins of Gopaul Rao, *viz.*, Pureshram Bhow and Neelkunt Rao

Putwurdhun. Mahdoo Rao followed at the head
A.D. 1770 of 35,000 men, of whom 15,000 were infantry.

He rapidly reduced the two Balapoors, Kolhar, Nundeedroog, Mulwugul, and the greater part of the open country on the eastern boundary of Hyder's territory, including 16 forts, none of them considered of very great importance, and 25 fortified villages, of which he destroyed the greater part of the defences. The fort of Mulwugul was carried by an assault led by two rivals of the Ghatgay family, of Boodh and Mullaoree. Their hereditary disputes, known to have existed from the time of the Bahminee dynasty, had been repeatedly revived in the Peishwa's camp, but though settled by a punchayet in favour of Nagojee Raja, Joojhar Rao, the other branch of the family, the head of which was Bajee Ghatgay, being dissatisfied, both parties had solicited permission to decide the quarrel, according to the family privilege, "at the spear's point," to which Mahdoo Rao would not consent; but when the assault was about to take place, it was proposed that, of the two, he whose flag first appeared before the Juree Putka on the top of the rampart should be

confirmed in all the hereditary privileges. One of the family who carried the flag of Bajee Ghatgay was killed; Dumdairay, the person who had charge of the Juree Putka, also fell, but Nagojee seized the standard, and planting his flag with his own hand, hoisted the Juree Putka over it, amidst an enthusiastic shout from the whole Mahratta army. Unfortunately the lustre of this gallant action was tarnished by the slaughter of the whole garrison.

The Peishwa's progress was for a time arrested at Nidjeeghul, a place of inconsiderable strength, which held out several months, and repulsed two assaults made by the Mahrattas, in one of which Narain Rao, the Peishwa's brother, was wounded. It was at last stormed by the polygar of Chittledroog, at the head of his Beruds—a class of people who, as already noticed, are said to be originally Ramoossees from Maharashtra.

Hyder, as the Mahrattas advanced on the east, retired to the westward, where, the country being closer, their cavalry were prevented from acting against him with effect. He never ventured within 20 kos of Mahdoo Rao, as his infantry would not face the Mahratta horse on a plain; but a light force under Gopaul Rao, which was sent to watch his motions, and ravage the country, was surprised and put to flight by Hyder on the night of the 3rd or 4th March. This affair was attended by no advantage; the Mahrattas continued to plunder and ravage his territory, and Hyder hoped that they would retire to the northward of the Kistna, on the approach of the south-west monsoon. But he was disappointed. The state of Mahdoo Rao's health compelled him to return to Poona in the beginning of June; but he left the infantry and 20,000 horse under Trimbuck Rao Mama to prosecute the war. Hyder offered to pay the chouth, but would not restore the amount exacted from the polygars, as he conceived their submission to his authority in 1762 gave him a right to the tribute he had levied.

Trimbuck Rao, before the season when he might expect the return of the Peishwa, gained several advantages, reduced the fort of Gurumconda and some other garrisons.

Mahdoo Rao, as soon as the season permitted, marched from Poona, intending to have joined Trimbuck Rao, but being again taken ill, he gave over the command to Appa Bulwunt, the

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son of that Bulwunt Rao who fell so much distinguished in one of the battles at Panniput. After the junction of Appa Bulwunt, the Mahratta army consisted of nearly 40,000 horse, with 10,000 infantry, and some guns. Hyder with 12,000 horse and 25,000 infantry, of whom 15,000 were regulars, and 40 field guns, did not at first venture to take the field, and the Mahrattas encamped a short distance to the north of Seringapatam. Trimbuck Rao, in hopes of being able to draw Hyder from his position, retired a short distance to the northward, when Hyder, who always kept up a correspondence with some of the Mahratta officers, is supposed to have been deceived by false information, and took the field, imagining that a great part of Trimbuck Rao's force was detached. He was soon undeceived; and such was his impression, whether from having been formerly beaten by the Mahrattas, or from want of confidence in his army—a circumstance rare in a good officer—this man who had fought with skill and bravery against British troops, did not dare to risk a battle, and at last fled, in the most dastardly and disorderly manner, towards his capital. The whole of his guns were taken, some thousands of his men and 1,500 of his cavalry were destroyed; 25 elephants, several thousand horses, and the whole of his camp equipage were the recorded trophies of the Mahrattas, who, as usual, boasted less of their victory than of their plunder.

After this success, Trimbuck Rao invested Seringapatam, but being almost destitute of men capable of working his guns, the attempt was conducted with more than the usual absurdity of a Mahratta siege. It was disapproved by Mahdoo Rao, whose object was to possess himself of Bednore and Soonda during the ensuing season. Trimbuck Rao, after wasting five weeks before Seringapatam, retired in the middle of April to Turry Ghuree, keeping a strong garrison in Belloor, and exacting heavy contributions in various directions.

Before the roads were completely occupied, Hyder, in the beginning of June, attempted to draw a convoy of military stores with 20 pieces of cannon from Bednore to Seringapatam; but the whole, including the escort that accompanied them, were intercepted; and at last, so effectually did the Mahrattas cut off the communication, that Hyder's *Hircarrahs* were obliged to pass

through the Koorga Raja's country, and descend the Ghauts in Malabar, as the only route to Bednore. On the 24th October the Mahrattas moved to Bangalore; Hyder, with about 20,000 men of all descriptions, remained at Seringapatam strongly intrenched. The only success which attended his arms during the whole season was achieved by his son Tippoo, who intercepted a very large convoy of grain proceeding towards the Mahratta camp. Hyder's situation was considered critical, and a prospect of the total reduction of his country, which formed the only barrier between the Mahrattas and Madras, inclined the Bombay government to afford him their assistance; but the territory and subsidy demanded as preliminaries on the one part, and the terms proposed on the other, were out of all proportion; besides which, Hyder artfully endeavoured to make them principals in the war, by requiring of them to attack Salsette, which at once put an end to the negotiation.

The governor and council at Madras deemed it of vital importance to support Hyder Ally, but they were prevented by the wishes of Mohummud Ally and the opinion of Sir John Lindsay, his majesty's minister plenipotentiary, both of whom, in the face of the late treaty with Hyder, urged the Madras government to unite with the Mahrattas. But

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news of the increasing illness of the Peishwa, which was pronounced incurable in the month of March, alarmed all the Mahratta commanders at a distance from the capital, especially those who owed their situations exclusively to Mahdoo Rao. The design of reducing Soonda and Bednore was abandoned; and, assigning as a reason that the Mahratta sildars were desirous to return to their homes, which was also perfectly true, Trim buck Rao listened to Hyder's overtures. Negotiations began in the middle of April, when the Mahrattas were in the neighbourhood of Bangalore; and a treaty was concluded in June, by which the Mahrattas retained the ancient possessions of the father of Sivajee, besides Mudgerry and Gurumconda. Hyder likewise agreed to pay 36 lakhs of rupees as arrears and expenses, and 14 lakhs as the annual tribute, which he in future promised to remit with regularity; all other Mahratta demands were to cease.

Mahdoo Rao's disease was consumption, but his health improved considerably during the monsoon, and great hopes were

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entertained of his recovery; the progress of his generals in Hindostan had been still more important than his acquisitions in the Carnatic.

The army which crossed the Nerbuddah in 1769, under Visajee Kishen as chief-in-command, consisted, when the whole were united in Malwa, of nearly 50,000 horse. Visajee Kishen and Ramchundur Gunnesh, besides Pindharees, had 20,000 horse, of which 15,000 belonged to the Peishwa. With Mahadajee Sindia there were 15,000, and with Tookajee Holkar about the same number. There was also a large body of infantry with a numerous artillery, chiefly natives of Hindostan and Malwa, including men of all castes. The Arabs, Abyssinians, and Sindians, of whom there was a small proportion, were accounted the best soliders of the army, and were mostly obtained from the sea-ports of Cambay and Surat.

For some time after the fatal field of Panniput, the Mahrattas, in consequence of their domestic struggles, and the warfare to the south of the Nerbuddah, had little leisure to interfere with the politics of Hindostan. Mulhar Rao Holkar, on one occasion, in the year 1764, joined the Jaths when besieging Delhi, but soon quitted them, and returned to the Deccan.

A body of Mahrattas from Bundelcund, or Malwa, took service with Shujah-ud-Dowlah, in the war against the English in 1765; but excepting the temporary visit of Holkar to Delhi, above alluded to, the Mahrattas had not crossed the
A.D. 1761 Chumbul in force for upwards of eight years.

The Abdallee king, after the great victory he achieved, bestowed the throne of the Moghuls on the lawful heir, Shah Alum; but as that emperor was then engaged in the well-known warfare against the nabob of Bengal and the English, his son, the prince Jewan Bukht, assumed the ensigns of royalty during the emperor's absence. Shujah-ud-Dowlah, nabob of Oude, was appointed vizier, and Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah, Rohillah, was restored to the dignity of Umeer-ool-Oomrah. After which Ahmed Shah Abdallee quitted Delhi and returned to his own dominions.

Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah remained with the young prince generally at the capital; but Shujah-ud-Dowlah first repaired to his own government, and afterwards expelled all the Mahratta carcoons,

whom he still found remaining as collectors of revenue in the Dooab. He next proceeded to Benares, where, having been joined by the emperor, they advanced together into Bundelcund, took Jhansee, and would probably have driven the Mahrattas from that province; but in consequence of the flight of Meer Cassim from Bengal, Shujah-ud-Dowlah, not content with affording him an asylum, espoused his cause against the English—a course of policy which led to his defeat at the battle of Buxar, on the 23rd October 1764, when the emperor for a time placed himself under the protection of the English. A treaty with Shujah-ud-Dowlah, in August 1765, restored to him the principality of Oude, which had been subjugated by the British arms, recognized his title as vizier of the empire, and established an alliance with the company's government.

The reader may recollect the manner in which the Moghuls, in the time of Aurungzebe, took possession of a province, and their mode of conducting its administration. To each district there was a foudar, or military governor, charged with its protection and interior order, and a dewan, or collector and civil manager. There were also soobehdars and nazims, who were military governors of large provinces; but these were merely gradations of rank, to each of which there was a dewan. The foudar was the active efficient officer; the superiors were mere supervisors. These military governors, when the empire fell into decay, styled themselves nabobs, and all who could maintain that appellation considered themselves independent, though they embraced every opportunity of obtaining firmans or commissions from the pageant emperor. The English, at the period of Meer Jaffier's death, had Bengal at their disposal, and the emperor's person in their power. The youngest son of Meer Jaffier was made nabob of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa in February 1765; and the East India Company, previously charged with the military protection of this territory, were appointed his dewan in August following. The emperor, Shah Alum, with the assigned revenues of Allahabad and Korah for his support, the only part of the conquered territories of Shujah-ud-Dowlah of which the English thought proper to dispose, continued to reside under the British protection, in hopes that they might be induced to send an army to place him on the throne of his ancestors.

In the meantime the prince Jewan Bukht remained at the Moghul capital, where Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah exercised the entire powers of administration. Sooruj Mull, the Jath prince, was gradually extending his power and consequence: the Mahratta officer in Agra accepted his protection, and admitted a garrison of his troops: he took Rewaree and Feroznugur from a Beloochee adventurer who possessed them in jagheer; and at last applied to Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah for the office of foudardar in the environs of the capital. These encroachments were so palpable that Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah was obliged to have recourse to arms, and gained an easy and unexpected victory by the death of Sooruj Mull, who was killed in the commencement of the first action. His son, assisted by Mulhar Rao Holkar, during the short period the latter was absent from the Deccan in 1764, besieged Delhi; but Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah, by means of that secret understanding which always subsisted between him and Holkar, induced the Mahrattas to abandon the alliance and return to Malwa.

Sooruj
mull's

Such was the state of Hindostan when the Peishwa's army crossed the Chumbul, towards the latter end of 1769. Their first operations were directed against the Rajpoot princes, from whom they levied 10 lakhs of rupees as arrears of tribute. They

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next entered the territory of the Jaths, on pretence of assisting one of the sons of Sooruj Mull, as great contentions prevailed amongst the brothers. The Mahrattas were victorious in an engagement fought close to Bhurtpoor, and, after having overran the country, the Jaths agreed to pay them 65 lakhs of rupees—10 in ready money, and the rest by instalments. They encamped at Deeg during the monsoon, and Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah, dreading their recollection "of sons and brothers slain," opened a negotiation with Visajee Kishen to avert the calamities he apprehended. The Mahrattas are mindful both of benefits and of injuries, from generation to generation; but they are not more revengeful than might be expected of a people so little civilized, and in this respect they seldom allow their passion to supersede their interest. Visajee Kishen listened to the overtures of Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah with complacency; but Ramchundur Gunnessh and Mahadajee Sindia called for vengeance on the Rohillahs. On a reference being made to the Peishwa, he so far concurred in

Sindia's opinion, that Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah could never be a friend to the Mahrattas; but as they were endeavouring to induce the emperor to withdraw from the protection of the English, in which Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah's assistance might be useful, the conduct of Visajee Kishen was approved. Accordingly Zabita Khan, the son of Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah, was sent to join Visajee Kishen; but Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah shortly after died when on his route to Nujeebgurh, in October 1770. Immediately after this event, Zabita Khan assumed his father's situation at the capital.

The president and council at Bengal, although it was upon the face of their records that in 1766 Shah Alum had made overtures to the Mahrattas, were not at first apprized of his having renewed the negotiation, and were therefore at a loss to account for the conduct of the Mahrattas in not making themselves masters of Delhi; instead of which they
A.D. 1771 took the route of Rohilcund. The Rohillah chiefs behaved with no spirit; their country was entirely overrun; the strong fortress of Etaweh fell into the hands of the Mahrattas; and the whole of the Dooab, except Furruckabad, was reduced almost without opposition. The territory of Zabita Khan was not exempt from their ravages; they likewise made irruptions into Korah, and preferred demands upon Shujah-ud-Dowlah, which alarmed the English, and induced them to prepare for resisting an invasion which they deemed probable.

Shujah-ud-Dowlah, however, maintained a correspondence with the Mahrattas the whole time; and the emperor, at last, openly declared his intention of throwing himself on their protection. They returned from Rohilcund to Delhi before the rains, and possessed themselves of every part of it except the citadel, where, on account of the prince Jewan Bukht, they refrained from excess, and treated him with courtesy. Zabita Khan would probably have been detained by them, but Tookajee Holkar ensured his safe retreat to Nujeebgurh. The Bengal presidency, at the head of which was Mr. Cartier, represented to the emperor the imprudence and danger of quitting their protection, but, with sound policy, placed no restraint on his inclination, and Shah Alum, having taken leave of his English friends, was met

by Mahadajee Sindia, escorted to the camp of Visajee Kishen, under whose auspices he entered his capital, and was seated on the throne in the end of December 1771. The Mahrattas now determined to wreck their revenge on the son of Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah—a design undertaken with the entire concurrence of the emperor, who bore Zabita Khan a personal enmity, but it was principally instigated by Mahadajee Sindia, the chief director of the councils of Visajee Kishen, Ramchundur Gunnesh having returned to Poona in consequence of a quarrel with his superior. Shujah-ud-Dowlah continued his correspondence with the Mahrattas, although he personally declined assuming his post as vizier whilst they maintained supremacy at the imperial court. But the principal object of Shujah-ud-Dowlah, as it had been that of his father, was the subjugation of the Rohillah territory, to which the death of Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah paved the way. He had no objections, therefore, to see these neighbours weakened by the Mahrattas, provided he could ultimately secure the conquest for himself; but he also perceived that the result of a permanent conquest of Rohilcund by the Mahrattas would prove the precursor of his own destruction. The Rohillahs knew him well, and, dreading treachery, Hafiz Rehmut, whose districts adjoined Oude, could not be prevailed upon to proceed to the assistance of Zabita Khan, until assured by Brigadier-General Sir Robert Barker, the officer in command of the British troops stationed in the vizier's territory, that no improper advantage should be taken of his absence from the frontier.

Nujeeb-
not Dowlah

Several places were speedily reduced; an ineffectual resistance was opposed to Mahadajee Sindia and Nujeeb Khan, at the fords of the Ganges, which they crossed in the face of the Rohillahs, by passing many of their posts as if they had no intention of fording until much higher up the river, when, after throwing them off their guard, they suddenly wheeled about, dashed down upon one of the fords at full gallop, and, crossing over, made a great slaughter. The Rohillahs, in consequence, seem to have been completely panic-struck. Zabita Khan's territory was reduced with scarcely any opposition; the strongest entrenchments, and even forts, were abandoned, before a horseman came in sight. Puttergurh, where considerable wealth amassed by Nujeeb Khan.

was deposited, fell into their hands, and the Rohilla chiefs were compelled to the very measure which Shujah-ud-Dowlah desired, namely, to form a defensive alliance with him against the Mahrattas, for which they paid him 40 lakhs of rupees, and by which he secured himself from the Mahrattas, strengthened his own resources, and weakened the means of resistance on the part of the Rohilla, on whose ultimate destruction he was bent.

Visajee Kishen returned to Delhi for a short time in the month of June; but the main body of the Mahrattas was encamped during the rains in the Dooab, of which they had taken almost entire possession. The constant applications of Visajee Kishen in urging demands, the eagerness with which his Bramin followers snatched at every opportunity of acquiring wealth, the sordid parsimony of their habits when absent from the Deccan, and that meanness and impudence which are inseparable in low minds, greatly disgusted the emperor, and all who were compelled to tolerate their insolence and rapacity. Their behaviour gave Shah Alum such extreme offence, that he was willing to run any risk to rid himself of such allies. Zabita Khan, through Tookajee Holkar, was endeavouring to recover both his territory and his father's rank at court. The emperor would not listen to the proposal, and he at last engaged his general, Nujeef Khan, to resist the Mahrattas by force. Visajee Kishen was desirous of avoiding extremities, and referred for orders to Poona; but an event had occurred there, which, at the time it happened, was less expected than it had been some months before; Mahdoo Rao breathed his last at the village of Theur, 13 miles east of Poona, on the morning of the 18th November, in the 28th year of his age. He died without issue; and his widow Rumma Bye, who bore him a remarkable affection, immolated herself with the corpse.

The death of Mahdoo Rao occasioned no immediate commotion; like his own disease, it was at first scarcely perceptible, but the root which invigorated the already scathed and wide-extending tree was cut off from the stem, and the plains of Panniput were not more fatal to the Mahratta empire than the early end of this excellent prince. Although the military talents of Mahdoo Rao were very considerable, his character as a sovereign is entitled to far higher praise, and to much greater

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respect, than that of any of his predecessors. He is deservedly celebrated for his firm support of the weak against the oppressive, of the poor against the rich, and, as far as the constitution of society admitted, for his equity to all. Mahdoo Rao made no innovations; he improved the system established, endeavoured to amend defects without altering forms, and restrained a corruption which he could not eradicate.

The efficiency of his government in its commencement was rather clogged than assisted by the abilities of Sukaram Bappoo. The influence of the old minister was too great for the talents of his young master; all actions deemed beneficial were ascribed to the former, whilst the unpopularity, which with some party is inseparable from executive authority, fell to the inexperienced Peishwa, and to Mahdoo Rao in a peculiar degree, by reason of an irritable temper, not always under command, which was his greatest defect. This influence on the part of the minister, a man open to bribery, prevented that respect for Mahdoo Rao to which he was entitled, and without which the ends which he aimed at establishing were obstructed. Until after Rugonath Rao's confinement, Mahdoo Rao was unknown to his subjects: shortly after that event, he privately sent for Sukaram Bappoo, told him "that he found many of his orders disregarded, and that he was but a cipher in the government: whether this proceeded from want of capacity or diligence on his own part, or any other cause, he was himself perhaps an incompetent judge, but he would put the question to his sincerity, and begged of him to explain the reason and suggest the remedy." Sukaram immediately replied—"You can effect nothing until you remove me from office; appoint Moroba Furnuwees your dewan, when you can be your own minister."

Mahdoo Rao respected the penetration which read his intentions, confirmed him in the enjoyment of his jagheer, and followed his advice. He permitted Moroba to do nothing without his orders; he established a system of intelligence, of which the many exaggerated stories now related in the Mahratta country only prove that, in regard to events, both foreign and domestic, he possessed prompt and exact information.

A review of his civil administration, if taken in the abstract, would convey an indifferent idea of his merits: it must therefore

be estimated by comparison, by the state of the society in which he was chief magistrate, and by the conduct pursued in the interior management and protection of his country, whilst harassed by the machinations of his uncle's party and constantly engaged in foreign war. The brief summary which it is here proposed to give, will scarcely allude to the administration of his predecessors, but may convey some idea of the best government the Mahratta country enjoyed under the Hindoo dynasty of modern times.

The root of all the Mahratta systems, even now in existence, however much disfigured or amended, whether on the banks of the Myhie and Chumbul, or the Kistna and Toongbuddra, is found in the institutions of Sivajee.

We have seen that Sivajee had eight officers of state; of them it need only be observed that the supremacy and gradual usurpation of the raja's authority had also superseded that of the other Purdhans, as well as of the Pritee Needhee. Forms of respect instituted with their rank were maintained; but they were only of importance in the state according to the strength and resources of their hereditary jagheers, and of a superior description of soldiery, who, on pay much inferior to what they might elsewhere have obtained, still adhered to some of them, with that pride of servitude to their chief which, by its enthusiastic delusion, has caught the fancies of men in all uncivilized countries, and dignified military vassalage. Of all these personages at the period of Mahdoo Rao's death, Bhowan Rao, the Pritee Needhee, was the most considerable, both for the reasons mentioned, and from his warlike character.

In the different departments of the state under Sivajee, every separate establishment, when complete, had eight principal officers; all such officers, as well as their superiors, were styled durrukdars, and although declared not hereditary at the time of their institution, they generally descended in the usual routine of everything Hindoo. Precedent, however—that grand rule of sanction to Mahratta usurpation—soon became, whilst anarchy prevailed, a mere name for the right of the strong, and the title of durrukdars, like every other claim, was only regarded according to circumstances.

The general distribution of revenue planned by Ballajee Wishwanath was a measure wholly political, but it was ingrafted

on the revenue accounts of every village; the ordinary forms of which have been explained in the preliminary part of this work; upon the balance of assessment, or government share, the artificial distribution alluded to invariably followed, although seldom in the uniform manner laid down upon its first establishment in the year 1720. Separate collectors did not always realize those specific shares; but, even up to this day, distinct claims, such as surdeshmookhee, mokassa, &c., are frequently paid to different owners, and tend to render the accounts extremely intricate. A fixed district establishment founded on that of Sivajee, but more or less complete, was preserved until a very late period. Unless in the old jagheer districts, the appointment of durrukdars, during the life of Shao, remained in the gift of the raja. The patronage, however, of one office or durruk was bestowed by the Raja Shao either on Bajee Rao or on Ballajee Rao immediately after his father's death; the patronage so conferred was that of the Furnuwees; hence, in the old accounts of the Peishwa's districts, after the death of Shao, all those holding the office of Furnuwees superseded their superiors, the muzzimdars; and thus the Peishwa's Furnuwees became, under the Peishwa's government, precisely what the Punt Amat was under that of the raja. These two, the Furnuwees and muzzimdar, were invariably kept up, as were the dufturdars and chitnees; but the appointment of dewan was not general, nor of the karkanees, potnees, and jamdar. Durrukdars were only removeable by government, but a number of carcoons, in addition to the ordinary establishments, were introduced by Ballajee Rao, who were displaced at the pleasure of the immediate chief officer of the district. The useful situation of turufdar, or talookdar, was always preserved, but generally under the appellation of shaikdar.

These details are enumerated, because the arrangement for the land revenue in Maharashtra is the basis of civil government; and, indeed, the good or bad revenue management of the districts of any country in India is the surest indication of the conduct of the administration.

Under Mahdoo Rao the same heads of districts were continued as had been established by his uncle, Sewdasheo Rao Bhow; except that, upon the death of the sur-soobehdar Balloba

Manduwagunnee, who effected the great reforms between the Neera and Godavery, he did not appoint a successor to that situation; but the sur-soobehdars in the Concan, Carnatic, Candeish, and Guzerat were always continued. The appointment of a mamlitdar was declaredly for the year, but he was not removed during good behaviour: the amount of his collections varied; generally, however, they were not above five lakhs of rupees annually. At the commencement of the season he was furnished by government with a general statement, which contained his instructions, and included the expected receipts, the alienations, and expenses; which last he was not to exceed but upon the most satisfactory grounds. In the detail of the expenses were the salaries, including not only food, clothes, and every necessary, but the adequate establishment and attendants for each of the government servants, according to their rank and respectability. Besides these authorized advantages, there was a private assessment over and above the regular revenue, at which the government connived, provided the mamlitdar's share did not amount to more than five per cent upon the actual collections. This hidden personal emolument was exactly suited to the genius and habits of Bramins, who, by a strange, though perhaps not a peculiar, perversion, prefer obtaining an emolument in this underhand manner, to honestly earning four times as much.

The private assessment was supposed to be favourable to the cultivator, as well as pleasing to the mamlitdar and district officers. Mahdoo Rao prevented the excess of the abuse by vigilant supervision, and by readily listening to the complaints of the common cultivators; as to the village officers, they all participated, and from them information could only be obtained through some of the discontented hereditary claimants, whose statements were often fabricated, and so difficult to substantiate, that the government, much occupied by its great political transactions, generally made it a rule only to prosecute the chief authorities on great occasions, to take security from interested informants before examining the proofs, and to leave minor delinquency to the investigation of mamlitdars. It might be supposed that a system so defective, with the door of corruption left open by the connivance of government, would be followed

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by every act of injustice, oppression, and violence; but the evils fell more on the state than on individuals; and at that time the Mahratta country, in proportion to its fertility, was probably more thriving than any other part of India.

The mamlitdar on his appointment opened an account-current with the government, and was obliged to advance a part of the expected revenue, for which he received a premium of two per cent, and one per cent monthly interest, until the periods at which the collection was expected, when the interest ceased. This advance, which was both a security and convenience to government, and all revenue transactions whatever, were managed by the agency of the soucars, or Indian bankers; but many persons employed their private property in the prosecution of such agency, in which there was often a great deal of speculation, but, with ordinary caution, large returns were obtained with very little risk. Thus the advance of money on the land-revenue became something like national funds, partaking of the benefits of prompt supply, and the evils of fictitious credit.

At the end of the season, when the mamlitdar's accounts were closed, they were carried by the district Furnuwees to Poona, and most carefully examined before they were passed.

Mahdoo Rao encouraged the mamlitdars to reside in the districts, keeping the wukeels at Poona; but when that was impracticable, the affairs of the district were more scrupulously investigated.

The management of the police, and the administration of civil and criminal justice, were in a great degree intrusted to the mamlitdars. The police magistrates were the patell, the mamlitdar, and, where the office existed, the sur-soobehdar. The deshmookhs and deshpandyas were left in the enjoyment of their hereditary rights, but their ancient power was suspended, and, though permitted to collect their own dues, they were seldom referred to, except in ascertaining local usages, and occasionally in arbitrating differences. The police, except in the city of Poona, was very imperfect; but considering the defective state of the executive authority, even in the best times of the Mahratta government, and the unsettled predatory habits of so large a portion of undisciplined soldiery accustomed to violence and rapine, it is, at first view, surprising that the lives and properties

of the peaceable part of society were so secure. But the military were pretty equally dispersed; every village could defend its inhabitants or avenge aggression; and members who disgraced the community were too much bound by the opinion of their family connections, their own interests, and the power of the village officers to become entirely lawless. The Mahratta usage of generally returning during the rains preserved all those ties; and though it might prove inconvenient to an ambitious sovereign, it greatly tended to domestic order and tranquillity. The great use which the Peishwas made of attachment to *wulun*, and the preference in promoting an officer shown to those who could boast of hereditary rights, was in many respects a most politic and judicious mode of encouraging a species of patriotism, and applying national feelings to purposes of good government.

In the Mahratta country the most common crimes were thieving and gang robbery, murder and arson. The two first were more common to Ramoossees and Bheels than to Mahrattas, and were punished by the loss of life or limb; murder for revenge was rarely considered a capital offence, and very often, in hereditary disputes, a murder, where risk attended it, was considered rather a creditable action. The ordinary compromise with government, if the accused was not a rich man, was 350 rupees. The facility of eluding justice by flying into the territory of some other authority was the greatest obstruction to police efficiency.

For great crimes the sur-soobehdars had the power of punishing capitally; mamlitdars in such cases required the Peishwa's authority. The great jagheerdars had power of life and death within their respective territories. Bramins could not be executed; but state prisoners were poisoned or destroyed by deleterious food, such as equal parts of flour and salt. Women were mutilated, but rarely put to death. There was no prescribed form of trial; torture to extort confession was very common; and confession was generally thought necessary to capital punishment. The chief authority, in doubtful cases, commonly took the opinion of his officers; and some mamlitdars in the Satara country, under both the Pritee Needhee and Peishwa, employed punchayets to pronounce on the innocence or guilt of the accused; but this system can only be traced to the time of Shao, and though so well worthy of imitation, was by no means general, nor are its benefits understood or appreciated in the present day.

In civil cases the punchayets were the ordinary tribunals, and the example of Ram Shastree tended greatly to their improvement. Excepting where Ram Shastree superintended, they were a known, though unauthorized, source of emolument to the members; no doubt frequently corrupt and unjust in their decisions; but punchayets were popular, and their defects less in the system itself than in the habits of the people.

The nominal revenue of the whole Mahratta empire at the period of Mahdoo Rao's death was ten crores, or 100 millions of rupees; but the amount actually realized, including the jagheers of Holkar, Sindia, Janojee Bhonslay, and Dummajee Gaekwar, together with tribute, fees, fines, contributions, customary offerings, and all those sources independent of regular collections, which in the state accounts come under the head of extra revenue, may be estimated at about 72 millions of rupees, or about seven millions of pounds sterling annually. Of this sum the revenue under the direct control of the Peishwa was about 28 millions of rupees; in which estimate is included Mahdoo Rao's personal estate, kept distinct from the public accounts, but which seldom amounted to above three lakhs of rupees, or 30,000 pounds sterling a year; he was, however, possessed of 24 lakhs of personal property at his death, which he bequeathed to the state.

From the vast acquisitions of Ballajee Rao, his lavish expenditure, and the numerous jagheers and enam lands which he conferred, it is a common opinion in the Mahratta country that he had a greater revenue than any other Peishwa; but he never had time to collect the revenues in many parts of India temporarily subjugated by his armies. The average collections in any equal number of years were greater in the time of Mahdoo Rao than in that of his father; although in the season 1751-52 Ballajee Rao realized $36\frac{1}{2}$ millions of rupees, which exceeded the highest collection ever made by Mahdoo Rao by upwards of two millions. The state was much in debt at Mahdoo Rao's accession; and although, at his death, by reckoning the outstanding balances, and by bringing to account the value of stores and other property, there was a nominal sum in its favour of 65 millions of rupees, yet the treasury was exhausted, no part of this amount being available. On a complete examination of the

accounts, the government of the Peishwa seems always to have been in debt, or embarrassed from want of funds, till after the period of Bajee Rao's connection with the English.

The ordinary army of the Peishwa, without including the troops of Bhonslay, Gaekwar, Sindia, or Holkar, amounted to 50,000 good horse. Neither his infantry nor artillery were considerable; and after providing for his garrisons, the ordinary number in the time of Mahdoo Rao was about 10,000, of whom one-third were Arabs, and the greater part Mahomedans. It was usual, however, to entertain large bodies of infantry when the Peishwa took the field, but they were always discharged on returning to Poona. The Hetkurees, or Concan infantry, are said to have been preferred to the Mawulees, perhaps on account of the attachment of the latter to the house of Sivajee.

Calculating the contingent which Gaekwar and Bhonslay were bound to furnish, at from 10,000 to 15,000, taking the lowest estimate of Holkar's and Sindia's army at 30,000, and allowing 3,000 from the Powars of Dhar, the Peishwa could command about 100,000 good horse, exclusive of Pindharees.



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From A.D. 1772 to A.D. 1774

CONSIDERABLE RELAXATION IN the confinement of Rugonath Rao had taken place for
A.D. 1772 some time prior to Mahdoo Rao's death. As the health of his nephew declined, Rugonath Rao began intrigues with Hyder Ally and the Nizam, in order to obtain complete enlargement, and secure his succession as Peishwa.

The correspondence was intercepted by the ministers during the Peishwa's extreme illness; 19 persons implicated were sent into hill forts, and the confinement of Rugonath Rao would have become more rigid than ever, but Mahdoo Rao, perceiving his death was near, interposed, and observed that it was natural for his uncle to desire his liberty. With his usual sound discrimination, he foresaw that his brother would not be able to conduct the administration, if Rugonath Rao were not effectually restrained or conciliated; judging on the whole, therefore, that the latter course was the more advisable, and that, in case of dissension, the government must fall to pieces, he, in the first place, sent for Sukaram Bappoo, and reinstated him as dewan. It should be premised that Sukaram was more favourably disposed towards Rugonath Rao than any of the other ministers: he had acted as his dewan in different campaigns; he respected Rugonath Rao as a good soldier, and had hitherto retained his confidence. Nana Furnuwees had as yet only acted in a secondary situation under Mahdoo Rao, his abilities had not fully developed themselves, and Sukaram Bappoo was accounted the most capable man in the empire. It had been previously settled, before Mahdoo Rao's present arrangements were contemplated, that Nana was to act as Furnuwees in the civil, and Moroba, his cousin, in the military department.

Rugonath Rao was sent for to Theur, a reconciliation took place, and Mahdoo Rao, in presence of Sukaram Bappoo, recom-

mended his brother, in an impressive manner, to the care and protection of his uncle. He also, on several occasions before his final dissolution, in conversation with his brother and uncle, calmly entered upon the discussion of their state affairs, and represented the necessity of concord for their mutual safety and the preservation of the government.

After the usual time spent in the performance of his brother's funeral obsequies, Narain Rao, early in December, repaired to Satara, where he was invested as Peishwa by the raja. Sukaram Bappoo received the clothes of prime minister, under the name of Karbaree, whilst Bujaba Poorundhuree was appointed dewan, and Nana Furnuwees was recognized in the hereditary situation of his family. The first object of the new administration was

the reduction of Raigurbh, the havildar of which
A.D. 1773 had been in rebellion against the Peishwa for some months before Mahdoo Rao's death. It was apprehended that he had designs of giving it up to the Seedee, and, when required to surrender, he replied that he held the fort for the raja of Satara, and would maintain it against the Peishwa until the raja was released; but on an order from Ram Raja, and the payment of 40,000 rupees, Narain Rao, in the month of March, obtained possession of the ancient capital of Sivajee.

The new Peishwa and Rugonath Rao continued for some time in apparent amity: but the mother of the one, the wife of the other, and the jealousy of the Bramin ministers, would probably have created discord between men of better temper and stronger judgment. Rugonath Rao, with the consent of all,

except Sukaram Bappoo, who objected to the
April 11 violence of the measure, was again made prisoner on the 11th of April, and confined in an apartment of the same palace in which Narain Rao, when at Poona, usually resided.

Nana Furnuwees stood high in the young Peishwa's estimation, but Bujaba Poorundhuree and Hurry Punt Phurkay were his chief confidants. The principal state affairs continued ostensibly to be transacted by Sukaram Bappoo, but the favourites were inimical to his administration. Narain Rao was particularly ambitious of military fame, and looked forward with eagerness to the ensuing season, when he proposed to make a campaign

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in the Carnatic. For this purpose troops were directed to be in readiness, and orders were despatched to recall the armies from Hindostan. But circumstances occurred which occasioned the probability of employment in the Mahratta territories.

Janojee Bhonslay was at Theur at the period of Mahdoo Rao's death; but prior to that event he had obtained his sanction to adopt Rughoojee, the eldest son of Moodajee, who was the only one of all the brothers that had issue; and Janojee not only made the adoption, but was said to have appointed Moodajee the guardian of his heir. Janojee died in the month of May near Tooljapoor: Moodajee and Sabajee each claimed the right of guardianship; but Durya Bye, the widow of Janojee, resisted the pretensions of both, assumed the government, and appointed Sabajee her general and dewan. Moodajee, unfortunately for himself and his son, had hitherto maintained a connection with Rugonath Rao, and his pretensions not being supported by Narain Rao or his ministers, he could only levy troops and assert his cause by force of arms. The Peishwa in vain interposed his advice; Moodajee's party were much discouraged by the defection of a considerable number of the choice troops, who carried with them the Juree Putka of the Sena Sahib Soobeh; but notwithstanding the evil presage which this created amongst his men, he attacked his brother at Koombaree near Ankolah, where he was defeated with severe loss, and compelled to flee with precipitation. The Peishwa's agent at last procured a cessation of hostilities, but the brothers had scarcely met, when Durya Bye, quitting Sabajee, joined Moodajee. The latter again took the field, obtained the aid of Ismaal Khan Patan, governor of Elichpoor, and renewed hostilities. Sabajee applied to the Nizam, and solicited the Peishwa's assistance, Rugonath Rao exhorted Moodajee to persevere; the Nizam joined Sabajee; but the attention of all India was arrested, and there was a momentary pause in the bustle of political affairs, by reports, which proved correct, of the murder of Narain Rao Peishwa on the 30th of August.

It appeared that, on the morning of that day, there had been considerable commotion amongst the regular infantry in the Peishwa's service, and it increased so much towards noon that, after an interview with Rughoojee Angria, who had just arrived

from Kolabah to pay his respects, Narain Rao, before he went to dinner, told Hurry Punt Phurkay to take some precautions in case of disturbance, meaning that he should secure the palace. Hurry Punt, however, thoughtlessly neglected these orders, and went to dine with a friend in the neighbourhood. The Peishwa, in the afternoon, had retired to repose in his private apartments, when he was awoken by a great tumult in the palace, caused by a large body of infantry, who, having continued their clamours for pay through out the day, were at last, about two o'clock, led to the palace by Somer Sing and Mohummud Yeesoof, on pretence of demanding their arrears. Khurruk Sing, one of their number, who commanded at the palace guard, joined them; but instead of entering at the large gate on the north side, to which there was no impediment, they made their way by an unfinished doorway on the east side, which, together with the wall surrounding the palace, had been pulled down a short time before, to make an entrance distinct from that of the quarter inhabited by Rugonath Rao. Narain Rao, on starting from sleep, neither resolved on concealment nor defence, but ran to his uncle's apartments, and, being closely pursued by Somer Sing, he threw himself into his uncle's arms, and called on him to save him. Rugonath Rao did interfere, and begged of them to spare him. "I have not gone thus far to insure my own destruction," replied Somer Sing: "let him go, or you shall die with him." Rugonath Rao disengaged himself, and got out upon the terrace; Narain Rao attempted to follow him, but Truleea Powar, one of the Mahratta domestics of Rugonath Rao, who was armed, seized him by the legs, and pulled him down, at which instant another domestic, named Chapajee Teleekur, in the service of Narain Rao, entered the apartment, and, although unarmed, ran forward to his master, who clasped his arms about his neck, when Somer Sing and Trulee Powar despatched them both with their swords. Whilst this was passing in the interior, the whole of the outer wall of the palace was secured by the conspirators; the people in the city heard of a tumult, armed men thronged in the streets, the shops were shut, and the inhabitants ran to and fro in consternation, asking what had happened. Sukaram Bappoo repaired to the Kotwal's chowree, or office of the police magistrate, where word being brought to him that Rugonath Rao was not only alive, but had

sent out assurances to the people that all was quiet, and had even invited some of them to go inside, Sukaram directed Hurry Punt Phurkay to write a note to Rugonath Rao in his name, which Rugonath Rao answered in his own handwriting, informing him of the murder of his nephew by some of the Gardees (regular infantry). Hurry Punt Phurkay then declared that suspicions, which he had entertained of Rugonath Rao, were confirmed; and alarmed for his personal safety, he instantly fled to Baramuttee. Sukaram Bappoo tranquillized the minds of the people by recommending them to go to their homes, and to remain quiet, when nothing should molest them. Bujaba Poorundhuree and Mallojee Ghorepuray had an interview with Rugonath Rao that night; and Trim buck Rao Mama, repairing to the palace, bore off the body of the unfortunate Peishwa, and performed the funeral obsequies.

Visitors were admitted to the palace; Mr. Mostyn, the English envoy, and the different wukeels, paid their respects, but Rugonath Rao remained in confinement—detained, as was pretended, by the conspirators, as a security for the payment of their arrears. Rugonath Rao was suspected, but there was no proof of his being the author of the outrage. It was well known that he had an affection for his nephew, and the ministers, considering the extreme jealousy with which many of them viewed each other, are entitled to some praise for having adopted a resolution on the occasion equally sound and politic. They were generally of opinion that, whilst there remained a shadow of doubt, it was on every account advisable to support Rugoba's right to the succession; to this Ram Shastree, who was consulted, made on objections, but diligently instituted a search into the whole transaction. About six weeks after the event, having obtained proofs against Rugonath Rao, the Shastree waited upon him, and accused him of having given an authority to Somer Sing and Mohummud Yeesoof to commit the deed. Rugonath Rao is said to have acknowledged to Ram Shastree that he had written an order to those men, authorising them to seize Narain Rao, but that he never had given the order to kill him. This admission is generally supposed to have been literally true; for by the original paper, afterwards recovered by Ram Shastree, it was found that the word dhurawe, to seize, was altered to marawe,

to kill. It is universally believed that the alteration was made by the infamous Anundee Bye; and although Rugonath Rao's own conduct in subsequently withholding protection, even at the hazard of his life, sufficiently justifies the suspicion of his being fully aware of it, the moderate and general opinion in the Mahratta country is that he did not intend to murder his nephew; that he was exasperated by his confinement, and excited by the desperate counsels of his wife, to whom is also attributed the activity of the domestic Truleea Powar, who was set on by the vindictive malice of that bad woman.

After Rugonath Rao had avowed his having so far participated in the fall of his nephew, he asked Ram Shastree what atonement he could make. "The sacrifice of your own life," replied the undaunted and virtuous Shastree, "for your future life cannot be passed in amendment; neither you nor your government can prosper; and, for my own part, I will neither accept of employment, nor enter Poona, whilst you preside in the administration." He kept his word, and retired to a sequestered village near Vaee.

In the meantime the arrears were discharged, Rugonath Rao was released, and his adopted son, Amrut Rao, attended by Bujaba Poorundhuree, was despatched to Satara for the clothes of investiture, which were brought back accordingly, and Rugonath Rao was proclaimed Peishwa. Sukaram Bappoo was confirmed as Karbaree; but Chintoo Wittu, and Sewdasheo Ramchundur, the son of Ramchundur Baba Shenwee, were the most confidential of the new Peishwa's ministers.

Of Narain Rao little need be said, except to contradict unjust calumny. He was murdered in the eighteenth year of his age; his follies were those of a boy, but the feelings and interest of a party blackened them into crime. He was affectionate to his relations, kind to his domestics, and all but his enemies loved him.

There is a well-known Poona anecdote, which, though oftener told of Mahdoo Rao, was one from which the latter used to say his brother would become an enterprising officer. While spectators of an elephant fight at the Gooltekree, a small hill in the environs of the city, one of the animals, when enraged, came full speed towards the spot where they sat. Most of the attendants, and all the principal people, whose fears overcame their

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politeness for the Peishwa, hurried off, and Narain Rao jumped up to run with the rest. Mahdoo Rao caught his arm—"Brother," said he, "what will the Ukhbars say of you?" He instantly sat down with composure, and the danger, which became imminent, was averted by the extraordinary bravery of a Mahratta sildidar named Appajee Rao Pahtunkur, who, drawing his dagger, sprung in front of the Peishwa, and turned the animal aside, by wounding him in the trunk.

The Peishwa's army under Visajee Kishen returned from Hindostan after the accession of Rugonath Rao. He left the emperor preparing to resist their usurpation of his authority. As Mahadajee Sindia could not disguise his enmity to Zabita Khan, and disapproved of the Mahratta alliance with the Rohillahs, he was employed to the westward collecting tribute from the Jath and Rajpoot states; but Visajee Kishen and Tookajee Holkar continued in the Rohillah country with upwards of 30,000 horse. Their absence from the capital gave the emperor full time to prepare for resisting them, and his preparations were much more formidable than the Mahrattas had anticipated. Visajee, therefore, endeavoured by every means to soothe or intimidate him into terms, and would probably have succeeded but for the more firm counsel of Nujeef Khan. A battle took place in the environs of Delhi on the 19th December 1772, in which the Mahrattas were victorious after an obstinate conflict. The Moghul horse, although bravely led by Nujeef Khan, behaved ill; but the emperor's regular infantry acted with spirit, particularly two battalions of sepoy, originally disciplined by the English, which fought under the command of a Frenchman named Madoc, and retired in order. The terms required by the Mahrattas on this occasion from the emperor were far from immoderate; they obliged him to nominate the Peishwa his Bukshee, or commander-in-chief, and to appoint Zabita Khan the Peishwa's deputy; to confirm all the promises he had first made to them; to cede Serampore, lately taken from the Jaths, and to give them a grant of Korah and Kurrah—two provinces east of the Jumna, adjoining their frontier in Bundelcund, which the English government of Bengal had obliged Shujah-ud-Dowlah to cede for the emperor's support, as long as he chose to continue under the British protection; but as he had volunt-

arily relinquished all the benefits of their alliance, they claimed the right of disposing of the reversion, and determined to repel any attempt the Mahrattas might make for their occupation. They resolved, however, to act strictly on the defensive, and to assist their ally, Shujah-ud-Dowlah, in resisting an invasion of the province of Oude, which, it was supposed, the Mahrattas meditated; but, after an inactive campaign, they quitted Hindostan in the end of May, in consequence of a positive recall by Narain Rao, for the purpose to which we have alluded. Visajee Kishen, however, did not reach Poona till the rains were nearly over.

As Hyder Ally had most reason to apprehend the approach of the Mahrattas, so was he most ready to take advantage of the confusion likely to ensue from the late violent change in the state. A strong detachment was sent, under his son Tippoo, for the recovery of the districts conquered by the Mahrattas in the late war; and Nizam Ally was likewise preparing, with the hope of profiting by Bramin dissensions, in the same manner that they had encroached during the intestine broils of his own family.

Moodajee Bhonslay, with his son and the widow of Janojee, joined Rugonath Rao, and on that occasion Rughoojee Bhonslay, as the adopted son of Janojee, was invested as Sena Sahib Soobeh. Sabajee continuing the stronger party, Moodajee remained with the Peishwa, but Rughoojee and Durya Bye returned towards Berar. Rugonath Rao resolved, in the first instance, to oppose Nizam Ally, and to endeavour to cripple his power; otherwise, by crossing the Kistna, he must have left his own territory exposed to the ravages of the Nizam and Sabajee Bhonslay.

At this critical period, when the army had marched, and Rugonath Rao was on the eve of departure from Poona, Ram Shastree waited upon him in the manner which has been mentioned. The other ministers were less sincere, but as Rugonath Rao showed himself suspicious and distrustful of all the experienced men who were capable of supporting his government, they soon became entirely estranged from his councils. Sewdasheo Ramchundur, Chintoo Wittul, Abhajee Mahdeo and Sukaram Hurry, the persons of whom he made choice, were ill-qualified to supply their place. In the month of November the Peishwa's army approached that of Nizam Ally, before the latter was pre-

pared, and he was compelled to seek shelter under the walls of Beder. For three weeks there were daily skirmishes, in which the Mahrattas were generally successful; the Moghuls, when pressed, retired under cover of the cannon on the works, and the Mahrattas, although they occasionally brought up guns to cannonade, were obliged to retire daily to their camp on the bank of the Manjera, as most of wells in the immediate vicinity of Beder were within gun-shot of the walls of the fort.

From the reports of these partial actions the unpopularity of Rugoba might be read in repeated accounts of his being defeated, wounded, or at the point of death. The Moghul army, however, soon became straitened, and Nizam Ally could only bring on his supplies and reinforcements by risking an action with the Mahrattas at a great disadvantage. He therefore proposed to

December 9 treat, and it was agreed on the 9th December that he should give up territory yielding an annual sum of 20 lakhs of rupees. This cession, if judiciously distributed amongst the Mahratta chiefs, would probably have enabled Rugonath Rao to maintain an ascendancy in the state; but after all was settled, Nizam Ally, with a show of the greatest frankness, paid him a visit, brought to his recollection their former alliance, and being well acquainted with the circumstances in which Rugonath Rao stood, assured him of his perpetual friendship on all future occasions; he praised the wisdom of his administration affected even to be proud of his submission to the great Rugonath Rao, and manifested entire confidence in his generosity, by placing before him his seal of state, and desiring him to add as much more to the cession as he thought fit.

Rugonath Rao, to the great joy of his domestic enemies, in an effusion of misplaced generosity, immediately restored the whole; and although little can be said in excuse for his being thus openly cajoled by the well-known Nizam Ally, it is one of many proofs that he was still more weak than wicked.

Rugonath Rao, after peace was concluded with the Moghuls, encamped for some time at Kulburga, and detached Trim Luck Rao Mama to watch the motions of Sabajee Bhonslay, who occupied a threatening position in the neighbourhood of Aurungabad. This arrangement was precisely that which

Rugoba's enemies desired, and they perceived with secret pleasure that his mind was completely occupied in planning an expedition into the Carnatic, where he projected not only the expulsion of Hyder from the Mahratta districts, of which he had possessed himself, but the punishment of Mohummud Ally and the English for having reduced Tanjore. In prosecution of these designs, he proceeded towards the Kistna; but in the meantime a cabal was forming against him, which soon obstructed his progress.

Sukaram Bappoo and Nana Furnuwees had, on different pretences, withdrawn themselves from the army, and returned to Poona. They were soon followed by Gunput Rao Rastia, Babajee Naik Baramutteeur, and several other persons of consequence. Moroba Furnuwees was the last of his old ministers that quitted his camp, except Bujaba Poorundhuree.

It was evident to all but Rugoba and his immediate dependents that there was some scheme in agitation. The principal persons of the Poona ministry at this time, of whom so much has been written, were Sukaram Bappoo, Trimbuck Rao Mama, the two Furnuweeses, Nana and Moroba, Bujaba Poorundhuree, Anund Rao Jewajee, and Hurry Punt Phurkay—all men raised by the present family of Peishwas, and totally, as the reader will perceive, distinct from the eight Purdhans of Sivajee and Shao.

There were a variety of conjectures in the Mahratta country as to the revolution meditated; some said the ministers intended to release the raja; others, that a person assuming the name of Sewdasheo Rao Bhow, and now a prisoner in the fort of Ahmednugur, was to be set up as Peishwa in the room of Rugonath Rao. This Sewdasheo Rao, or Suddaba, according to the familiar name by which the person alluded to was known, was a Kanoja Bramin from Hindostan, who personated the Bhow, and raised an insurrection, which had been suppressed by his capture and the dispersion of his followers. But impostors of this description obtain surprising credence in the Deccan; and it was still a popular belief that the real Bhow Sahib, confined for state reasons, was about to be released and opposed to the unpopular Dada Sahib.

The development, however, of their real plans soon put an end to surmises. It having been discovered that Gunga Bye,

the widow of Narain Rao, was pregnant, it was resolved, on pretence of carrying her to a place of safety, to convey her to the fort of Poorundhur. But it is generally believed that the real motive was to disguise an intention they had formed, of eventually exchanging the infant of Gunga Bye, in case of its proving a female, by substituting a male child. For this purpose several Bramin women, in a state of pregnancy, are said to have been conveyed into the fort at the same time. Gunga Bye herself was carried off from Poona by Nana Furnuwees and Hurry Punt Phurkay, on the morning of the 30th January; but the reason of her removal was publicly announced. Parwuttee Bye, the widow of Sewdasheo Rao, a lady very much respected, accompanied her. The ministers, forming themselves into a sort of regency under Gunga Bye, began to govern the country in her name. All the adherents of Rugonath Rao were thrown into confinement. Negotiations were opened with Nizam Ally and Sabajee Bhonslay, both of whom agreed to support the widow's pretensions; and intrigues, managed by Krist Rao Bulwunt in the camp of Rugonath Rao, were ready to burst forth in general revolt, the moment that a signal was received from the confederates at Poona.

In the meantime Rugonath Rao had advanced beyond Bellary, and had admitted an arrangement with Hyder Ally. His pecuniary distress was so urgent that, upon Hyder's paying a few lakhs of rupees, and promising to make up the sum to 25 lakhs, Rugoba relinquished all claim to three of the Mahratta districts, and Hyder probably then foresaw that the rest must, in the course of a very short time, fall into his hands. In a few days, on hearing of the events that had happened at Poona, Rugonath Rao was compelled to abandon his designs of levying a tribute from the province of Arcot, and concluded a treaty at Callian-droog, by which Hyder recognised his right of succession as Peishwa, and agreed to pay him, and only to him, an annual tribute of six lakhs of rupees.

Rugonath Rao had information of the revolution before any person in his camp, and was warned to be on his guard against several of his surdars, but especially Bhowan Rao, Pritee Needhee. Uncertain what to do where wisdom would probably

have done nothing, he called upon Bhowan Rao to account for his being at the head of 4,000 horse, when 300 was the complement required to be furnished by the tenure of his jagheer lands. The Pritee Needhee would not condescend to answer an enquiry so abrupt. Rugonath Rao threatened to attack him, and ordered Moorar Rao Ghorepuray Senaputtee "to plunder his troops". Ghorepuray replied that he was ready to fight any enemy of the state, but this being a domestic quarrel, he begged to be excused. A similar answer was returned by Wamun Rao Govind Putwurdhun, and several other commanders. He then ordered out his household troops, and guns were brought, ready to open in case he should still refuse an explanation; but finding the Pritee Needhee resolute, and his followers, mostly all from the banks of the Maun and the Yairla, declaring to a man that they would die with him, Rugonath Rao went himself to Bhowan Rao, and demanded an interview. He was received respectfully; but, when sitting down, the latter laid his sword between them, and on being asked by the Peishwa why he took such a precaution,—“It is,” said Bhowan Rao, “lest the Punt Purdhan should forget that he is about confer with the Pritee Needhee.” After some general assurances on both sides, the visit terminated by Rugonath Rao’s agreeing to advance him a sum of money; and all resort to coercion ceased.

The Pritee Needhee and Moorar Rao Ghorepuray, continued with Rugonath Rao, who now commenced his march towards Poona. Wamun Rao, with all who openly declared for the ministerial party, separated from his army, but they always encamped a march on his left flank, with every precaution to prevent surprize, reserving attack until the approach of some of the three divisions which were moving to co-operate with them. Trimbeck Rao Mama and Sabajee Bhonslay were advancing from Purinda, Hurry Punt Phurkay was on his route at the head of a division from Poona, whilst Nizam Ally was marching across the country from Kulburga, to co-operate with either of these armies that might first appear—still, however, pretending to be the friend of Rugonath Rao. Trimbeck Rao Mama, jealous of Rugonath Rao’s reputation as a soldier, and ambitious of the honor of reducing him, finding that Sabajee, who had views of his own to answer, was very tardy in his advance,

pushed on in front of his division, crossed the Beema at Punderpoor on the 4th March, when Rugonath Rao, who was close in his neighbourhood, made a sudden attack upon him, on a fine plain between Kasseegaom and Punderpoor, where, in less than 20 minutes, with a force considerably inferior to that of his opponent, Rugonath Rao obtained a complete victory, mortally wounded Trimluck Rao Mama, and took him prisoner.

March

Rugonath Rao was one of the foremost in a charge which he made, supported only by his own division, amounting to about 10,000 horse. Gungadhur Rao Rastia, second-in-command of Trimluck Rao's army, was wounded, but escaped. Neither the Pritee Needhee nor Moorar Rao Ghorepuray, although both in Rugonath Rao's army, were engaged; the former withdrew, and after a short time joined Hurry Punt Phurkay, and the latter took the opportunity of the confusion to retire towards his principality at Gooty, and never more recrossed the Kistna. Hurry Punt Phurkay immediately effected a junction with Sabajee Bhonslay and the Nizam, but neither of them were in haste to bring the war to a conclusion.

The success thus obtained by Rugoba gave momentary life to his drooping cause. He was enabled to raise a large sum of money in Punderpoor, partly by contribution, and partly by pawning a portion of some prize jewels, which were brought back by Visajee Kishen from Hindostan, and on his return, agreeably to old Mahratta usage, presented to Rugonath Rao as the head of the government.

The greatest consternation prevailed in Poona, and according to the invariable practice of the inhabitants on such occasions, dreading alike their friends and foes, all began to pack up their property, and fly to forts or retired villages, where they esteemed themselves secure. Troops flocked to Rugoba's standard, and he advanced for a few days towards the capital; but having no funds to support his army, which soon amounted to 30,000 or 40,000 men, becoming suspicious of their fidelity, and indulging hopes of more effectual support from Sindia, Holkar, or eventually the English, with all of whom he was negotiating, he suddenly shaped his course towards Burhanpoor. This resolution he

April

adopted at a time when the ministers, jealous of each other, dreading the resentment of Rugoba, and doubting the intentions of Sabajee Bhonslay, as well as of the Nizam, were on the point of releasing the raja of Satara, as a measure calculated to have insured them the aid of many of the Mahratta soldiery who were discontented or neutral. But the retreat of Rugoba at once turned the scale of opinion in their favour, and the design was abandoned. He was followed by the combined armies of Hurry Punt Phurkay, the Nizam, and Sabajee Bhonslay, which together amounted to 50,000 men; but the pursuit was purposely retarded by Nizam Ally, in order to obtain possession of some territory promised by the ministers for his treachery to Rugoba; and thus the fugitive Peishwa had leisure to levy contributions from the country as he went along. The crisis, however, was passed; he

had lost an opportunity of retrieving his affairs, and the birth of Mahdoo Rao Narain, on the *April 18* 18th April, gave a finishing blow to his ever being recognised as Peishwa. Notwithstanding the suspicions created by the scheme which was adopted for eventually imposing upon the country, there is very little doubt but that the child was the son of the murdered Narain Rao.

Sukaram Bappoo and Nana Furnuwees were deputed by Gunga Bye to receive the clothes of investiture for her son, which were sent from Satara by the raja in charge of Mahdoo Rao Neelkunt Poorundhuree, and the infant was formally installed as Peishwa when he was 40 days old. One of the first acts of the ministers under his government was to remove Rughoojee, the adopted son of Janojee Bhonslay, from the office of Sena Sahib Soobeh, by conferring that dignity on Sabajee, their ally.

Rugonath Rao remained a short time at Burhanpoor in hopes of being joined by Holkar and Sindia; but at last, contrary to the advice of his friends, he crossed the Nerbuddah, when Moodajee Bhonslay and all his followers, except about 7,000 horse, deserted him. On his arrival at Indore he was met by Mahadajee Sindia and Tookajee Holkar, received with the greatest respect, and it was generally reported that these two chiefs would espouse his cause; it was also stated that the two brothers, Govind Rao and Futih Sing Gaekwar, then contend-

ing for the possession of Guzerat, as will be hereafter explained, had agreed to submit their dispute to the arbitration of Holkar and Sindia, and to unite with them in supporting Rugonath Rao. Nizam Ally, staggered by these rumours, disappointed at not having received the promised cessions, and willing to sell his aid to either party the more likely to have the power of granting his demands, cantoned for the rains at Basum; Hurry Punt Phurkay occupied a position in the neighbourhood of Burhanpoor.

The ministers very soon became jealous of each other. Nana Furnuwees was too cautious to take the lead in an infant government; but, like the generality of men who have risen by revolution, and who seldom appear in the foreground, he supported Sukaram Bappoo as the person likely to have most weight and consideration with the public. This conduct in him proceeded as much from timidity as design. Sukaram was an old, cautious, time-serving courtier, but he was a man of much more courage than Nana Furnuwees, and, in the humble and assiduous attention of his colleague and adherent, he did not foresee a future rival and a powerful foe. Such, indeed, was the influence of Sukaram Bappoo, that his secession from the cause of the ministers, which Nana often apprehended, would have ruined them. One circumstance, not generally known, which was used by Nana as an instrument of ambition, was the power he had acquired over the mind of the regent Gunga Bye; for, although a profound secret at the time, the young widow was deeply enamoured of Nana Furnuwees, and was taught by him the best means of governing the old minister.

Moroba, the cousin of Nana, who had been the ostensible prime minister of Mahdoo Rao, was dissatisfied on finding little deference paid to his counsel, and would readily have returned to Rugonath Rao if he could have effected it with safety, and insured his future power. Such of the other ministers as would not submit to Sukaram and Nana were soon united in common discontent. The cabal, in short, divided into two parties, and their disagreement became generally known by the discovery of a correspondence on the part of Moroba, Bujaba, and Babajee Naik with the ex-Peishwa. It appeared, from letters intercepted by Hurry Punt, that these three had formed a plan for securing the persons of Sukaram Bappoo, Nana Furnuwees, Gunga Bye, and her son—all of whom, on account of the chilling cold fre-

quently experienced in hill-forts during the rains, had come down from Poorundhur to reside in the neighbouring village of Sassoor; but receiving intelligence, on the 30th June, of this conspiracy, they instantly, with undissembled panic, betook themselves to the fort.

Hurry Punt Phurkay, leaving a detachment at Burhanpoor, countermarched on Poorundhur; and Krist Rao Bulwunt, the ministerial agent with Nizam Ally, by stipulating for the immediate cession of upwards of 13 lakhs of jagheer territory, and promising more, induced him to move to Aurungabad to give countenance to their cause; but the discovery of their conspiracy at once defeated the designs of the feeble triumvirate, and Hurry Punt was directed to halt at the Ajunta Ghaut.

Hyder Ally, immediately on perceiving these commotions, seized the opportunity in order to complete his conquests of the whole of the Mahratta districts south of the Toongbuddra. He attacked Sera in person, whilst his son Tippoo besieged Gurumconda. At the same time Busalut Jung from Adonee entered the Mahratta country, and levied contributions as far as Hutnee and Merich. No effort could be made to save Sera and Gurumconda; they therefore soon fell; but Wamun Rao Govind Putwurdhun and Anund Rao Rastia were detached for the protection of their own districts; and soon compelled Busalut Jung to retire. These chiefs received instructions to return to the capital as soon as possible; and Bhow Rao Yeshwunt Pansia, Ramchundur Gunnessh, Visajee Kishen, and Bhowan Rao Pritee Needhee were employed in raising men in the districts, who were all to be at Poona on the Dussera. Agents were employed throughout the country to blacken the crimes of Rugoba, and hold forth the justice of their cause. The ministers at the same time breathed nothing but a spirit of union and concord: they determined on obtaining the absolute submission of Rugoba; and their active and judicious preparations for hostility showed that they understood the best means of ensuring pacification.

Rugonath Rao, in the meantime, with a force of about 30,000 men, chiefly composed of the troops of Sindia and Holkar, advanced from Indore to the banks of the Taptee, where he expected to be joined by Moodajee Bhonslay and Govind Rao Gaekwar. In this situation he renewed his negotiations with the English government at Bombay.

Notes and References

Preliminary Observations

p. 1, l. 5. The mountainous tract called Gondwaneh is inhabited by a savage race of people, who, as they are not Hindoos, are supposed never to have been conquered.

p. 1, l. 12. Malabar, Toolava, and Gohurasht, three divisions of the Malabar coast, though not expressly comprised in the limits of Drawed and Carnatic, are, from the similarity of their languages, considered as attached to these divisions respectively, viz., Malabar or Kerala to Drawed, and Toolava and Gohurasht to Carnatic.

p. 2, l. 5. The Sautpoora is properly, I am informed by Major Tod, the range adjoining the Vendhia mountains to the south, but the Mahrattas term the whole *Sautpoora*.

p. 2, l. 35. One of these Pooranas, which recounts the exploits of Pureshram in his war with the Kshittrees, mentions that at the close of it, having extirpated the Kshittrees and oppressive rajas, and conferred the conquered territory on the Bramins, they did not choose that he should reside amongst them, which induced Pureshram to repair to the western coast of the Deccan, and to petition the sea for a place of residence. This request, however, was not willingly acceded to: but Pureshram bent his bow and let fly an arrow from the top of the great western mountains, at which the ocean was intimidated, and, receding before it to the point at which it fell, left dry the extensive tract of country now known by the name of the Concan and Malabar coast. In this space different languages are spoken, and Hindoo geographers divide it into seven parts—viz, 1, Kerala; 2, Toolava; 3, Gohurasht; 4, Concan or Kumpun; 5, Kurrar; 6, Wurar; and 7, Burbur. These are supposed to extend from the Paniany river to Mount Dilly, Dureea Bhadurghur, Sewdasheogurh or Cape Ramas, Deogurh, Bencoote, Bassein, and the

Taptee river respectively. The three first, as mentioned in a preceding note, are attached to Drawed and Carnatic; the four last are now, by the natives, indiscriminately included in the lower Concan, or Concan below the Ghauts. When the Concan simply is mentioned in this work, it is to be understood, as it is generally considered by Europeans, to extend from the sea to the line at which the Ghauts run into the lower country. When Concan-Ghaut-Mahta is specified, it is applicable to a particular tract of mountainous country hereafter described.

p. 2, l. 37. *Ghaut* literally means a break, but in the common acceptation it signifies a pass over any range of hills, and is thus applied to designate the hills themselves. When Ghauts are mentioned in this or any Indian history, the reader must bear in mind what Ghauts, or rather what particular range of hills, are alluded to; the Ghauts however, especially on the Bombay side, are the distinguishing appellation of that immense chain of hills which extends along the whole western coast of India, and is now more correctly termed the Syhadree (corruptly Shyadree) mountains. Ghaut also is sometimes applied to a ford, or the landing place on the bank of a river—a sense in which we shall never have occasion to use it.

p. 5, l. 7. I have had no opportunity of ascertaining, but the Chandore hills are probably the highest above the level of the sea; there is a very perceptible fall in the country from Chandore to the Taptee, and from the Mahdeo hills to the Warna and Kistna.

p. 5, l. 18. These are distinguished by the name of the place where they have been reared—Gung-thuree, Bheem-thuree Neer-thuree, and Maun Desh. *Thuree* means the dale or *strath* in the neighbourhood of a river, and the appellations here mentioned are used by the Mahrattas in speaking of these countries, in preference to any other name by which sub-divisions of the country were marked by Mahomedans. Berar is likewise celebrated for the hardiness, but not for the beauty, of its horses.

p. 5, l. 27. There are in India two general divisions of Bramins, termed the *Punch Gour* and the *Punch Drawed*; these two are subdivided into five each; the *Punch Gour* belong to, what has been termed by Rennell, Hindoostan proper, or the country north of the Nerbuddah, and the other five to Guzerat and the country

south of that river, and the Vindhia or (as they have been already noticed by the more familiar Mahratta name of) the Sautpoora mountains. Those south of the Nerbuddah are the *Maharashtr*, the *Andur* or *Teling*, the *Drawed* and the *Carnatic*. The *Goojur* are of Guzerat.

Besides the great divisions of *Mahdeo Bhugt* and *Vishnoo Bhugt*, or the respective followers of Mahdeo and Vishnoo, there are a great number of sub-divisions in all these five classes of Bramins, whose appellations correspond with four of the great divisions of the ancient definition of the Deccan already given; they also derive distinctions from any of the four Vedas in which they may be primarily instructed.

p. 5, l. 39. The Peishwas, who attained sovereign authority in the Mahratta nation, were of this class. Concanists, from this circumstance, and the power which it naturally threw into their hands, pretend to some superiority in caste; but these pretensions are not well founded. They are termed *Chitpawun*, which, amongst other significations, means "a dead body raised". Their origin, according to what is mentioned in a Sanscrit work entitled *The Syhadree Kind*, was 14 dead bodies of different castes that had been drowned in the sea, whence they were transported by Vishnoo in his *outar* of Pureshram, after he had forced the sea to give up the Concan, or *Pureshram Ksheter*, and re-animated to people his new country. From these 14 families sprang the Concanee Bramins, who are now distinguished by 60 surnames. The Deshist Bramins, although they have surnames, prefer the distinction of their father's name, or the place of their residence, to their surname, which they will seldom mention.

The Concanist Bramins, before the elevation of Ballajee Wishwanath, commonly called the first, though in fact the fifth, Peishwa, were not employed as clerks and men of business, but as *hurkarus* and spies. They carefully suppress or destroy all copies of the *Syhadree Kind*, where their origin is mentioned, and a respectable Bramin of Waee was, a few years ago, disgraced by Bajee Rao for having a copy of it. The Concanists say that the word *chitpawun* was originally *chitpohle*, literally signifying "searing the heart," made use of in their addresses to their patron Pureshram for not attending to their petitions; this expression, however, being considered undutiful or improper, was

changed to *chitpawun*, "pure-hearted," which they interpret "a sinner pardoned."

Of all the Bramins with whom I am acquainted, the Concanists are the most sensible and intelligent.

p. 6, l. 2. Their names, arranged according to their degree, are—1, Kurrara; 2, Yajurwedee, or Mahadinjen; 3, Kannoo; 4, Deorookay; 5, Kirwunt; 6, Shenwee; 7, Tirgool; and 8, Suwassay.

p. 6, l. 7. Rajapootras, or literally the children of rajas. They are the offspring of Kshittree rajas with women of other castes, and are said to have existed since about the year 2000 of the Kalhee Yoog.

p. 6, l. 9. The real Weysh is also said to be extinct; the Wancees, or Banians, occupy their place; but of a long list of the classes of Banians, there is not one of the sub-divisions that is real Weysh. The class termed *Komtee*, which is most common in Telingana, is the least degenerate. The other Banians in the Mahratta country are the *Lingait*, *Goojur* and *Jain*. The Lingait, although their Banians reckon themselves Weysh, are, like the Jain, a distinct sect; they are divided into three classes, termed *Silwunt*, *Punchum*, and *Tirulee*; their Gooroos, or priests, are termed *Jungum*; they derive their appellation from wearing the *Ling*, an obscene symbol of both Mahdeo and Vishnoo. They will not eat what has been cooked by a Bramin, and they differ in their religious tenets, denying the doctrine of metempsychosis; they are also deficient in some domestic observances rigidly practised by other Hindoos. The Goojur get their name rather from their country than their caste, being originally from Guzerat. There are also Bramins who are Goojurs. The Jains are not so common in Maharashtra as in the country south of the Kistna. A good account of this remarkable sect has been given by Colonel Mackenzie in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix.

p. 6, l. 21. Independent of other Hindoo observances, all classes of the Shunkerjatee have a sort of moral and religious government amongst themselves; they have heads or chiefs, now termed *Muqudum*, *Chowdree*, &c., &c., whose power seems to be the result of supposed suffrage, rather than of any regular election. There is no one *Muqudum* who has any very general authority in the Mahratta country; but all classes are subject to

the same sort of rules; they are frequently strict in enforcing both spiritual and temporal observances. An infringement of what is customary is liable to a general inquiry in the community, every member of which may be readily roused to a jealous defence of what is considered either privilege or propriety. The lower castes of the Shunkerjatee are not less particular than the others; and hence it is that, in native regiments, the European officers often complain of having no trouble with affairs of caste except among low-caste men. For the origin of the Shunkerjatee, to those who may be desirous of acquiring minute information, reference may be made to Mr. Colebrook's writings on the subject, in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. v. The most remarkable thing in the classification of the Shunkerjatee is that the offspring of the Shooder with a woman of the Bramin class is the lowest of all. The term Shunkerjatee, in the Mahratta country, is applied to the mixed classes, which in many other parts of India, and in Sanscrit manuscripts, are styled *Wurn Shunkur*: this term is in use in Maharashtra, but is applied to any sort of employment in which a person may be engaged unbecoming his caste. A Bramin's child by a slave-girl is termed *Sindey*.

p. 6, l. 34. Kubheer lived a Mahomedan, but, when dead, the Hindoos claimed him as a Sadhoo.

p. 6, l. 37. Though this be a name for those devotees who are rigid students for 12 years, all Bramin boys are termed *Brimhacharee* from the time of their admission into their caste, that is, from the period at which the ceremony of the *Moonj* is performed, until the consummation of their marriage, when they become *Grehusth*, or householders. The ceremony of the *Moonj* is performed in all Hindoo families of the higher castes, of which the males may be entitled to use the *Janwa*, or distinguishing thread worn next the skin. This takes place when the boy is five or six years old, and the occasion is celebrated with more or less pomp, according to the wealth or poverty of the parents. The ceremony is performed by the household priest, who is called Gooroo, or Oopadheea, and, in itself, is merely fastening a piece of cloth about the child's middle, and tying the Janwa diagonally across the body over the right shoulder; whilst the *Gayetri*, a mystical Sanscrit verse, is pronounced by the child's father, which all Bramins know, but none ought to

disclose. Previous to this the child is not a Bramin, or accountable for omissions or infringements in eating, bathing, &c., &c.

p. 7, l. 1. The Gaolees, or milkmen, hold the highest rank amongst the Shooders; some say by descent, others by their being born in employment about that most sacred animal the cow. Nawees, or barbers, from being frequently in contact with Bramins, likewise acquire a reflected superiority, but they are properly of the Shunkerjatee.

p. 7, l. 2. Hindoo devotees, who subsist on charity, are often indiscriminately termed *Fugeers* by Europeans, though the term is applicable to Mahomedan beggars only.

p. 7, l. 5. An explanation of this word will appear hereafter.

p. 7, l. 8. *Dass* means servant: *Hurree* is a name of Vishnoo—*Hurdass*, the servant of Vishnoo.

p. 7, l. 10. Their founder was Shunkeracharya; there are ten divisions of them, with some shades of difference in their observations; the ten are—1, *Guree*; 2, *Pooree*; 3, *Bharlee*; 4, *Bun*; 5, *Arun*; 6, *Surusutee*; 7, *Teert*; 8, *Ashrin*; 9, *Sagur*; and 10, *Purwutt*.

To become a Gosaeen, such castes as wear the *Kurgoota*, or string round the loins, destroy it, and substitute a piece of cloth, if any covering be deemed necessary; and the person generally attaches himself to some one of the fraternity, as desirous of becoming a *chela*, or disciple. The novice may proceed thus far and still retract; the irretrievable step, by which he becomes a Gosaeen for ever, is in the ceremony called *Home*, which, in this case, must be gone through in the most solemn manner. It is performed by taking an earthen vessel, one cubit square, termed *stundeel*; this is to be filled with pure unmixed mould, over which powders of various colours are to be strewed; upon this a fire is kindled, and over the whole ghee or milk is poured for a certain number of times, during which *munturs* or mystical verses, are repeated, and vows solemnly made, of poverty, celibacy, and perpetual pilgrimage to the different holy places throughout India. Ghee is butter clarified by boiling. Milk is always used by a Bramin in performing the *Home*, on this, as well as on other more common occasions of daily occurrence. The disciples of a Gosaeen are obtained in three ways—voluntary followers, slaves purchased, and childern obtained from parents who had vowed to make them Gosaeens previous to their birth.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

p. 10, l. 12. Divested of the religious character of which they partake, Kuthas more nearly resemble Mr. Matthews's entertainments of the present day than anything to which I can compare them in England.

p. 10, l. 17. Mahdeo, it may be here observed, does not destroy indiscriminately, and is not the depriver of life; that occupation belongs to the goddess *Mruttyoo*; and as soon as the soul departs, it is carried to be judged by *Yem Dhurm*, who is the son of *Soorya* (the sun), an outar of Vishnoo. I have not met with Mahdeo as the renovator: and if that idea be taken from any similarity in character with the heathen deity Jupiter genitor, as alluded to by Sir William Jones, it is a fanciful notion, to say the least.

p. 10, l. 21. Byhroo, Joteba, Kundoba, and Parbuttee, under her name of Dewee-Bhowanee, are generally the Kool Swamy and Aradh of the Mahratta soldiery. In villages, temples to Byhroo, Luximee, and Gunputtee are the most common.

p. 10, l. 39. The *Mahapooroosh* is frequently referred to as an oracle, and, on predicting falsely, is often blamed by the disappointed individual, who declares him responsible for the unfortunate issue of the affair. On the other hand, when the Mahapooroosh is not so well rewarded as he might expect, he sometimes (though this is rare) threatens to withdraw his protection from a person so unmindful and so unworthy.

p. 11, l. 7. Bramins learned in the Shasters have the title of Shastree; in the Vedas, Waudeek; in both Shasters and Vedas, Pundit—titles which much resemble those of the learned Rabbis in the Jewish synagogue.

p. 11, l. 10. The Poorans were written by Veas, an inspired Bramin, one of the seven immortal human beings. Walmeek, the author of the Ramayun, was, according to Mahratta legend, a Koolee, whose place of residence is pointed out near the Neera Bridge, at a village called Veerwalla not far from Jejoory, and contiguous to the Poorundhur range.

p. 12, l. 17. In the *Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society*, vol. iii, my reasons for this supposition are published.

p. 12, l. 22. Mentioned in old grants of land, engraved on copper-plates.

p. 12, l. 27. He is said by some to have been a Koonbee, or cultivator, and by others to have been the son of a *Koomar*, or

potter. The legends of the country call him an outar of Mahdeo. His mother, says the same authority, was the virgin daughter of a Bramin, who, becoming pregnant by a snake of a sacred kind, was in consequence supposed to be disgraced, and was driven from her father's threshold; but she was received into the house of a potter, by whom she was protected.

p. 12, l. 34. There are various legends respecting Shalivahan in different parts of India; this is what is current in Maharashtra, and it is not of importance to inquire whether this or that fable be the more probable.

p. 14, l. 2. First volume of *Asiatic Researches*, p. 357.

p. 14, l. 5. *Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society*, vol. iii.

p. 14, l. 6. He is said to have built the following 15 forts—viz 1, Pawungurh; 2, Panalla; 3, Bhoodurgurh; 4, Bowra; 5, Kelneh (or Vishalgurh); 6, Samangurh; 7, Rangna; 8, Wussuntgurh; 9, Satara; 10, Chundun; 11, Wundun; 12, Nandgeeree; 13, Kelinja; 14, Pandoogurh, and 15, Wyratgurh. They are still known by these names, excepting, I believe, Bhoodurgurh.

p. 14, l. 19. Polygar in the Mahratta country means one who has become independent, who refuses to pay revenue, and levies contributions from all those from whom he can enforce them.

p. 14, l. 22. Mahratta MSS. and tradition.

p. 15, l. 11. Meerasdar.—This is a Mahomedan appellation, though in more general use than Thulkuree, which is the Mahratta word for the same sort of tenure.

p. 15, l. 11. Oopree literally signifies a stranger, and is here applied to the mere renter in opposition to the hereditary occupant.

p. 15, l. 27. The following are the 12 Balowtay and 12 Alowtay, according to the general, but not universal, opinion of the Mahrattas:—First, *Balowtay*.—The head of the 12 Balowtay is the carpenter; second, the blacksmith; third, the shoemaker and currier, fourth, the Mhar or Dher. This is a person of the very lowest order of Shunkerjatee, except the Mang; but on the village establishment his duties are very important. The Mhar acts as scout, as guide, frequently as watchman; he cleans travellers' horses and is obliged, if required, to carry the travellers' baggage; he is a principal guardian of the village boundaries, and in Maharashtra the Mhars are a very active, useful, and intelligent

race of people. Fifth, the Mang makes all leather ropes, thongs, whips, &c., used by the cultivators; he frequently acts as watchman; he is by profession a thief and executioner; he readily hires himself as an assassin, and when he commits a robbery, he also frequently murders. The Mangs are not so intelligent as the Mhars; both the one and the other eat the carcasses of cattle that have died of disease, and are exceedingly filthy in many respects. Sixth, the potter; seventh, the barbar; eighth, the washerman; ninth, the *goorow*, who is a Shooder employed to wash ornament, and attend the idol in the village temple, and on occasions of feasting, to prepare the *patrowlee* or leaves, which the Hindoos substitute for plates. They are also trumpeters by profession, and in this capacity are much employed in Mahratta armies. Tenth, the *joshee*, or astrologer, is a Bramin who calculates nativities, foretells lucky and unlucky days, &c. Eleventh, the bhat or bard; twelfth, the moolana, so called by the Mahrattas, is the moola, or Mahomedan priest; and it is very strange how he is found ingrafted on the Balowtay establishment of a Hindoo village; if on the Alowtay, which some say he ought to be, it would have been less unaccountable, especially if we admit, as is frequently done, that the institution of the Alowtay must have been at a period long after that of the Balowtay; but this seems little more than mere conjecture. The moolana has charge of the mosques and burial-places of Mahomedan saints, and manages the affairs of enam, or freehold lands attached to them. He performs the ceremony at Mahomedan marriages, and ought to be competent to all the duties of a moola; but he is very often found where there is no Mahomedan family except his own, and is known to the Mahratta population as the person who kills their sheep and goats when offered as a sacrifice at temples, or in their fields, to propitiate the deities presiding over the different *stulls*, or great divisions of the village lands. The moolana, likewise, kills the sheep for the *katik*, who, although frequently mistaken for the butcher, is, in fact, the person who cleans and exposes the meat for sale. The moolana is entitled to two pice (small copper coin) and the heart of every animal he kills for the *katik*. Some of the Mahrattas are unmindful of the ceremony, but in general they profess not to eat flesh unless the *neyt* has been

pronounced by the moolana, or some Mussulman capable of repeating what renders the flesh of any animal *hullal* or lawful to be eaten. To account for this extraordinary adoption of Mahomedan observance puzzles the Hindoos. The moolana has the same kind of allowances as the other Balowtay. Second, the *Alowtay* are: first, the Sonar, or goldsmith; he is assayer of coins, as well as the maker of gold and silver ornaments for the richer inhabitants; second, the Jungum, or *gooroo* or the lingait sect; third, the tailor; fourth, the Kolee, or water-carrier; fifth, the Tural, or Yeskur, is a Mhar; but the Alowtay rights, which constitute the Tural's emoluments, are distinct from the Balowtay of the Mhars. It is the duty of the Tural to remain in the village, and never to quit its boundary. He is at the constant call of the Patell, but his particular duty is to attend strangers, and take care of all travellers from the moment of their entering the village; of which, if walled, the Tural is porter. He furnishes all necessary information as well as supplies to strangers, and is often extremely useful to them. His duties are very numerous. Sixth, the gardener; seventh, the Dowree Gosawee, a religious personage who beats the *dour*, a species of small tambourine; eighth, the *Gursee*, or piper. The Gursees, as already noticed, are said to be descended from the aborigines of Dhund Kairinaya, the forest, or country between the sources of the Bheema and Caverry. Ninth, the Ramoosee or Bheel. These, although their office is the same when employed on the village establishment, are different castes of people, but they resemble each other in many of their habits; both are professed thieves. The Ramoosees belong more particularly to Maharashtra. The Bheels, in the Mahratta country, are only found in Candeish, and along the Syhadree range north of Joonere. In villages they generally hold the office of watchman, and when a country is settled, they become useful auxiliaries in the police; but under a weak government, or when anarchy prevails, they quit their habitations and become thieves and robbers. The Ramoosees use the sword and matchlock: the Bheels more commonly the bow and arrow; the latter are less domesticated than the former. Bheels abound to the north of the Nerbuddah, and over the greater part of Guzerat. When employed on the village establishment, they are, in that province, called *Burtinneas*.

Tenth, the Telee, or oil-seller; eleventh, the Tambowlee, or pawn-leaf vender, twelfth, the Gonedulee, or beater of the *tambhut*, a double kettle-drum.

p. 15, l. 40. This is an argument against those Mahratta Patells who claim a Rajpoot descent; but it is by no means conclusive, as there are proofs of their having, in many instances, purchased the office from the tribe called *Kassar*. The Patellship, owing to the Hindoo law of inheritance, and the Patell's right of selling a portion, or *tugseemu* of his wutun, is frequently divided and sub-divided into two, four, or more shares amongst different families; and all the members of one of these families, the head of which holds any such share, call themselves Patell. In the same way the numbers of a Koolkurnee's family style themselves Koolkurnee, and so on of all other hereditary offices. The Patell, who holds the chief managing authority, is styled *Muqudum*.

p. 16, l. 2. This has not always been the case; many of the Koolkurnees were Purbhoos, *Sonars* (goldsmiths), and *Simpees* (tailors). The Bramins excuse themselves for having entered upon worldly occupations by the plea of necessity. "Mankind," say they, "had become so corrupt, that charity to Bramins was not duly attended to, and hunger compelled them to adopt some means of obtaining food."

p. 17, l. 20. Every Kusba has some usage, in levying customs, peculiar to itself; import and export, which, in England, refer to the kingdom, apply in India, where these duties exist, to import and export to and from the Kusba or villages within its range. Thus, there are peculiar rates for the inhabitants of the Kusba, for the inhabitants of Mouzas dependent on the Kusba, and for persons coming from a distance, or from within the range of an adjoining Kusba. In cities, or large towns, where there are several markets, each separate division, where such market is held, is called *Pete* and is regulated in a manner nearly similar. Transit duties are of two sorts—one collected within the range of the Kusba, and the other a general transit through the country. The general transit is a ready-money payment, and was commonly, at least by the Mahomedans, reserved by government; but the right of collecting within the range of the Kusba is portioned in an intricate manner, and most of the permanent agents of government have some right to share in the

customs, which by them are collected in kind. Many persons have pensions upon the customs; a right of levying a small share from certain articles, or exacting something from every one exposing their merchandise on a particular spot. These descend as hereditary, and with the divisibility common to all Hindoo property.

Trade in the Mahratta country, as far as authentic record exists, has always been a secondary object with the government.

p. 18, l. 11. The Mahomedans, who, like other etymologists, are sometimes very ingenious at the expense of correctness, derive this appellation from words of their own language; *Dus*, signifying ten, and *mookh*, the first—hence, say they, *Deshmookh*, *the tenth handful*, which brings the signification to accord with the supposed original allowance of those hereditary officers. *Desh* (or, in Hindoostanee, *Des*) signifies a country, *mookh* the mouth, and *Mookhya* a chief; the Mahrattas say the derivation is not from *Mookhya*, a chief, but from *Desh* and *Mookh*, the mouth or spokesman of a district. Many Englishmen have adopted the Mahomedan derivation.

p. 18, l. 17. Though the probability is that the *Deshadikars* were, like most Hindoo institutions, hereditary, there are some circumstances for and against this supposition, which, as the question relates to my subject, as the origin of everything regarding the rights of the people of India should be of importance, and as what I mention may be followed up by inquiries more satisfactory, I shall here submit these circumstances to the reader's judgment:—*Adikar* is a Sanscrit word signifying the first or chief in employment, whether as applied to the prime minister of the state, to one deputed by him, or by the prince; it likewise signifies a right, possession, privilege, or inheritance; it is never, however, that I have found, used synonymously with *Writtee*, which is the Hindoo appellation of what is now more generally expressed in the Mahratta country by the name of *Wutun*. *Adikaree* signifies a possessor, and heir, one who possesses some right or privilege; it is also frequently used as the name of any agent of government superintending revenue affairs. The name itself, therefore, is in favour of the supposition that the *Deshadikars* did exist as permanent hereditary officers; and that the *Deshadikaree*, like the *Gramadikaree*, was the principal superintendent amongst the body of relations for the time being.

The reasons, however, for doubting this conclusion, and for supposing the Deshadikars distinct from, and superior to, the Deshmookhs, are not unworthy of consideration. At the present day the Mahrattas generally preserve all the Mahomedan forms of address in their letters and official papers, unless they can revert to the ancient Hindoo words and forms with facility. On the occasion of granting enam, or rent-free lands, of any village, wholly or in part, there are four separate sunnuds, or deeds of gift, made out—1st, one to the grantee, always conferring the grant on him and his heirs for ever; 2nd, one to the Muqudum, or managing Patell in the village; 3rd, one to the Deshmookhs and Deshpandyas; and 4th, one to the Deshadikarees. The three first are addressed to the parties simply; but to the fourth the address is “Raje Sree Deshodikaree wo Lukuk *wurtuman bawee*”—to the Deshadikarees and writers *now* and *hereafter*. The terms used for *wurtuman bawee* in the Mahomedan grants are *hal wo istugbal*, and these are seldom found substituted by the Mahrattas for the Sanscrit. Those who are inclined to defend the antiquity of the Deshmookh's rights, say this address is merely applicable to the present agents, who are collectors for the government, and occupy the place which was held by the chief or managing Deshmookh; whilst others adduce it as an instance of there having been no permanent hereditary officer between the Patell and the sovereign, and this opinion they support by some plausible conjectures. The Deshmookhs and Deshpandyas, as now found, were, in the opinion of these last, an institution of the Mahomedans when they first revolted in the Deccan, and adopted as an inducement for the Mahratta Naiks and Polygars to join their standard against the emperor; that they promised all such officers, and all Deshadikarees, certain powers and immunities in their *native district*; and hence the general introduction of the term *wutun*, an Arabic word signifying *one's native country*. To support this opinion, there is one curious circumstance:—In the oldest firmans of the Mahomedan princes of the Deccan, in the preamble to which the petition of the grantee is frequently inserted, all the claims to Deshmookh's *wutun* are made, either in consequence of former firmans, granted for services performed to the *Beder king* (the name by which the princes of the Bahminee dynasty are designated in

Maharashtra), or, if the petitions be addressed to those kings, the application is made in consequence of claims to which the petitioner considers he has an equal right with other persons on whom *wutun* has been conferred agreeably to the king's promise, should he succeed in establishing his independence, or, in the words of the petition, on his mounting the throne. I am inclined to suppose, from several specimens I have examined, that these firmans were forgeries, founded on an incorrect but popular Mahomedan opinion, and intended to impose upon the kings of Beejapoor, or rather the agents of that state. Their preservation in the hands of those holding the office is a proof that they gained their end. The Deshmookhs, however, are certainly of much greater antiquity than has been supposed by some men of great research, in other matters connected with revenue. Mr. Grant, for one, in his *Political Analysis*, fixes the date of the original institution in A.D. 1582, during the reign of Akber.

One surmise in support of the antiquity of Deshmookhs and Dessaees is that of the Ceylon Dessauvas. I do not offer it as a conjecture of their having originated in that island; but any Bramin in Maharashtra can tell that Himadh Punt, the famous physician who cured Bibeshun, the brother of Rawun, introduced the art of writing the Morh character, and several other hints useful to his countrymen, from the Rakshus, or Demons of Lunka.

p. 18, l. 19: This is one of the books of the Dhurm Shaster, and is considered of great antiquity; the author was the celebrated Roshee Yadnewulkya.

p. 19, l. 4. Naik means master; Naik was a common title of the Mahratta chiefs in the service of the Mahomedans.

p. 19, l. 11. *Writtee* is a Sanscrit word signifying livelihood.

p. 19, l. 12. *Wutun* is an Arabic word, which means one's native country, as explained in a former note.

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p. 20, l. 2. The Mahomedans crossed the Lower Sinde before they penetrated by the Attock.

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p. 21, l. 18. Wilks' *Historical Sketches*.

p. 21, l. 28. Said by some to have been the capital of Bulal Deo, raja of the Carnatic; and by others to have been the principal seaport of his dominions, and situated in Toolava (Canara), but that its site and harbour are unknown, owing to the ebbing of the sea.

p. 24, l. 11. The story altogether, as detailed by Ferishta, bears the marks of tradition—an observation of no consequence in this place; but it may be remarked that all Bramins now in the Deccan, holding the office of Qanoongo, which is similar to that of Deshpandya, are invariably called Kangoh in the corrupt dialect of Maharashtra, and that even in Persian this corruption is found, spelt both with the kaf and qaf.

p. 25, l. 4. The foregoing short abstract of Mahomedan history is almost entirely from Ferishta. Ferishta continues our best authority up to the beginning of the seventeenth century; but wherever I may adopt other authorities, I shall never intentionally omit mentioning them, as well in acknowledgment as in proof.

p. 25, l. 5. The names of the successors of Sultan Alla-ud-deen, with the dates of their reign, according to Ferishta, are as follow:—

1st Sultan having died in 1357, was succeeded by his son.

2nd Sultan, Mohummud Shah Bahminee, died in 1374, and was succeeded by his son.

3rd Sultan, Mujahid Shah Bahminee, was assassinated in 1377 by his uncle and successor.

4th Sultan, Daood Shah Bahminee, only reigned about one month, when he was assassinated at the instigation of Roopur-wur Agah, and was succeeded by

5th Sultan, Mahmood Shah Bahminee, a younger son of the first Sultan, died in 1396, and was succeeded by his son.

6th Sultan, Ghazee-ud-deen Shah Bahminee, who reigned one month and twenty days, when he was assassinated by Lall-cheen, a Turkish slave, and was succeeded by his brother.

7th Sultan, Shumse-ud-deen Shah Bahminee, was dethroned after a reign of less than six months, and was succeeded by the son of Daood Shah Bahminee.

8th Sultan, Firoze (Rozi Ufzoon) Shah Bahminee, died in 1422, and was succeeded by his brother.

- 9th Sultan, Ahmed Shah Wullee Bahminee, died in 1434, and was succeeded by his son.
- 10th Sultan, Alla-ud-deen (II.) Shah Bahminee, died in 1457, and was succeeded by his son.
- 11th Sultan, Humaioon Shah Bahminee, commonly called Zalim, or the tyrant, who died the victim of passion and cruelty in 1460, and was succeeded by his son.
- 12th Sultan, Nizam Shah Bahminee, died in 1462, and was succeeded by his brother.
- 13th Sultan, Mohummud Shah Bahminee, who died in 1482, and was succeeded by his son.
- 14th Sultan, Mahmood Shah Bahminee, who died in 1518, and his son.
- 15th Sultan, Ahmed Shah Bahminee, was his nominal successor, who died two years afterwards, or in 1520, and to fill his place.
- 16th Sultan, Alla-ud-deen (III.) was set up as successor, but was afterwards strictly confined in 1526, when Kulleem Oolla Bahminee was the last on whom the title was conferred, and with him ended the Bahminee dynasty.

p. 25, l. 16. There are at present four eras used in the Mahratta country besides the Christian—viz., 1, the *Shalivahan*; 2, the *Soorsun*, or Arabic year; 3, the *Fusslee* year: and 4, the *Raj-Abishik*, or from the date of Sivajee's ascending the throne.

The Hindoo day and night contain 60 *ghutkas*, commencing from the time of the morning when objects at hand are discernible; therefore, the name of the day by this method will not always be the same as with us: for our Sunday morning at 1, 2 or 3 A.M. would be the latter part of their Saturday.

The *Mirg*, or cultivator's year, always commences in the beginning of our month of June, corresponding with the end of the Hindoo month *Weyshak*, or beginning of *Jesht*. Although the Hindoo year is lunar, it is adjusted to the solar time by the intervention of the *Adheek Muheenu*, or intercalary month, being one month counted twice over in every fourth year; and again further corrected by throwing out one month from one year in every three cycles of 60 years each, or 180 years. The month thrown out is termed *Kshy-mas*, or the deficient month.

By calculation, it appears that the *Soorsun* (generally written *Shuhoorsun* by the Mussulmans) was introduced on the *Mirg*,

in Heejree 745, which corresponds with A.D. 1344-45, and hence it would appear that it must have originated with Mohummud Tughluk Shah. It was much more like his character than that of the Emperor Akber to introduce so useless an innovation; but it was in the reign of Akber that the Fusslee era commenced to the north of the Nerbuddah, and it was introduced into the Deccan by his grandson, Shah Jehan, in the year of the Heejree 1047, or A.D. 1637-38. The Soorsun and Fusslee eras are merely solar years, setting out with the date of the year of the Heejree when they commenced, but without making allowance in future reckoning for the difference between the solar and lunar years, by which means they differ rather more than three years every century. Both the Soorsun and Fusslee are called Mirg, or the husbandman's year, from their commencing at the season when the fields begin to be sown.

p. 25, l. 23. Hurnak Pohl and Kam Raje Ghatkay had small munsubs of from 200 to 300 horse; there were others, but their names are not known.—Mahratta MSS.

p. 26, l. 4. In Scott's Translation it is Geodeo. In some copies of Ferishta it is Govind deo; but Ferishta says the chief of the Naiks was a descendant of the raja of Deogurh. Ram deo Rao Jadow was the raja of Deogurh, according to all Hindoo MSS., and it is not improbable that this chief's name may have been Govind deo Jadow.

p. 26, l. 12. This name has given rise to conjectures; it was probably some small tract about where Dhoolia now is, in Candeish, in the possession of some Mahratta polygar. It is not such a misnomer as Europeans have been guilty of in calling Toolava, Canara, though both names are to be accounted for in a similar manner.—See Wilks vol. *i*.

p. 26, l. 40. Ferishta.

p. 27, l. 11. Mahratta MSS., and a firman in possession of one of the Waee Deshmookhs.

p. 27, l. 19. Mahratta MSS.

p. 27, l. 21. Ferishta.

p. 27, l. 26. From Kallay's surname, which sounds like Kala (black), these two are said to have been called the black and white eunuchs—Kala Khojeh and Gora Khojeh. European Turks early found their way to the Mahomedan court in the Deccan.

p. 27, l. 30. A tobra is a leather bag used to feed horses, by putting in the grain and tying it on the mouth by a thong which passes over the horse's head like a head-stall, and is fastened by putting it through a running noose on one side of the tobra. It is a part of the accoutrements of every Mahratta horseman.

p. 27, l. 31. A Beega, according to the present measurement, approaches to within 1-15th of an acre; under some of the Mahomedan states it was much smaller.

p. 27, l. 36. Mahratta MSS.

p. 28, l. 10. Chakun is a small fort 18 miles north from Poona. It is nearly square, with towers at the angles and centres of the faces; it has a good ditch about 30 feet wide and 15 deep, but wet on the north side only; the walls are high, and parapet and rampart narrow, and the towers confined. There is but one entrance into the body of the place through five or six gateways; and there is a mud outwork which also has a ditch. I mention it particularly on account of its reputed antiquity; for although it probably is the fort built by Mullik-ool-Tijar, according to concurring Hindoo legends it was constructed by an Abyssinian polygar, A.D. 1295. As to how he got there they do not pretend to account.

p. 28, l. 25. Mahratta MSS.

p. 28, l. 25. Probably the fort of Singurh, eight miles south of Poona. It was called Kondaneh by the Mahomedans, but afterwards by Sivajee changed to Singurh. In Scott's Translation it is written Kelneh. Kelneh is the modern Vishalgurh, and certainly lies in a situation much more resembling the description of the country, as given by Ferishta, than Singurh.

p. 29, l. 32. Scott's Translation of Ferishta.

p. 31, l. 34. Situated in the district of the same name, north of the Godavery—Ferishta, Mahratta MSS., and Huqeequt-i-Hindoostan, a modern compendium by Luximon Narain, of Hyderabad.

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p. 33, l. 12. The Moghuls never acknowledged their title to Shah (that is, king); and, therefore, in all Moghul writings, the

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sovereigns of Beejapoor are only mentioned by the name of Adil Khan.

p. 33, l. 14. One of the situations by which Nizam-ool-Moolk ascended to power was that of having charge of the royal falconry; the Byheree being a species of hawk much used in the Deccan, he obtained the name of Byheree from that circumstance.

p. 34, l. 13. A list of the princes of each dynasty, with the dates of their reign up to the end of the sixteenth century, is as follows:—

p. 34, l. 31. Or Singurh, as already noticed.

p. 35, l. 4. De Faria.

p. 35, l. 21. Commonly termed by Europeans, Canara.

p. 35, l. 22. De Faria.

p. 35, l. 24. Ferishta.

p. 35, l. 26. De Faria.

p. 35, l. 38. Old deeds.

p. 36, l. 6. A Sillidar is much more respectable than a Bargeer; he is considered in the Mahratta country a sort of gentleman cavalier.

p. 36, l. 27. I follow the usual designation of that battle; but it was probably fought at some village opposite to Telikotta, across the Kistna, and consequently 16 miles south of the modern Telikotta.

p. 36, l. 35. Ferishta—Wilks.

p. 36, l. 38. De Faria. Caesar Frederick.

p. 37, l. 6. De Faria.

p. 37, l. 23. I say probably, for the same reason that Colonel Wilks does, namely, that although included as one of the Moghul divisions of the soobeh of Beejapoor, there is no positive evidence of its having been either taken or ceded to Beejapoor. Adonee was taken in 1567.

p. 38, l. 21. This is stated on the authority of many papers in possession of Deshpandyas, local inquiry amongst intelligent natives, and numerous circumstances throughout the country, as well as written documents in support of what the Deshpandyas adduce.

p. 38, l. 24. Under the Beejapoor state, in cases of hereditary property where the government was a party, there were about fifteen persons assembled on the Punchayet. By some old writings I have seen, two-thirds of these appear to have been

*Beejapoor, or Edil Shahee*

- 1st. Sultan Eusoof Adil Shah, assumed independence in 1489. Died in 1510.
- 2nd. Sultan Ismael Adil Shah succeeded his father and died in 1554.
- 3rd. Sultan Mulloo Adil Shah succeeded his father, and was deposed in 1555.
- 4th. Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah succeeded his brother, and died in 1557.
- 5th. Sultan Ali Adil Shah succeeded his father, and was murdered in 1580.
- 6th. Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah succeeded his father.

Ahmednugur Nizam Shahee, or Byheree Dynasty

- 1st. Mullik Ahmed, under the title of Ahmed Nizam-ool-Moolk Byheree, assumed independence about 1487, and died in 1508.
- 2nd. Sultan Boorahan Nizam Shah succeeded his father, and died in 1553.
- 3rd. Sultan Hoossein Nizam Shah succeeded his father, and died in 1565.
- 4th. Sultan Mortiza Nizam Shah succeeded his father, and was put to death in 1587 by his son and successor.
- 5th. Sultan Meeran Hoossein Nizam Shah, who was, after a reign of two months, put to death, 1587.
- 6th. Sultan Ismael Nizam Shah, the cousin of Meeran Hoossein, was raised to the throne, but deposed by his father.
- 7th. Sultan Boorahan Nizam Shah (II), who died in 1594.

Golcondah, or Kootub Shahee

- 1st. Sultan Kootub-ool-Moolk, assumed independence in 1512, and was assassinated in 1551.
- 2nd. Sultan Jumshed succeeded his father, and after a short reign of seven months was succeeded by his brother.
- 3rd. Sultan Ibrahim Kootub Shah, who died in the year 1581.
- 4th. Sultan Mohummud Koolee Kootub Shah succeeded his father, and was succeeded by his brother.
- 5th. Sultan Abdoollah Kootub Shah.

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Mahomedans and one-third Hindoos. With regard to the Ahmednugur state, I have not had the same opportunities of gaining information; but that claims to hereditary property were settled by Punchayet the old papers in every district will prove.

p. 38, l. 29. The origin of this name, as here used, is probably to be found in the Arabic word *moqaita*, signifying the place of collecting the customs or revenue. The subsequent application of the word Mokassa by the Mahrattas, though perhaps taken from this source, is, like several of their revenue terms, more arbitrary than derivative.

p. 38, l. 33. There is one instance where the situation remained in the same family for three generations, Mokrib Khan, Mokassadar of Kuttao, Kurar, &c., was succeeded by his son and grandson.—(Old written documents preserved by the Deshpandya's family, who managed his affairs.)

p. 39, l. 4. This may be gleaned from various parts of Ferishita; and, by old papers in the possession of some of the Deshmookh's, it appears they were frequently intrusted with the care of the king's forts.

p. 39, l. 11. The munsubs of the Deccan states exactly corresponded with the number of horse from which they took their rank. In the Moghul service, munsubdars of 10,000 might only hold command of half that number of horse. The munsubs of Mahomedans rarely, if ever, exceeded 10,000, even under the Moghul government, but Mahrattas in the service of the emperor had much higher munsubs; in one instance, a Mahratta chief, as will be hereafter observed, had a munsub of 24,000 conferred on him.

p. 39, l. 36. Where anything is disorganized, in the hands of many, or in a state of confusion, the Mahrattas use this phrase. Europeans in designating any one body of horse by this appellation misunderstand both its point and its meaning. The Bramins invariably apply it to Mahratta affairs of which they have not the sole management.

p. 40, l. 31. Papers respecting hereditary disputes in Mahratta families, Ghatgay's Buker, &c.

p. 41, l. 40. Naikwaree, which is now used to denominate a particular officer, a sort of hereditary land measurer on the village establishment, was formerly a title of respect, like the present *jee*, or

as we would say the Mahratta officers in charge of forts under the Beejapoor government are frequently termed Naikwaree in Persian MSS. and deeds.

p. 42, l. 10. Aurungzebe allowed the old Surdeshmookhs 2 per cent., as appears by sunnuds of his time.

p. 42, l. 29. The Kapseekur and Moodholekur were known under the Beejapoor government, the former by the *nowkus*, the latter by the *sathkus* Ghorepurays—a distinction which both families keep up, but for which they can give no satisfactory reason; the first Ghorepuray that joined Sivajee was one of the former. The head of the latter is the Patell of a village near Satara.

p. 43, l. 5. The ancient name of their country is Koodhal Desh, a sub-division of Gohurasht.

p. 43, l. 20. It is the village close to the celebrated caves of Ellora, and from which they take their name.

p. 44, l. 13. A name of Mahdeo.

p. 45, l. 36. The above account of the ancient Mahratta families is from MSS., old deeds, and records in the possession of their descendants.

p. 46, l. 14. Of this Hindoo, whom Ferishta calls Mean Rajoo, I have obtained no satisfactory account, nor is any mention made of him in any Mahratta MSS. that I have ever seen.

p. 46, l. 14. Several of the Nizam Shahee kings had Abyssinian wives, and the nobles alluded to are said to have been chiefly the connections of these wives.

p. 46, l. 22. It sustained two memorable sieges before it was finally taken; and its first defence, maintained by Chaund Beebee, the widow of Ali Adil Shah of Beejapoor, was perfectly heroic. The Chaund Beebee, who was assassinated during the second siege, still lives in Deccan story and Deccan song, a heroine unrivalled. The celebrated lady, the historian Khafee Khan calls the daughter of Boorahan Nizam Shah; but this is a mistake; she was the daughter of Hoossein Nizam Shah, and given in marriage, with the fort of Sholapoor as her portion, to Ali Adil Shah in 1564, for the purpose of binding the alliance then formed against the raja of the Carnatic. Some years after her husband's death she returned to Ahmednugur.

p. 46, l. 35. Mahratta MSS.

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p. 46, l. 35. Aware of the contents of the cup, he swallowed the poison tendered by his ungrateful sovereign.—Ferishta.

p. 47, l. 13. Frequently written Gurka by Mahomedan authors. Its name of Khirkee was afterwards, as we shall see, changed to Aurungabad.

p. 47, l. 29. This account of Mullik Umber's famous revenue arrangements is principally upon the authority of Mahratta MSS., where it is stated that his assessment was two-fifths of the produce of government lands. Tradition says his money commutation was about one-third.

p. 48, l. 25. This is supposed by the present Jan Rao Naik Nimbalkur to have been his ancestor Jugpal, who was killed about this period. Though the Naiks of Phultun held their jagheer from the Beejapoor government, this circumstance affords no satisfactory evidence of Ibrahim Adil Shah's having assisted Mullik Umber, or that there was a general confederacy against the Moghuls. From the character of Jugpal, who, according to the family legends, was always present where there was hunting or fighting, he may have joined without the authority of his government.

p. 48, l. 29. Ferishta's history, which is deservedly considered our best authority, ends about the beginning of the seventeenth century. From that period, for the ensuing 40 years, or up to the final dismemberment of the kingdom of Ahmednugur, I have adopted the work of Khafee Khan as the most consistent and authentic source, respecting that obscure period of Deccan history. Khafee Khan was the assumed name of the author; his real name was Mohummud Hashem Khan. He was the son of Khwajeh Meer, also an historian, and an officer of high rank in the service of Moraúd Bukhsh; but after that prince's confinement and death, he came into the employment to Aurungzebe. Mohummud Hashem Khan was brought up in Aurungzebe's service, and was employed by him both in political and military situations. His history has been frequently referred to, and large extracts from it have appeared in various works, particularly in the Seyr Mutuakhereen, but no English translation of the history has been published. Dow's third volume would have been much more valuable, had he adopted Khafee Khan as his only authority. The history was written after Aurungzebe's death; the

great blank in the Moghul history, which occurs from the tenth year of that emperor's reign, is very indifferently supplied, but after the twenty-third year of the reign, the account is full, and is frequently supported by other authorities, or rather, at that period, serves to corroborate them.

During repeated visits to the ancient city of Beejapoor, which was comprehended in a tract of territory for some time under my superintendence, I endeavoured to collect from the descendants of the persons in charge of the once splendid endowments of its mosques and mausoleums, all the manuscripts, deeds, and papers in their possession.

The following is a list of those which bore the smallest reference to my subject:—

1st.—Original memoranda of a history of Beejapoor, partly arranged by Abdool Hoossein Qazee, who died a few years before the city was finally captured; the papers, said to be in his own handwriting, are in possession of a Peerzaduh, styled Sahib Huzrut, son-in-law of Abdoollah Sahib, a very venerable and sensible old man, the most respectable person now in Beejapoor. He is full of legendary information, and on seeing and conversing with him, in the midst of lofty domes and falling palaces, one fancies himself in company with the last of the inhabitants of that wonderful place.

2nd.—A history of Beejapoor, by Meer Ibrahim, son of Meer Hoossein Lohr. This work, which the Deccan Mahomedans frequently quote without understanding it, is nothing more than a collection of names and dates, expressing the dates in letters, and something of the characters of each individual whose death is thus recorded.

3rd.—A history of Ali Adil Shah II., written by Noor Ullah, the son of Syud Ali Mohummud Hoosseinee Qadree, in which there is some very useful information amongst a great deal of rubbish.

4th.—The Ali Namu, an historical poem of the reign of Ali Adil Shah II. It is written by Nusserut, the only poet of Beejapoor, excepting Hashimee, who translated Yusoof and Zuleikha into Hindoostanee verse. The works of Nusserut are the Ali Namu and Goolshun-i-eshq; a copy of the former was found in Tippoo's library at Seringapatam, and is not uncommon.

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5th.—A history of Beejapoor, written by Syud Moideen Peerzaduh, suggested by numerous inquiries put to him by English officers, who have been much in the habit of visiting Beejapoor since the last Mahratta war. It was finished in January 1821; and although great pains have been taken, the author's dates, by confusing the Soorsun and Heejree eras, are frequently much misplaced. His industry, however, is very commendable.

p. 49, *l.* 1. Beejapoor MSS.

p. 50, *l.* 33. I say probably Ahmednugur, because Shahjee had no hereditary claim to the Deshmookhee of Ahmednugur, and it will hereafter appear that his son Sivajee set up such a pretension.

p. 50, *l.* 35. Original firman, from Shah Jehan to Kellojee Bhonslay, found in possession of a Mahratta who headed a petty insurrection near Vishalgurh in 1820. Kellojee Bhonslay was put to death by Aurungzebe; the time and circumstances are not ascertained.—Mahratta MSS.

p. 54, *l.* 40. He afterwards became mad, and died from the effects of an old wound in the head.

p. 55, *l.* 17. Beejapoor MSS. Khafee Khan mentions that the daughter of Shahjee was captured on this occasion, but I cannot find that he had a daughter.

p. 55, *l.* 22. Supposed to be Nagojee Ghatgay Joojhar Rao who was killed in a battle with the Moghuls.—(Buker of the Ghatgay family.)

p. 56, *l.* 12. There is evidence of these facts in Mahratta MSS. as well as in Khafee Khan. This is no doubt the regency of Shahjee which we find mentioned in all the Mahratta MSS. as having taken place during a minority in the family of Nizam Shah.

p. 57, *l.* 10. "The sovereign of the plain." The natives of Beejapoor insist on calling it moolk-i-mydan, which, they say, signifies "the lion of the plain." This gun, of which the muzzle is four feet eight inches in diameter, and the calibre two feet four inches, was cast at Ahmednugur, A.D. 1549, by a native of Constantinople, named Hoossein Khan. Aurungzebe put an inscription upon it to commemorate the conquest of Beejapoor in 1685, which has led to the mistake of supposing it to have been cast at that time. It is alike curious from its dimensions and

its history; the Bombay government in 1823 was particularly desirous of sending it to the king of England, and an engineer was sent to examine it for the purpose; but the present state of the roads renders the difficulty of transporting such a huge mass of metal to the coast almost insuperable.

p. 58, l. 2. Khafee Khan mentions the capture of the son and family of Shahjee in one of these forts, of which I can find no confirmation, and consider it a mistake connected with the report of the former capture of Jeejee Bye. The same author mentions Sivajee's escape to a fort in the sea on this occasion; and this also may allude to the former circumstance. Jeejee Bye, after her first capture, seems to have been principally at Kondaneh, Sewneree, and perhaps, from the year 1633 to 1636, occasionally at Maholy in the Concan.

p. 58, l. 29. The neighbourhood of the capital of Beejapoor is very sterile on three sides, but four miles to the south of the city there is a rich, deep, black soil, which in good seasons produces very extraordinary crops. The soil extends several miles on each side of the small river Dhone, the water of which is strongly impregnated with salt. The Mahrattas have a very expressive rhyme in regard to this small tract:—

Should the crop on Dhone grow, who can eat it?

Should it fail, who can eat?

p. 59, l. 34. Kondaneh came into Shahjee's possession by his being at the head of the government. Kondaneh and Poorundhur were two of those forts which, under the Mahomedan governments, were reserved by the king, and not intrusted to the care of jagheerdars.

Before quitting this chapter, I have to acknowledge my obligations to Captain Alexander Gordon, first assistant to the Resident at Nagpoor, and Mr. William Erskine, late of Bombay: the former has translated Khafee Khan to the end of the reign of Jehangeer, and the latter has translated all such parts of the reign of Shah Jehan from the same author, as bear reference to Deccan history. Both these gentlemen allowed me the free use of their labours, and thus far materially shortened mine.

I have had access to two or three copies of the original of Khafee Khan; the best is in the library of Moonshee Mohummud Huneef, late of the Poona residency.

p. 60, l. 5. From this period I have recourse principally to Mahratta manuscripts. Those to which I shall have immediate occasion to refer are as follow:—

1. *A Life of Sivajee*, procured from the late raja of Kolapoor, written by Kistnaje Anund Subhasud. There are several copies of this work; one is in possession of Mr. Hale, the judge and magistrate of the Southern Concan, to which I had access. I returned the original copy to the raja of Kolapoor, and lodged a copy of it with the Literary Society of Bombay.

2. *Lives of the Rajas, and History of the Mahratta Empire*, from the earliest period to the present time: compiled by Mulhar Ram Rao Chitnees from original memoranda, and originals, or copies of many authentic papers, written or transcribed by his ancestors, who were all persons highly distinguished at the courts of Raigurh, Ginjee, and Satara. Mulhar Ram Rao's *Life of Sivajee* is very voluminous; but I do not think he has made a good use of the valuable letters and records in his possession. Sivajee's instructions to officers and departments are very complete and satisfactory. Some of the original copies of these instructions are in the handwriting of Balajee Aujee, and I have had them authenticated from another quarter, as will be mentioned. I lodged a copy of Mulhar Ram Rao's work with the Literary Society of Bombay.

3. *A Life of Sivajee*, procured from the descendant of Chunder Rao Moray, raja of Jowlee.

4. *A Life of Sivajee*, partly translated into English by Thomas Coats, Esq., late superintending surgeon of the Poona auxiliary force.

5. *A Life of Sivajee*, partly translated, in the handwriting of the late Sir Barry Close. Received from the Hon. M. Elphinstone.

6. *A Life of Sivajee*, obtained from the Koolkurnee of Kolhar, near Beejapoor.

7. *A History of the Mahrattas*, including an account of the kings of Beejapoor, by the Deshpandya of Kuttao Desh.

When reverting to Moghul history, Khafee Khan continues my principal authority.

p. 60, l. 23. Kurar is situated 30 miles south of Satara.

p. 61, l. 3. Bye adjoined to a woman's name designates her being a lady.

p. 61, l. 10. It is situated about 50 miles north of Poona. The town is called Joonere, the fort Sewneree.

p. 61, l. 35. These Bramins, when occupied by ordinary duties, are termed carcoons, or clerks; but when sent on public business, on the part of any great men, they are, in common with all envoys, styled Wukeels. This remark applies to Bramin writers in the service of an individual, and to subordinate clerks. Bramins at the head of offices, or employed in particular departments of the state, are designated according to the name of the office or situation they hold. Every Mahratta owner of land, money, or even of two or three horses, has his carcoon, who ostensibly attends to all his orders in the most respectful manner; but the carcoon has generally the whole property at his disposal. He contrives to lend his master money at usurious interest, and soon runs him in debt to himself; and the poor Mahratta is thus completely in the Bramin's power. But each frequently becomes necessary to the other, and many Bramin carcoons in Mahratta families, on very trying occasions, have shown the most devoted attachment and fidelity to the person and interests of their masters.

p. 62, l. 12. Mahratta MSS.

p. 62, l. 28. Beejapoor MSS. I have enumerated those manuscripts in the preceding chapter.

p. 63, l. 12. Mr. Grant's Pol. Analysis.

p. 63, l. 20. Khafee Khan. I give this definition as the historian has recorded it; I have no reason to doubt its correctness, but I have not found it in any other authority. Village revenue accounts in the Deccan are to this day not unfrequently stated in Tukhas by the Koolkurnees.

p. 64, l. 22. See *p. 10* for explanation of this word.

p. 66, l. 5. Now Singurh.

p. 66, l. 21. Mahratta MSS.

p. 66, l. 35. Khafee Khan, Beejapoor MSS., and some evidence in Mahratta MSS.

p. 66, l. 38. Mahratta MSS. Sivajee called it Pruchundgurh. I have retained the ancient name by which it is still known.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

p. 68, l. 21. The literal signification would be lion's fort, but the lion's den was the meaning intended by the name which Sivajee gave to Kondaneh; so say the Mahrattas, and it is proved by Sivajee's own words as we shall find recorded.

4

p. 71, l. 15. It is not exactly known at what period the power of his predecessors commenced; but Hubush Khan and Seedee UMBER were Abyssinian admirals of the Nizam Shahee fleet during the time of Mullik UMBER; and an Abyssinian officer, named Seedee Bulbul, was at that time in command of Rairee.—Beejapoor MSS.

p. 71, l. 24. Jinjeera, the name by which the place is known in the Deccan, is the Mahratta corruption of the Arabic word *Juzeerah*, an island.

p. 71, l. 27. Seedee, when assumed by Africans themselves, has an honorable import, being a modification of the Arabic word *syud*, a lord; but, in the common acceptation, it is rather an appellation of reproach than of distinction.

p. 71, l. 31. Khafee Khan, Orme, and a loose traditionary Persian MS. procured from the collector and magistrate of the Southern Concan.

p. 72, l. 9. The manner of surprising these forts is not satisfactorily explained; but a traditionary account of one of Sivajee's exploits suggested a like attempt by a body of insurgents in the Concan-Ghaut-Mahta, who took up arms against the Peishwa's government, in modern times, during the administration of Trimbukjee Dainglia. It was usual for the villagers, in the vicinity of the hill-forts, to contribute a quantity of leaves and grass for the purpose of thatching the houses in the fort—a practice said to have prevailed from before the time of Sivajee. The insurgents having corrupted one or two persons of the garrison, a party of them, each loaded with a bundle of grass, having his arms concealed below it, appeared at the gate in the dress of villagers, to deposit, as they pretended, the annual supply; and

admittance being thus gained, they surprised the garrison, and possessed themselves of the place. The fort was Prucheetgurrh, and the circumstance will be alluded to in its proper place; it is only mentioned here as a stratagem, the original merit of which is ascribed to Sivajee.

p. 73, l. 8. Mahratta MSS., Khafee Khan, Beejapoor MSS., and tradition.

p. 73, l. 34. Mahratta MSS.

p. 74, l. 8. Original letters of the Emperor Shah Jehan to Sivajee.

[Duff has been proved wrong. Shivaji conducted negotiations with Murad, not with Shah Jahan. See *Shivajee and His Times* by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, p. 37, footnote. *Ed.*]

p. 74, l. 10. Colonel Wilks says Rendoollah Khan. His name in Mahratta MSS. is certainly always mentioned with Morar Punt's, but Rendoollah Khan died in 1643, as appears on his tomb. He had a son or relation who had the same title, but he never attained sufficient rank or influence to have obtained Shahjee's release.

p. 74, l. 12. Mahratta MSS.

p. 74, l. 23. Original letter from Shah Jehan. The original letters from Shah Jehan and Aurungzebe to Sivajee are in the possession of the raja of Satara. Copies of them are lodged with the Literary Society of Bombay. [Possibly these Persian letters preserved at Satara are forgeries. For the letters that were exchanged between Shivajee and Aurangzib and others see *House of Shivaji* by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, 3rd. ed., pp. 116-26. *Ed.*]

p. 74, l. 38. Mahratta MSS.

p. 75, l. 11. Copy of the original instrument, and Mahratta MSS.

p. 77, l. 8. Sivajee called it Wujrgurrh, a name which it has not retained.

p. 78, l. 23. Futih Khan had before changed the name to Futihnugur, which it did not retain.—Beejapoor MSS.

p. 81, l. 2. Beejapoor MSS.

p. 81, l. 10. Tavernier. Bernier. It is perhaps the same vulgar story which Fryer relates regarding the son of Ali Adil Shah, and probably equally unfounded.—See Fryer p. 169.

p. 81, l. 30. Beejapoor MSS.

p. 81, *l.* 36. In a letter to Sivajee he thus announces it—"The fort of Beder, which is accounted impregnable, and which is the key to the conquest of the Deccan and Carnatic, has been captured by me in one day, both fort and town, which was scarcely to have been expected without one year's fighting."—Original letter from Aurungzebe to Sivajee. [Aurangzib first laid seige to the fort of Bidar on 2nd March 1637. The letter was written on 22nd April 1657. *Ed.*]

p. 82, *l.* 5. Beejapoor MSS.

p. 83, *l.* 37. There is a good deal of confusion in the dates of the reign of Aurungzebe, owing to its commencement having been frequently reckoned from 1659. Khafee Khan is, in consequence sometimes thrown out one or two years. Aurungzebe appears to have begun by reckoning his reign from the date of his victory over Dara, to have subsequently ascended the throne in the following year, and then changed the date, which he again altered by reverting to the former date at some later and unknown period.

5

p. 85, *l.* 9. Original letter from Aurungzebe to Sivajee.

p. 85, *l.* 13. Original letter from Aurungzebe to Sivajee.—Mahratta MSS.

p. 85, *l.* 22. Mahratta MSS.

p. 86, *l.* 9. Mahratta MSS. and original letter from Aurungzebe written immediately after the battle with Jeswunt Sing and Kassim Khan, which happened, not near the Nerbuddah, as Colonel Dow seems to conclude, but within 12 miles of Oojein.

p. 86, *l.* 26. Mahratta MSS.

p. 87, *l.* 5. Beejapoor MSS.

p. 87, *l.* 28. Copy of the original treaty.

p. 90, *l.* 37. The Beechwa, or scorpion, is aptly named in its resemblance to that reptile.

p. 90, *l.* 39. The Wagnuck, or tiger's claws, is a small steel instrument, made to fit on the fore and little finger. It has three crooked blades, which are easily concealed in a half-closed hand.

p. 91, l. 36. The occasions where Sivajee was ever known to exercise cruelty to prisoners were those where he supposed them to be obstinately concealing wealth, which he was determined to extort.

p. 92, l. 29. Mahratta and Persian MSS., and English Records. The English Records, referred to during the seventeenth century, are principally in the East India House, London.

p. 92, l. 37. The name of the person who gave up Panalla is nowhere mentioned. One Beejapoor MS. states that Sivajee took it by stratagem; another, that a Hindoo in charge surrendered it, which so far corresponds with the Mahratta account. Panalla was one of those forts to which the king generally appointed the Killidar, but it was situated within the jagheer of Roostum Zuman, one of the Beejapoor generals, whom we shall have occasion to mention in our progress. The jagheer of Roostum Zuman comprehended Merich and Kolapoor above the Ghauts, and Carwar and Rajapoor in the Concan. There is reason to suppose that Roostum Zuman was bribed by Sivajee at a very early period; the English merchants of the factories of Rajapoor and Carwar repeatedly accuse him of being in league with Sivajee, and of sharing in the plunder of some towns in his own jagheer.

p. 93, l. 10. *Thanna* literally signifies a garrison, but it also means, more especially in Deccan history, the military post at which the inferior revenue officers are stationed to protect the country, aid the police, and collect the revenue, whether the station be a fort or an open village. The cultivators consider him their master who is in possession of the *thanna*; for this reason *garrison* does not convey the full meaning of *thanna*, and I have therefore been sometimes obliged to use it in preference to the English word.

p. 93, l. 11. *Gurhee* means a small, or sometimes a weak, fort. Buttees Serala is called a *Gurhee*, although it is a mud fort, extensive, but of no strength.

p. 93, l. 24. Mahratta MSS. A letter from the English factory at Rajapoor states that Roostum Zuman sent on a small party of his troops, under the son of Afzool Khan, and betrayed them into the hands of Sivajee; but the intelligence then obtained by the factors, all of which they wrote off just as it was received,

cannot be relied on; indeed they frequently add that reports are so contradictory, they know not what to believe. Their letters, however, are very important for fixing dates; and in corroborating facts admitted by native authorities, they are invaluable.

p. 94, l. 17. I have retained his name of Seedee Johur; but in all Beejapoor writings his name is henceforth changed to Sulabut Khan. The supposition of his being at all connected with the Seedeas of Jinjeera is a mistake into which it would be very easy to account for Mr. Orme's having fallen.

p. 95, l. 27. The Seedeas, in general, have in the present day a high character among the Mahrattas for fidelity to their promise.

p. 97, l. 12. Mahratta MSS., Beejapoor MSS., and English Records. The unfortunate Englishmen were not finally released without paying a ransom. There appears to have been some reason for Sivajee's suspicion, though the fact was never fully ascertained.

p. 98, l. 8. Mahratta MSS.

p. 99, l. 26. Ibrahim Khan accompanied the king's mother to Mecca—the usual resort of displaced Mahomedan ministers, as Benares is of Bramins under similar circumstances.

p. 99, l. 32. Beejapoor MSS. The campaign of Ali Adil Shah in the Carnatic is celebrated by Nusserut in his Ali Namu, already mentioned.

p. 100, l. 17. The territory generally is now called Sawunt-Waree.

p. 100, l. 21. Or Gheriah.

p. 100, l. 31. Mahratta MSS.

p. 100, l. 34. Beejapoor MSS.

6

p. 103, l. 18. Maternal uncle of Aurungzebe, and nephew of the celebrated Noor Mhal, whose name is probably more generally known at present from Mr. Moore's Lalla Rookh than from the history of India. The fact of our being indebted to Noor Jehan's mother for the discovery of utter of roses, is gravely recorded by the historian Khafee Khan.

p. 103, *l.* 28. Khafee Khan.

p. 103, *l.* 37. Mahratta MSS., Khafee Khan.

p. 104, *l.* 4. Mahratta MSS. and English Records.

p. 104, *l.* 7. Mahratta MSS.

p. 104, *l.* 12. Khafee Khan.

p. 104, *l.* 17. Mahratta MSS., and letter from the English factors, then prisoners at large in Rajapoor, dated 12th April 1663.

p. 104, *l.* 21. Mahratta MSS.

p. 104, *l.* 21. The means his emissaries took to obtain him admission is omitted in the Mahratta MSS., but Khafee Khan's account bears every mark of probability. It is also confirmed by Catrou.

p. 105, *l.* 18. Mahratta MSS.

p. 105, *l.* 36. It was about this time, when the army had retired, that Sivajee, having gone to hear a Kutha by Tookaram, in the town of Poona, narrowly escaped being made prisoner by the garrison of Chakun. The Mahratta MSS. particularly mention the miraculous interference of the god Pandoorang, by whom he was saved.

p. 106, *l.* 21. The sack of Surat on this occasion is most minutely described in the Records of the English factory, now in the East India House. In consequence of their generous defence of the property of others, Aurungzebe granted to the English a perpetual exemption from a portion of the customs exacted from the traders of other nations at Surat. During the time the Mahrattas were plundering the town, Sivajee remained outside. A person named Smith, an Englishman, was taken prisoner and carried before Sivajee, whom he represented as seated in a tent, ordering heads and hands to be chopped off, in cases where persons were supposed to be concealing their wealth.

The walls of Surat, up to this period, were of mud. They were now ordered to be built of brick. Thevenot, who was at Surat in the early part of 1666, mentions that they were then in progress.

p. 106, *l.* 23. Some Mahrattas, very old men, join in all sorts of hunting; the present Jan Rao Naik Nimbalkur must be nearly as old as Shahjee was, and is still a keen sportsman. [He died on 23rd January on the bank of the Tungahbhadra, in the Basavapatan district. *Ed.*]

NOTES AND REFERENCES

p. 106, *l.* 29. The English Records mention the capture of Porto Novo by Shahjee in July 1661.

p. 106, *l.* 29. All the Mahratta MSS. state the conquest to have been made by Shahjee. No Mahrattas or Bramins, conversant with their own history, seem to think otherwise; the doubt seems to have arisen in the neighbourhood of Tanjore, and it was natural to have done so, owing to the apprehension which the Tanjore raja must have entertained of being called to account for half his revenue; proofs, however, of what he stated will ultimately appear.

p. 107, *l.* 14. The English factors at Carwar and Rajapoor mention that 6,000 of the Beejapoor troops were killed.

p. 107, *l.* 26. According to a letter from the Carwar factory, this fleet consisted of 85 frigates and 3 great ships. By the frigates are probably meant the small vessel with one mast, from 30 to 150 tons burthen, common on the Malabar coast; and by the great ships, three-masted vessels.

p. 107, *l.* 37. The English factory paid £112. sterling of this contribution.

p. 107, *l.* 38. Mahratta MSS., and English Records. The former mention that Sivajee on this expedition acquired vast plunder at Hussnoor, the latter say at Barcelore. The Mahrattas say that Hussnoor (with the situation of which I am unacquainted) is a town in Bardez, in the Goa territory.

p. 108, *l.* 17. Fryer.

p. 109, *l.* 7 & 29. Catrou, from Manouchi's MS., says Netajee was bribed by Jey Sing, which, although not mentioned in the Mahratta MSS., is more than probable.

p. 109, *l.* 33. He was styled, from the name of his capital, raja of Ambhere, now better known by that of Jeypoor or Jeynuggur. He was probably grandfather to the celebrated astronomer Jey Sing, who succeeded to the principality in 1693.

p. 110, *l.* 7. He was no relation of the gallant Purvoo of the same name who covered Sivajee's retreat from Panalla.

p. 110, *l.* 16. The highest point of the mountain of Poorundhur is upwards of 1,700 feet from the plain immediately below; there are two forts, an upper and lower, situated from 300 to 400 feet below the summit; the works, like most of the hill forts in that part of the country, are of perpendicular rock, and

frequently weakened, rather than strengthened, by curtains and bastions of masonry, by which the natural defences are generally surmounted.

p. 111, *l.* 1. Or Rooder Mahal, according to the Mahrattas.

p. 112, *l.* 21. The twelve remaining forts were—1, Rajgurh; 2, Torna; 3, Rairee (Raigurh); 4, Lingannah; 5, Mhargurh; 6, Ballagurh; 7, Gossala; 8, Eeswaree; 9, Palee; 10 Bhoorup; 11, Koaree, and 12, Oodedroog.

p. 112, *l.* 37. This proposal on the part of Sivajee was sent to the emperor according to custom in the form of a petition; and, at the suggestion of Jey Sing, Sivajee intimated his intention of visiting the emperor, by stating, in the most courtly strain, his desire to kiss the royal threshold.

p. 113, *l.* 9. Original letter.

p. 113, *l.* 11. Khafee Khan.

p. 113, *l.* 30. Beejapoor MSS., confirmed by grants of land to Ruttajee Manay in consequence. The deeds are in possession of the family at Muswar.

p. 113, *l.* 33. Khafee Khan.

p. 113, *l.* 37. Original letter.

p. 114, *l.* 5. The account of the proceedings for 1665 is partly from Khafee Khan, but principally on the authority of Mahratta MSS.

p. 114, *l.* 24. Nuzzur signifies a present; an offering made by an inferior to a superior in token of fealty, submission, congratulation, &c. There are a vast number of ceremonies and observances attendant both on the mode of presenting and of receiving nuzzurs. Under the name of an offering, it is frequently a heavy exaction, imposed on appointment to office, or succession to rank and property.

p. 115, *l.* 18. This is distinctly asserted in the Chitness's MS.

p. 115, *l.* 39. One MS. by Kistnajee Anund Subhasud says Moro Punt's sister was married to one of the sons.

p. 116, *l.* 9. The account of Sivajee's visit and imprisonment, and of his escape from Delhi, is on the authority of Mahratta MSS., Scott's *Deccan*, and Khafee Khan. His escape was known in the Deccan long before he reached it. The English factors at Carwar, in a letter dated September 29th, 1666, observe—"If it be true that Sivajee hath escaped, Aurungzebe will quickly hear of him to his sorrow."

NOTES AND REFERENCES

p. 116, l. 31. Mahratta MSS.

p. 116, l. 35. Khafee Khan.

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p. 118, l. 8. His well-known letter to Aurungzebe concerning the *jizeea*, or poll-tax, on all persons not professing Mahomedanism, is preserved by the raja of Kolapoor as the production of Sivajee.

p. 118, l. 23. Original letter.

p. 118, l. 24. Mahratta MSS.

p. 118, l. 28. Mahratta MSS. and paper.

p. 119, l. 2. Scott's *Deccan*, and Mahratta MSS.

p. 119, l. 3. Mahratta MSS. Netajee Palkur, the predecessor of Kartojee Goozur, was, according to Khafee Khan, made prisoner by Jey Sing, and sent to Delhi by the emperor's orders, where he became a Mahomedan, obtained a munsub, and the title of Mohummud Koolee, but afterwards returned to Sivajee. This is not mentioned by the Mahrattas, although it may have been so. Among Mahrattas, he never could have been respected, obeyed, or noticed as a renegado.

p. 119, l. 6. Mahratta MSS.

p. 119, l. 30. English Records, and Mahratta MSS.

p. 119, l. 33. Mahratta MSS., and Scott's *Deccan*.

p. 119, l. 35. Mahratta MSS.

p. 119, l. 41. Scott's *Deccan*.

p. 120, l. 5. English Records, and Mahratta MSS.

p. 120, l. 11. English Records. Letter from the factors at Bombay.

p. 120, l. 17. Correspondence of the English factories.

p. 120, l. 34. The Sillidars, and all horsemen who did not belong to the Pagah, were obliged to furnish their own ammunition; there were particular rules, and the most careful system of economy, laid down by Sivajee for subsisting his Pagah.

p. 122, l. 10. For ornament many of them wear very heavy gold and silver rings, and large ear-rings, which go round the back of the ear; thick necklaces of silver, and sometimes of gold, curiously wrought, are also much worn. All natives of India wear

mustachios, and the Mahrattas, when they wish to describe a person as *extraordinarily* fierce-looking, mention his turban tied beneath his chin, and mustachios *almost as thick as their arm*.

p. 122, l. 13. The trained spearmen may always be known among Mahrattas by their riding very long, the ball of the toe touching the stirrup; some of the matchlockmen, and most of the Bramins, ride very short and ungracefully.

p. 122, l. 16. With respect to the horse's appointments, the bridle consists of a single head-stall of cotton-rope, or leader with a small but very severe flexible bit. There is a second head-stall over that of the bridle, to which is fixed a thong, or cotton band, tightly fastened to the girths, and this forms a strong standing martingale. The Mahratta saddle is composed of two pieces, or sides, of very thick felt, strongly sewed and tied together with thongs or cotton rope, leaving a small space between the sides, so as to prevent pressure on the horse's backbone; attached to this is a crupper, made of cotton rope, frequently covered with a piece of coloured silk or broadcloth. When the saddle is put on, the horseman lays over it his blanket, sometimes a carpet, and any spare clothes he may have. Two cotton bags, or pouches, tied together by a string and thrown over the front part of the saddle, carries either provision or plunder; when all these are adjusted, the horseman mounts; and the last thing is to seize his spear, which is stuck by the horse's head in the ground. On the left side and hind part of the saddle is suspended the tobra, or feeding bag already described, in which the pegs for picketing the horse, and his head and heel ropes, are carried. The horses in India are tied by ropes fastened to two tent pegs, one on each side, and also by ropes extended behind, which secure their heels.

p. 123, l. 13. A Beejapoor pagoda was valued at from three to four rupees.

p. 123, l. 15. The pay of a joomladar in the infantry was seven pagodas; in the cavalry, 20. A soobehdar of cavalry had 50 pagodas and a palanquin. The pay of a punch-huzaree was 200 pagodas a month, besides an allowance for a palanquin and *aftabgeer*.

p. 124, l. 34. I am inclined to think that all commanders of forts, under the Mahomedan governments not appointed by the

king, were termed havildars, and that the term killidar, now in universal use, was originally the distinguishing appellation of those governors of fortresses who were specially appointed by a royal commission.

p. 125, *l.* 31. Both those authorities were civil, not military, as the names might lead some of my readers to suppose.

p. 125, *l.* 33. Both these authorities were civil, not military, as the names might lead some of my readers to suppose.

p. 126, *l.* 33. Fryer.

p. 127, *l.* 11. Moro Punt was his familiar name, or that which would be used in conversation—a custom common among Mahrattas, but which often makes it difficult to recognize, in their writings or letters, the names of people with whose history or persons we may be well acquainted. The very next name is an instance and illustration of this remark; Neeloo Punt Sonedeo was the real name of Abajee Sonedeo; but the familiar appellation of Abajee, given to him in boyhood, is that by which he is generally known, though his real name frequently occurs in the Mahratta MSS.

p. 127, *l.* 13. This word, already used, is a corruption or the Persian *muzmooadar*; but the correct expression would scarcely be understood by the Mahrattas. Muzzimdar is now in fact a Mahratta word. Instances of the kind occur repeatedly where I have preferred using the word generally known in the Mahratta country. Although I may offend the ear of Persian scholars by such a practice, any one who has much to do with Mahrattas will, I think, find it more useful, and in the Mahratta history it is surely more correct.

p. 127, *l.* 40. This Rugonath Punt Nya Shastree was one of Sivajee's earliest and most confidential adherents; he was frequently employed as his envoy, but must not be confounded with Rugonath Punt Hunwuntay.

p. 128, *l.* 30. This account of Sivajee's institutions is as brief an extract as I could make from original papers now in possession of the raja of Satara, or his Chitness, the hereditary descendent of Ballajee Aujee. I have also obtained considerable information from a mass of records belonging to Surwultum Baboo Rao, the present Punt Amat.

p. 131, l. 25. The Mahrattas who fall in battle are carried off by their companions when it is possible to do so. To leave a commander's body to indiscriminate burial, without the funeral rites, is considered base in the highest degree. "Father" is an epithet much used by the soldiery of India, both as a term of respect, as appears in the text, and as a cheering encouragement. The *chulo, mira bab*, "come on, my father," so often heard from officers of British sepoy in action, is precisely the "come on, my boys," and *allons mes enfans* of the English and French.

p. 131, l. 30. Names of Vishnool and Mahdeo.

p. 132, l. 15. English Records, Bombay to Surat, March 21st, 1670.

p. 132, l. 19. The Mahratta MSS. afford no particulars of the manner in which the approaches were carried on in these sieges. The Bombay Records, in mentioning the siege of Kurnalla, say—"They advance by throwing up breastworks of earth and boards which they carry before them."

p. 132, l. 20. Mahratta MSS., English Records.

p. 132, l. 21. Mahratta MSS., and Scott's *Deccan*.

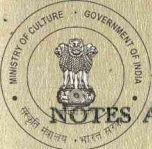
p. 133, l. 5. This account of the revolution at Jinjeera is on the authority of Khafee Khan, but I am not certain of the exact date of the transfer of the fleet to the Moghuls. Their previous dependence on Beejapoor had long been nominal.

p. 133, l. 21. The English factors call him "the late king of Kascar, deposed by his own son." Sivajee, say they, found in his quarters a vast treasure in gold, silver, and plate, a gold bed, and other rich furniture.

p. 134, l. 12. Mahratta MSS.

p. 134, l. 22. English Records, partly confirmed by Mahratta MSS.

p. 134, l. 34. Mahratta MSS., and English Records. The Surat factors particularly notice this incursion which they suppose was headed by Sivajee in person. They mention his having exacted the promise of chouth, and that he "very severely plundered Kurinja, and carried away all the chief men, except such as escaped in women's clothes," from which it is evident that



the Moghuls knew by experience that part of Sivajee's regulations regarding protection to females.

p. 135, l. 32. Mahratta MSS., partly confirmed by English Records.

p. 136, l. 2. Mahratta MSS.

p. 136, l. 4. I conclude that Mohabet Khan was the general who sent Ikhlas Khan to oppose the Mahrattas, and that there is a mistake in the Mahratta manuscript, which mentions that he was detached by Dilere Khan.

p. 136, l. 15. Sur Rao Kakray was one of Sivajee's earliest followers; he was originally a leader of Mawulees, and particularly distinguished himself at the attack on Jowlee and escalade of Rohira.

p. 136, l. 24. Mahratta MSS., partly confirmed by Scott's *Deccan* and English Records.

p. 136, l. 27. Mahratta MSS., and English Records. The standard of Sivajee, or the national flag of the Mahrattas, is called the *Bhugwa Jenda*. It is swallow-tailed, of a deep orange colour, and particularly emblematic of the followers of Mahdeo.

p. 137, l. 19. English Records, confirmed by Mahratta MSS.

p. 137, l. 22. He was then Buhadur Khan. He got his title of Khan Jehan Buhadur afterwards, but, to prevent confusion in the name, I have at once adopted that by which he is best known.

p. 137, l. 36. Scott's *Deccan*, English Records, Mahratta MSS.

p. 137, l. 39. It does not retain this name, but it continued for upwards of 40 years one of the principal depots of the Moghul army.

p. 138, l. 3. Wilks, Orme, Mahratta MSS.

p. 138, l. 14. English Records, Mahratta MSS.

p. 138, l. 16. Mahratta MSS. This Ragoo Bullal was the same person who murdered the raja of Jowlee.

p. 138, l. 31. In Fryer's *Travels*, in the English Records, and in Mahratta MSS., he is called Bahlole or Bullal Khan, and in Persian writings, by his proper name, Abdool Khureem Bahlole Khan, or simply Abdool Khureem. He was the son of Bahlole Khan, an Afghan, originally a follower of the famous Khan Jehan Lodi, and afterwards, as already mentioned, a general under the Nizam Shahee state. He came over to the service

of Beejapoor after Futih Khan had murdered his sovereign, Mortiza Nizam Shah II.

p. 139, *l.* 27. Beejapoor MSS.

p. 139, *l.* 39. They lost 7,894 pagodas.

p. 140, *l.* 13. Mahratta MSS., Orme, and English Records.

p. 140, *l.* 20. Mahratta MSS.

p. 140, *l.* 38. Logurh was the state prison of Ahmednugur.

p. 141, *l.* 21. Mahratta MSS.

p. 141, *l.* 29. Beejapoor and Mahratta MSS.

p. 144, *l.* 38. Mahratta MSS.

p. 142, *l.* 12. Mahratta and Beejapoor MSS.

p. 142, *l.* 18. As the reader is not yet familiar with the former name, I shall continue to use his title of Humbeer Rao, as that by which he is generally known in the Mahratta country.

p. 142, *l.* 31. Mahratta MSS.

p. 143, *l.* 36. Oxenden's Narrative, Mahratta MSS. and English Records

p. 144, *l.* 24. Dr. Fryer mentions that he weighed about 16,000 pagodas, which is equal to about ten stone.

p. 144, *l.* 28. These were Kshittrya Koolavutumsa, Sree, Raja Siva, Chuttur Puttee, or the head ornament of the Kshittree race, his Majesty, the Raja Siva, possessor or lord of the royal umbrella.

p. 144, *l.* 36. Orme, English Records.

p. 145, *l.* 20. Mahratta MSS.

p. 145, *l.* 30 Mahratta MSS.

p. 146, *l.* 15. Beejapoor and Mahratta MSS., Scott's *Deccan*.

p. 146, *l.* 30. Mahratta MSS. Mr. Orme mentions this illness as having confined him at Raigurh.

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p. 149, *l.* 25. Mahratta MSS.

p. 150, *l.* 24. One of the Mahratta MSS. contains a curious dissertation, tending to prove Golcondah the natural ally, and Beejapoor and the Moghuls the natural enemies, of Sivajee.

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- p. 150, l. 30. Mahratta and Beejapoor MSS.
- p. 150, l. 36. Beejapoor MSS.
- p. 151, l. 13. Called by the Mahrattas Sree Sheyl Mullik Arjoon.
- p. 151, l. 22. Mahratta MSS.
- p. 151, l. 25. Colonel Wilks. The Mahratta MSS. call the pass Winkutrumungree, but I conclude it is the same.
- p. 151, l. 28. Wilks.
- p. 151, l. 32. I here follow my own MSS., although Colonel Wilks had adopted a different account.
- p. 152, l. 12. In the Beejapoor MSS. of Abou Hoossein Qazee, it is asserted that Abdoola Khan, the governor, gave it up for a bribe of 50,000 pagodas.
- p. 153, l. 1. Called in the Mahratta MSS. Jugdeogurh and Maharajgurh.
- p. 153, l. 27. Scott's *Deccan*.
- p. 153, l. 31. He obtained his wealth by the favour of Einayat Oolla, a rich man and jagheerdar of Adonee, who made him his heir.
- p. 153, l. 37. Beejapoor MSS.
- p. 154, l. 7. Beejapoor MSS.
- p. 154, l. 36. The original of this and other three letters written by Sivajee to Venkajee are in possession of the hereditary Chitnees, or secretary, of his highness the raja of Satara. They were recovered by the grandfather of the present Chitnees, from a descendant of Rugonath Narain Hunwuntay. I have had them examined, and I have compared them with the handwriting of Ballajee Aujee, Sivajee's Chitnees, and have every reason to believe them authentic.
- p. 155, l. 36. The tract between the Kistna and the Toong-buddra is here meant.
- p. 156, l. 3. Original letter from Sivajee to Venkajee.
- p. 156, l. 14. All these affairs have been patiently and minutely detailed by Mr. Orme, and are interesting, because connected with the early history of one of our Indian Presidencies. Bombay was frequently involved in the broils of its neighbours, and sometimes exposed to the insolence of both parties.
- p. 156, l. 31. Beejapoor MSS., and Scott's *Deccan*.
- p. 157, l. 7. Beejapoor MSS.

p. 157, l. 34. Sivajee's death is said to have happened in consequence. Khafee Khan, who has adopted the story, is seldom so injudicious.

p. 158, l. 3. Mahratta MSS.

p. 158, l. 3. This part of the account is confirmed by Sivajee's letters to his brother, where he says—"It was a time proper to disregard life."

p. 158, l. 11. Jasoos literally means, and is professionally, a spy, but they are employed in all Deccan armies as guides, messengers, and letter-carriers.

p. 158, l. 14. Mahratta MSS. Sivajee himself takes no notice of this flight, but, by the mere name of Wisramgurh, or the place of rest, which he then gave the fort, there is circumstantial evidence of his having been hard pressed, when repose was so necessary.

p. 158, l. 26. Original letter from Sivajee, who quotes the words of Musaood Khan.

p. 158, l. 37. Mahratta MSS.

p. 158, l. 38. Scott's *Deccan*.

p. 159, l. 9. Kistnajee Anund Subhasud.

p. 160, l. 30. As the letter alluded to is neither very long nor prolix, which precludes the insertion of the others, a translation is subjoined as nearly literal as can be understood.

"*Sivajee to Venkajee.*"

After compliments. "Many days have elapsed without my receiving any letter from you; and, in consequence. I am not in comfort. Ragoo Punt has now written, that you, having placed melancholy and gloom before yourself, do not take care of your person, or in any way attend to yourself as formerly; nor do you keep up any great days or religious festivals. Your troops are inactive, and you have no mind to employ yourself on state affairs. You have become a Byragee, and think of nothing but to sit in some place accounted holy, and let time wear away. In this manner much has been written to me, and such an account of you has given me great concern. I am surprised when I reflect that you have our father's example before you—how did he encounter and surmount all difficulties, perform great actions, escape all dangers by his spirit and resolution, and acquire a renown which he maintained to the last? All he did is well

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known to you. You enjoyed his society, you had every opportunity of profiting by his wisdom and ability. Even I myself, as circumstances enable me, have protected myself, and you also know, and have seen, how I have established a kingdom. Is it then for you, in the very midst of opportunity, to renounce all worldly affairs, and turn Byragee—to give up your affairs to persons who will devour your estate—to ruin your property, and injure your bodily health? What kind of wisdom is this, and what will it end in? I am to you as your head and protection; from me you have nothing to dread. Give up therefore all this, and do not become a Byragee. Throw off despondency, spend your days properly: attend to fasts, feasts, and customary usages, and attend to your personal comforts. Look to the employment of your people, the discipline of your army, turn your attention to affairs of moment. Make your men do their duty: apply their services properly in your quarter, and gain fame and renown. What a comfort and happiness it will be to me to hear the praise and fame of my younger brother. Rugonath Pundit is near you, he is no stranger to you, consult him on what is most advisable to be done, and he will consider you in the same light as myself. I have placed every confidence in him—do you the same; hold together for your mutual support, and you will acquire celebrity and fame. Above all things, be not slothful; do not allow opportunity to slip past without receiving some returns from your army. This is the time for performing great actions. Old age is the season for turning Byragee. Arouse! bestir yourself. Let me see what you can do. Why should I write more? you are wise.”

p. 162, l. 18. Mahratta MSS., and tradition among his descendants, and the descendants of his ministers and domestics.

In the Ali Namu, Nusserut satirizes the big feet and long arms of the Mahrattas. There is no likeness of Sivajee preserved either at Kolapoor or Satara; and none of the Europeans who saw him have recorded any description of his person. His body was burnt at Raigurh, where there was a tomb erected over the collected ashes. There is a building in the fort of Malwan, which is considered as his cenotaph. The origin of this building, however, is as old as the fort when first erected by Sivajee, who placed *Poojarees*, or persons to observe certain forms of worship, during which “the sea should not encroach on the walls, nor

should an enemy prevail." Sumbhaje made some additions to this establishment; and Raja Ram, after the fall of Raigurh, made it the cenotaph, or rather the place of commemoration of Sivajee. The Bramins in charge still enjoy the advantages of the original endowment, and have made several additions, with a view of imposing on the credulity of the vulgar, who repair with offerings to the shrine. They have an effigy, and the *real* sword of Sivajee, whose body, by their account, lies buried there.

p. 162, l. 18. Sivajee's sword is an excellent Genoa blade of the first water. Its whole history is recorded by the hereditary historian of the family.

p. 163, l. 8. Given by one of the Ghatgays to his father Shahjee.

p. 163, l. 29. Sivajee's treasury, besides rupees, contained, as might have been expected, coins of all descriptions; Spanish dollars, Venetian sequins, gold mohurs of Hindostan and Surat, and pagodas of the Carnatic, are all enumerated in the lists, with many others. Ingots of gold and silver, cloth of gold, &c., &c. [Regarding the legacy of Shivaji see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *House of Shivaji* XIth chapter. *Ed.*]

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p. 166, l. 22. Mahratta MSS.

p. 167, l. 8. Orme, Mahratta MSS., English Records.

p. 167, l. 22. Orme, Scott's *Deccan*, Khafee Khan, Mahratta MSS., and copy of an original letter from Mohummud Akber to Sumbhaje.

p. 168, l. 3. By an original sunnud it appears that Sivajee had offered to make him one of the Purdhans, which he declined accepting. The reader will recognise in Ballajee Aujee the person in whose handwriting many of those papers are preserved, to which this history is much indebted.

p. 169, l. 5. State affairs are seldom discussed in full durbar, and no business is entered upon at a first visit.

p. 169, l. 27. Mahratta MSS.

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- p.* 169, *l.* 31. Orme.
- p.* 170, *l.* 26. Mahratta MSS.
- p.* 170, *l.* 5. Orme and Mahratta MSS.
- p.* 170, *l.* 8. Mahratta MSS.
- p.* 171, *l.* 10. Orme.
- p.* 171, *l.* 11. Mahratta MSS., Orme, Scott's *Deccan*.
- p.* 172, *l.* 12. Orme says they were burnt by the Inquisition; but although many barbarities are alleged against the Portuguese by the Mahrattas, they nowhere assert this.
- p.* 172, *l.* 40. Mahratta MSS.
- p.* 173, *l.* 10. Orme.
- p.* 173, *l.* 20. Mahratta MSS., Scott's *Deccan*.
- p.* 173, *l.* 29. Which may be rendered into English, "Expounder of the Vedas, and illustrious poet." It is from the second title, Kuvée-Kulus, that he derived his name Kub Kulus, or occasionally Kublis Kawn, amongst Mahomedans and Europeans, and his nickname of Cubjee amongst the Mahratta soldiery.
- p.* 175, *l.* 32. The Beejapoor manuscripts and traditions afford nothing better then conjecture on this subject nor could I ascertain if there was a regent after Musaood Khan retired.
- p.* 178, *l.* 18. Orme.
- p.* 178, *l.* 29. I shall continue to use the name by which he is already known to the reader.
- p.* 179, *l.* 12. Khafee Khan.
- p.* 180, *l.* 25. The jizeea was thirteen rupees per annum, for every 2,000 rupees worth of property possessed by Hindoos.—Scott's *Deccan*.
- p.* 183, *l.* 40. I place this according to Mr. Orme's date, who has it from the records of the factory of Candeish, and circumstances corroborate its correctness. The fact is distinctly mentioned by Mahratta manuscripts, and Khafee Khan; but the dates widely disagree, and are in both obviously misplaced.
- p.* 184, *l.* 19. Khafee Khan, Mahratta MSS., Bernier, Scott's *Deccan*, Orme.
- p.* 184, *l.* 34. The account of Sultan Mauzum's campaign is taken from Khafee Khan, Orme, Scott's *Deccan*, the enam deeds alluded to, and copies of original letters from Mohummud Akber to Kuloosha.
- p.* 185, *l.* 20. Orme.

p. 185, l. 22. Original letters to Kuloosha.

p. 185, l. 26. It is mentioned in Scott's *Deccan* that Sultan Mohummud Akber was supported by a body of Mahrattas in an attempt to proceed to Hindostan, and that he was defeated near Chakun; but the successful attack on Baroach is the only one in which I think it probable that he was a principal actor. He was engaged in the Concan, and was at Palee and at Beemguruh when Sultan Mauzum's troops were attacked, as appears by copies of letters from Mohummud Akber to Kuloosha Kuvée-Kulus, which I obtained from the late raja of Kolapoor.

p. 186, l. 28. Khafée Khan, and Scott's *Deccan*.

p. 187, l. 29. Scott's *Deccan*, Khafée Khan, Beejapoor MSS., &c.

p. 188, l. 17. Beejapoor MSS., Khafée Khan, Scott's *Deccan*.

p. 188, l. 23. Beejapoor MSS. It is said he was put to death in consequence of some popular commotion in his favour. He is buried in Beejapoor

p. 188, l. 35. This dome measures 130 feet in diameter, which is larger than that of the Pantheon at Rome, or, I believe, of St. Paul's in London, and very little less than that of St. Peter's. [The great dome is 124 ft. 5 in. in diameter while that of St. Paul's is 108 ft. and that of St. Peter's 139 ft. *Ed.*]

p. 189, l. 13. The officer immediately superior to the foudjar in a great province was the Nizam, but we seldom find this office mentioned in the later conquests of the Moghuls in the Deccan.

p. 189, l. 15. It would appear by Scott's *Deccan* vol. i., p. 75, that Kasim Khan was left as Foudjar at Hyderabad, after the capture of Golcondah; but this mistake probably originates in his having been reinforced at that period from Hyderabad.

p. 190, l. 12. Khafée Khan, Orme.

p. 190, l. 29. An anecdote is told respecting him, which is probably true, but which I notice as characteristic of the pompous politeness of the Mahomedans of India. During Abou Hoossein's confinement in the emperor's camp, previous to being despatched to Doulutabad, a tune, played by one of the Hindostanee musicians of the imperial band, gave the captive king great delight, and he wished he had a lakh of rupees to bestow upon him. The wish was repeated to Aurungzebe, and instantly complied with.

Many of the natives of India are exceedingly susceptible of the powers of music, and some of the Hindostanee airs are beautiful. Only a few specimens of an inferior description have ever reached the public in England; but should Major Tod, in his intended history, or in his personal narrative, publish any specimens of the old Rajpoot music, which he now only plays from memory, this anecdote of the last of the kings of Golcondah may be better understood.

p. 191, *l.* 24. Khafee Khan.

p. 191, *l.* 25. Orme.

p. 193, *l.* 2. Mahratta MSS.

p. 193, *l.* 5. Original letters in the possession of different families.

p. 193, *l.* 12. Mahratta MSS.

p. 193, *l.* 22. Khafee Khan.

p. 193, *l.* 31. Mahratta MSS. Such of my readers as are familiar with Mahratta names, will have some difficulty to identify Kessoo Punt Pingley with Mr. Orme's Keisswa Puntolo, which is, it seems, the mode of pronouncing the name by the natives of the Coromandel coast.

p. 194, *l.* 5. Wilks.

p. 194, *l.* 19. Orme.

p. 196, *l.* 23. Mankuree literally means a great man. It was originally, as above used, the name by which those Mahrattas who had been munsubdars under the old Mahomedan monarchies in the Deccan were, and still are, distinguished. Latterly, however, it was assumed by every Mahratta at the head of the body of horse, who could boast of being a *wutundar*. *Manpan*, or rights and privileges, are words in the mouth of every *wutundar*; and these rights and privileges, which, from the manner in which they are talked of and maintained, an Englishman might suppose involved the safety of their lives and properties, or the liberty of the subject at the least, are every often merely slight forms of that kind of respect indicated by precedence on particular occasions.

p. 196, *l.* 32. About the borders of Maharashtra and the Carnatic there are a number of Pindharees; they cultivate lands in time of peace, and plunder when the country is unsettled; they have been there for some hundred years; many of them speak Hindostanee, and call themselves Rajpoots.

p. 198, l. 7. The account of the state of the country, and Aurungzebe's administration at this period, is taken from Mahratta manuscripts, original Mahratta and Persian letters, deeds and statements, and also from Khafee Khan and Scott's *Deccan*.

p. 198, l. 28. The disease which broke out in Aurungzebe's army at Beejapoor is mentioned by the same name as that which the natives of India now apply to the spasmodic cholera, but they bore no resemblance to each other. The disease was epidemic, and, before it attacked the camp with such violence, had prevailed for some years both in the Deccan and in Guzerat. Khafee Khan describes it as commencing by a slight swelling under the ear, the arm-pit, or groin, attended with inflamed eyes, and severe fever. It generally proved fatal in a few hours, and those who did recover, became wholly or partially deaf or blind.

p. 200, l. 4. Khafee Khan, Mahratta MSS.

p. 200, l. 9. This village, originally called Nagurgaom, is said to have been named Tolapoor, or the place of weighing, in order to commemorate Shahjee's plan of weighing Morar Punt's elephant, by placing him on a boat, marking the draught of water, removing the elephant, replacing his weight with stones, and weighing them—anecdote preserved in every Mahratta account of him, and recorded by Colonel Wilks.

p. 201, l. 3. Mahratta MSS., Orme, &c.

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p. 204, l. 39. The orange standard of the Mahrattas. This colour, as already mentioned, is sacred to Mahdeo, and the flag carried religious as well as military feeling along with it.

p. 204, l. 21. Mahratta MSS.

p. 206, l. 22. Some of the Mahrattas, jealous of the right of the elder branch, do not admit that Raja Ram ever set on the throne. They say that he set on the Gadee, or cushion, merely as regent, holding the powers of the state in trust for his nephew Shao, then a prisoner in the Moghul camp.



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p. 206, l. 26. Mahratta MSS., Khafee Khan.

p. 206, l. 30. In the course of my official duties after the late conquest of Maharashtra, I have had some of these very deeds, which neither Raja Ram nor any of his successors admitted, presented in hopes that they would be recognised by the British government.

p. 207, l. 9. Mahratta MSS.

p. 207, l. 19. By the proceedings of a punchayat respecting the Deshmookhee of Waee, during the early part of the reign of Shao, which may be considered a very authentic and useful manuscript, and is now in possession of the Hindoo Deshmookh, it appears that Peesal, the Mawulee commander, came over to Raja Ram during the siege of Ginjee, but, failing afterwards in obtaining all he wished, again rejoined Aurungzebe, and became a Mussulman to gain his end.

p. 207, l. 24. I believe he was the ancestor of the Nabob of Kurnoul.

p. 208, l. 6. Khafee Khan, and Scott's *Deccan*.

p. 208, l. 20. It is not known what was the stratagem proposed which pleased Suntajee so much, and which he executed so successfully.

p. 209, l. 28. Mahratta MSS., partly confirmed by Khafee Khan and Scott's *Deccan*.

p. 210, l. 8. I had fallen into the mistake of my predecessors by writing the name Oudepooree; but I learn from my friend Major Tod, the best authority for information respecting the Rajpoots, that she was not a princess of Oudepoor, but of Kishengurh, a minor division of Joudpoor; and that the name by which she was known was Joudpooree.

p. 210, l. 18. Mahratta MSS.

p. 210, l. 20. Khafee Khan, Scott's *Deccan*.

p. 210, l. 28. Mahratta MSS., original papers, Khafee Khan, Scott's *Deccan*.

p. 210, l. 33. From local usage on the west of India, we are in the habit of applying the designations of northern and southern Concan to the Concan north and south of Bombay.

p. 211, l. 20. He was originally a common sillidar, and a wutundar of the village of Dewoor, near Satara, where he was born. This person was the ancestor of the rajas of Nagpoor. In

one manuscript he is said to have been a native of the village of Hingunberdee, near Poona.

p. 211, l. 35. Scott's *Deccan*, Khafee Khan, Mahratta MSS.

p. 212, l. 28. Scott's *Deccan*, Mahratta MSS.

p. 213, l. 7. Scott's *Deccan*.

p. 213, l. 9. Mahratta MSS.

p. 214, l. 3. Khafee Khan and Mahratta MSS., partly confirmed by Scott's *Deccan*.

p. 214, l. 18. Khafee Khan, Scott's *Deccan*, Mahratta MSS.

p. 214, l. 28. Wilks.

p. 215, l. 4. Mahratta MSS., and English Records.

p. 215, l. 8. Khafee Khan, and Scott's *Deccan*.

p. 215, l. 21. Mahratta MSS.

p. 216, l. 1. Khafee Khan.

p. 216, l. 10. Mahratta MSS.

p. 216, l. 36, Mahratta MSS., Bombay Records.

p. 217, l. 26. Mahratta MSS., and an account of the Ghorepuray family received from the late Jeswunt Rao Ghorepuray Umeer-ool-Oomrah, which was originally compiled for the late Sir Barry Close. I likewise received a history of the Ghorepuray family from the late Mr. Thackeray, which I lodged with the Literary Society of Bombay.

p. 218, l. 18. Mahratta MSS., and original papers, both Persian and Mahratta.

p. 219, l. 18. Copy of the original in possession of the raja of Kolapoor.

p. 219, l. 20. Mahratta MSS.

p. 221, l. 9. Khafee Khan and Mahratta MSS.

p. 221, l. 18. Mahratta MSS. Mr. Orme, who is often on the borders of truth, without being rewarded as his research deserved, mentions this as the manner of Sivajee's death.

p. 222, l. 20. Mahratta MSS.

p. 223, l. 36. Torna was escalated in the night, and carried, sword in hand, by Uman Oolla Khan, the only officer who particularly distinguished himself in these sieges. Khafee Khan says, all the rest of the forts were obtained by bribing the killidars.

p. 224, l. 9. Khafee Khan, Scott's *Deccan*, and Mahratta MSS.

p. 225, l. 4. A common exclamation of the Mahomedans, signifying "Praise be to God."

p. 225, l. 5. Mahratta MSS., and original Mahratta and Persian letters. It is unnecessary to acquaint most of my readers that Alumgeer, or "Conqueror of the World," was the title assumed by Aurungzebe on his accession, but I have followed the example of my predecessors in Deccan history, and have retained his own name.

The following translation from an original Persian letter throws considerable light on the state of the country about this period. It bears no date, but from several circumstances is evidently written when Aurungzebe was besieging Panalla or Vishalgurh. It fell into my hands, amongst several bundles of original Persian letters and papers, belonging to a Bramin's family, and I was at some pains to ascertain its history. The writer of the letter was a Bramin, who had been very active in assisting the Moghuls to reduce the country in 1688-89. In consequence of his services he had been dignified with the titles of Raja and Maharaja,* and appointed to the revenue management of the district of Kuttao. During the absence of Puddajee Ghatgay Deshmookh, who had gone abroad to plunder at the time, this Bramin got temporary charge of the valuable deshmookhee claims of Boodh and Mullaoree; however, upon the return and submission of the Deshmookh, he lost these advantages, but retained charge of the fort of Booshengurh, the management of that district, and the village of Kuttao, which last his posterity enjoy in enam to this day. Puddajee Ghatgay was placed under his surveillance. This letter, either never sent or afterwards recovered, is written from Kuttao to a Moghul officer in charge of the province, but at that time collecting a convoy of grain at Phultun and Barramuttee, to be conveyed to the grand camp.

After compliments—"Your letter has been received, wherein you mention your intention of proceeding to Nubheer Shahdroog (Panalla), and forwarding the grain to camp, and that the thanna of Mulkapoor has been plundered, of which you desire to have correct intelligence. The same thieves have cut off all supplies from the thanna of Kurrar, by which that place is much distressed. The names of the thieves are Mahdeo Rao (Pureshram's

* These titles are still enjoyed by his descendants. This Brahmin family is the only one in Maharashtra in which the practice of secluding the women exists.

brother), Tookhoo Mulhar, Sunta Nandera, Lingoo Manay, Bhala Ghatgay, Shahjee Nimbalkur, and others. They have 10,000 horse, and are now near the place, between Ound and Korygaom. Oosman Khan, who was proceeding from the presence to join you, was furnished by me with 100 horse and 100 infantry, but he has been obliged to remain here (in Kuttao), and cannot advance.

“The thieves find shelter in Mortizabad, and various other districts, from whence they sally forth and plunder. Once or twice I have sent parties after them, and have cut them up. By the connivance of foudjars, jagheerdars, and krorees, who all share with them, these people are protected. On this head I have made representations to court, and have even obtained mace-bearers, and made them produce the stolen articles; these people therefore are all inimical to me. Regarding the thieves I have further sent for intelligence, and if we are sufficiently strong, you and I can unite and attack them. Meer Lootf Oolla has written that your favour is very great towards me, and therefore it is now generally known that our friendship is great, and of long standing. You must know that Puddajee, the thannadar of Boodh, has given his sister to . . .* and thus formed a connection with him; he actually went to Ound, when the thieves were there, taking with him Beeroo Bye, the mother of Shao Nimbalkur; they eat out of the same plate together; he was feasted by them, and they by him, for three days, during which they had great rejoicing. It is your province to watch over and guard the king’s gerrisons. The imperial army is now within 20 kos of us. What will it be when they move to a distance, and what may we not expect? If you do not believe this representation, send your own spies to ascertain the truth of it. Until you seize and confine all such offenders, how can we ever expect to suppress them? You should restore charge of the Boodh and Mullaoree districts to me, from whence I have been displaced, and if you approve of the application, forward it to court.”

Underneath there is written, evidently a private postscript—
“I have had a secret interview with Mahdeo Rao, Pureshram’s brother, and I told him that, if Pureshram give up Kelneh, and visit the emperor, he will certainly be put to death, and that

* Indistinct in the original.

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nothing is now to be apprehended, as the rains are at hand. Mahdeo Rao has written this to Pureshram.”

p. 225, l. 35. Khafee Khan.

p. 226, l. 11. Scott's *Deccan*, Khafee Khan, Mahratta MSS.

p. 226, l. 21. Khafee Khan, Scott's *Deccan*.

p. 226, l. 27. The Mahrattas say that, when a horse refused to drink, and started at his own shadow, it was a common joke amongst the Moghuls to ask him why he was afraid—"One would think you saw Dhunnajee in the water." This anecdote is recorded by Mr Scott Waring.

p. 226, l. 30. Scott's *Deccan*, Khafee Khan.

p. 226, l. 35. Original firman from Aurungzebe to Mannajee Moray in possession of his descendants.

p. 227, l. 4. Scott's *Deccan*, Khafee Khan.

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p. 230, l. 13. The more remarkable because reflectively it was an insult, and at best a very coarse joke. It is either much for, or against, the emperor's *bon-mot* that a corresponding word is not easily found in English. *Sahoo* means the reverse of thief, and was used in allusion to Shao's father and grandfather, of whom Aurungzebe seldom spoke but as *the thief, the robber, &c.*

p. 231, l. 1. Mahratta MSS. In this chapter the English reader will find more than usual number of harsh names, which he may be inclined to think might have been omitted with advantage; but they will, in most instances, deserve attention, as those of the ancestors of the principal Mahratta chiefs.

p. 231, l. 14. All the three swords are in possession of the raja of Satara.

p. 231, l. 21. Khafee Khan.

p. 231, l. 33. Mahratta MSS.

p. 232, l. 29. "Futih" means victory. The child's father's name was Lokhunday.

p. 233, l. 19. The ancestor of the present great family of Poorundhuree.

p. 233, l. 27. Mahratta MSS. It is proper to mention that, among Mahratta Bramins, Bhutt and Grehust, in speaking of their own caste, are nearly synonymous with clerical and secular. Custom has introduced this distinction. Bhutt, however, in the text, was merely the surname of Ballajee Wishwanath, not a religious appellation.

p. 234, l. 14. Khafee Khan, Memoirs of Eradut Khan, original letter from Zoolfikar Khan to Shao.

p. 234, l. 23. Original letters from the Madras Records. This Mr. Pitt was the father of Lord Chatham.

p. 235, l. 7. Khafee Khan.

p. 235, l. 13. Bruce's *Annals*.

p. 235, l. 26. Mahratta MSS.

p. 236, l. 5. Khafee Khan.

p. 236, l. 32. Original letters from Zoolfikar Khan.

p. 236, l. 38. He performed the *Jul Sumadh*, or voluntary death by water, which is not uncommon among Hindoo devotees. It is effected by placing a wooden platform upon several earthen pots with their mouths turned down, to which the planks are fastened, and small holes are bored in the earthen vessels; the whole is placed on deep water, on some river accounted holy, and the devotee seats or ties himself on the platform, which gradually sinks with him.

p. 238, l. 33. Machee is a village attached to all hill-forts, commonly situated on the face of the hill completely under protection, and is sometimes fortified.

p. 238, l. 36. His biographer adds, "and at this time required a man on each side to hold him on."

p. 239, l. 18. Mahratta MSS. *Hudeequ-i-Alum*. This Persian MS., to which I here refer for the first time, is a voluminous history of Nizam-ool-Moolk and his successors. It is a modern and respectable work, written by Mohummud Aboo Turab, and dedicated to Meer Alum, the well-known minister of Nizam Ally. I had two copies of this work, the one was lent to me by Mr. William Erskine.

p. 239, l. 19. Or Shah Alum I.

p. 239, l. 40. Khafee Khan, Khuzaneh Amirah, and Muassir-ool-Oomrah. The two last Persian authorities are both valuable. The Khuzaneh Amirah was written in the Deccan by Meer

Gholam Ally, a native of Belgram, in the province of Oude. He is celebrated as a poet as well as a historian; he is the author of the *Suroo Azad*, and his works are much prized by the Mahomedans of the Deccan. The *Muassir-ool-Oomrah* (Biography of the Moghul nobles) is much celebrated in the Deccan; it was written by Shah Nuwaz Khan, or Sumsam-ud-Dowlah, with whose public character the reader of oriental history is already acquainted, from the works of Mr. Orme, Colonel Wilks, and others.

p. 240, *l.* 4. Khafee Khan.

p. 240, *l.* 30. Mahratta MSS.

p. 241, *l.* 2. Khafee Khan.

p. 241, *l.* 9. Mahratta MSS.

p. 241, *l.* 13. Ranoojee, the grandson of Suntajee, fell in battle.

p. 241, *l.* 17. The same whose letter is given in a note, chap. x.

p. 241, *l.* 27. An anecdote of this freebooter is related by his countrymen with much horror. It is necessary to premise that one of the most sacred of oaths amongst Mahrattas is taken by holding the leaves of the tree called *Bel*, conjoined with turmeric, which, in the Mahratta language, is known by the name of *Bandar*. Thorat was accused of having forfeited his oath, and treacherously seized Ballajee Wishwanath, after swearing on the *Bel-Bandar*. "And what of that?" said Thorat—"don't I eat *Bandar* daily, and what is *Bel* but the leaves of a tree?"

p. 242, *l.* 23. Naroo Shunker, the Punt Suchew, was then a child; but amongst Hindoos, the guardian generally considers the presence of his ward necessary on occasions of importance.

p. 243, *l.* 13. These were—1, the island of Kenery (Kunde-rye); 2, Kolabah; 3, Severndroog; 4, Viziadroog; 5, Jyegurh; 6, Deodroog; 7, Kunnikdroog; 8, Futihgurh; 9, Oochitgurh; and 10, Yeswundroog.

p. 243, *l.* 19. 1, Byroogurh; 2, Kotla; 3, Vickutgurh; 4, Manikgurh; 5, Mirggurh; 6, Sagurgurh; 7, Russalgurh; 8, Palgurh and Ramdroog; 9, Gurhee Karaputtun; 10, Ramdroog; 11, Rajapoor; 12, Amber; 13, Sataolee; 14, Kamtey; 15, Sreewurdun; and 16, Munrunjun.—(Copy of original papers.)

p. 243, *l.* 30. Ancestor of the celebrated Nana Furnuwees.

p. 244, *l.* 17. He was a Mahratta, named Bajee Kuddum.

p. 244, *l.* 23. Mahratta MSS.

p. 246, *l.* 8. In comparison with the Bramins, the Mahrattas are extremely violent, which forms a striking contrast with the inflexible placidness which the former can command.

p. 246, *l.* 29. Original letter from Ferokhsere to Shao.

p. 247, *l.* 22. Khafee Khan.

p. 247, *l.* 40. Khafee Khan, Muassir-ool-Oomrah, and Mahratta MSS.

p. 248, *l.* 6. Mahratta MSS., and Khafee Khan. I have here rather followed the Mahratta than the Moghul account, because subsequent events corroborate the former.

p. 248, *l.* 10. Mahratta MSS.

p. 248, *l.* 18. Khafee Khan, and Mahratta MSS.

p. 249, *l.* 33. Mahratta MSS. Copy of an original memorandum, and several original papers. Khafee Khan also partially confirms this account.

p. 250, *l.* 13. The Moghul historians mention that the viceroy pretended to receive from Shao a son of Sultan Mohummud Akber, then residing at the Mahratta court. The Mahrattas do not record this circumstance; but, although very possible, as it was attended by no result, I have rejected it.

p. 250, *l.* 20. Khafee Khan, and Mahratta MSS.

p. 251, *l.* 31. Seyr Mutuakhereen, and Mahratta MSS. In the latter, the manner of his death is differently related; but here the former is the preferable authority. He is said to have been the natural son of Pursojee Bhonslay. The Seyr-ul-Mutuakhereen is a well-known Persian work which was translated into English by a renegade Frenchman, named Mustapha. His manuscript translation is in the library at the India House.

p. 251, *l.* 37. The original grants are in possession of the raja of Satara: they are in the name of Mohummud Shah, dated in the first year of his reign, A.H. 1131 (A.D. 1719). The Emperor Mohummud Shah was not, in fact, placed on the throne till 1720; but during the months that intervened between his elevation and the dethronement of Ferokhsere, two princes had filled the throne, whose names were expunged from the records.

p. 251, *l.* 38. The deed for the chouth is dated 22nd Rubbee-ool-Akhir, A.H. 1131, and grants to Shao the fourth of the whole revenue of the six Soobehs of the Deccan, simply on condition that he shall maintain 15,000 horse, for the purpose of assisting

the military governors in preserving order and tranquillity in the country.

p. 252, l. 2. The surdeshmookhee grant is dated 4th Jummadeeool-Uwul, or twelve days after that of the chouth. It does not specify in the body of the deed that it is granted as a hereditary right; but the customary fee on such occasions is stated on the back of the instrument, as will be seen in the accompanying extract, which also shows the estimated revenue of the six Soobehs of the Deccan, as registered by the Moghuls. The fee so calculated was commuted to 1,17,19,390 rupees, in consequence of the depopulated state of the districts.

	Rs.	A.	P.
Soobeh Aurungabad	1,23,76,042	11	3
„ Berar	1,15,23,508	14	3
„ Beder	74,91,879	12	3
„ Beejapoor	7,85,08,560	14	1
„ Hyderabad	6,48,67,483	0	0
„ Candeish	57,49,819	0	3
	<hr/>		
Rupees	18,05,17,294	6	1
The surdeshmookhee estimated in rupees at	1,80,51,730	0	0
Peshkush, or established fee on hereditary rights conferred, 651 per cent	11,75,16,762	0	0
The immediate payment on delivering the deed, one-fourth, or	2,93,79,190	8	0
The remainder, payable by instalments	8,81,37,571	8	0

p. 252, l. 3. The following is a list of the 16 districts included in the grant of the swuraje:—

1, Poona; 2, Sopa, including Barramuttee; 3, Indapoor; 4, Waze; 5, the Mawuls; 6, Satara; 7, Kurar; 8, Kuttao; 9, Maun; 10, Phultun; 11, Mulkapoor; 12, Tarla; 13, Panalla; 14, Azerah; 15, Joonere; and 16, Kolapoor. The pergunnas north of the Toongbuddra, including Kopaul, Gudduck, Hullyal, and all the forts which were captured by Sivajee. The Concan consisting of

—1, Ramnugur, including—1, Gundavee; 2, Jowur; 3, Choule; 4, Beemgurh, 5, Beemree; 6, Kallianee; 7, Rajpooree; 8, Dabul; 9, Jowlee; 10, Rajapoor; 11, Ponda; 12, Akola; and 13, Koodal.

The above contain all that is useful from these deeds: to give a full translation is quite unnecessary, especially as, to the generality of readers, the substance will prove more intelligible.

p. 254, l. 11. This was to distinguish it from other Babtee, or items of revenue. Thus they say, Surdeshmookhee Babtee, Mokassa Babtee, or items of revenue under these heads respectively.

p. 254, l. 11. This word was no doubt adopted from the old name of the Beejapoor revenue officer. The Mahrattas are not very choice in their etymology, and appear to have been particularly arbitrary in fixing their revenue nomenclature. Nargounda, for instance, which is a corruption of the common Carnatic name for head Patell (Sur Patell, in Maharashtra), was applied to express 3 per cent upon their whole revenue, exclusive of the surdeshmookhee. The office of Nargounda, or Nargaora, was common under the Beejapoor government, in the districts south of the Kistna. Nar in the Carnatic is (I believe) applied, like turuf in Maharashtra, as a name for a smaller division of a district, and Gaora is synonymous with Patell. When Shao got possession of Panalla, he bestowed the hereditary right of Nargaora on his Chitnees, which, for some reason unexplained, had been forfeited by a Mahratta named Nagojee Bhaskur to the Beejapoor government. In this case, the Nargaora wutun, having been granted in the Arabic year 1110 (A.D. 1709-10), before the plan of revenue distribution was thought of, it was simply an hereditary right, as head Patell of the turuf.

p. 256, l. 2. Probably Komptee. There is a class of Carnatic Bramins so named; but Kamatties are of the labouring class, and much employed in Bombay as palanquin-bearers.

p. 256, l. 7. The following letter to the Bombay government is a curious specimen of his correspondence. It was received at Bombay in November 1720, after an attempt on Viziadroog (or Gheriah), by an expedition under Mr. Walter Brown. I have given the letter nearly as it appears on the records, but have taken a few liberties with the translator's orthography:—

Translation of Kanhojee Angria's letter to the Honourable the President.

"I received your Excellency's letter, and have understood all your Excellency writes me. 'That the differences that continue even until now are through my means; that the desire of possessing what is another's is a thing very wide of reason; that such-like insults are a sort of piracy; that such proceedings cannot continue long; that had I from my beginning cultivated trade and favoured the merchant, the port I now govern might, by the divine favour, have in some measure vied with the great port of Surat, and my name have become famous; all which', your Excellency says, 'is not to be brought about but by opening a fair trade: that he that is least expert in war generally comes off a sufferer thereby; and that he who follows it purely through a love that he hath thereto, will one time or another find cause to repent; that if I had considered this some thing sooner, I might have found some benefit and convenience thereby.' Your Excellency says, 'you are very well acquainted with the manner of my government from its beginning, and for that reason you would not on any account open a treaty with me until I set at liberty the people of your nation that are prisoners here: after that, you would receive any proposition from me that was friendly, or might tend to an accommodation.'

"At all which I very much admire, especially when I find your Excellency persuaded that I have been the cause of the past differences and disputes, the truth of which your Excellency will soon find when you examine both sides; for as touching the desire of possessing what is another's, I do not find the merchants exempt from this sort of ambition, for this is the way of the world; for God gives nothing immediately from himself, but takes from one to give to another. Whether this is right or no, who is able to determine?

"It little behoves the merchants, I am sure, to say our government is supported by violence, insults, and piracies; for as much as Maharaja (which is Sivajee) making war against four kings, founded and established his kingdom. This was our introduction and beginning: and whether or no, by these ways, this government hath proved durable, your Excellency well knows, so likewise did your predecessors; and whether it is durable or no, I would have your Excellency consider, it is certain nothing in this world is durable, which if your Excellency does consider, the way of this world is well-known.

“Your Excellency is pleased to say, ‘if I had regard to the weal of the people, and favoured commerce, my power would be much augmented, and my port become like that of Surat;’ but I never have been wanting to favour the merchants, trading according to the laws of this country, nor of chastising those transgressing the same, as your Excellency well knows. ‘The increase of power depends on the divine will, in which human diligence little availeth.’ Until this day I have kept up the power that was necessary: whether I shall continue it or no for the future, who can tell? but that will be as God is pleased to determine.

“Your Excellency was pleased to write, ‘that war proves most fatal, to those where the use of the sword is not understood; but in the government of His Excellency Charles Boone, nobody can say there was not loss on both sides; for victories depend on the hand of God, and for this reason great men take little notice of such losses.

“Your Excellency is pleased to write, ‘that he who follows war, purely through an inclination that he hath thereto, one time or another will find cause to repent;’ of which I suppose your Excellency hath found proof; for we are not always victorious, nor always unfortunate.

“Your Excellency was pleased to write ‘that you well understood the manner of my government, and for that reason you could not enter upon any treaty of peace with me, unless I would first set at liberty the people of your nation that are prisoners here.’ I very well know your Excellency understands the manner of my government from its beginning, therefore this gives me no wonder; but if your Excellency says you will admit any proposition, after having your people released, I must then likewise say, my people are prisoners under your Excellency: how can I then give liberty to yours? But if your Excellency’s intent was cordially to admit any overtures of peace for ending our present disputes, and do really write me for that end concerning the liberty of your people, I am to assure you my intent is cordially the same. It is therefore necessary that some person of character intervene, and act as guarantee between us, to whom I will presently send your Excellency’s people. Your Excellency will afterwards do the like by mine: the prisoners on

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both sides, having by this means obtained their liberty, afterwards we shall enter on what relates to our friendship and treaty of peace for the avoidance of prejudice on both sides. For this end I now write your Excellency, which I hope will meet with regard; and if your Excellency's intention be to treat of peace and friendship, be pleased to send an answer to this, that, conformable thereto, I may consider on what is most proper to be done. As your Excellency is a man of understanding, I need say no more."

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p. 257, *l.* 23. Mahratta MSS., and Khafee Khan.

p. 258, *l.* 16. The Surat Records, containing the report of the day (Monday, 20th June 1720), give a different account, and say,—“Nizam-ool-Moolk prevented the junction.” That he should do so was probable, but I have followed the concurring testimony of the Moghul historians, supported by Mahratta MSS.

p. 259, *l.* 4. Khafee Khan, and Mahratta MSS.

p. 260, *l.* 17. Seyr Mutuakhereen.

p. 262, *l.* 6. One authority, the Calendar of the Poona Duftur, states his death in April 1721; but the origin of the mistake is accounted for by the delay which occurred in the appointment of his successor.

p. 266, *l.* 13. Khuzaneh Amirah, Hudeequ-i-Alum, Seyr Mutuakhereen and Mirat Ahmudee. The Mirat Ahmudee is a voluminous Persian history of Guzerat, written in Ahmedabad: it was commenced, A. D. 1747, by Ally Mohummud, the son of the Moghul Dewan of the province, assisted by Meetya Lal, a Hindoo, who died before the work was completed. It was finished A. D. 1756, by Ally Mohummud. Though not always to be depended upon, it is the best native account of that province, and conjoined with contemporary English records, is very valuable. I am indebted to Mr. Romer, the chief of Surat, for the Mirat Ahmudee, and for extracting the whole of the old records of the Surat factory, which he found connected with the history of the Mahrattas. I take this opportunity of expressing my sense of his liberality and kindness.

p. 266, l. 38. The Patell's assistant. There are none of the Chougula's descendants now in Hohl.

p. 267, l. 8. Ruwee means the sun; but I could not ascertain the origin of the title.

p. 267, l. 14. Mahratta MSS., and tradition.

p. 267, l. 22. Mahratta MSS., and Sir J. Malcolm's Report on Malwa. The same tradition is current in different parts of the country.

p. 267, l. 28. Original memorandum of instructions at different times issued by Shao where Oodajee Powar is mentioned.

p. 268, l. 1. Dhar is a fortress in the west of Malwa, of great antiquity.

p. 268, l. 22. Universal custom amongst the English scarcely authorizes this misnomer; but I have sometimes used *the Nizam* instead of Nizam-ool-Moolk, Nizam Ally, &c., or the Soobehdar of the Deccan.

p. 269, l. 8. Bajee Rao was a Concanist; Sreeput Rao a Deshist, of the class Yajurwedee.

p. 270, l. 40. "*In the Kunur Khund*" (beyond the Himmalaya mountains) is the literal translation of Shao's exclamation.

p. 271, l. 4. Mahratta MSS.

p. 272, l. 11. He was a Nagur Bramin, a tribe common in Guzerat, who, since the times of the Mahomedan kings of that country, had been distinguished in the Mahomedan service, both as men of business and as soldiers.

p. 272, l. 14. Seyr Mutuakhereen, Khuzaneh Amirah, Mahratta MSS., &c.

p. 275, l. 4. These flights the Mahrattas term "*going to the white crow*," which they say alludes to a bird of passage, like a crow, that comes in some parts of the country once a year; hence also they have a phrase for a defeated enemy, "*they are off to the white crow*."

p. 275, l. 12. I have extracted this account from the Mirat Ahmudee, Surat Records, and Khuzaneh Amirah. The last authority mentions a battle near Cambay, in which the Mahrattas sustained a total defeat by Nujeem-ud-deen, and this account is followed by the Seyr Mutuakhereen; but although the skirmishes appear to have been constant, I have not found satisfactory confirmation of any such decisive event, nor of the death of Shaik Allah Yar, said to have been killed in that action.

p. 275, *l.* 26. Mahratta MSS. Colonel Wilks merely notices this incursion. Besides the MSS. already enumerated, I have perused upwards of twenty MS. histories of the Peishwas. Of the best, two were procured by Ballajee Punt Nathoo at Poona, one was given by Mahdoo Rao Rastia, one sent by Mahdoo Rao Putwurdhun of Merich, and another by Gopaul Rao of Tasgaom. The best Mahratta Buker of the Bhonslays of Nagpoor is one written for Mr. Jenkins, and sent to me by Captain A. Gordon.

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p. 277, *l.* 4. The whole of the particulars of this agreement are not known. Some very long details of the early part of the settlement, which led to the final exchange, are preserved; but the most essential parts regarding the exchange of the jagheer, and the fixed payment for the chouth and surdeshmookhee, are lost. I do not think they have been purposely destroyed by the Mahrattas, as many years afterwards I find original letters from Mahdoo Rao, the Peishwa, and Nana Furnuwees, written on an occasion when there were pending negotiations with the Nizam, requesting that search might be made for this document. The Hudeequ-i-Alum merely mentions that Nizam-ool-Moolk settled that the soobeh of Hyderabad should be exempted from the surdeshmookhee, and that a ready-money payment should be given in lieu of the chouth and the customs.

p. 277, *l.* 9. Half of this desh-mookhee was purchased by Shahjee after he entered the service of Mohummud Adil Shah.

p. 277, *l.* 16. The Nimbalkurs of Barsee are distinct from the Nimbalkurs of Kurmula; the head of the latter has the title of Rao Rumbha. The former is one of the family of Hybut Rao Sur Lushkur.

p. 280, *l.* 26. This interchange of presents is termed Zeafut, a feast, or entertainment; a Mahomedan has no objection to eat food prepared by a Hindoo on such occasions; but on the part of the Hindoo the Zeafut is confined to receiving the presents.

p. 280, *l.* 28. Mahratta MSS., Hudeequ-i-Alum.

p. 281, l. 15. Original deeds from the records of the government of the Peishwas, made over to me by the Hon'ble M. Elphinstone.

p. 283, l. 15. Previous to the formation of this league, the Powars, whose rendezvous continued about Dhar in Malwa, had been always at war with Peelajee Gaekwar.

p. 283, l. 15. This was probably Chimmajee Damoodhur. He was a very active marauder; but Chimna Raja, so often mentioned in the Surat records, means Chimmajee, Bajee Rao's brother: even when the army was commanded by the Peishwa in person, the force is often mentioned as that of Chimna Raja. The members of the factories were frequently deceived by false reports, and they make some ridiculous mistakes in the names, which it is sometimes difficult to detect. The *Sow Roger*, for Shao Raja, though not a very elegant alteration, is easily discovered.

p. 284, l. 10. Mahratta MSS., original letters in the handwriting of Bajee Rao, Surat Records, letter from Mr. Daniel Innes, factor at Cambay, dated 7th April 1731.

p. 284, l. 10. Dubhoy first fell into the hands of Oodajee Powar, from whom it was taken by Peelajee.

p. 284, l. 34. There are two Tullygaoms near Poona—one north-east, or Tullygaom Dumdairay, and the other north-west, Tullygaom Dhabaray, on the Bombay road, the one above alluded to.

p. 284, l. 38. *Dukshina* means a charitable donation in money.

p. 285, l. 4. I have in my possession three accounts of the origin of the Gaekwar titles, from respectable sources, all differing from each other, and from the text; after all, I may be wrong, but, even in such an insignificant matter, I have spared no pains to be correct. I have seldom given translations of the Mahratta titles, as even the Mahrattas themselves differ in the significations attached to them, and as I know nothing of Sanscrit, I was dependent on the Bramins about me for the few interpretations I have given. Sena Khas Kheyl has been translated, "*commander of the special band*,"—perhaps "*leader of the sovereign's tribe*" would be more correct.

p. 285, l. 29. Seyr Mutuakhereen.

p. 286, l. 13. Mahratta MSS., and original letters.

p. 286, l. 19. This Chimmajee Pundit was not the brother of

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Bajee Rao, but the person taken by the Peishwa, in the battle with the Senaputtee, already mentioned.

p. 286, l. 23. Original letter in the handwriting of Chimnajee Appa. I take the name of the place where the battle was fought from Sir J. Malcolm's Report on Malwa.

p. 287, l. 7. Mirat Ahmudee.

p. 288, l. 5. Original papers, Poona Records.

p. 288, l. 17. Seyr Mutuakhereen, Mahratta MSS., Hudeequ-i-Alum.

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p. 289, l. 14. They were originally Hindoo polygars, and converted by Aurungzebe.

p. 289, l. 26. There is a tradition of their having been rivals in an hereditary dispute which may have been invented to prejudice the rajas of Satara against the Bhonslays of Nagpoor, and prevent their desire to adopt any member of that powerful family. It is a point of honor to maintain the hereditary difference.

p. 291, l. 2. Mahratta MSS. I am not certain of this date, as I have not observed it in the English Records. [According to G. S. Sardesai he died on 4th July, 1729. See his *New History of the Marhattas*, vol. iii. Ed.]

p. 291, l. 16. Orme, Bruce's *Annals*, partly confirmed by Mahratta MSS.

p. 291, l. 33. Mahratta MSS.

p. 292, l. 17. The same as Nargounda, only here confined to two instead of three per cent.

p. 292, l. 23. Original papers in possession of the Chitnees at Satara.

p. 292, l. 34. Original letters from Shao to Chimnajee, and from the Peishwa's mootaliq, procured from the Dawursee Swamee. Many interesting letters from Bajee Rao and Chimnajee were lent to me by the descendants of the disciples of the Dawursee Swamee. The Swamee was a much venerated person in the country, and was the Mahapooroosh of Bajee Rao and his brother, and seems to have possessed their entire confidence.

The Peishwa's letters to the Swamee, and to his brother, detail the actions of his life in a familiar manner, without disguise, and are quite invaluable. I was permitted to translate, but not to copy them. The originals continue in possession of the Swamee's disciples at Dawursee, a village within a few miles of Satara.

p. 292, *l.* 35. This part of the letter is a postscript in his own handwriting.

p. 293, *l.* 38. Smaller divisions of a district.

p. 294, *l.* 3. Mahratta MSS., and original letters. In parts where I have only Mahratta authority, I am seldom quite certain of my dates, as many of the original letters have only the date of the week, and of the moon.

p. 294, *l.* 33. Seyr Mutuakhereen, and Mahratta letters.

p. 294, *l.* 39. Mirat Ahmudee.

p. 295, *l.* 13. Among Hindoos an attitude of worship or adoration is to place the forehead at the threshold of a temple, or at the feet of the idol, and is used in humble supplication to a superior. The following extract of a letter from Bajee Rao to his Mahapooroosh must of course be understood figuratively; but it shows the embarrassments under which he laboured:—"I have fallen into that hell of being beset by creditors, and to pacify soucars and sillidars, I am falling at their feet, till I have rubbed the skin from my forehead." Part of this distress originated in the high rates of pay which he was obliged to give, in order to outbid Nizam-ool-Moolk, and secure the best of the Deccan soldiery.

p. 296, *l.* 21. Original papers, and Poona Records.

p. 297, *l.* 21. The Seyr Mutuakhereen gives the Moghul account of this campaign, the only one to which the author of that work had access. I have not omitted due consideration of both sides of the narrative.

p. 297, *l.* 36. This is probably the Hindoo name for the place, as I cannot find it in any of our maps.

p. 298, *l.* 2. This fact Bajee Rao mentions to his brother without reserve or comment.

p. 298, *l.* 27. Indrajee Kuddum, belonging to Ranoojee Sindia's party. I mention his name, merely to show the minuteness of the Peishwa's report.

p. 299, *l.* 4. A private letter, or rather journal, in the handwriting of Bajee Rao to his brother Chimnajee Appa. Without

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various corroborative testimonies as to the facts, it bears that internal evidence of truth which commands confidence.

p. 299, *l.* 6. Such of my readers as may have seen a horse break from his pickets, and attempt to gallop off with his heel-ropes, will understand the Peishwa's injunctions in their full force.

p. 299, *l.* 21. Mahratta MSS. One manuscript states that some of his forts were also to be placed under havildars and carcoons, to be appointed by the raja.

p. 299, *l.* 24. Mahratta MSS.

p. 299, *l.* 25. Probably Gorabundur.

p. 300, *l.* 3. Letter from Don Conde de Sandomel, viceroy of Goa, to the king of Portugal, 25th of January 1738.

p. 300, *l.* 20. Afterwards nabob of Oude, and the father of the well-known Shujah-ud-Dowlah.

p. 300, *l.* 28. Letter from Chimnajee Appa, who says he crossed the Nerbuddah "by the route of Kurgouna, near Poonashah, at the head of 80,000 men."

p. 300, *l.* 37. Original letter in the handwriting of Bajee Rao.

p. 302, *l.* 14. This is the common Mahratta appellation; Phoolloomree is its proper name.

p. 302, *l.* 35. Chimnajee had been with the Peishwa in the first campaign against Nizam-ool-Moolk, and had suffered from the Nizam's guns. Bajee Rao, as some apology for allowing him to move at all, significantly observes—"Appa, you know what kind of an artillery he has."

p. 303, *l.* 5. The Nizam was surrounded from the 3rd to the 26th Ramzan. On the latter day the agreement was concluded. A copy of this paper was sent to Sir John Malcolm, when he was writing his report on Malwa, and I mention the date particularly, because I observe that, owing to a mistake in attaching the name of Ballajee, instead of that of his father, to the paper, he has been led into an error in regard to it.

p. 303, *l.* 32. Mahratta MSS. The commandant of Bassein had good proof of this, for the Mahratta shot, which the year before were all hammered, were now thrown of cast-iron, and bore the English stamp.

p. 303, *l.* 38. I do not know whether it was Mr. John Horne or Mr. Stephen Law. Mr. Law succeeded Mr. Horne some time

during the first part of the year 1739. Mr. Law, in a letter to the Court of Directors, 4th September 1739, is anxious to exculpate the government, and declares the complaints of the Portuguese gross misrepresentations, which so far exonerates the home authorities from suspicion of conniving at such acts of their servants; but what reason could the Mahrattas have for misrepresentation?

p. 304, l. 8. Records of the Portuguese government at Goa.

p. 304, l. 27. Individuals of the Portuguese nation who fled to Bombay experienced the utmost kindness and commiseration from the inhabitants. The Governor gave them money for subsistence, and refitted some of their ships at the public expense.

p. 305, l. 16. Letter from Chimnaje Appa to the Dawursee Swamee. Official report from Don Martin Silveria de Menezes, from Bassein, 18th February 1739.

p. 305, l. 29. He was defeated by Dummajee Gaekwar before the battle of Dubhoy, in 1731.

p. 305, l. 38. Eight thousand by the lowest computation.

p. 306, l. 14. Called Sashtree by the Mahrattas.

p. 307, l. 28. Original Mahratta, and copies of the original Portuguese reports, which coincide in almost every particular. The Mahrattas during the whole campaign lost 12,000 or 14,000 men in killed and wounded.

For the valuable information which I obtained, in May 1822, from the records of the Portuguese government, I here beg to offer my acknowledgments to his excellency the viceroy of Goa, who most liberally supplied me with copies of the whole correspondence relative to the conquest of Salsette.

p. 307, l. 31. By the Bombay records, at the East India House, it appears that Nadir Shah quitted Delhi 5th May 1739.

p. 307, l. 40. Original letter from Nadir Shah to Bajee Rao.

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p. 308, l. 5. A *sirpa* is an honorary dress, consisting of cloth for the turban, trowsers, girdle, and gown, complete; hence its name sir-pa, or head to foot. A *khillut* comprehends not only

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the dress, but all the additions of jewels, horse, elephant, and arms, according to circumstances and the rank of the parties. On the occasion alluded to, Bajee Rao received two ornaments of jewels for the turban, and a pearl necklace, together with a horse and an elephant.

p. 308, l. 9. Original letter from Mohummud Shah.

p. 309, l. 27. I do not know whether this exception was meant in favour of the rajas of Bundelcund or the Peishwa.

p. 309, l. 6. Poona Records.

p. 309, l. 17. Colonel Wilks states that the Mahrattas were invited by Meer Assud, the dewan of Sufdur Ali. Some confirmation of this appears in Tippoo's circular letter, translated by Mr. Edmonstone; but I have met with no trace of it in any Mahratta record.

p. 310, l. 13. Mahratta MSS., and original letters.

p. 310, l. 28. The only authentic record I have recovered of the arrangement which preceded this expedition, and that bears no date, is a copy of the original authority by the raja, which is not more loose and vague than many Mahratta documents equally important. By this paper, I conjecture that the Peishwa furnished the infantry, and, from subsequent events, it is probable that he by this means weakened his own army. The cavalry under Rughoojee was furnished by different leaders. I do not know who Koosajee Yessajee Bhonslay, the person mentioned in the paper, was, but he is supposed to have been the commander of the infantry.

Literal translation of an authority issued by Shao Maharaj to the Sena Sahib Soobeh.

To Rajman Rajasree Rughoojee Bhonslay, Sena Sahib Soobeh,—The following orders are issued to you regarding the arrangements to be made in the province of the Carnatic, south of the Toongbuddra.

Districts the collections from which wholly belong to the Raja Shao.

1. Trichinopoly. 2. Tanjore. 3. Arcot, including Ginjee.
4. Seringapatam, after deducting what is fixed by the treaty with government. *Other Districts.* 1. Sera 2. Adonee. 3. Kurnoul.
4. Kurpa 5. Phoot Mahal (or portions of various districts).

According to the amount which may be received from the abovementioned places, the surdeshmookhee, babtee, sahotra,



&c., having been deducted, the remainder being mokassa, one-half of it to be the share of Koosajee Yessajee Bhonslay, and the other is to belong to the raja (Shao).

In this manner the whole of the four first-mentioned places, and the surdeshmookhee and babtee, and one-half of the mokassa of the remaining places, being formed into one sum, one-half of it is to be taken by you for the expenses of your troops, and the other half, being the amount belonging to government, is to be paid into the state treasury, by means of. . . * You and he, with mutual consultation, having made proper arrangements, are to gain possession of hill-forts, forts, and territory. Whatever cavalry are required to be stationed for garrisoning forts and fortified places, are to be placed in them by you; and he will place whatever infantry are requisite. In this manner the forts are to be garrisoned. The sum, however, payable for the present year, is fixed at seven lakhs, which is to be paid to the government as above; according to what is written, having brought affairs to a conclusion, by performing the service of the Swamee (the raja), your conduct will be approved, and let the end be accomplished according to what is written. What occasion is there for writing much? Dependence is wholly placed in you by Swamee. You are wise.

p. 310, l. 39. The respectable author of the Khuzaneh Amirah was not aware of the junction of these troops. Shah Nuwaz Khan, author of the Muasir-ool-Oomrah, was probably present during the service; but he does not, in his memoirs of Nasir Jung, mention the strength of the army with which he crossed the Godavery. Nasir Jung appears to have been accompanied by the whole of his father's park of artillery, which may have been sent back from Malwa; and Chimnajee Appa, in an original letter, states his army at 30,000 cavalry, 20,000 infantry, 150 guns, 300 swivels and jingals (or wall pieces) mounted on camels, and 300 rocket camels. Allowing him to have greatly over-estimated them, as enemies, there was still too large a force to authorize as a general such a venture on the part of Bajee Rao.

p. 311, l. 8. Original letter from Chimnajee Appa. Mahratta MSS. Nasir Jung's army did not pass Ahmednugur. Sir J.

*Blank in the Mahratta paper, but supposed to be "the Mookh Purdhan" (Bajee Rao.)

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Malcolm is under a mistake in supposing that Nasir Jung burnt Poona.

p. 311, l. 11. Khuzaneh Amirah, Hudeequ-i-Alum, Mahratta MSS. Chimnajee Appa mentions that some jagheer districts towards the Nerbuddah, formerly promised by Nizam-ool-Moolk, were ceded, but their names are not specified by him.

p. 311, l. 12. The following passage occurs in one of his letters to his Mahapooroosh. It is without date, but supposed to be written at this period of disappointment. "I am involved in difficulties, in debt, and in disappointments, and like a man ready to swallow poison: near the raja are my enemies, and should I at this time go to Satara, they will put their feet on my breast. I should be thankful if I could meet death."

p. 311, l. 34. He was released, but in what manner does not appear.

p. 311, l. 36. Chimnajee Appa's letter.

p. 312, l. 6. On the death of a near relation, Hindoos are supposed unclean for ten days, during which they are to be rigidly abstemious in every respect; this observance is called *sootuck*. Where the relationship is not near, or the death happens at a great distance, one, two or three days are sufficient. The funeral rites ought to be performed by the nearest relation, and always last ten days, during which, or until the twelfth or thirteenth day, the mourner is considered unclean. After a corpse is burnt, or buried, the soul is supposed to hover round the spot for ten days before it wings its flight, to receive judgment from Yem Dhurm. In whatever place a Hindoo hears of the death of a parent, he shaves his mustachios, and performs all the rites as if present where the death happened. Bramins observe the anniversary of the death of their relations, and on the new moon of every month perform certain ceremonies of their manes.

p. 312, l. 21. Even up to the period of the death of Raja Ram, they were less known among Europeans by the name of Mahrattas than by that of *the Sivajees*.

p. 313, l. 26. Bajee Rao had a secret agent residing with Jey Sing. The name of the envoy (Venkajee Ram) is mentioned in one of Bajee Rao's original letters.

p. 314, l. 8. Mahratta MSS. Gholam Hoossein Khan, author of the *Seyr-ool-Mutuakhereen*, calls him a native of Persia, a pedlar

from Iran. Meer Hubeeb was intimately known to the Mahrattas, who always designate him as an Arab.

p. 314, l. 22. Mr. Forster says he was a Jath.

p. 317, l. 1. There is an original memorandum from Nana Furnuwees, without date amongst the old papers at Satara, desiring to know the period and origin of the distribution. On this paper is marked, seemingly as a memorandum of the answer sent, *Soorsun* 1117 (about Anno Domini 1717). I have frequently found Bramin revenue officers, in other respects very intelligent men, who said there was no difference in the origin of jagheer and mokassa, both being bestowed, as they observed, "for the maintenance of toops, and consequently they must always have been the same." The want of research and historical observation amongst the Mahrattas, in common with all Hindoos, is a greater obstacle to the attainment of information than can be conceived in a European country. Everything must be wormed out of them by attentive perseverance; in that way there is a wide field for the enquirer; but unfortunately it takes years of experience before a European is qualified to question a native of India.

Since writing the above note, I have discovered a letter written in the year 1765, where similar queries are put, to know the meaning of the *Swuraje territory*. "The *Swuraje*," says the writer of the answer (Govind Rao Chitnees), "is the territory west of the Beema, and all which you call *Swuraje*, beyond that, is *Zuburdustee*" (violent usurpation).

p. 318, l. 11. A sort of grain (*Holcus Saccharatus*) common throughout the Deccan. The meal the Peishwa was making is a very common one in a Mahratta army, and if they have nothing else, they do not consider it great privation. A Mahratta cultivator frequently subsists for weeks on the ripening grain, with no other sustenance.

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p. 319, l. 7. This is the *Moorari Row*, so often mentioned by Mr. Orme in his admirable war of Coromandel.

p. 319, l. 13. Mahratta MSS.

p. 319, l. 15. They are stated at 100,000 by Orme; but any large army is reported to be a *lakh*.

p. 319, l. 28. Orme, Wilks.

p. 320, l. 1. Bramin soucars and money-changers assume the appellation of Naik.

p. 320, l. 17. The mode of recovering a debt is by a species of dunning called *tuqazu*; the most common practised is to hire a few of those men, who make it a trade. They sit at the debtor's door, follow him wherever he goes and crave with humility, or demand with insolence, according to time and circumstance. By the invariable rule of the country, the debtor is obliged to subsist the duns thus placed upon him, and as they are adepts in the art of tormenting, protected also by the great power of opinion, they soon contrive to render the debtor sufficiently miserable. But if the debtor be obstinate, and the creditor think himself equal to the task, he may undertake the *tuqazu* by placing his debtor in *dhurna*; the creditor seats himself by his debtor, or at his door, during which, whilst the former abstains from food, it would be accounted infamous and dishonorable for the latter to eat or drink. Bappoojee Naik practised first the *tuqazu*, and afterwards the *dhurna*. I refer my English readers to an account of *dhurna* (*dherna*) given by Lord Teignmouth in the 4th volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, and quoted in Mr. Mills's History of India. I have known the *dhurna* practised, but never very rigorously; and I do not think that fear of the creditor's starving himself to death would have much effect on a Mahratta debtor; his stomach would be much sooner affected than his conscience.

p. 320, l. 26. Orme and Wilks.

p. 320, l. 32. Better known in the Deccan by his less familiar name of Hoossein Dost Khan. He does not appear to have been confined in the fort, nor to have endured a close imprisonment, but merely to have had an attendant guard wherever he went—a supposition which is confirmed by the facility with which Dupleix appears to have intrigued with him when a prisoner.

p. 320, l. 39. Mahratta MSS., and original paper.

p. 321, l. 9. There were several copies of papers, similar to the purport of that which is quoted, found in the Poona Records;

I have selected the one most explicit, which appears to have been the ultimatum.

p. 321, l. 29. Khuzaneh Amirah, &c., and original letter from Ballajee Bajee Rao.

p. 321, l. 33. Mahratta MSS.

p. 322, l. 3. *Bhow*, brother, is applied also by Mahrattas to a cousingerman. Hence, as the Peishwa's cousin, he was commonly styled Bhow Sahib, and the Bhow, as well as Sewdasheo Rao Bhow.

p. 322, l. 28. Mahratta MSS.

p. 323, l. 7. Mahratta MSS.

p. 323, l. 15. Articles enumerated in an original letter from the emperor.

p. 323, l. 27. The notorious Shujah-ud-Dowlah, who afterwards confined the English in the blackhole, on the capture of Calcutta, 20th June 1756.

p. 323, l. 37. Mahratta MSS.

p. 323, l. 39. In the *Seyr Mutuakhereen* their numbers are more moderately estimated at 25,000; but still that exceeds their actual numbers twofold.

p. 326, l. 11. The best account of Ballajee Bajee Rao's campaign in Bengal to which I have had the benefit of access, is the *Seyr Mutuakhereen*, which is my authority for the greater part of the Bengal transactions at this period, assisted, however, in several parts by Mahratta MSS. and letters.

p. 326, l. 21. The following is the substance of the firman received by Bajee Rao upon his appointment. From the Emperor Mohummud Shah, 22nd Jummadee-ool-Uwul, in the 24th year of the reign. "The dignity of the Shahzadu's Deputy in Malwa, together with the income attached to that situation, having been conferred on you, proper arrangements must be made in that province so as to afford the subjects, paying revenue to Government, due favour and protection, and to punish all such as are evil disposed and disaffected. You must prevent the use of intoxicating drugs and spirituous liquors; and you must administer justice equally, so that the strong shall not oppress the weak, and that no species of violence be tolerated." (Original from the Poona Records).

p. 326, l. 26. Original papers.

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- p.* 328, *l.* 24. Original papers and Mahratta MSS.
- p.* 331, *l.* 1. Orme and Wilks.
- p.* 331, *l.* 2. Orme.
- p.* 331, *l.* 13. The Newayeteh Nabobs is the appellation by which Sadut Oolla Khan, Dost Ally and Sufdur Ally are known in the Deccan. The Newayetehs are a distinct race of Mahomedans, and said to have been driven from Arabia, to seek refuge on the western shores of India, in the eighth century.—See Wilks, vol. *i*, p. 242.
- p.* 331, *l.* 25, Mahratta MSS.
- p.* 332, *l.* 8. *Seyr-ool-Mutuakhereen*, and Stewart's *History of Bengal*.
- p.* 332, *l.* 27. Mahratta MSS.
- p.* 332, *l.* 40. Original letters, and Mahratta MSS.
- p.* 333, *l.* 2. Sukaram Bhugwunt Bhokeel, Koolkurnee of Hewra, and the descendant of Puntogee Gopinat, who betrayed Afzool Khan into the hands of Sivajee, was the principal minister at the period when the British government first took an active part in the politics of the Poona Durbar, and is best known by his familiar name of Sukaram Bappoo.
- p.* 333, *l.* 17. Mahratta MSS.
- p.* 333, *l.* 19. Second-in-command under the Peishwa.
- p.* 333, *l.* 28. Rupees 16,51,636. (Original papers).
- p.* 334, *l.* 1. I mention these names as necessary in common conversation with the natives of India. A native of Maharashtra, for instance, only knows them by the name of Giljya, whilst Afghans generally are merely distinguished as Patans.
- p.* 334, *l.* 35. *Seyr Mutuakhereen*.
- p.* 335, *l.* 5. *Khuzaneh Amirah*, &c.
- p.* 335, *l.* 18. Mahratta MSS.
- p.* 335, *l.* 31. He was for some time afflicted with that harmless silly madness, which is sometimes ludicrous, even whilst it excites commiseration. It first appeared on an occasion when he had to receive a visit from two Mahratta surdars in full durbar, by his dressing out his favourite dog in gold brocade, covered with jewels, and putting his own turban on the dog. He never resumed any covering for his head after he recovered his senses. This dog had once saved his life when hunting a tiger, and, amongst other freaks, he issued sunnuds, conferring a

jagheer upon him, and entitling him to use a palanquin, in all which the raja was humoured, and the palanquin establishment literally kept up.

p. 335, *l.* 34. Shao had some wit, and his reply to a letter received about this time from Raja Jey Sing of Jeypore, shows that he retained it to the last. The raja asks what he had performed for the Hindoo faith, and what charities he had bestowed. "I have," replies Shao, "conquered from the Mussulmans the whole country from Rameswur to Delhi, and I have given it to the Bramins."

p. 337, *l.* 19. The following letter from Sewdasheo Chimnajeo to the Peishwa recommends his usurping the power at once. After compliments,—“It seems impossible to judge of what will be the result of all this. The Bye’s doings are not to be depended upon; keep continually on your guard. The Bye is not a person to blunder in that which she sets about. Let nothing induce you to act contrary to what has hitherto been professed, or let any thing appear respecting your intentions; but, in the event of the raja’s decease, you must take the upper hand of all. Whilst the raja is in existence, do not allow so much as a grain of oilseed to appear different in your conduct. As matters proceed, continue to write to me constantly. Despatched 16th Shuwal.”

p. 338, *l.* 11. This of course, if once admitted, gave the Peishwa, as the raja’s delegate, entire power over many of the jagheerdars, and, in every instance of succession, the right of investing the new jagheerदार.

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p. 340, *l.* 20. I have not been able to ascertain the date of Ranoojee Sindia’s death. By a history of Sindia’s family, procured for me by Major Robert Close, the resident envoy with Dowlut Rao Sindia, it appears that the event happened at Shujahlpoor, but the date is not recorded. [Ranoji, founder of the House of Sindias, died on 3rd July, 1745 at Shujalpur, which is about 30 miles from Bhopal. *Ed.*]

p. 342, *l.* 6. When Bramins rise in the world, they generally drop their father's name, unless they were very great men. For instance, Sewdasheo Chimnajee, had his father been a person of no note, would have styled himself Sewdasheo Punt; Ramchundur dropped his father's name, Mulhar, when he became a great man.

p. 343, *l.* 19. Mahratta MSS.

p. 343, *l.* 28. Khuzaneh Amirah, Suroo Azad, and Mahratta MSS.

p. 344, *l.* 30. Or Rookun-ud-Dowlah.

p. 344, *l.* 40. Mahratta MSS., Orme, Khuzaneh Amirah, &c.

p. 345, *l.* 16. Gonedulees are a low caste of musicians, in the house of one of whom Ram Raja had been first concealed.

p. 346, *l.* 19. In consequence of this treachery, it is said that Dummajee ever after refused to salute the Peishwa, except with his left hand.

p. 347, *l.* 12. Original letter from a spy in the service of Tara Bye, to Govind Rao Chitnees.

p. 347, *l.* 13. Copy of original letter to the raja of Kolapoor.

p. 347, *l.* 38. The Mahratta army was encamped at Rajapoor on the bank of a river which I am inclined to think is Rajapoor on the Ghore river, not far from the spot which was long a cantonment of the Bombay army. Only one man of any consequence was wounded—Baboo Rao, the son of Rammajee Punt Mahdoo Bhanoo—by a cannon-ball in the foot; from this circumstance, and the Mahrattas not having suffered materially, it is evident that their account is correct, and the surprise was incomplete; if the French had got close, they would have used grape or cannister, which, independent of the still more destructive musquetry, would have *told* both on the men and horses.

p. 348, *l.* 16. This Koneir Trimbuck afterwards led the assault at Hooly Onore and escaped, but was shot through the head when standing with Sewdasheo Chimnajee Bhow, in Monsieur Bussy's batteries, before Savanoor, in May 1756. His relations were handsomely provided for by jagheer assignments.

p. 349, *l.* 31. Mahratta MSS.

p. 350, *l.* 19. *Seyr Mutuakhereen.*

p. 350, *l.* 25. Forster's *Travels.*

p. 350, *l.* 37. *Seyr Mutuakhereen.*

p. 351, l. 10. Mahratta MSS., where his letter is given.

p. 351, l. 20. *Seyr Mutuakhereen*.

p. 351, l. 24. Forster's *Travels*. The Mahratta MS. in this part merely says that Holkar interceded with the vizier for the Rohilla's, and made peace between them: the writer of a Mahratta MS. would probably leave the article of the bond, or some equivalent, to be understood as a thing of course.

p. 351, l. 28. *Seyr Mutuakhereen*.

p. 351, l. 33. Mahratta MSS.

p. 352, l. 18. Mahratta MSS., and *Khuzaneh Amirah*.

p. 352, l. 36. Mahratta MSS., *Hudeequ-i-Alum*, *Khuzaneh Amirah*, Orme.

p. 353, l. 8. Mahratta MSS., *Khuzaneh Amirah*, &c.

p. 353, l. 13. Mahratta MSS. Mr. Orme, following a common, but certainly an unnatural, supposition, states that he was poisoned by his own mother—a mistake which may perhaps have arisen from not being aware that all Nizam-ool-Moolk's sons were by different mothers, except Ghazee-ud-deen and Nasir Jung, who were full brothers. Colonel Wilks mentions that the poison was administered by the mother of Sulabut Jung; and Mr. Mill, without adverting to the relative situations of Aurungabad and the Moghul capital, because the author of the *Seyr Mutuakhereen* is better informed regarding the affairs of Delhi, and because the murder of Ghazee-ud-deen was favourable to the French, accuses both of patriotic credulity, and rejects the story of the poison. That the fact is not stated in Persian MSS. is easily accounted for; the authors wrote under the government of Nizam Ally, of whose mother, whether true or false, but especially true, such a story would have cost them their lives. The *Seyr Mutuakhereen* may be cited as written far beyond the stretch of his power, but its information is avowedly derived from the works of Meer Gholam Ally, written in the Deccan.

The author of the *Seyr Mutuakhereen*, in some extracts regarding the Mahrattas, seemed to me to misunderstand the *Khuzaneh Amirah*; but as I never saw the entire original of the former, the supposed errors may be those of the translator, not of the author.

p. 354, l. 4. Orme, *Hudeequ-i-Alum*, *Khuzaneh Amirah*.

p. 354, l. 7. Orme.

p. 354, *l.* 12. Grant's Political Analysis. The native historians do not agree with Mr. Grant respecting the French management of the Northern Circars, but his authority is quite conclusive.

p. 358, *l.* 8. The amount originally paid by Dummajee is invariably stated, both in Persian and Mahratta MSS., at upwards of a crore, or ten millions of rupees; but the above is extracted from the state accounts found at Poona. Besides the annual payment of 5,25,000 rupees, it appears, by these accounts, that Dummajee Gaekwar paid during the time he was at Poona, in the season of 1752-53, nuzurs, and exactions amounting to 1,10,000 rupees; of which one lakh was equally divided by the Peishwa, Sewdasheo Rao Bhow, Runchundur Baba Shenwee, and Gopika Bye Rastia, the Peishwa's wife. Nana Poorundhuree got 5,000 rupees, and 5,000 rupees probably went amongst the inferior servants. In the ensuing year he paid in all 7,90,000 rupees.

p. 358, *l.* 22. It is generally stated that Dummajee was not released until he gave up Dubhoy to Rugonath Rao; but he was in Guzerat, and had prepared his troops by the time Rugonath Rao arrived, as appears by an original letter in the possession of Mulhar Ram Rao, Chitnees at Satara.

p. 359, *l.* 11. Mirat Ahmudee; but the date which that work gives, viz., April 1753, is incorrect. I take the date from the Mahratta accounts; and since writing the above, I have been confirmed in my belief of its correctness, by observing that General Walker, formerly resident at Baroda, repeatedly mentions, in his reports to the Bombay government, that Ahmedabad was taken by Rugonath Rao and Dummajee in 1755.

p. 359, *l.* 27. I was less successful in recovering materials for elucidating the history of Rugonath Rao's expedition, after he quitted Guzerat, than I could have wished, especially as I think there must be some records of it in Hindostan or Malwa, more satisfactory than anything to be found in the Deccan.

p. 359, *l.* 36. The period is termed Shewhust, or frequently Singust, especially by Europeans.

p. 361, *l.* 26. Mahratta MSS.

p. 361, *l.* 37. Orme.

p. 362, *l.* 7. Meer Shahabodeen is frequently mentioned by his father's title of Ghazee-ud-deen, but to prevent confusion I shall retain his original name.

p. 362, l. 11. Intizam-ud-Dowlah was married to the sister of Meer Munnoo, and was the son-in-law, not the son, of Kumur-ud-deen Khan, as mentioned in the *Seyr Mutuakhereen*.

p. 363, l. 10. *Seyr Mutuakhereen*, English Records.

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p. 365, l. 4. Mahratta MSS., *Khuzaneh Amirah*.

p. 366, l. 32. Bombay Records, November 1751.

p. 369, l. 4. Letters from Mr. Bouchier to Mr. Pigot, 25th September 1755; Bombay consultations, 21st January 1756; letter to the Court of Directors, 31st January 1756.

p. 369, l. 9. Despatch from the Madras government to Bombay, 30th November 1755.

p. 370, l. 21. Copy of their proceedings on the Bombay Records. The other officers who sign these proceedings are Captains Knowles, Latham, Speke, and Harrison, of the navy, and Major Chalmers and Captain Skeddy, of the military service.

p. 372, l. 6. Letter from the Madras government, 14th April 1756.

p. 372, l. 14. One MS. states that Ghorepuray made his peace through the agency of Holkar.

p. 372, l. 15. Mahratta MSS. supported by a copy of a letter found in the Poona Records, from the Peishwa to Bulwunt Rao Gunput Mendlee, which alludes to his agency on that occasion.

p. 372, l. 17. Wilks.

p. 372, l. 18. Upon the surrender of Trichinopoly to Nizamool-Moolk in 1743, he was confirmed as jagheerdar of Gooty.

p. 372, l. 26. The scheme, if we are to credit the evidence obtained by Mr. Spencer, who was at Poona as an envoy from Bombay a few months afterwards, originated with the Mahratta court, and the whole intrigue was managed by Amrut Rao, the wukeel of Bulwunt Rao Mendlee.

p. 374, l. 2. I have here gone more into events already well known than may appear altogether necessary, but having deviated in some degree from Mr. Orme's account, and considerably

from that of Colonel Wilks, where my authority is less clear than, under such difference of opinion, I could wish, I shall submit my reasons to the judgment of the reader. Colonel Wilks states that the Peishwa made overtures to Bussy the day after he quitted the camp, and adduces arguments which, without evidence, do not appear to me satisfactory on this point. The Madras presidency were apprehensive that the French might enter Ballajee Rao's service, as appears on the Bombay Records, but on what grounds is nowhere explained. Colonel Wilks also states that the Peishwa sent a corps to protect Bussy; but the Mahrattas who followed him seem to have been entirely Moghul subjects. There is another point of some importance, as it regards a person whose character has always excited attention. Colonel Wilks mentions that M. Bussy was obliged by circumstances to take post at Hyderabad. If the fact be so, it greatly detracts from M. Bussy's reputation. His great merit on that occasion certainly was, as a politician, in exerting the influence he had acquired to maintain his post, facilitate the march of the reinforcement, and preserve opinion in his favor. If he intended to retreat to Mausulipatam, why was one of his first steps to write off for reinforcements both to Pondicherry and Mausulipatam? Had Bussy continued his march to Mausulipatam, he could not have forced his way back to Hyderabad.

p. 374, l. 9. Mahratta MSS.

p. 374, l. 27. Original letters, Bombay Records.

p. 374, l. 35. Mr. Spencer's report of his mission on the Bombay Records.

p. 375, l. 22. English Records. This treaty was published in the appendix to the 5th Report from the Committee of Secrecy.

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p. 377, l. 11. The Mahratta MS. says 36 lakhs, but I here follow Colonel Wilks, as he probably had access to official papers on the subject. The Mahratta MSS. also differ in the account of the manner in which the amount was paid; but although they are circumstantial, and state nothing respecting the subsequent interference of Hyder, I here also prefer trusting to Colonel Wilks.

p. 377, l. 30. Orme.

p. 377, l. 37. Letter from Mr. Pigot, governor of Madras, to Bulwunt Rao and the Peishwa.

p. 378, l. 5. Letter from Ballajee Rao, September 1757.

p. 378, l. 15. The town is known by both names, Kurpa and Kuddapah.

p. 378, l. 17. Orme.

p. 378, l. 28. The Peishwa in one of his letters says, in reducing a district called *Jooahoo* or *Noohooj*; but the word cannot be distinctly read, neither can the situation be ascertained, nor in whose hands the district was when reduced by Wiswas Rao.

p. 378, l. 32. Copy of an original letter from the Peishwa to Bulwunt Rao Gunput Mendlee.

p. 378, l. 38. See Wilks, chap. xii. vol. i.

p. 379, l. 31. It is even probable that the Peishwa may have been a principal instigator in the whole conspiracy about to be detailed, although that does not rest on any direct evidence.

p. 381, l. 9. The body of troops which attacked Ramchundur Jadow was commanded by Mahadajee Sindia, still a very young man, but who had already distinguished himself at the battle fought on the plain between Korygaom and Tullygaom Dum-dairay, 27th November 1751.—Mahratta MSS.

p. 381, l. 19. The exact amount 25,08,223 rupees, 13 annas.—Poona Records.

p. 383, l. 8. For particulars, see Orme, vol. ii. book ix., p. 345.

p. 384, l. 15. His name was Luximon, and the Moghul author exultingly informs his readers that the murder of a Syud was afterwards killed in Sicacole, probably in the battle between Forde and Conflans, in December following, at Peddipore.

p. 384, l. 19. I have come to the above judgment on these dark intrigues from a comparison of Orme, Wilks, Mahratta MSS., the life of Shah Nuwaz Khan, the Khuzaneh Amirah, Hudeequ-i-Alum, and all the authorities wherein the subject is mentioned. Both Mr. Orme and Colonel Wilks state that Shah Nuwaz Khan was under a guard of Sulabut Jung's troops, but though that mode of confinement might have been adopted to prevent unnecessary odium towards the French, and is, in the way Colonel Wilks has stated, very common, the Mahomedan authority is against them.

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p. 385, l. 27. Bombay Records.

p. 385, l. 29. Bombay Records, and Grose's *Voyage to the East Indies*.

p. 386, l. 3. Wilks, and Mahratta MSS.

p. 386, l. 9. Offerings which are made by Hindoo pilgrims, at stated periods, to the idols in many parts of India, and which are afterwards generally considered the acknowledged revenue of the state; these festivals are termed Jatras, when the temples of celebrated deities are visited by votaries from all parts of the country.

p. 387, l. 11. Mahratta MSS., Orme, Khuzaneh Amirah, and Hudeequ-i-Alum.

p. 387, l. 13. Orme.

p. 389, l. 17. Mahratta MSS.

p. 391, l. 10. Poona Records.

Sewdasheo Rao obtained these cessions in four separate deeds—

	Rs.	a.	p.
1. In his own name	1,97,499	5	0
2. In the name of the Peishwa's second son	20,44,115	14	1
3. In the name of the Peishwa's third son	35,02,247	14	0

It is not known in whose name the other sunnud was issued, but the districts and the amount of their revenue are recorded as follows:—

Pergunna Meyhekur	1,73,269	15	2
Pergunna Durrucheeagaom	35,500	0	0
Boolundee Burhanpoor	1,75,000	0	0
Pergunna Purboney	55,524	9	0
Chaloo Pytun and Ambad	52,000	0	0

4,92,294 8 2

Total amount of cession

Rs. 62,36,157 9 3

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p. 393, l. 4. It may not be unnecessary to remind the reader that the person alluded to is Meer Shahabodeen, the son of Ghazee-ud-deen, and grandson of Nizam-ool-Moolk. He is often mentioned in the English records, and in various publications, as Ghazee-ud-deen II. I have thought it best to retain his original name, especially as it ought to be Ghazee-ud-deen III.

p. 394, l. 11. This was the fourth Abdallee invasion of Hindostan, but Ahmed Shah was probably in the army of Nadir Shah, and if so, this was the fifth time he had crossed the Attock.

p. 394, l. 35. Rugoba is the familiar name of Rugonath, and that by which the reader will frequently find this well-known personage mentioned.

p. 395, l. 23. It is said that Adina Beg Khan agreed to hold the provinces of the Mahrattas, paying an annual tribute of 75 lakhs of rupees.

p. 395, l. 37. *Seyr Mutuakhereen*, partly supported by Mahratta MSS.

p. 396, l. 20. Mahratta MSS. and *Tareekh-i-Dukhin*, a Persian MS. in Mr. Erskine's library, written by Boodh Sing, a native of Lahore, at the request of Major James Browne;—a valuable little manuscript. I have not been able to ascertain the date of Jyapa's murder, nor does Sir John Malcolm's report give it.

p. 396, l. 35. He derived his designations of Boondelay and the Jhansee-Wala from his situation.

p. 398, l. 31. I have, after a comparison of the Persian and Mahratta authorities (perhaps on insufficient evidence), rejected the former, wherein it is stated that Holkar was in the Jeypoor country when Duttajee retreated, and that it was at the Sekundra, near Delhi, that he was surprised. The *Tareekh-i-Dukhin* by Boodh Sing follows the Persian MSS., and accounts for Holkar's venturing so near Delhi, by stating that the Afghans had gone to Nagour in pursuit of Junkajee. I should be glad, though a point of no great importance, to be able to present it to my readers with more confidence.

p. 399, l. 18. Abajee Gonedeo, a highly respectable old Bramin, now employed in the judicial department at Satara, was then in

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a civil situation at Sungumnere: he was two days in the Bhow's camp when his army was encamped on the Paira, and gives a most lively description of it.

p. 400, l. 31. Mahratta MSS. and Asiatic Researches, vol. iii., *Seyr Mutuakhereen*.

p. 400, l. 39. *Seyr Mutuakhereen*.

p. 401, l. 2. *Seyr Mutuakhereen*, Mahratta MSS., and Asiatic Researches.

p. 401, l. 4. Mulhar Rao Holkar, in his account of the campaign, asserts that the Bhow placed Wiswas Rao on the throne: the account in the Asiatic Researches, said to be on the authority of Shujah-ud-Dowlah, mentions that such an arrangement was intended; but it seems to be an exaggeration on the part of Holkar.

p. 401, l. 23. Mahratta MSS., Holkar's letter, and *Seyr Mutuakhereen*. All the Mahratta accounts impute Sooruj Mull's defection wholly to the Bhow's misconduct. The Asiatic Researches say that he also was advised by the Mahomedans.

p. 401, l. 35. Asiatic Researches.

p. 402, l. 8. Mahratta MSS. One Mahratta account by Rugonath Yadow, the Buker-Nuwees of the Peishwa, states that they were opposed in fording, but all other authority is against the assertion.

p. 402, l. 16. Mahratta MSS., confirmed by Holkar's own letter.

p. 402, l. 29. Asiatic Researches.

p. 403, l. 5. Holkar's letter.

p. 403, l. 9. Asiatic Researches and *Tareekh-i-Dukhin*.

p. 403, l. 11. One MS. says a crore of rupees.

p. 403, l. 14. Mahratta MSS.

p. 403, l. 18. Oral information.

p. 403, l. 25. Mahratta MSS., Asiatic Researches.

p. 403, l. 28. Oral information; there was a large post (a *run-kham*) erected between the camps by the Bhow, where challenges and duels constantly took place.

p. 403, l. 32. *Tareekh-i-Dukhin*.

p. 404, l. 4. This was the same officer that levied the contribution from the Carnatic, and with whom Mr. Pigot corresponded in 1757. It is mentioned by the author of the *Seyr*

Mutuakhereen that the Rohillahs on this occasion penetrated into the Mahratta entrenchment; this is not stated by Kasseé Punt or Boodh Sing, and is positively contradicted by Naroo Bhugwunt, the Arla Koolkurnee. Of Naroo Bhugwunt I shall take further notice presently.

p. 404, *l.* 7. Asiatic Researches.

p. 404, *l.* 28. On the breaking up of an assembly or *levee*, or even in dismissing an ordinary visitor, rose water, cardamoms, cloves, mace, &c., are first distributed; when the pan leaves and betel are given, it is the signal for departure.

p. 405, *l.* 4. These preparations signified that they were come forth to die.

p. 405, *l.* 14. Kasseé Punt, the same whose well-written account of the campaign is published in the Asiatic Researches by Mr. James Browne.

p. 407, *l.* 37. They ranged them in lines, gave each of the unfortunate wretches a few grains of parched grain, and the Bihishtee (or water-carrier) went along pouring a little water into their palms, after which they were beheaded. Naroo Bhugwunt, koolkurnee of Arla, one of the persons led out to execution, relates his escape in the following manner. He was carcoon in charge of the accounts of a party of Afghans belonging to the Bhow's artillery at the time they left the Deccan. When the Mahrattas attacked their countrymen, the jemadar of the Afghans, Hoossein Khan, who was a person well known, represented to the Bhow that his people were afraid to fight, as they had been assured, both by the Rohillahs and the Abdallee, that they should be executed if they appeared in arms against their own king. He therefore solicited and obtained his discharge; but he assured Sewdasheo Rao that he would return when he could with safety; that he had ate his salt, and regretted his being compelled to leave his service. He afterwards kept up a correspondence with the Bhow, to which the narrator was privy. The Bihishtee, who poured the water into his hand, was the same that had served with Hoossein Khan. He immediately ran to the jemadar, and told him—"Here is our Bramin about to be killed." Hoossein Khan came forward, said something to his countrymen, which the narrator believed was, "he wanted him as a slave," and dragged him violently by the arm towards his tent, where he remained for a

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day. The jemadar then asked him through an interpreter if he would like to stay with him, or go back to the Deccan, to which the narrator replied that "he would like to stay with him." "Tell him he lies," said the jemadar; shortly after he called him on one side, told him in Hindostanee (which he could speak very well when he chose) that a party of horse belonging to a friend of his would escort him 20 kos from camp; the generous Afghan at the same time gave him five goldmohurs, telling him to be careful his escort knew nothing of his having money; and thus they parted. The narrator, after they had gone some distance, bethought him of the jemadar's advice, and conceiving it likely that his conductors might search him, put his gold into his mouth, and shortly after, when they turned round towards their camp, thought his treasure quite secure. But one of their party, more cunning than the rest, had observed him put the money in his mouth, and when his companions had got to a sufficient distance, he set out after the prize. Presently the narrator, who was running on as fast as he could, heard a cry of "Ho! Bohman!" behind him, and, turning round, saw an Afghan with *large eyes* and a *very long* beard in pursuit of him, he stood in terror. "Ho, Bohman!" said he in broken Hindoostanee, "what have you got in your mouth?" and obliged him to give up his goldmohurs; he then told him "to go to the devil," and galloped back to rejoin his comrades.

I believe the old man's narration to be perfectly correct, having at an interval of two years cross-examined him on all the points which I had before noted down.

p. 408, l. 19. The author of the *Seyr Mutuakhereen* says he and his garrison were destroyed, which is a mistake.

p. 408, l. 36. In India the soukars, or bankers, are generally in possession of the first intelligence which in any way affects the state of the money market. The figurative style used in the letter which will follow is by no means uncommon in India when caution is necessary.

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p. 413, l. 15. It consisted of seven or eight articles regarding detention or stoppage of vessels, wrecks, deserters, and the res-

toration of all territory taken from the Seedee by Ramajee Punt. The Seedee afterwards took improper advantage of the protection afforded by committing several acts of violence in the Mahratta territory, of which the English were obliged to mark their disapprobation in the strongest manner.

p. 414, l. 16. The Bombay government appear to have been at least as well-informed as Nizam Ally, and it is much to be regretted they do not oftener mention the Mahrattas. "We well know," say they, in their secret consultation of 14th December 1761, "that Nizam Ally is now near Poona, that the Bramins cannot raise a force sufficient to oppose them, from the backwardness of their own officers (who look upon the situation of Nana's family as desperate), and the low state of their finances; Tara Boy (the Sow Rajah's widow) and all the Morattas at the bottom, are against them, and would show it at a proper occasion."

p. 414, l. 22. Descendant of Dhunnajee Jadow. Jadow of Sindkheir has, I believe, maintained his allegiance to the Moghuls since the murder of his ancestor, Lookhjee Jadow Rao, by the son of Mullik UMBER.

p. 414, l. 40. Mahratta MSS. and Poona Records. Colonel Wilks does not mention this expedition into the Carnatic, and I therefore conclude Mahdoo Rao did not go far beyond the Kistna, if he crossed that river at all.

p. 415, l. 1. 14th Zeehiji A.H. 1175, according to the Mahomedan accounts, which I have adopted, because Sulabut Jung was with the army near Poona. By the English authorities he is said to have been confined on the 18th July 1761.

p. 415, l. 2. 8th Rubbee-ool-Awul A.H. 1177.

p. 416, l. 22. *Khuzaneh Amirah, Hudeequ-i-Alum*, Mahratta MSS.

p. 417, l. 5. He was appointed *Punt Raj Adnya*, an office created during Shao's government, about the period of the revenue arrangement. It was intended as an office of control and inspection under the raja, but it soon dwindled into a mere sinecure; as the latter, and with considerable emoluments, it still exists.

p. 417, l. 18. Mahratta MSS.

p. 417, l. 22. *Hudeequ-i-Alum*

p. 417, l. 34. Mahratta MSS., oral information, *Hudeequ-i-*

Alum, and original letters from Nizam Ally, procured from the raja of Kolapoor. The letters are addressed to Jeejee Bye, the widow of Sumbhaje, who acted as regent during the minority of her adopted son, named Sivaje.

p. 419, l. 6. *Hudeequ-i-Alum*, and Mahratta MSS.

p. 419, l. 7. Mahratta MSS.

p. 419, l. 28. He was accidentally hit by one of his own men before he received his death wound from a party of Mahrattas under Dummajee Gaekwar. Moraud Khan, his rival, is accused of having hired the man who wounded him, but this accusation seems more than questionable. A party of Afghans in Holkar's service, with their usual ferocity, cut off the dewan's head, which they carried in triumph on the point of a spear.

p. 419, l. 34. It is called the battle of Taindulza by the Mahrattas.

p. 419, l. 39. This is the lowest computation in any Mahratta MS. The Moghul historians have not enumerated the loss sustained by Nizam Ally's army.

p. 420, l. 20. Mahratta MSS., original accounts from the Poona Records, and oral information. The Mahratta MSS. state the nine lakhs of rupees withheld as territory taken, and it is only by comparison with both Mahomedan and Mahratta evidence, collated with very intricate and voluminous accounts in the Poona Records, that I have been able to find out and simplify these complicated transactions.

p. 421, l. 29. Wilks.

p. 421, l. 37. Mahratta MSS.

p. 422, l. 29 Wilks, and Mahratta MSS.

p. 422, l. 30. Mahratta MSS. This place (Nurindra) is not found by that name in any map that I have seen.

p. 423, l. 13 Mahratta MSS.

p. 423, l. 32. Wilks.

p. 423, l. 35. Wilks. The only Mahratta MS. where I find any mention of the terms, states 15 lakhs of tribute, and the expenses of the war to be defrayed by Hyder.

p. 423, l. 39. Mahratta MSS.

p. 425, l. 3. The amount restored was rupees 24,50,269 10 annas and 1 pie. (Poona Records).

p. 428, *l.* 26. This is another reason for supposing that there is a mistake of a year in stating Sulabut Jung's confinement on the 18th July 1761. Such a circumstance must have transpired at Bengal long before the 11th December 1761, which is the date of the letter containing the proposal to the Bombay government.

p. 430, *l.* 25. She died on the way to Poona.—Mostyn's Despatches.

p. 430, *l.* 26. Poona State Accounts. Colonel Wilks says 35 lakhs, and that Sera was at that time given up to Hyder in exchange for Gurumconda. Of this last transaction no mention is made in the state accounts, or in the despatches of Mr. Mostyn, resident at Mahdoo Rao's court.

p. 430, *l.* 27. Rupees 16,95,777.

p. 430, *l.* 32. Wilks, vol. *ii.*, p. 16.

p. 430, *l.* 38. Wilks, vol. *ii.*, p. 15. The reader has it in his power to judge of the occasions to which Rookun-ud-Dowlah alluded—first, in regard to Rugonath Rao, and, second, in the late campaign against Janojee Bhonslay.

p. 431, *l.* 7. Wilks, vol. *ii.*, p. 6.

p. 431, *l.* 16. See Colonel Wilks', *South of India*, vol. *ii.*

p. 432, *l.* 13. Tookajee Holkar paid a nuzur, or fee, to the Peishwa's government, on being appointed commander of Mulhar Rao's troops, of rupees 15,62,000. (State accounts, Poona Records.)

p. 432, *l.* 19. The reader, acquainted with the history of British India, will recognise the first appearance of Rugonath Rao's army in Bundelcund as that which occasioned the alarm at Korah during a period of serious commotion.—(See Mill's *British India*, p. 251, vol. *ii.*)

p. 432, *l.* 40. Mr. Mostyn, the British envoy at the court of Poona, says by the mediation "of Sukaram Bapoo." (Secret Despatches, dated Poona, 7th December 1761).

Sukaram, according to his usual duplicity, was intriguing with both parties, that he might at all events be able to retain his

place. He would not incur the risk of interference in a reconciliation which he foresaw would only be temporary. Mr. Mostyn also states that "Mahdoo Rao, instigated by his mother, certainly had intentions of seizing his uncle at that interview;" but as he mentions this on hearsay evidence, respecting an intention, and that too relating to what had taken place prior to his arrival at Poona, although his opinion has been generally followed on this point, I have preferred the authority of the natives of the country, who concur in imputing such a wish to Gopika Bye, but no such design to Mahdoo Rao.

p. 433, l. 17. Mahratta MSS., and Bombay Records.

p. 435, l. 13. Colonel Wilks has overlooked the Bombay letters on this point; Hyder was certainly a master at left-handed diplomacy.—(See vol. ii., p. 117, Wilks's *South of India*.)

p. 437, l. 5. 14th Zilkad, Soorsun 1169. The Bombay Records mention the treaty between the Peishwa and Janojee as having taken place 23rd April; in which, if there be no error in my calculation, they have made a mistake by one month.

p. 437, l. 32. This payment of five lakhs is the only part of the agreement which came to the knowledge of the Bombay government.

p. 438, l. 10. Mahratta MSS., and copies of original agreements from the Poona Records.

p. 438, l. 29. Many years after this period, in a despatch from Colonel Palmer, resident at Poona, 8th June 1798, it is mentioned that Rugonath Rao conferred Sindia's jagheer on Manajee Phakray; but the Mahratta MSS. do not allude to such a transaction.

p. 440, l. 7. That sort of contemplation which the Mahrattas express by the single word Jhep.

p. 441, l. 9. Some say that Mahdoo Rao exacted a heavy fine, besides confiscating the property.

p. 441, l. 24. Wilks.

p. 441, l. 28. Bombay Records.

p. 442, l. 8. Mahratta MSS., and a family legend known to every individual of the clan of Ghatgay, although, in their usual loose way, they mention different names for the fort which was the scene of Nagojee's exploit.

p. 442, l. 12. By a bullet in the hand. Mahratta MSS.

p. 442, *l.* 14. Wilks. The anecdote given by Colonel Wilks of the mutilation of the captive garrison is not preserved in the Mahratta country; therefore, as a mere anecdote, I am not authorized in repeating it, although it is very characteristic of the anger, the violence, and the generosity of Mahdoo Rao. There is, however, an anecdote given by Colonel Wilks, which I must remark, respecting Appaje Ram, vol. *ii.*, *p.* 14. It might do for the licentious court of Poona at any other period, but even if authentic, which I cannot discover, it conveys a wrong impression. Mahdoo Rao would excuse want of form, and even an ebullition of anger, but he never tolerated indecency or impertinence.

p. 442, *l.* 27. Letters from the Bombay deputies, Mr. Richard Church and Mr. James Sibbald, from Hyder's camp.

p. 442, *l.* 33. Mahratta MSS., Bombay Records, Wilks.

p. 443, *l.* 6. Wilks. Mahdoo Rao says, in a letter to the governor of Bombay, 8,000 or 10,000 horse and 45 guns.

p. 443, *l.* 11. His own letters to the Bombay government.

p. 443, *l.* 14. Letters from Mr. Sibbald.

p. 443, *l.* 32. Probably Turry Kaira.

p. 444, *l.* 5. Mr. Sibbald's Reports, and Mahratta MSS.

p. 444, *l.* 11. Manglore and Pargurh on the coast were the places applied for.

p. 444, *l.* 22. Madras Records.

p. 444, *l.* 34. Kolhar, Bangalore, Ouscotta, Balapoor, and Sera.

p. 444, *l.* 38. Wilks mentions only 30 lakhs (vol. *ii.*, *p.* 151), which may be correct, but the Mahratta MS. is here supported by the fact of there being 49,50,000 rupees debited to Hyder in the Mahratta state accounts, at the period of Mahdoo Rao's death, for which, as it is regularly credited, they probably had some collateral security.

p. 445, *l.* 10. Mahratta MSS. This agrees pretty nearly with the statement given by Nujeef Khan to General Barker in May 1773; but by that time Ramchundur Gunnesh had returned with a party of the Peishwa's horse to the Deccan, and the increase may be accounted for by numbers of Pindharees.—(See Appendix No. 21 to the Fifth Report from the Committee of Secrecy.)

p. 445, *l.* 11. Mahratta MSS.

p. 446, *l.* 4. *Seyr Mutuakhereen.*

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p. 446, l. 10. Mill's *History of British India*.

p. 446, l. 25. To my Indian readers it is very unnecessary to explain that *Nuwab* is the Persian word, the plural (as more respectful) of Naib, a deputy.

p. 446, l. 31. Mill's *History of British India*.

p. 447, l. 5. I cannot discover what officer it was.

p. 447, l. 12. *Seyr Mutuakhereen*.

p. 447, l. 16. The amount paid for his assistance is not known, but one-half of the acknowledged profits, upwards of four and a half lakhs of rupees, was credited to the Peishwa. (State accounts, Poona Records.)

p. 447, l. 31. Mahratta MSS., and Bengal Records.

p. 448, l. 5. Mahratta MSS.

p. 448, l. 8. Mahratta MSS., Bengal Records, and Forster's *Travels*.

p. 449, l. 3. Bengal Records, Mahratta MSS., &c., &c.

p. 449, l. 27. See Appendix to the Fifth Report of the Committee of Secrecy of the House of Commons.

p. 449, l. 38. *Seyr Mutuakhereen*. The Mahratta MSS., give them more credit than the Moghul historian; but although he is excessively prejudiced against any person in the shape of an Afghan, the Bengal Records are here in support of the Moghul's testimony.

p. 450, l. 29. Mahdoo Rao was born in August 1744.

p. 454, l. 4. There also was a sur-soobehdar sometimes in Buglana.

p. 457, l. 15. The extra revenue, in *the village* accounts, is properly all revenue over and above the land assessment; for example, the tax on merchants, manufacturers, &c. (called *moh-turfa*); a tax on house; enam tijaee, or one-third of certain enam lands; a tax on pasturage and profits of grass lands; the offerings of pilgrims at religious fairs (or *Juttra*), and a great many other items which are far more numerous, and apparently vexatious than they are important to the state or grievous to the subject. In the village settlement they were enumerated, but brought to account under one head, *Nukta-bab*. The revenue derived from the customs on the exports and imports of a village is frequently included in the village accounts, but of the country generally it is a distinct branch of revenue, as has already been explained.

p. 457, l. 16. The Poona rupee is 12 per cent inferior to the Bengal sicca.

p. 457, l. 39. The late Lieutenant John M'Leod was employed for several months assisted by a great many of the most experienced Bramin revenue officers and accountants, in arranging and examining the accounts of the Peishwa's government; and I am much indebted to him, and to the Bramins who were in his office, for their opinions, and for the valuable abstracts which they from time to time prepared for me.

p. 458, l. 14. By an official list, it appears that, of 449 officers in Mahdoo Rao's army, 93 were Bramins, 8 Rajpoots, 308 Mahrattas, and 40 Mahomedans.

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p. 460, l. 8. Narain Rao was the youngest of the three sons of Ballajee Bajee Rao. Wiswas Rao, the eldest, fell, as may be remembered, at Panniput.

p. 460, l. 32. Mahratta MSS., and Bombay Records.

p. 461, l. 17. The Peishwa's government acknowledged Sahajee as Sena Sahib Soobeh, as he is so styled in an original agreement of four articles, by which he becomes bound to fulfil the conditions of the agreement entered into by Janojee.

p. 461, l. 27. Durya Bye was probably actuated by Sabajee's having been acknowledged as Sena Sahib Soobeh, which, if admitted, at once set aside her pretensions as guardian.

p. 461, l. 32. Mahratta MSS.

p. 461, l. 35. Mr. Mostyn's Report.

p. 462, l. 5. In consequence probably of this neglect, Hurry Punt, it would seem, was accused of being one of the partizans of Rugoba, which decidedly was not the case.

p. 464, l. 9. It was given out that this domestic was actuated by motives of personal revenge, in consequence of having been publicly flogged by Narain Rao's orders. He was executed for the murder of Narain Rao several years afterwards by Nana Furnuwees.

p. 464, l. 26. Mahratta MSS., Mr. Mostyn's despatches.

p. 464, l. 31. A few of his original letters, generally written to

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Parwuttee Bye, the widow of Sewdasheo Rao, found amongst the Poona Records, bear testimony to that trait.

p. 465, *l.* 3. "Native newspapers." Narain Rao had indeed "a gazette to himself," but far different from his brother's anticipation.

p. 465, *l.* 29. Madoc was one of the earliest of those European adventurers who rose to consequence in the immediate service of the native states. He was considered by the natives a brave soldier but an indifferent officer, incapable of acting as a chief-in-command, and of a faithless character.

p. 466, *l.* 8. Appendix to the Fifth Report of the Committee of Secrecy, Bombay Records, and Mahratta MSS. The *Seyr Mutuakhereen* gives a very confused account of these transactions at Delhi, which does not agree with any of the authorities above quoted.

p. 467, *l.* 6. Rugonath Rao used a large brass gun on this occasion, called *Maha Kalee* (the goddess of destruction), which is now at Poona, and which throws a ball *a long way*, as I fancy some of my readers could testify.

p. 467, *l.* 7. Besides, all Hindoos are very particular in regard to water, and always prefer drinking from a running stream.

p. 467, *l.* 11 The following extract from one of Mr. Mostyn's despatches is a specimen of the invention of the day:—"Since closing my address to the committee" (the select committee of the Bombay government is meant), "I have learnt that a party of the Nizam's foot approached quite close to Rugoba's tent undiscovered, and were taken for his own guard, who by some means were absent that night. On their endeavouring to enter the tent, some of the servants found them out, and alarmed the camp. They were then obliged to fly as fast as possible; however, one cut through the tent walls, and made a blow at Rugoba, which took just below his right shoulder, cut four inches down the arm, and half through the bone. Afterwards a firing commenced, when a musquet ball grazed along his left arm, so that he is now lame of both arms, has a fever, and several ulcers about his knee. The elephant with the gold standard" (my readers will recognise the Juree Putka) "the Moghuls carried off; this is looked upon with these people as a most unlucky omen." Mr. Mostyn who had not then much experience in Mahratta polit-

ics, writes all the above as intelligence which he fully credited: he might have stopped his evidence when he came to such particulars as *the four inches*, which a good member of a punchayet would have done, and extracted valuable evidence, not from the falsehoods spoken, but from what his judgment could clearly interpret as the object of the speaker. Strange as it may appear, it was upon the receipt of the despatch of which the above is an extract, that the Bombay government came to the resolution, in case of the death or deposition of Rugoba, to take possession of Selsette, &c., by force of arms; and I may remark that Mr. Taylor's able letter to the Bengal government, 9th October 1775, founded on Mr. Mostyn's intelligence, is incorrect. Colonel Wilks and Mr. Mill have been led into error from the same circumstance. Rugonath Rao was not defeated.

p. 468, *l.* 6. It was carried by storm 17th September 1773. (Madras Records.)

p. 468, *l.* 12. The nephew or grandson of Bappoojee Naik Baramutteekur, who was married to the aunt of Ballajee Bajee Rao, and who endeavoured, with the support of Rughoojee Bhonslay, to purchase the office of Peishwa in 1740.

p. 468, *l.* 21. Anund Rao Jewajee, commonly called the *Khasgeewala*, from having the charge of all the Peishwa's personal affairs. He was the son of Govind Sew Ram, already repeatedly mentioned.

p. 468, *l.* 21. Hurry Punt Phurkay was of very low origin, having been a common domestic in the family of Trimbuck Rao Dixit, a banker in Poona.

p. 468, *l.* 37. Rugoba and Dada Sahib were familiar or domestic names for Rugonath Rao, as Suddaba and Bhow Sahib were for Sewdasheo Rao Chimnajee. Mr. Mostyn mentions that the impostor was confined in Doulutabad, which is a mistake; he was afterwards removed from Ahmednugur to Rutnaguiry, which I shall have occasion to notice presently.

p. 469, *l.* 22. Mahratta MSS., and Mr. Mostyn's despatches.

p. 469, *l.* 35. Wilks. I follow the Mahratta MSS., and what can be gathered from Mr. Mostyn's despatches, in stating the payment by Hyder to have been prior to receiving the news of the revolution.

p. 470. *l.* 23. I have this anecdote from Appajee Gonedeo, who was present.



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p. 470, *l.* 37. Trimbuck Rao Mama was, as will be recollected, the officer who defeated Hyder three years before.

p. 471, *l.* 12. Mr. Mostyn's despatches describe a stratagem practised by Rugoba on this occasion, but it is not mentioned in any Mahratta account, and besides, from the nature of the ground where it happened, which is a very extensive bare plain, not apparently favourable to the growth of jungle, I doubt the possibility of an ambuscade, such as Rugoba is said to have contrived.

p. 474, *l.* 9. The amount actually ceded, as appears by the state accounts, was rupees 13,23,339-6-1, of which Rookun-ud-Dowlah, the minister, received rupees 1,38,269-10-1.

p. 474, *l.* 18. Mr. Mostyn's despatch, 17th April 1774.

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