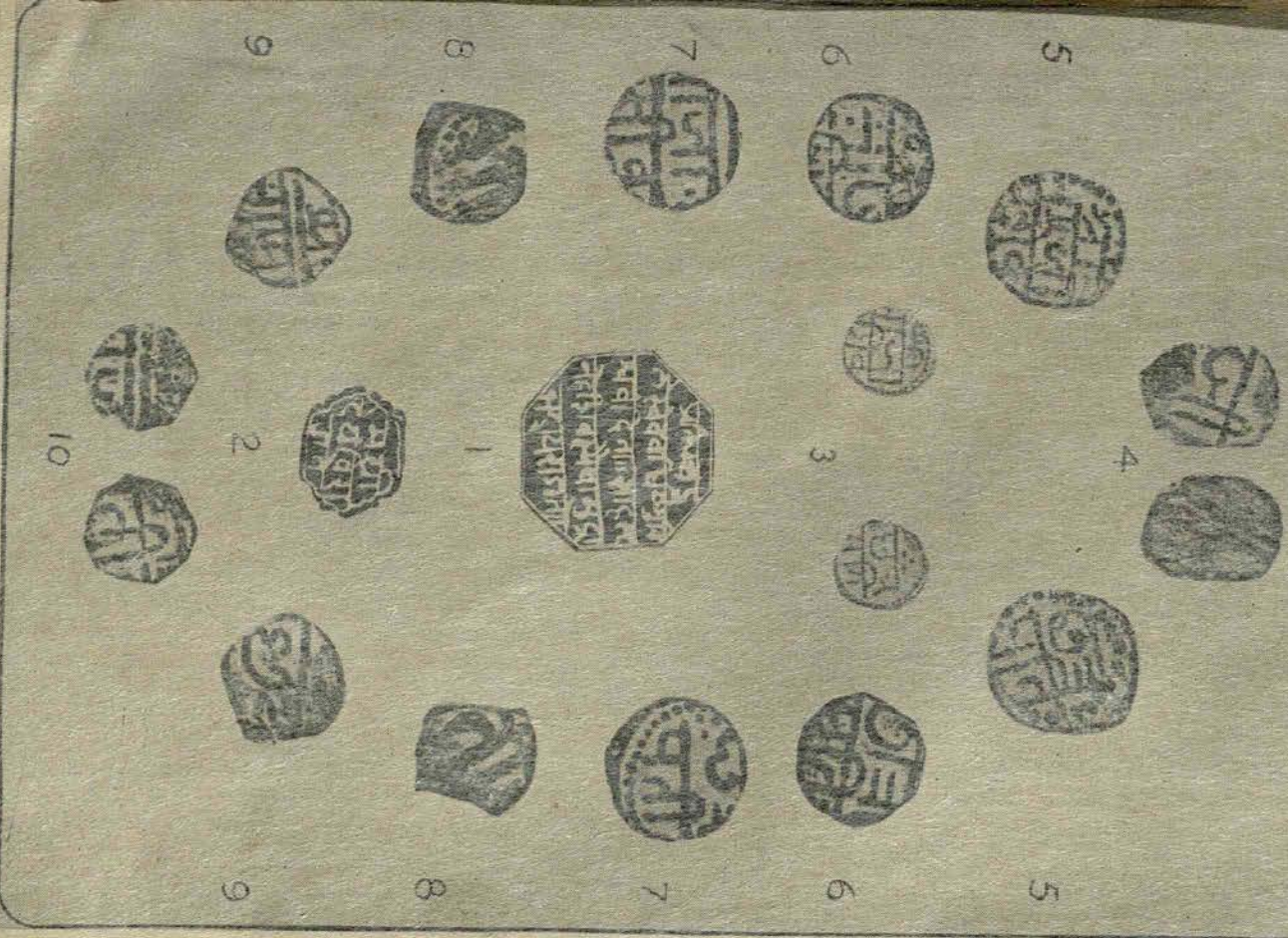




Shivaji's Seals and Coins.



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PREFACE.

WE have great pleasure in presenting to the public this—the sixth—volume of historical papers, on behalf of the *Shiva-Chitra Karyalaya* and in connection with the *Shivaji Tercentenary Memorial Series*. The first five volumes have been to our knowledge largely appreciated by the students of Mahratta History. The present volume, being *English Records on Shivaji*, has special interest and importance, as constituting a very material portion of any source-book containing testimony about Shivaji from foreign sources.

The material of this volume is a logical unit. It covers a very important period of the lifetime of a single personality. And though divided into two parts, with separate numbering for letters and pages for each part, it is presented herewith as one single volume. The division was resorted to solely in the interest of expeditious printing. This, no doubt necessitates reference being indicated in double figures, but the chronological arrangement has saved any further complications.

The seven hundred and twenty nine closely printed pages, include over a thousand letters and eleven extracts from histories and contemporary narratives. It will be noted that travellers' accounts, like those of Dr. Fryer, have not been incorporated, as some of them are included by Dr. Sen in his 'Foreign Biographies of Shivaji' and others by Mr. Rawlinson in the "Source book of Maratha History." About eight hundred (out of a thousand and odd) extracts are herein printed for the first time. The remaining, though included in Sir William Foster's "English Factories in India," are compared with and copied from the original Factory Records, expressly for this volume. About one hundred and fifty extracts made by Dr. Surendranath Sen, of the Calcutta



University, personally, are included in this volume. Thirty extracts are from the collection of the late Mr. S. M. Divekar, who got them copied from the Records of the Bombay Secretariat. These extracts from Dr. Sen's and Mr. Divekar's collections are indicated by prefixing an initial (S) and (D) respectively.

The references are quite simple and explain themselves. The dates are those of despatch and not of receipt. Some margin has, therefore, to be allowed, if the latter date is required. The date of receipt is naturally the date of effect and would be important if the effect of any order or recommendation of policy is to be traced. The date of despatch is, in most cases, more approximate than the date of the receipt, of the news reported, and is important in the matter of sifting circumstantial evidence.

We offer our thanks to Mr. B. G. Paranjape, Barrister-at-Law and Mr. D. V. Kale, M. A. for all that they have done to enable us to bring out this volume on behalf of the *Shiva Charitra Karyalaya*. Our thanks are due to Mr. Paranjape for the initiative he took in making selections of relevant historical passages, from the Factory Records and Orme's Collection, preserved at the India Office. We avail ourselves of this opportunity to offer our thanks to the officers in charge of records of the India Office and especially to Mr. W. T. Ottewill, C. B. E., the Superintendent of Records, for giving Mr. Paranjape every facility in his work, and to Miss L. M. Anstey for doing all she could to make the collection exhaustive and for copying it. But for Mr. Paranjape's presence in London in 1928-29 and the keen interest he took in securing these records, we could not have included the same in our Marathi publications of the last year. We could not have brought out the present volume within a year from the date of the tercentenary celebration of the birth date of Shivaji (according to the new calculation) without Mr. Paranjape continuing to take the same interest in the work.



After getting the transcripts from London, the arduous task of arranging the material in proper order, of supplying the connecting links wherever possible from the printed volumes of the Factory Records and of incorporating relevant passages from Prof. Sen's and Mr. Divekar's collection was undertaken by Mr. D. V. Kale, M. A. Not only did Mr. Kale discharge these onerous duties with characteristic thoroughness, but his enthusiasm for bringing out the volume in a thoroughly scientific spirit was such that he himself undertook and carried out successfully the work of preparing the general index, the index to names of places and the glossary of unusual words. The impressions of coins which appear in the first block were taken by Mr. S. D. Bokil from coins lent by Messrs. Ramchandra Hari Gadgil of Bombay and Dossabhoy Maneckji of Satara. Mr. Kale saw also the whole volume through the press. In these various exacting tasks Mr. Kale was assisted by his colleagues, Messrs. G. H. Khare and S. N. Joshi and his pupils Marathe and Londhe. We offer our grateful thanks to these gentlemen for the assistance which they extended to Mr. Kale in the discharge of the work which Mr. Kale had undertaken on our behalf. We have been in touch with Mr. Kale continuously during the progress of this work and we cheerfully bear grateful testimony to the singleness of purpose and energy, which he brought to bear upon his work day in and day out.

We have incorporated the analytical *Introduction* by Mr. Paranjpe, which shows the study which he has bestowed upon the contents of this volume and the acumen with which he has been able to judge and assess the English material.

To expedite the work of printing, the material was split up into two parts, and the simultaneous printing of both the parts, at the same press, became possible only because of the good offices of Mr. A. V. Patvardhan, who took great personal interest in the publication of this volume and offered all necessary facilities to the *Karyalaya* to expedite the work.



Last but not least, our grateful acknowledgements are due to the *Bhārata Itihāsa Samshodhaka Mandal*, whose resources have proved to the *Shiva Charitra Karyalaya*, a tower of strength, as much as its spirit has proved a source of inspiration.

In conclusion we hope that the present volume will receive the same welcome and appreciation, from the public, as its five predecessors have done, and that we shall be encouraged and enabled to carry out our project of publishing more volumes, of relevant historical materials from Dutch, French and Portuguese Sources, connected with the life and times of Shivaji.

POONA.
Shiva Jayanti,
6th March 1931. }

N. C. KELKAR,
D. V. APTE,
Secretaries, Shiva-Charitra Karyalaya.



INTRODUCTION

" If any portion of history merits more attention than others, it should seem that a period of a revolution in the state or the progress of the foundation of a new one demand the strictest investigation. Shivaji was the founder of the Mahratta Dominion, in the peninsula of India, and hitherto we have no account, either sufficiently accurate or sufficiently connected to follow his life."

Thus wrote Robert Orme on the 26th of June 1779. His first attempt to collect such accurate and connected account about Shivaji is embodied in his volume 174 which in this collection is no (533 Vol. II). This search he followed up by collecting such information as was then available for him at the India House. He read all the necessary Factory Records and marked out the passages which had according to him some bearing on the life of Shivaji. The passages were subsequently transcribed and arranged for him under separate heads. This is, Orme vol. 114. He also tried to collect contemporary information about the times and the life of Shivaji from other private sources. Robert Orme continued his researches far and wide; he wrote to Sir Charles Mallet at Poona to supply him with a picture and the early history of Shivaji and some account of Shahaji. He also collected such information as he could trace from Portugese, Dutch and French sources (Nos. 534-541). Orme's work has been the foundation of all the attempts—as also of this one—which have so far been made to gather an accurate and connected account of the life and times of Shivaji from English and European sources. There are a few passages in Orme's collection (114) which cannot now be traced back to the originals, as the originals have been lost and but for Orme's pioneer work we would have been deprived the use of these for all time. Our grateful thanks are due to Orme's indefatigable labour in saving the extracts for posterity.

With the collection of Robert Orme as a guide, I tried to trace the originals, and read some of the Factory Records to make sure that Orme had not left out such material as would



be found relevant, by a student who had studied Mahratta history from Marathi sources. My attempt has been to include such additional relevant passages in this collection. Such passages were marked out with the assistance of and copied by Miss L. M. Anstey who has worked on 17th century Indian History with Sir William Foster, Sir Richard Temple and others. Miss Anstey can be said to be a living repertory of India Office Records for the 17th century. She has waded through the old records to make sure that nothing which should have been incorporated in the collection was left out; and thus the collection has been made as exhaustive with regard to matters of political importance as I could then make it.

This does not exclude the possibility of improving upon the work by researches into these records made with some other objectives suggested by the study of this or such other collections from Mahomedan or Marathi sources. Such additional information suggests a few new points for inquiry and passages which were once thought to be unimportant become relevant. In this collection about a hundred such passages are reproduced from Prof. Sen's personal collection and are marked (S) for identification. Prof. Sen had copied out these passages from the Factory Records in London. The late Mr. S. M. Divekar was allowed to copy extracts from the Bombay Secretariat Records and few passages from his collection are also included in this volume and marked (D) for identification. Some passages from printed books also find a place in this work in order to make the collection complete.

This selection is made with an eye only on topics of political importance. Anybody trying to write the social, religious or the economic history of the times of Shivaji will have to go through the records over again for himself. The problems of transport and ammunitions will necessitate yet another study of the records as these problems must have been the principal governing factors in deciding the fate of Shivaji's campaigns. I am well aware, therefore, that there are other points of view with which the Factory Records will bear study even for the history of the life and times of Shivaji and am fully alive to the fact that there are Portuguese, Dutch, French, Mahomedan, Marathi and other sources which are yet to be tapped and



studied exhaustively before we can claim to have done, what Robert Orme set out to do i. e. presented to the public a sufficiently accurate and sufficiently connected account of Shivaji.

Before trying to examine the collection with a view to see what position it holds in the materials dealing with the life and times of Shivaji it is necessary to state in brief the nature of the Records preserved at the India office.

The Factory Records :—

The factory records are the early records of the proceedings of the East India Company's Agents and Factors in the East in their endeavours to establish factories and promote the trade of the English. They are arranged according to the particular factories which they relate but it should be noted that separate records do not exist for everyone of the numerous factories of the E. I. Co. in the 17th century. For, many of the minor factories did not send home their proceedings to England and particulars relating to them are to be found principally in the proceedings of those principal factories to which they were subordinate such as Surat, Bombay, Fort St. George etc. The Factory records range in period from the early establishment of individual factories to round about 1708 from which time the proceedings are embodied in the series "Presidency Records". The nature and importance of the factory records is brought out clearly by the following quotation.

"The distance separating the company from its servants in the East and the jealous care with which it supervised their actions necessitated full explanation by correspondence, while the system of administration in the company's settlement and territories, which from the first took the form of a council, also favoured a full disclosure of the motives underlying every decision of importance. In its final development, proposals were largely made in written minutes, which often, in controverted questions, provoked equally argumentative minutes of dissent; and these were entered at full length upon the records of council meetings (termed 'consultations' or 'proceedings'), transcripts of which were regularly sent home. In early days these were accompanied by separate volumes containing copies of letters received or sent; in later times such correspondence was either entered on the Consultations or in cases of special



importance transmitted as enclosures to despatches. Since equally careful, though more concise, records were kept at home of the proceedings of the court of directors and of the various committees into which it divided itself, it is obvious that, had the archives of the East India House survived their entirety, we should now be in possession of full information regarding the transactions both at home and abroad. But during the greater part of the company's existence little heed was paid to the value of records for historical purposes, and the preservation of any particular series depended chiefly on its practical utility in relation to current work. Fortunately, in most cases this was sufficiently great to ensure the retention of those on which the student is likely to set chief store."

These records chiefly consist of Diaries and consultations of the Council, copies of letters sent and received, and stray diaries and letterbooks of particular individuals. As indicated in the above extract the records are far from complete and are not in many cases well-preserved. The latter circumstance explains the leaving of numerous blanks in the following selections. Our selection refers to the years between 1659 and 1680 and the following table abstracted from Sir W. Foster's Guide shows the nature of the material available for that period for the factories from whose records the selections have chiefly been made.

Surat.

Consultations (with several gaps.) 1660-66; 1669-79;

Copies of letters sent. 1662 (with gaps); 1663-66; 1671-85 (with gaps.);

Copies of letters received: 1662-66; 1668-75 (with gaps) 1677-85;

Rajapur.

Copies of letters sent; 1659-60 (1 vol.)

Karwar.

Miscellaneous 1666 and 1717 (1 vol.)

Bombay.

Consultations etc:—1669-70; 1672-81.

Copies of letters sent:—1670; 1672-82.

Copies of letters received:—1670; 1678-82.



Miscellaneous.

Abstracts of letters from Persia, Surat, Gombroon etc.
1663-72.

Abstracts of letters from Surat, Bombay and Persia,
1675-1707.

O. C.:—The full title of this collection is "Original correspondence from India, with collateral documents, originating at any place between England & Japan." It contains letters and proceedings relating to all the Company's factories received by the Company. Though, copies of letters despatched to England from the various factories will also often be found under those headings in the Factory Records.

Letter Books:—These volumes contain copies of letters written by the Company to their various settlements in the East and also certain home correspondence.

Journals & Logs:—From the earliest days it was the rule that the commander and other principal officers should keep a full account of the voyage, to be handed in on return. Large numbers of these journals and logs have been preserved.

Dutch Records:—These are transcripts from the archives at the Hague obtained by Mr. Danvers in Holland in 1893-95. They range over the whole of the Dutch Indies, but relate mostly to points of contact with the English. They relate entirely to the 17th century.

There are also included in the selection some extracts from the documents preserved in the Public Records Office, London. The records selected from Sir W. Foster's English Factories Series have been marked E. F.

Here we are publishing for the first time more than a thousand extracts from the letters and dispatches of contemporaries of Shivaji bearing on matters dealing with the life and work of Shivaji. The writers are writing about things which they had occasion to know personally or about things which they heard and they reported these because it was their business to do so. We have tried to preserve the old spelling and punctuation. In this record have been preserved also all the adjectives heaped from time to time on Shivaji so that students of history may be in a position to trace the several stages in



contemporary public opinion between the "rebel" Shivaji and the crowned king.

Since these correspondents are narrating what they personally saw or heard when the things reported were actually happening round them we need not hereafter rely in order to present a sufficiently accurate and sufficiently connected account of such matters as are included herein on Chronicles Marathi or Mahomedan. Most of the Chronicles were written long after the events they record and are utterly lacking in historical perspective, are dominated by the idea of the miraculous and do not attempt at achieving accuracy either in fixing dates or in narrating incidents. They are also mostly vitiated by bias. Some of the papers which are printed here are nothing less than the letters and correspondence of the actors themselves or of those who were in immediate contact with them written at the time when the events reported were happening or as a part of the incidents themselves. This is first class material and anything else said or written subsequently from reports heard must rank lower. The writers of several letters are often times reporting things which they have only heard but these are contemporary reports and while appraising them as such they must have precedence over reports which have been subsequently collected.

The letters which are published here, were mostly exchanged between the parties in strict confidence in the course of and as a part of their regular work. The correspondents had not the slightest idea that their writings would ever be studied as materials for writing Maratha history. So at the time of writing these letters there was not present to the writer's mind any idea of writing for effect or for posterity. These letters were simple business letters in which a few facts are recorded as and when they occurred with such expression of opinion as is usually to be found when one partner of a firm writes to another partner who is at some distance, or the agents of a firm write to the head office and try to give them a true picture of the situation with which they have to deal. They had also to report such news as they heard in the course of their business so as to keep one another and also the head office well informed. But this they frankly stated to be news and nothing more.



This collection is made with the main object of bringing in one volume all the relevant correspondence which is now available at the India Office and has direct bearing on the life or the times of Shivaji. Thus all letters, from persons who took part in the several dealings with Shivaji and his officers and letters wherein the agents of the company have expressed their opinions on persons and things in general or reported some current news have been printed here. Before assigning to this record its proper place in the materials for the history of Shivaji the whole collection must be sifted bearing the following considerations in mind.

(i) Whether the fact reported is from personal knowledge or from current report.

(ii) If the correspondent is reporting things from personal knowledge, we have (a) further to see what opportunities he had of knowing things and (b) how he has used the opportunity and (c) whether he is a faithful narrator of things and (d) whether his outlook on things and men is coloured by any bias.

(iii) If the writer is reporting things merely as current news, it is necessary to examine the source of this report and to see if it is corroborated anywhere by some more reliable information.

(iv) When a correspondent is giving expression to some views, we should try to see for ourselves the grounds which he had to arrive at that conclusion and also take note of his prejudices and prepossessions.

Looking at the letters from this point of view it should be stated that the writers are fairly faithful narrators of events, and as they reported things to their superiors and as at times the superiors corrected the reports, this is no doubt a faithful record of those things in which the writers were immediately concerned. These contemporary writings are of material help to history when the writers of the several letters are themselves the actors in these events and especially when they are written during the course of the transactions or soon after. Thus the looting at Rajapure, Hubly, Carwar, Surat, Dharangaon, or the events at Shivaji's coronation or at Hendry Kendry are upto



a point correctly reported accounts but they must be subjected to such tests as have been laid down above and compared with testimony, of equal or greater authenticity. Then, there are opinions expressed about things in general and reports about Shivaji which are to be tested to see whether they are honestly formed and held with some justification. These reports were communicated by one factory to another and with a view to ascertain the truth or falsehood about them. From these reports the factors themselves seem to have drawn the following conclusions regarding Shivaji's movements :—

Shivaji's plans were very cleverly laid and very secretly carried out and untill the plans were actually carried out they were not known even to his nearest attendants. Shivaji used to spread false rumours about his movements and also used to take a few false moves in order to divert the attention of his enemies and drive them to follow a false scent and further reports had made him an "airy body". That being the case, there were several alarms about his approaches which often times proved to be unfounded. That is why, even though, Surat or Bombay used to criticise the information supplied by Rajapore or Carwar as incorrect, they frankly admitted it and said "this is what we hear not as truth" and communicated the same as part of their duty.

The 17th century was not an era of territorial expansion in the history of the East India Company; it was the factory era. Therefore, the letters are plain and business—like and written solely with the object of rendering some assistance to the commerce of the company. The writers do not seem to have taken the least trouble to ascertain any facts or names or dates or even the correct sequence of events. Their one concern was the pursuit of their trade, and its immediate advancement to which they kept very closely. Thus, though the information which we glean from the records is very scrappy, the writers do not send us on any wrong scent as they never tried to embellish the same and as it was being constantly checked. Bias has at times coloured the view of writers and analysing the whole record the following conclusions can safely be laid down regarding this :—

- (i) Carwar had throughout a bias against Shivaji.



(ii) Surat was torn between two interests viz. (1) trade with the Mogal and (2) trade in Shivaji's country. Though they try to keep fair, they had leanings towards the Mogul.

(iii) Bombay and Rajapore came firstly in opposition to, afterwards in closer touch with Shivaji and his officers. With a communication and touch of nearly twenty years they came to have high regard for Shivaji but not for his officers. with closer touch their opinions and views about Shivaji were continuously improving.

With these preliminary remarks and before I examine the records more closely to ascertain what contribution this collection will make to research about Shivaji's times I think it necessary to mention the objects with which we tackle this record. The objects are :—

(1) Those incidents in Shivaji's life which the writers report either from personal knowledge or from hearsay.

(2) The contemporary opinion of disinterested persons about Shivaji and his opponents and about the state of affairs at Vijapore Golkonda and The Mogul Court.

(3) Contemporary opinion about the inter relations of the several powers in cooperation with and in opposition to Shivaji.

This collection opens at the end of 1659. Thus, nothing can be discovered in the Factory Records which would throw any light on the early life and the beginning of the rise of Shivaji.

(1) The first incident in Shivaji's life which is reported by the factors at Rajapore is the AfzalKhan incident. It is reported more than a month after the fatal day. There is no mention either of the exact date or of the place where the event occurred. Neither the incidents which led up to the crisis nor the important events which followed it are mentioned. No names of the other persons who took part in the event are mentioned. The report that Shivaji sent his mother as hostage to Afzal's camp is otherwise uncorroborated and obviously wrong. The report mentioned in No 1 that the Queen at Vijapore advised Afzal to pretend friendship with Shivaji because a force of 10000 was not deemed strong enough to overpower him is a wrong report as there is a firman recently discovered and printed which clearly states the command to Afzal by the queen

not only to capture Shivaji but to extirpate him. (Sadhan-Chikitsa pages 287-88.) All the deficiencies are supplied by by the Jedhe Chronology and Shiva-Bhārat.

2 In the subsequent incident of Kolhapur and Panhalla the English had sold granadoes to Siddy Johar, and according to President Andrews, (36) two of them—Henry Revington and Randolph Taylor—were present at the seige and helped in tossing balls. They do not, however, mention Shivaji's escape and his subsequent movements. Though both the factors were personally present, no correct and exact dates are mentioned. Only the year of the incident, can we fix with the aid of these records. This is one of those cases where the writers have not cared to give details about several incidents in Shivaji's life even when they had first-hand information. For example, Rustum Jamma and Fazal Khan defeated by Shivaji are referred to in letter, No. 3 dated 4-2-1660. The exact date of the incident (28-12-1659) is supplied by Jedhe and Shivapur Yadi. The English information that Rustum Jamma was suffered to retire to Hukery is supported by Shiva-Bharat. But giving news about Shivaji was not their principal object; they referred to Shivaji only when contact with him affected them in some way. This leads us to conclude that even when the correspondents are present on the spot, they fail to give us all the details about the incidents they report and thus these reports even by eye-witnesses are often insufficient, indefinite and therefore inconclusive.

3 The Shastakhan incident. There is no mention of Shastakhan's earlier campaign against Shivaji in the Factory records. Only the surprise attack is reported, within a week of its occurrence; but Phillip Gayford who had the information from Raoji Pandit has not mentioned the date and the place of the event. The taking away of Shastakhan's daughter is not mentioned by Phillip Gayford in his three letters (Nos. 60-62-63); nos 62-63 have corrected the report of No. 60. Thus, for about six weeks after the event there was no rumour about the taking away of Shastakhan's daughter in the Deccan where the event took place but Surat gives currency to it. Probably the news gathered some embellishments in its passage from the south to the north and also by lapse of time. The exact



date of the attack on Shastakhan, 5-4-1663, is supplied by Jedhe. Phillip Gyford reports that Raoji Pandit received a letter on 11th, April 1663 from Shivaji "written himself" giving him an account of the Shastakhan incident. That Shivaji used to "write himself" to his ministers about some incidents in his life is no doubt a discovery of very considerable importance. Historians or historical researchers should not be satisfied with any thing less than the discovery of such letters which Shivaji might have written to his ministers or near relatives. This letter incidentally throws fresh light on the question of Shivaji's literacy which I am going to discuss later on more fully. No. 60 is written as a summary of Shivaji's letter, that is why it carries us much further than No. 533 vol. II.

4. Raja Jayasing's expedition against Shivaji was a death struggle for him. Jayasing's preparations were very thorough and he had succeeded in cooping up the forces of Shivaji in a small area. He collected under his banner all the great and small powers who had suffered at Shivaji's hands and yet the first thing which we learn from the Factory Records is that a peace had been concluded between Shivaji and Jayasing. Later, he is reported as fighting against Vijapore, then as being sent to Agra and subsequently as having escaped therefrom. It is useless to expect any exactitude either in dates or in details with this scrappy reporting. The Factory Records do not enlighten us on these points.

The Treaty with Jayasing is mentioned in: (114) dated 25 the August 1665. The exact date is supplied by Jedhe (12 June 1665). Shivaji's imprisonment at Agra is referred to in letter No. (29)—dated 25-9-1666. The date of Shivaji's departure from the Deccan 5-3-1666 is supplied by Jedhe. The exact date of imprisonment (25-5-1666) is supplied by Jedhe. Shivaji's escape from Agra referred to in (133)—The date of the escape from Agra is supplied by Jedhe, 17-8-1666. Shivaji reached Raigad on 20-11-1666 along with Sambhaji. This has been referred to in (135) dated 26-3-1667.

5. Nos. 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78 and so on upto 84 are the accounts from Surat of the first raid on that place by Shivaji. If we try to analyse the accounts rather closely we discover that in the first instance accuracy is by no means a strong

point of the several writers. Examining the dates of arrival and departure of Shivaji mentioned by the several writers we are faced by the following inconsistencies :—

No. of letter	Arrival	Departure
73	6th, night	10th, night
76	6th, morning	10th, 4 p. m.
78	5th, night	12th
79	6th, 11 a. m.	10th, 10 a. m.
83	7th	13th, morning

Nos. 73, 78, 83 ought to have given identical dates but they widely differ in giving the date and the time of departure. Another question which suggests itself while sifting these accounts is how could these writers describe the several incidents so graphically, since all of them were shut up in the factory house. A close analysis of the letters and incidents will show that the only answer to this question is that the writers have filled in the details by relying entirely on Anthony Smith.

The following is a close analysis of the letters.

No 73 Reports Shivaji's arrival and departure and after Shivaji's departure records everything which Anthony Smith had told. "That night the rogue got into the town and began to set it on fire and fell to plundering." "*The men got all safe into the English house.*" Then No. 73 reports about looting going on a round the English house. There is no report about atrocities and cruelties inflicted for money till after the report of departure. The details are obviously filled in afterwards as given by Anthony Smith.

No. 74 is a report of consultation prior to the arrival of Shivaji.

No. 75 gives no details at all.

No. 76 Specifically mentions that Anthony Smith was an eyewitness to several cruelties and then proceeds to narrate them.

No. 76 mentions that Anthony Smith escaped miraculously ; we know that this is not a fact.



No. 78 is a detailed report by the President and Council at Surat to the company dated the 28th January *i. e.* three weeks after the event. There is no report of hands being cut off or of any other cruelty from personal knowledge of the council.

No. 79 The Rev. John L'Escalot reports the arrival in the English house of Anthony Smith on Friday afternoon and remarks "You may be sure each man was inquisitive to know news from Anthony Smith who told us &c." Then of course the incidents are graphically reported.

It is thus clear that it is on the sole testimony of Anthony Smith—unsupported by either Dutch or other records—that various cruelties are attributed to Shivaji as having been inflicted by him for extorting money. Anthony Smith was a despicable wretch and was sent to England to answer for several misdemeanours, one of them being an alleged attempt to betray the Company to Shivaji. It is obvious that we cannot trust to such a personage for the serious charge made against Shivaji and also that quite a number of the details in the English account cannot be accepted with the blind faith with which historians have accepted them hitherto.

Shivaji made Anthony Smith write a note to the company (page 76 line 4) that he had not come to do any harm to the English or other merchants but only to revenge himself on Aurangzeb who had invaded his country and had killed some of his relations and that he would have the English and the Dutch give him some present. This the English and the Dutch actually did when Shivaji came to Surat for the second time. The Dutch Records will throw fresh light on this point and help us to examine the truth or the falsehood of all the statements made in these records. The Rev. John L'Escalot had suggested that Shivaji attacked Surat in order to prevent the Mogul and Vijapore forces joining hands against him. This appears to be a reasonable ground and if that was so Shivaji could not be thought to be so impolitic as to give offence to the English, the French and the Dutch.

6 & 7 Coronation. *The wives of Shivaji.*

Henry Oxinden was present at the time of Shivaji's coronation at Rairy Castle. He reached the place on 22nd

May and left it on the 13th of June 1674. The house where he stayed was at a distance of a mile from the palace. On 26th he had an audience with Shivaji when Shivaji told him that the English might thereafter trade in his territory freely. After the audience he writes on the 27th and on the 30th to Bombay. His narrative of the whole tour is included in this volume. All that he has to say about things which he saw and heard is to be gathered from the two communications and the diary. On the 26th he had an audience with the king, "though busily employed with other great affairs, as his coronation, marriage &c." Shivaji and his son afterwards took their leave of him and retired into their private apartments where they became busily employed with the Brahmins in consultations and other ceremonies. And Oxinden adds, "and I gave his honour &c. an account of my transactions hitherto." This account is the letter of the 27th [No. 480]. In the letter of the 27th appear the following words:— "The Raja was, and is still so busy about his coronation marriage with two other (blank) women that it was yesterday before we had audience &c." This cannot mean that he was married that day to two women. What it obviously means is that on the 26th there were consultations about marriage and other ceremonies going on. On the 29th Oxinden heard about Shivaji's being "Weighed in gold". On 5th June, he had a message to be present at the court on the 6th at 7 A. M. On the 8th he reports "the Rajah was married to a fourth wife without any State or ceremony." He has not mentioned, the date when the plan of marriage with two women suggested in his letter of the 27th was carried out. He is certain about a marriage on the 8th.

There have, so far, been several theories about Shivaji's wives and there have been varying calculations regarding their number. There was an old theory that just as Shivaji went through a formal thread ceremony for the purpose of coronation so he took a new wife in order that there should be a properly crowned queen. But the protagonists of this theory overlook the fact that Shivaji had already two sons—Sambhaji and Rajaram—born to him. If the alleged marriage after the thread ceremony was the proper marriage, and the lady with whom he was married after the thread ceremony was the only lady qualified to be raised to the position of a queen, then the



marriages previously gone through would have been invalid and the progeny not entitled to succeed him. The pundits who had assembled there seem to have appreciated the absurdity of the situation. They, therefore, decided that the proper thing to do was for Shivaji to go through the approved form of marriage with his wives. This view is borne out by a contemporary record called the *Rajyabhisheka-Kalpataru*. The author who says that he was closely watching the several ceremonies with a very critical eye records that Shivaji was married to the "same ladies". (beginning of the third *Shakha* i. e. chapter). Oxinden remarks that the marriage on the 8th was gone through without any state or ceremony. Supposing Shivaji was married to a new wife for the purposes of coronation then it would certainly have been celebrated with some state and ceremony. But these marriages before the coronation with former wives who had already borne children were being gone through over again for the sake of the ritual. Oxinden has not noted in his diary the day on which the marriage ceremony with the two ladies referred to in his letter of the 27th May was gone through. Jedhe chronology mentions that on 30th May Shivaji was married in accordance with the rites of the mantras. This marriage on the 30th appears to have been with two of his wives. The third must have been disqualified for the day on some religious ground. That disqualification being removed she was quietly married to Shivaji in the approved form on 8th June, and she must have been Shivaji's fourth wife in the serial order, his first wife being deceased some years before. So as a result of this discussion we arrive at the following conclusions:—

(1) Shivaji did not marry any new wife for the purposes of the coronation.

(2) After his thread ceremony he went through an approved form of marriage with his former wives who were three in number.

(3) A marriage with one of these took place on the 8th of June and the marriage with the other two took place some time before, according to Jedhe on the 30th of May. Jedhe chronology can not help us to explain whether he was married on the 30th to one or two wives.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar has only referred to *Rajyabhisheka-kalpataru* but does not appear to have used it. The two marriages mentioned by Oxinden he splits up as having taken place on two different dates and to one he gives the date found in Jedhe chronology and to the other the 8th of June; with this distribution how he can make up the number eight is difficult to see. There are now published all the letters of Oxinden. In none of these does he mention the date on which the idea of marriages referred to by him in his letter of the 27th was carried out. The interpretation submitted above does not come in conflict with any facts which are so far established from contemporary records. Sir Jadunath has muddled the whole question.

8. The Capture of Shringarpur is referred to in (26) dated 10 June 1661. The exact date 29-4-1661 is to be found in Jedhe and the details of the incident are fully described in Shiva Bharat. Sir Jadunath is forced to borrow the details wholesale from Shiva Bharat in spite of his strong prejudice against the book.

9. Shahaji's imprisonment for two days is referred to in (67) dated 20th July 1663.

10. The raid on Rajapore : one particular detail referred to in (79) viz. "digged up the English House for treasure" is described in identical terms by Shiva Bharat and the Dag Register; The date of the raid is approximately supplied by the Dag Register.

11. Letter No. 99 dated 14-12-1664. and Letter No 107 dated 14-3-1665. These letters when read together give the following results. However, Jedhe and Shivapur must be brought in to supply the connecting links :—

25-11-1664 Shivaji lays the foundation of Sindhudurga. (Patre Yadi 421).

8-2-1665 "Shivaji starts on the Barsilore expedition According to Shivapur Yadi and letter No. 107.

13-2-1665 Present at Gokarna for Shivaratra. (No. 107)

22-2-1665 Shivaji comes to Carwar (107)

The exact date of the capture of Bisnur is not available (107).



23-2-1665 He departs from Carwar. (107)

Hubly taken letter dated 14-12-1664.

12. No. 178 dated 23rd January 1670 reports "Shivaji again engaged in arms against Aurangzeb" The exact date of *Shivaji taking Singhgad* thus demonstrating that the peaceful relations between him and Aurangzeb were broken is 4-1-1670. Sir Jadunath Sarkar's remark regarding the renaming of the Fort Kondana, Singhgad on that day (page 168. 3rd edition) is based on fiction. His non-acquaintance with Marathi materials landed him into this inaccuracy because Rajwade's Vol. VIII. mentions this fort as Singhgad in letter No. 12 dated 3-4-1663.

13. No. 200 dated 5-7-1670 reports " Shivaji has taken Mahuli". Shivapur Yadi gives 16-6-1670 as the exact date.

14. No. 250 dated 13-12-1670 reports raid on Karanja. Jedhe gives Margashirsha as the month (November).

15. No. 256 dated 6-2-1671 reports the capture of Salher. The incident took place in January 1671 according to Jedhe and Deshpande chronology.

16. No. 307 dated the 21-6-1672 reports the taking of Jewhar by Moropant. The exact date is supplied by Jedhe which is 5-6-1672.

17. No. 322 dated 18-10-1672 describes the desertion by Siddy Hilal and Jadhavrao from Mogul forces. This corroborates Parnalparvatgrahanakhyān (पर्णालपर्वत ग्रहणाख्यान) canto II verses 43/44

18. No. 392 dated 15-9-1673 reports Shivaji's taking Satara. The exact date is supplied by Jedhe which is 27-7-1673.

19. No. 450 Narayan Senvi's letter dated 4-4-1674 reports Prataprao's death. According to Shivapur Yadi Prataprao was killed on the 24-2-1674.

20. No. 85 II. dated 8-5-1675 reports Shivaji taking Ponda. castle. No. 82 II. reports Rustum Jamma going to help Ponda-the letter is dated 22 April 1675; according to Jedhe the fort was stormed on 17th April 1675. The letter of 3-5-1675 reports Shivaji having possession of two outward

posts. The exact date must be fixed with the help of some more reliable authority.

The capture of Ponda was a great success for Shivaji. Shivaji had to put up a very great fight and he presented to each man half a Sir of gold who would go up the ladder. But why is it to be inferred that the attempt was "forlorn" merely because he was giving a big present as an inducement. Letters 80-85 will convince anybody that Sir Jadunath's adjective "forlorn" is misplaced.

21. Vol. II. No. 282 dated 9-5-1677 reports Shivaji's alliance with Golconda. Jedhe supplies the month (Phalgun), February-March No. 539 Vol. II is from the pen of an eye witness of Shivaji's visit to Hyderabad but he does not mention the exact date.

22. No. 234 Vol. II reports Sherkhan being routed by Shivaji on 26-6-1667. The letter is dated 27-6-1677. Fort St George has the given exact date and the report is also prompt. Jedhe does not mention the exact date.

23. Shivaji's death. The only occasion when the factors seem to have made an attempt to determine the exact date is the date of Shivaji's death. The letter is dated the 28th April 1680 "It is now 23 days since he deceased". According to Jedhe the date is 3-4-1680. The chaitra full moon did not extend to Sunday. Sir Jadunath's attempt to back Sabhasad in preference to Jedhe is misplaced. The first mention of the events is on 19th April, and even while making attempts to give the correct date Bombay did not say that Shivaji died on a particular day.

Literacy :—"Shivaji could never write his name" is a categorical assertion of James Grant Duff. In this collection there are about eight references which have a direct bearing on this question of literacy.

(1) No. 53 "Showing us with all a writing from his master with his own chop and others accustomed to it as also the print of the Raja's hand on the top of the paper done with Sandal."

(2) No. 60 "yesterday arrived a letter from the Raja written himself to Rougy."



(3) No. 429 "the peace though fully agreed on between the envoy and us—is not yet signed and confirmed by Shivaji".

(4) No. 473 "several writings being sent by Narayan Senvi signed by Shivaji."

(5) No. 198/II "That a letter the Raja sent me signed by himself."

(6) No. 224/II "Having this day received a message and a letter from Shivaji Raja."

(7) No 226/II No. 231/II No. 251/II] are letters from Shivaji.

(8) No. 26—Let "Hossan.....who brings letter for Shivaji inquire where Shivaji is and thither carry the letter and deliver it into his own hands for we fear these Brahmins make letters speak what they please &c."

What no 26 means is that the letter should not be delivered into the hands of the Brahmins because they make the letters say what they like. Therefore, to prevent this the letter is to be placed into Shivaji's hands so that he can read it for himself. The reference to the chop and the print of the hand is regarded by some as the strongest proof of Shivaji's illiteracy; but this was a usual Mahomedan practice and at the beginning of his career he seems to have been following it, just as his officers used to be styled in the Persian style. References 2-7 are unambiguous. They mean one thing and one thing only viz Shivaji could write in his own hand. The three letters referred to in (7) stand in a class apart, they go with (1). When we add to the above references the accounts in the *Tarikh-i-Shivaji* and *Shiva Bharata* the combined effect of all these, points towards the view that Shivaji could write and used to send autograph letters. One such reference to an autograph letter is found in Dutch Records Vol 29 no 763, where the Dutch factors refer to an autograph letter to the French Factory. Sir Jadunath Sarkar quotes no 60 in his third edition of Shivaji at page 91 without any comment on "the letter from the Raja written himself to Rougy" and yet asserts at page 27 that "the weight of evidence is in favour of the view that Shivaji was unlettered"! We do not know what



was the evidence which he weighed and what is its nature since he does not vouchsafe any references.

Shivaji and the English East India Company.

The point of the first contact between the English and Shivaji came at Rajapore when the Company was advised by Rustum Jamma to spare some granadoes for Shivaji (No. 1). They do not appear to have agreed to the proposal. The second occasion was (No 3) when Shivaji's forces following up their success against Afzal took several coastal towns in the Konkan, Dabhol being one. The governor of the place fled from Dabhol to Rajapore with three of Afzal Khan's junks and subsequently went to Jetapore. The English followed him there and were busy settling the private account of their broker with the governor when 500 to 600 men from Shivaji's forces came to Rajapore and 200 to Jetapore. The governors of Rajapore, Dabhol and Satavli were on the English ship and therefore the Mahratta forces asked the English to help them to capture the junks and the governors. The English refused to do this, alleging that it would be inconsistent with their religion to deliver up to his enemy any man that sought their protection. This naturally displeased the Maratha forces and pleased the governors. The governors requested the English to take possession of the junks and to own them. The English took possession of a junk weighing 300 tons renamed it "Rajapore Merchant" and helped the governors to tow the other junks out to Vengurla and place them under Dutch protection. Shivaji's Subedar at Rajapore asked for the junk, "Rajapore Merchant", and the English had consented to hand it over provided their dues from the governor were secured. However, the arrangement was not carried into effect, and the Mahrattas imprisoned the brokers of the English and Philip Gayford. The brokers were subsequently released and Henry Revington effected the release of Gayford by surprise. In the meanwhile, Henry Revington agreed to send granadoes to Siddi Johar and there were other acts of hostility against Shivaji committed by Henry Revington and others, which culminated in the English rendering assistance to Siddi Johar to besiege Panhalla where they threw balls with the English flag (No. 36). Shivaji's escape from Panhalla is not described by the Rajapore merchants.



But President Andrews reported to the Company on 13th April 1660 that Henry Revington and others were put in prison (evidently sometime before), the English house was burnt, and some horses taken away by the Mahrattas. President Andrews attributed all the loss to the rashness of Henry Remington. Surat had a consultation on 16th April 1660 and the President and the Council decided to disown the hostile acts of Henry Revington and his adherents. The prisoners were at Rairy, then at Songad and then at Dabhol. But in taking this severe action against the merchants neither Shivaji nor his officers are likely to be blamed, and President Andrews expressed the same view to the disconsolate prisoners at Rairy castle in his letter dated the 10th March 1661. He told them that they had to thank themselves for the position in which they found themselves and that they had not suffered in defending the goods of the company, but for firing the granadoes and further added that Shivaji's action was such as any body else who had the power to revenge would take, and that when merchants stay in a strange country they must live quietly but if they meddle in other people's squabbles they must anticipate trouble. While they were at Rairy they had to suffer hardships but at Songad and Dabhol they were free to move about or to write to their friends but were not allowed to leave these places. Through them Shivaji started negotiations with the East India Company. The objects with which Shivaji was trying to negotiate an understanding with the English Company will be discussed a little later.

The next point of contact was at Surat, where according to Shivaji, he had gone to revenge himself against Aurangzeb for several wrongs committed by the Mogul army in invading Shivaji's country and he had no intention to do any harm either to the English or any other merchants. For a fact the English lost nothing in Shivaji's first raid on Surat. The letters which are printed in this volume show that the English had made preparations to defend their factory but it does not appear either from the Dutch or the English records that Shivaji had any inclination to raid Dutch and English warehouses while he was getting rich booty outside. There is no reason why he should do it when the object of the raid was either revenge against Aurangzeb or money and money he was collecting in



plenty outside. This is further confirmed by the consideration that he abstained from attacking the castle where the Moghul officials had taken refuge. At the time of the second raid of Surat in 1670 all the foreign companies presented Shivaji with a few articles and saved their properties. No. 237 records that Mr. Master who was in command of the English defence force by the advice of those with him, resolved to prepare and send a present to Shivaji of scarlet sword blades, knives &c. Shivaji had given the English his Caul even before this time. This perfect immunity from any trouble from Shivaji which the three European factories enjoyed excited a good deal of curiosity at the Mogul Court.

In No. 39 Surat advised Carwar to remove to Hubly thinking that place to be secure against Shivaji. But Shivaji raided Hubly (346) and the English Company lost goods worth a few thousand pagodas. When Nicolls complained to Shivaji about this (358) Shivaji replied that he had given no orders to disturb the English in their factories, that he liked them to trade in his country and that he had not received any report from his officers about the English house being raided and that he would like to know the names of the persons and the officers who did it.

We have mentioned before that the English merchants at Rajapore had been advised by Rustum Jamma to spare some granadoes for Shivaji ; not only that they failed to comply with this request but they further sold the granadoes to Siddi Johar along with mortar-pieces and helped Siddi Johar in besieging Panhala. What part the granadoes played in the siege and how far it proved to be a source of disturbance to the besieged is not on record but the fact that the English merchants at Rajapore were actively helping Siddi Johar without any provocation on Shivaji's part remained absolutely undisputed to the prejudice of the Company. Shivaji, therefore, had the merchants arrested. Shivaji returned everything which he had taken from all the other Rajapore merchants except the English who had obviously harmed him. Later on a peace was concluded between Shivaji and Vijapore and Shivaji commanded the whole of the Konkan coast except the castle of Danda Rajapore. The Siddi of Danda Rajapore could be a source of trouble to Shivaji's



territory at his pleasure; and the only way to stop this was to bring the castle under his jurisdiction. The Rajapore merchants knew that Shivaji's great need and ambition was the taking of Rajapore castle, and the best way in which the company could make amends to Shivaji for the wrong which the merchants had unauthorisedly done him at Panhala was to help him to turn a difficult corner and attain an object on which he had set his heart, spent an enormous fortune and sacrificed a large number of people. As to the losses which the company might have suffered at Rajapore in the capture of the English house he was prepared to compensate them. Randolph Taylor wrote (53) on 6/2/1662 that Shivaji would grant the company any place convenient for them in his possession with several other advantages if they would assist him in taking Danda Rajapore castle. Both Raoji Pandit and Shivaji were anxious to have the English to trade at Rajapore (60). The French met Shivaji and after some negotiations settled at Rajapore. Shivaji gave them Caul to trade freely in his ports and when they were with him he inquired as to why the English would not return to Rajapore and he was told that the English wanted ready money; Shivaji expressed a wish to compensate them in customs duties.

While both sides were feeling their way with a view to reopening negotiations Shivaji raided Sarat twice and also Hubly but did not molest the English. In the meanwhile Bombay was transferred to the English East India Company and the Company was building there a strong warehouse and fortifying the place. After their settlement at Bombay Shivaji must have found that the English could be of great help to him if they chose to or else they could be a source of annoyance and he, therefore, showed a keen desire to accommodate them. The English, on their part, were anxious to have an agreement with Shivaji because there was war going on between the English and the Dutch; and the Dutch had made proposals to Shivaji to render mutual aid viz. Shivaji to help the Dutch to take Bombay and the Dutch to help Shivaji to take Danda Rajapore castle. The English, therefore, did not raise any objections to the terms of agreement proposed by Shivaji. While negotiating about the terms of agreement with Shivaji the company had to consider before every thing, the advisability of entering into peace with him because the



information regarding these negotiations was sure to leak out in spite of all attempts to keep it secret (296) and consequently the Mogul was expected to look at them with disfavour. Bombay clearly set out this point for the consideration of Surat that one particular business should not be allowed to work to the prejudice of the general business of the company (336). The reply of Surat (372) to the question was unambiguous. They clearly foresaw the displeasure of the Mogul and expected some trouble. But since the Island of Bombay depended both for provisions and for traffic on Shivaji's territory which was opposite to Bombay and as they expected to establish several new factories in Shivaji's territories (429) Surat decided to enter into peace with Shivaji and to endure patiently what the Mogul might impose on them rather than decline the interest and benefit of the company in the island (460). There were other causes also which might have helped in inducing them to arrive at this decision. One was the war with the Dutch, and the other was that the trade of Surat was declining. The reasons for this decline are clearly set out by the President at Surat in his dispatch to the company dated the 26th November 1669. (176) The "Banians" were deserting Surat because of the insufferable tyranny of the Governor and other "lordly moors". The Cazy was tampering with the administration of justice. Shivaji's raids on Surat might have been a contributory cause of the ruin of the port but the dispatches of the President of Surat make it abundantly clear that it was the governor of Surat who utterly ruined the famous trade of the place (462). The Dutch and the French also thought similarly and had made up their minds to quit the place. The English President tried to quit the place but was prevailed upon to continue.

Surat took several objections to the terms of the proposed agreement with Shivaji but the Dutch war was a grave consideration and they waived their objections especially as Bombay had come to realise that so far as trade and commerce were concerned Shivaji was willing to give the company every facility that they asked for (232). Thus all objections having been overcome an agreement was effected between Shivaji and the English East India Company. The articles show Shivaji conceding every thing relating to trading and other rights but



jealously guarding the rights of sovereignty. Henry Oxinden's letters from Rairy are very clear on the point. (481). The great advantage which the company derived from the conclusion of the peace is to be gathered by reading the two letters 365 and 426 which Carwar wrote to Surat, together. No. 426 boasts that what the Mogul, Vijapore and the Portuguese could not achieve the English had achieved viz., obtaining compensation from Shivaji. Letter after letter will be found in the second volume to the effect that Shivaji freely granted Couls to the factories of the company and that the company was nowhere troubled after or before the peace by Shivaji's forces. Shivaji's fleet gave the English information about the detention of some English vessels near Goa. He can be truly said to have acted up to Nerajee Pundit's assurance that after the coronation he would behave more like a king. (479).

When the negotiations for peace commenced it was made quite clear from the very beginning to Bombay and by Bombay to Surat that (282) Shivaji's "chiefest design of making peace with us (English) (was) in the hopes of an underhand assistance against Danda Rajapore and *till something as to that was granted he would not pay a penny.*" This is Bombay's advice to Surat dated the 8th November 1671. The question is how far did the English comply with this suggestion of Shivaji. The reply to this question will determine whether any blame attaches to Shivaji and his officers for "excess of intrigue and finesse." or whether they were merely paying the English back in their own coin in keeping them in suspense, so long as the English were keeping him in suspense as Mr. Ustick was advised to do (273).

The help which Shivaji was expecting from the English was of a double nature. The Rajapore merchants had not only sold granadoes to Siddy Johar but also helped in firing them. Shivaji did not expect the English company to go so far. What he wanted them to do was to supply him with guns as others were doing and to refuse to harbour his enemies Siddy Casam and Siddy Sambole in Bombay. As regards guns. Mr. Ustick was not to promise Shivaji any granadoes but to keep him in suspense (273). Bombay (282) after setting out Shivaji's chief design in concluding peace with them suggested to Surat to spare 3 or 4 great guns and to sell



these to the Portuguese who in their turn were to sell them to Shivaji. Before the conclusion of the peace the English (259) had sold two guns to the French who sold these to Shivaji. Narayan Senvi was instructed to represent to Shivaji and his officers (370) as for guns, after peace he shall have not only two "but, as many as he will." Two costly brass guns were lying idle at Bombay and therefore Bombay reported to Surat that there was nobody to buy these guns except Shivaji and Bombay was prepared to part with these for ready money (193/2.) Surat prohibited the sale (195/2.) (42/2) Shivaji asked for 50 great iron guns but Bombay was of opinion that 10 should be spared and further opined that it would undoubtedly be very good for the company to ease their large dead stock by the sale of some of the guns and especially the two great brass guns which were lying with them but if this course would be dangerous to affairs at Surat, Surat was to advise Bombay accordingly and Bombay would to stop the sale (44/2, 45/2) the sale was eventually stopped. (103/2, 104/2, 195/2) are in support of the same policy. The French supplied Shivaji with 2000 maunds of lead and 88 iron guns; with this Bombay thought Shivaji would be able to arm out a notable fleet against the Siddy, because the only thing that he was in need of was the guns and he had importuned Bombay to supply him with them. Bombay had quite a number to spare but they did not think it advisable to part with these because they thought that the transaction would affect them adversely. Bombay knew that at Rajapore the French were supplying guns to Shivaji, so whether they themselves did it or not, Shivaji was getting the guns and the powder he wanted from other Companies. They, however, did not like to bring themselves "into intrigue" (213/417/419/424/434.) At Madras the factors pursued the same policy; Shivaji asked for people who could make gun carriages and for engineers who could "contrive mines". The request was refused as it would have increased Shivaji's power. (251, 255). One thing is further worth nothing; the two brass guns, which have been referred to so often before were carried to Surat and were sold to the local governor. The Berkley castle brought out 13 guns out of which some were spared for Shivaji.

The supply of guns was the active help which Shivaji asked of the English at Bombay; this they would not



render. There was another way of doing him service and that was to refuse shelter to his enemies at Bombay. As far back as June 1669 the Siddy of Danda Rajapore solicited permission of Bombay to winter there in case of necessity, and Bombay promised him all civility (166). The Siddy was much straitened by Shivaji (171) who wished either to storm or starve him. The Siddy on his part was going to hold out as long as he could but if forced to yield was going to hand over the place to the Mogul. So, as a part of a campaign against Shivaji a fleet was fitted out at Surat and sent against him (340) under Siddi Sambole. So any help rendered to either of the Siddis was a hostile act toward Shivaji. One or the other of the Siddies used to winter in Bombay every year in spite of all promises to the contrary. Shivaji and his officers remonstrated against this very bitterly year in and year out. The Siddies were by no means a source of help to the island and Bombay bitterly complained against Siddy Sambole's behaviour (402/404). He had all his provisions from Bombay, but for which he could not have been preserved and he returned the obligations by stopping all provisions coming to Bombay and Bombay thought that his chief design in coming to the port was to do more harm to Bombay than to Shivaji. He blocked the river at Caranja and was thinking of building a fort upon the island and Bombay was of opinion that it "concerns us to look about us and not tamely to suffer ourselves to be nosed and imposed upon by these falsehearted villains." (404). Surat had a consultation on the matter and they decided to dissuade Siddy Sambole from this design by a considerable present. This was in 1673, but the next year Siddy Sambole arrived in Bombay harbour to winter exactly at the time when Oxinden was preparing to go to Rairy to have the articles of peace signed and sealed by Shivaji. Once during his visit the Siddy enlisted a number of Portuguese and "topasses" who were inhabitants of Bombay in his service (19/2). Shivaji was naturally affronted by the Siddy's wintering at Bombay, and he sent many letters threatening to attack the Siddy's fleet in Bombay harbour and burn it. But all the while his hands were very full and he could not bring things to a crisis (221). The wintering of the enemy ships at Bombay was a continuous source of annoyance to Shivaji and in spite of his great efforts and sacrifices both in

men and money he could not capture the Danda Rajapore castle. So the only thing to do was to build a castle somewhere near Bombay and thus prevent the enemy from wintering there. This is the origin of the Hendry-Kendry affair. Of course the English fought hard against Shivaji but eventually they had to give up the fight. All the stages of this struggle can be studied from the complete records which appear in this volume for the first time. The company at last came to the conclusion that the struggle with Shivaji was a costly affair and they could not pursue it further. The advice which Surat gave to Bombay was to leave the dispute for the Siddy and Shivaji to settle between themselves and to give some plausible excuse for not continuing the struggle any further. The English resisted Shivaji's attempt to build a fort but the Siddy built a fort on the opposite island before their very eyes, and from that strong position Shivaji's fleet could not dislodge him. (484/2).

Shivaji died without achieving his heart's desire of taking Danda Rajapore. Shivaji knew that it was within the power of Bombay to give him effective help by supplying him with guns and by preventing the wintering of the Siddies. It was with that design that he entered into a peace with the English Company on terms which he did not concede to any other power. Is it, then, in any way conceivable that Shivaji should ignore these gross breaches of neutrality and come forward with funds to feather the nest of the English merchants of Rajapore and to rehabilitate them in their former residence? The fact remains that the Rajapore merchants had done him harm at Panhala and they were given a chance to make amends for the same, by serving him as they served Vijapore before. Why should Shivaji alone be bound by the contract? Did the English Company remain even strictly neutral? Bombay came in closer touch with Shivaji and left to themselves they would have satisfied all reasonable demands for help made on them. But they had to follow the directions of Surat, and Surat had its eyes always directed towards trade in Mogul territory. The professed policy of the Company was not to take sides but to keep fair with both and trust in God to procure reputation and advancement to themselves. The question to be answered by the perusal of this correspondence is, did the Company maintain fair relations with



both ? After the conclusion of peace Shivaji granted the Company Cauls at all places and the feeling of the Company at the time is well summarised in the following words. That Shivaji "will ever rob us in his own country, there appears to be no fear or suspicion about it" (198/II.) There can be no doubt that the policy pursued by Surat was not friendly to Shivaji; it may be that they apprehended danger to their trade at Surat by being friendly to Shivaji, or that they apprehended danger to Bombay by Shivaji's conquering Danda Rajapore Castle, or that they intended to secure the Castle for themselves as Henry Revington had planned to do with the assistance of Rustum Jumah and, therefore, were keeping Shivaji in suspense till they gathered sufficient strength to acquire and hold it. They apparently wished to have some voice in the matter. The Siddy had authorised them to negotiate peace with Shivaji but Shivaji did not encourage them in this venture. This is in short a rough outline, as disclosed by the correspondence of one party, of the relations between Shivaji and the English; and so long as the English on their side were keeping Shivaji in suspense he cannot be charged either with faithlessness or excess of finesse and intrigue if he on his part kept them in equal suspense.

While dealing with the broad outlines of the relationship between Shivaji and the English a few minor points have been left out. These throw further light on the English policy and, therefore, call for a passing reference here to make the picture complete. The professed general policy of the Company was to keep fair with both sides. In this connection the advice which Surat sent to Carwar deserves particular attention. (351/2) "forbear assisting either, but carry an equal hand towards both, behaving themselves like merchants whose sole design is to seek a trade in the country, being courteous and civil to both, *but especially to that side in whose possession the country remains.*" The next point for the company to consider was their attitude when they happened to suffer some wrong at the hands of an army either of Shivaji or that of his enemy. They meekly submitted to the affronts even at some risk of being misunderstood (365) and Surat taking every thing into consideration advised their agents to keep their temper because they argued when a rude army comes they are not

mindful as to what they do and they do not know friend from foe. At times the agents lost temper and thought of taking strong action but all considerations in defence of self-respect etc. were thought to be inopportune, (87/2, 88/2) and the agents were advised to humour the officials and not to wound their high sense of personal dignity. The two passages one quoted below and the advice of Surat to Carwar quoted above sum up the attitude of the Company towards local officials at the beginning of their career. (86/2 Bombay to Rajapore.) It seems to us that Anagee Pandit "has taken some high implacable disgust and offence at some passages which have happened between him and you, you will do well therefore by your prudent, meek and discreet deportment to work him into a more affectionate opinion of you, for he is a person of great authority under his master, having the title and power of a Viceroy in his command and being a wise man justly expects to receive all due honour in his place, though we would have you keep the respect due to the Hon'ble Company. Yet we advice to avoid all ungraceful effects of haughtiness and vanity and to govern yourself with a modest and discreet sobriety in your dealings and commerce with the wise and searching people, with whom you have to do, who make not only a sport, but a great advantage when they have to do with persons subject to the heat of passion or self-opinion, of which we doubt not your experience of the world has sufficiently convinced you of."

Nos. 347 and 349 clearly set out the lines of a trade mission. The instructions to Mr. Nicolls will be read even to-day with a good deal of advantage. Nos. 382/383 deal with the embargo on a ship. The company eventually raised the embargo with the full hope that it would go a long way in creating favourable opinion about the Company. 318/2 is a good instance of taking advantage of every little thing for furthering one's end. The Company consider ways and means of creating a favourable impression about themselves at the Mogul Court because of the struggle with Shivaji about Hendry—Kendry. The English tried to keep their peace with Shivaji a secret from the Mogul so also they tried to keep secret from Shivaji an understanding which they were having with a neighbouring Raja (313) The Company used to employ spies to obtain information about Shivaji and his movements.



Contemporary English opinion about Shivaji and contemporaries

In order to understand fully the significance of Shivaji's achievements and the greatness of his glory one must try to understand the circumstances in which he was placed, the persons with whom and against whom he was working and the contemporary political situation of India. He had to achieve success overcoming the difficulties which stood in his way with such means as were then available and were likely to be most efficacious. A true picture of the times can best be found only in contemporary writings, provided the writings come from untainted and unbiassed sources. And we can well say further that it must have been on the bases of similar contemporary opinion and information that Shivaji shaped his policy, planned out his expeditions and entered into war or peace with this or that power.

The conditions at the Moghul Court and in the Moghul dominion as reflected in these documents may be summed up as follows. At the beginning of Shivaji's political career Aurangzeb who was the governor of the Deccan was engaged in a series of wars with the other Mahomedan powers in the Deccan which had resulted in weakening them. The external wars and the reverses had not only weakened the authority in the Deccan of the Mahomedan states but had also impaired the cohesion by creating internal squabbles. Aurangzeb went to Agra and usurped the throne by putting his father in prison and either assassinating or imprisoning his brothers. The Court was naturally torn into factions and no central authority could make itself effectively felt. Besides Aurangzeb had a number of other things to engage his attention near home for the safety of his position before he could affectively check and control the governors in distant parts of the kingdom. When Surat was raided by Shivaji the governor and other ministers of the king and eminent merchants sought refuge in the castle and left the city to take care of itself (78). There was not even an attempt made to put up a fight as there were not even 500 trained soldiers in readiners. The money provided for soldiers the Governor used to appropriate to himself. Besides, there were many Umraos displeased with the King who preferred to be away from Court under one pretext or another. There



were others who tried to prolong the expeditions as they offered them chances to make more money than what they could make while they were present at Court. When Shivaji had established his reputation as a hero and had a solid force under his command the Umraos liked to be on friendly terms with him so that in case of any danger from the King they could reckon on Shivaji's support. As it was rumoured Aurangzeb's son, who was at Aurangabad and was Viceroy of Moghul possessions in the Deccan, was for a time in league with Shivaji. Besides, the Umraos were used to a life of luxury and even in military camps they used to have their harems around them. For example, when Siddy Sambole was in imminent danger of an attack from Shivaji's fleet, the English warned the Siddy and asked him to leave, he could not disembark because he had not paid his men. The English paid him money, which he wasted on women instead of paying his soldiers. William Minchin writes regarding this, "I can percieve the Siddy minds nothing but his dancing women whom he hath continually dancing before him" (314/2). Many of the Umraos used to buy immunity from attack, from Shivaji. The governor of Surat after the first raid instead of improving his ways seems to have had some understanding with Shivaji. Besides, there was no safety of life or property to nonmahomedan subjects of the Moghul. The administration of justice was corrupt and based on religious considerations (139/2).

Vijapore after the death of Mahomed Adil Shah and in the minority of Ali Adil Shah was in a hopeless condition. Some of the Umraos did not like to salute the bastard King (1) and knowing full well that life at the court was buzzing with intrigue every one of the Umraos looked to his own immediate interest, and tried to keep away from the capital. No two generals in the army would support each other. When Fazal-khan was routed by Shivaji, Rustum Jamma did nothing to help him but kept up appearances by feigning that he had been defeated and had been suffered to retire to Hookery by Shivaji. The Queen of Vijapore always suspected him to be her enemy and he suspected her to be his enemy (1). The whole administration was rotten to the core on account of corruption and incapacity. At Rajapore where the English records begin, the Governor of the place escaped by flight, (13)



when he was attacked by Shivaji's forces. The same state of affairs obtains at the close of Shivaji's career at the other end of the Vijapore kingdom when he was on his expedition to the Karnatak. "The Moors leaving their fortresses upon any rumour of his approach" (263). Owing to her bad government and extortion the Queen had raised her subjects to rebellion (24). When the Queen was banished most of the Umraos made it their business to rob and despoil the country ; and they kept on the bastard as the king because they could not decide with whom to replace him. When the bastard came of age he developed into a treacherous villain and either imprisoned or poisoned some of the best of his Umraos (67). The King was incapable of doing anything to protect his subjects by raising an army or putting up any defence anywhere and his subjects got an impression that he himself was in league with Shivaji (106). Cowardly as he was, cunning was his only weapon. Vijapore used to pay an annual ransom to Aurangzeb but the king pleaded exemption for such territories as were under Shivaji. So, when the Moghul started his expeditions against Shivaji, the generals of the campaigns very naturally called upon Vijapore to start simultaneous operations. Vijapore made some show of doing this, but withdrew without fighting Shivaji's army (415). In fact it could truly be said that once the fight between Shivaji and Moghul began, Vijapore quietly slipped out of the struggle. Both Vijapore and Golconda were so much crippled by their previous wars with Aurangzeb and by their internecine warfare that they by themselves either singly or in cooperation were unable to fight the Moghul army. They regarded Shivaji as a "bulwark" (111) between themselves and the Mogul and therefore often times helped him both with men and money to fight for their freedom (393-4). This being the policy of the State, the Umraos and generals of Vijapore on their part used to maintain a political war against Shivaji at the king's charge, and they never designed totally to rout Shivaji as it was not in their interest to do so, because they could not maintain themselves in times of peace (59/2).

Golconda was neither worse nor better than Vijapore, but the king of Golconda knew that discretion was better and he paid ransom to Shivaji and saved his country from ruin. The king and his councillors were careful not to give any opportu-



nity to Shivaji to pick up a quarrel; later, the king was in open conspiracy with Shivaji to take Ginji.

Buhlol Khan, Rustum Jamma and other great nobles were neither friends of the king nor enemies of Shivaji. So, they kept up the struggle with Shivaji out of policy and self-interest (59/2). While the Umraos and their armies were lying at home effeminately afraid to "wet their tender skins." Shivaji played his game wisely and conquered vast territories (304/2).

The Portuguese by forcible conversions and the Dutch by their cruelties were getting very unpopular.

It was in these troubled times that Shivaji had to carve his fortune and establish a kingdom for himself. This collection gives us an idea formed by his contemporaries as to how he had been able to achieve his great object. The factors used to exchange these letters in strict confidence and the expression of opinion found in this volume, with regard to Shivaji and his contemporaries is fairly honest and frank. Shivaji was very keens on getting news from enemy quarters but he kept his plans strictly to himself and nobody had the least idea about these before they were actually put into effect. The plans were sudden and subtle (318/2) and those who had anything to do with him were always baffled by him. Some of his contemporaries were of opinion (108/2) that Shivaji would keep his oath; while some others were of opinion that (131/2) that he was guided solely by self-interest. He had always kept his neighbours in dreadful fear of the movements of his army. He paid his men handsomely and got the utmost work out of them. He himself worked hard and made others do the same, not only when the days were clear and the sun was shining but even when the sun was obscured during the rains. While other forces rested at winter quarters, his forces used to move up and down the country if there were few fair patches during the rains (310). He always kept his forces on a "running banquet" up and down the country and thus stole a march over other forces which were slothfully resting (198). He kept up a fight on all fronts and prevented his enemies from combining against him. At times he used to lull some one of his opponents into quietude with an offer of peace and would then successfully lead his force into the terri-



stories of the other till he sued for peace. If in the meanwhile, the former proved recalcitrant he would worst him too. In his conquests he appears to have observed a distinction between campaigns for money and campaigns for territory. So also if the Chauth ($\frac{1}{4}$) or Mokasa ($\frac{1}{4}$) which he levied on a place was paid then he used to desist from conquest. He was repeatedly demanding of Surat the chauth before he went there for the second time. After his taking of Karanja the other towns and villages in the country near Nandurbar and thereabouts promised him in writing that they would pay him the chauth (250). After conquest when the country was within his jurisdiction he used to protect the territory; and any molestation of his subjects he used to resent; he was very angry with the Khan of Carwar (18/2) for having siezed upon a very rich merchant from his territory. In his campaigns he used money freely but corruption in his own camp he put down with an iron hand. But he at times gave a second chance to the offenders to prove their loyalty and to work for him (268).

This was the man who was destined to be the founder of the Maratha Empire. The times in which he lived were troubled, and there were mighty kingdoms, around him, the Moghul Empire being the mightiest of them all. The great Empires were, however, manned by hereditary office-bearers who, slothful and corrupt, were eating up like parasites the revenues of the soil which were meant for the fitting up of an army. To this must be added the religious intolerance of Aurangzeb. Surat which was being rehabilitated after the first sack by Shivaji was deserted by the "Banians" because of insecurity of life and property. Under such circumstances Shivaji's rule must have been welcomed at several places. Such was the decaying state of the kingdom full of corruption, intrigue and discontent both amongst the nobles and the citizens. Shivaji knew how to play his cards successfully. At the beginning of his career he knew his forces were small and his resources slender, and he would have been crushed outright by any one of his opponents had he engaged them in an open fight. Against Afzal's forces or Shasta's forces, his "Mavli" forces were entirely powerless. It would have been a mad gamble to risk these few men in a fight with either. But though prudent he was bold and fearless

and what he could not dream of achieving by an open fight he effectively achieved at grave personal risk. As the Rev. John L'Escalot puts it, he was "if necessity require, venturous and desperate in execution of his resolves" (79). He risked his life and came out victorious. The effect was electric; with the death or the wounding of the generals the opposing soldiers were demoralised and he gave to his army the glory which he knew his army at the time was incapable of achieving for him. He knew Vijapore and Golkonda were honeycombed with vice and incapacity but he did not like them to join hands with the Moghul forces against him. He also knew that these powers would prefer liberty at any cost to a subjugation by the Moghul. So when Jayasing brought together all the forces which were against Shivaji under his command, he knew it was futile to offer resistance. So he capitulated on heavy terms. He thus diverted the force of the great Mogul army which was directed against his territory towards Vijapore. Shivaji was sent to Agra after this incident and was imprisoned. But he effected his escape and recovered his territory. In the meanwhile his men had been sufficiently seasoned and trained to warfare and after his return from Agra the policy of personal risk and careful nursing of his army gives way to a policy of personal direction of forces in lightening campaigns throughout the countryside. He succeeded in keeping the Moghul and Vijapore forces apart. So also he kept some section of the Umraos in both the courts always on his side.

We have two penportraits of Shivaji in this record at page 73 of Part I and page 334 of Part 2. He was a person of middling height, with an erect bearing and excellent proportions, very active and whenever he used to speak it appeared as if he was smiling. He had quick and piercing eyes and was fairer than any of his own people. At the coronation he weighed 6000 pagodas. He was amused by the periwigs of the factors. He very much resented the forcible conversion of his subjects by the Portuguese and the tortures of the Hindus in other parts of India imposed by Aurangzeb's mad bigotry.

From 1659 onwards Shivaji had continuously to face several opponents and for a part of this time the factors at Bombay were in opposition to him. Whether they were at