

Shah Jehan, the race of Timoor, in all human probability, would have been still enthroned at Delhi, and might have presented a picture of one of the most powerful monarchies of Asia. But Arungzebe had inflicted an incurable wound on the mind of the Hindu race, which for ever estranged them from his successors; nor were the virtues of Buhadoor, during the short lustre of his sway, capable of healing it. The bitter fruit of a long experience had taught the Rajpoots not to hope for amelioration from any graft of that stem, which, like the deadly Upas, had stifled the vital energies of Rajasthan, whose leaders accordingly formed a league for mutual preservation, which it would have been madness to dissolve merely because a fair portion of virtue was the inheritance of the tyrant's successor. They had proved that no act of duty or subserviency could guarantee them from the infatuated abuse of power, and they were at length steeled against every appeal to their loyalty, replying with a trite adage, which we may translate "*quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat*,"—of common application with the Rajpoot in such a predicament.

The emperor was soon made to perceive the little support he had in future to expect from the Rajpoots. Scarcely had he quashed the pretensions of Kambuksh, his youngest brother, who proclaimed himself emperor in the dekhan, than he was forced to the north, in consequence of an insurrection of the Sikhs of Lahore. This singular race, the disciples (*sikhs*) of a teacher called Nanuk, were the descendants of the Sythic Gete,* or Jit, of

Transoxiana, who so early as the fifth century were established in the tract watered by the five arms (*Punjab*) of the Indus. Little more than a century has elapsed since their conversion from a spurious Hinduism to the doctrines of the sectarian Nanuk, and their first attempt to separate themselves, in temporal as well as spiritual matters, from all control, and they are now the sole independent power within the limits of the Mogul monarchy. On this occasion* the princes of Ambar and Marwar visited the emperor, but left his camp without permission, and, as the historian† adds, manifested a design to struggle for independence. Such was the change in their mutual circumstances, that the Mogul sent the heir-apparent to conciliate and conduct them to him; but they came at the head of all their native bands, when "they were gratified with whatever their insolence demanded:"‡ a splenetic effusion of the historian, which well paints their altered position. From the royal *oordoo*,|| or camp, they repaired to Rana Umra at Oodipur, where a triple league was formed, which once more united them to the head of their nation. This treaty of unity of interests against the common foe was solemnized by nuptial engagements, from which those princes had been excluded since the reigns of Akber and Pertap. To be re-admitted to this honour was the basis of this triple alliance, in which they ratified on oath the

* A. D. 1709-10

† Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 58; also autograph letters of all those princes, with files of the regular newspapers (*akbars*) of the day, in my possession, dated from the emperor's camp.

‡ Memoirs of Eradut Khan.

|| Hence the corruption of *horda*.

* See History of the Tribes, article "Jits," page 81.

renunciation of all connexion, domestic or political, with the empire. It was moreover stipulated that the sons of such marriage should be heirs, or if the issue were females, that they should never be dishonoured by being married to a Mogul.

But this remedy, as will be seen, originated a worse disease; it was a sacrifice of the rights of primogeniture (clung to by the Rajpoots with extreme pertinacity), productive of the most injurious effects, which introduced domestic strife, and called upon the stage an umpire not less baneful than the power from whose iron grasp they were on the point of freeing themselves: for although this treaty laid prostrate the throne of Baber, it ultimately introduced the Mahrattas as partizans in their family disputes, who made the bone of contention their own.

The injudicious support afforded by the emperor to the apostate chief of Rampura, first brought the triple federation into action. The Rana, upholding the cause of Himmud Sing, made an attack on Rampura, which the apostate usurper Ruttun Sing, now *Raja Mooslim Khan*, defeated, and was rewarded for it by the emperor.* But the same report conveyed to the king, "*that the Rana determined to lay waste his country, and retire to the hills,*"† which was speedily confirmed by the unwelcome intelligence that Sawuldas, an officer the Rana's, had attacked Feeroz Khan, the governor of Poorh Mandel, who was obliged to retreat with great loss to Ajmeer;‡ on which occasion this loyal descendant of the illustrious Jeimul lost his

life.* The brave Doorga Das, who conveyed the rebellious Akber through all opposition to a place of refuge, again appeared upon the stage—his own prince being unable to protect him, he had found a safe asylum at Oodipur, and had the sum of five hundred rupees daily paid for his expenditure,—a princely liberality. But the result of this combination was reserved for the following reigns, Shah Alum being carried off by poison,† ere he could correct the disorders which were rapidly breaking up the empire from the Hindu-Koosh to the ocean^a. Had his life been spared, his talents for business, his experience, and courteous manners, might have retarded, the ruin of the monarchy, which the utter unworthiness of his successor sunk beyond the power of man to redeem. Every subsequent succession was through blood; and the sons of Shah Alum performed the part for which they had so many great examples. Two brothers,‡ Syeds, from the town of Bareh in the Doab, were long the Warwicks of Hindusthan, setting up and plucking down its puppet kings at their pleasure; they had elevated Ferocksere when the triumvirs of Rajasthan commenced their operations.

Giving loose to long-suppressed resentment, the Rajpoots abandoned the spirit, of toleration which it would have been criminal

* The following edict, which caused this action, I translated from the archives; it is addressed to the son of Sawuldas.

"Mahrana Umra Sing to Rahtore Rae Sing *Sawul-dasote* (race of Sawuldas):

"Lay waste your villages and the country around you
"—your families shall have other habitations to dwell
"in—for particulars consult Dowlut Sing Chondawut:
"obey these."—Asoj, S. 1764 (Dec. A.D. 1708-9.)

† A.D. 1712.

‡ Husein Ali and Abdoolla Khan.

* Newspapers, dated 3d Rejib, Sun. 3—(3d year of his reign).

† Newspapers, 10th Rejib, Sun. 3.

‡ Newspapers, 5th Shaval, Sun. 3.



to preserve ; and profiting by the lessons of their tyrants, they overthrow the mosques built on the sites of their altars, and treated the civil and religious officers of the government with indignity. Of these every town in Rajasthan had its *moolah* to proclaim the name of Mohammed, and its *cazi* for the administration of justice,—branches of government entirely wrested from the hands of the native princes,* abusing the name of independence. But for a moment it was redeemed, especially by the brave Rahtores, who had made a noble resistance, contesting every foot of land since the death of Jeswunt Sing, and now his son Ajit entirely expelled the Moguls from Marwar. On this occasion the native forces of the triple alliance met at the salt lake of Sambur, which was made the common boundary of their territory, and its revenues were equally divided amongst them.

The pageant of an emperor, guided by the Syeds, or those who intrigued to supplant their ministry, made an effort to oppose the threatening measures of the Rajpoots ; and one of them, the Ameer-ool Omra,† marched against Raja Ajit, who received private instructions from the emperor to resist his commander-in-chief, whose credit was strengthened by the means taken to weaken it, which engendered suspicions of treachery. Ajit leagued with the Syeds, who held out to the Rahtore an important share of power

at court, and agreed to pay tribute and give a daughter in marriage to Ferocksere.

This marriage yielded most important results, which were not confined to the Moguls or Rajpoots, for to it may be ascribed the rise of the British power in India. A dangerous malady,* rendering necessary a surgical operation upon Ferocksere, to which the faculty of the court were unequal, retarded the celebration of the nuptials between the emperor and the Rajpoot princess of Marwar, and even threatened a fatal termination. A mission from the British merchants at Surat was at that time at court, and, as a last resource, the surgeon attached to it was called in, who cured the malady, and made the emperor happy in his bride.† His gratitude was displayed with oriental magnificence. The emperor desired Mr. Hamilton to name his reward, and to the disinterested patriotism of this individual did the British owe the first royal grant or *firman*, conferring territorial possession and great commercial privileges. These were the objects of the mission, which till this occurrence had proved unsuccessful.

This gorgeous court ought to have been,

* A white swelling or tumour on the back.

* Next to kine-killing was the article inhibiting the introduction of the *Adanlet*, or British courts of justice, into the Rajpoot states, in all their treaties with the British government in A.D. 1817-18, the very name of which is abhorrent to a native.

† The title of Hussein Ali,—as Kootub-ool Moolk (the axis of the state), was that of his brother Abdoolla,

† The ceremony is described, as it was celebrated, with true Asiatic pomp. "The Ameer-ool Omra conducted the festivities on the part of the bride, and the marriage was performed with a splendour and magnificence till then unseen among the princes of Hindusthan. Many pompous insignia were added to the royal *cortege* upon this occasion. The illuminations rivalled the planets, and seemed to upbraid the faint lustre of the stars. The nuptials were performed at the palace of the Ameer-ool Omra, whence the emperor conveyed his bride with the highest splendour of imperial pomp to the citadel, amidst the resoundings of musical instruments and the acclamations of the people."—Page 132, vol. i., Scott's History of Arungzebe's successors.

and probably was, impressed with a high opinion of the virtuous self-denial of the inhabitants of Britain; and if history has correctly preserved the transaction, some mark of public gratitude should have been forthcoming from those who so signally benefited thereby. But to borrow the phraseology of the Italian historian, "obligations which do not admit of being fully discharged, are often repaid with the coin of ingratitude:" the remains of this man rest in the church-yard of Calcutta, without even a stone to mark the spot!

This marriage, which promised a renewal of interests with the Rajpoots, was soon followed by the revival of the obnoxious *jezeyya*. The character of this tax, though much altered from its original imposition by Arungzebe, when it was at once financial and religious, was held in unmitigated abhorrence by the Hindus from the complex association; and although it was revived chiefly to relieve pecuniary wants, it kindled a universal feeling of hatred amongst all classes, and quenched the little zeal which the recent marriage had inspired in the Rajpoots of the desert. The mode and channel of its introduction evinced to them, that there was no hope that the intolerant spirit which originally suggested it would ever be subdued. The weak Ferocksere, desirous of snapping the leading-strings of the Syeds, recalled to his court Enayet Oolla Khan, the minister of Arungzebe, and restored to him his office of *Dewan*, who, to use words of the historian of the period, "did not consult the temper of the times, so very different from the reign of Arungzebe, and the revival of the *jezeyya* came with him." Though by no

means severe in its operation, not amounting to three-quarters percent. on annual income,* —from which the lame, the blind, and very poor were exempt,—it nevertheless raised a general spirit of hostility, particularly from its retaining the insulting distinction of a "*tax on infidels*." Resistance to taxation appears to be a universal feeling, in which even the Asiatic forgets the divine right of sovereignty, and which throws us back on the pervading spirit of selfishness which governs human nature. The *temgha*, or stamp tax, which preceded the *jezeyya*, would appear to have been as unsatisfactory as it was general, from the solemnity of its renunciation by Baber on the field of battle after the victory *over infidels*, which gave him the crown of India; and though we have no record of the *jezeyya* being its substitute, there are indications which authorize the inference.

Rana Umra was not an idle spectator of these occurrences; and although the spurious thirst for distinction so early broke up the alliance by detaching Ajit, he redoubled his efforts for personal independence, and with it that of the Rajpoot nation. An important document attests his solicitude, namely, a treaty,† with the emperor, in which the

* 13 rupees on every 2,000 rupees.

† "*Memorandum of Requests*."

"1st. The *Munsab* (a) of 7,000.

"2nd. Firman of engagement under the *punja* private seal and sign that the *jezeyya* shall be abolished —that it shall no longer be imposed on the Hindu nation; at all events, that none of the Chagitai race shall authorize it in Mewar. Let it be annulled.

"3d. The contingent of one thousand horse for service in the Dekhan to be excused.

"4th. All places of Hindu faith to be rebuilt, with perfect freedom of religious worship.

(a) The dignity (*munsab*) of commander of a legion of 7,000 horse, the highest grade of rank.



second article stipulates emancipation from the galling *jezeya*. It may be well to analyze this treaty, which attests the altered condition of both parties. Its very title marks the subordination of the chief of the Rajpoots; but while this is headed a "Memorandum of Requests," the eighth article discloses the effective means of the Rana, for there he assumes an air of protection towards the emperor. In the opening stipulation for the *munsab* of 7,000, the mind reverts to the great Umra, who preferred abdication to acknowledgment of a superior; but opinion had

"5th. If my uncles, brothers, or chiefs, repair to the presence, to meet no encouragement.

"6th. The Bhomias of Deola, Banswarra, Dongerpur, and Sirohi, besides other zemindars over whom I am to have control, they shall not be admitted to the presence.

"7th. The forces I possess are my chiefs—what troops you may require for a given period, you must furnish with rations (*paity*), and when the service is over, their accounts will be settled.

"8th. Of the Hukdars, Zemindars, Munsudars, who serve you with zeal and from the heart, let me have a list—and those who are not obedient I will punish; but in effecting this no demand is to be made for "*Paemali*," (a)

"List of the districts attached to the *Punj-hazari*, (b) at present under sequestration to be restored—Phoolia, Mandelgurh, Bednor, Poorh, Bassar, Ghiaspur, Pur-dhar, Banswarra, Dongerpur. Besides the 5,000 of old, you had on ascending the throne granted an increase of 1,000, and on account of the victory at Sinsini 1,000 more of two and three horse." (c)

"Of three crores of *dams* (d) in gift (*enam*), viz. two according to firman, and one for the payment of the contingent in the Dekhan, and of which two are immediately required, you have given me in lieu thereof Sirohi.

"Districts now desired—Eidur, Kekri, Mandel, Jehajpur, Malpur, (and another illegible)."

(a) Destruction of property, alluding to the crops which always suffered in the movements of disorderly troops.

(b) *Munsab* of 5,000.

(c) It was usual to allow two and three horses to each cavalier when favour was intended.

(d) 40 dams to the rupee.

undergone a change as great as the mutual relations of the Rajpoots. In temporal dignities other states had risen to an equality with Mewar, and all had learned to look on the Mogul as the fountain of honour. The abolition of the *jezeya*, freedom from religious restraint, control over the ancient feudatories of his house, and the restoration of all sequestrations, distinguish the other articles, and amply attest the improving attitude of Mewar, and the rapid decay of the Mogul empire. The Mahrattas under Raja Sahoo were successfully prosecuting their peculiar system in the south, with the same feelings which characterized the early Gothic invaders of Italy; strangers to settled government, they imposed the taxes of *chourh* and *desmookie*, the fourth and tenth of all territorial income, in the countries they overran. The Jat tribes west of the Chumbul likewise bearded their oppressors in this reign, by hoisting the standard of independence at the very threshold of their capital; and from the siege of Sinsini (mentioned in this treaty) to the last storm of Bhurtpur, they maintained the consequence thus assumed.

This treaty was the last act of Rana Umra's life; he died in A. D. 1716, leaving the reputation of an active and high-minded prince, who well upheld his station and the prosperity of his country, notwithstanding the anarchy of the period. His encouragement of agriculture and protection of manufactures are displayed in the edicts engraved on pillars, which will hand down his name to posterity. His memory is held in high veneration; nor do the Rajpoots admit the absolute degradation of Mewar till the period of the second prince in succession to Umra.

CHAPTER XV.

Rana Sangram.—Dismemberment of the Mogul Empire.—Nizam-ool Moolk establishes the Hydrabad State.—Murder of the Emperor Ferockseere.—Abrogation of the Jezeya.—Mahomed Shah, Emperor of Delhi.—Saadut Khan obtains Oude.—Repeal of the Jezeya confirmed.—Policy of Mewar.—Rana Sangram dies.—Anecdotes regarding him.—Rana Juggut Sing II. succeeds.—Treaty of triple Alliance with Marwar and Ambar.—The Mahrattas invade and gain footing in Mahwa and Guzerat.—Invasion of Nadir Shah.—Sack of Delhi.—Condition of Rajpootana.—Limits of Mewar.—Rajpoot Alliances.—Bajerow invades Mewar.—Obtains a Cession of annual Tribute.—Contest to place Madhu Sing on the Throne of Ambar.—Battle of Rajmahal.—The Rana defeated.—He leagues with Mulhar Holkar.—Esuri Sing of Ambar takes Poison.—The Rana dies.—His Character.

SANGRAM SING (*the lion of battle*) succeeded; a name renowned in the annals of Mewar, being that of the opponent of the founder of the Moguls. He ascended the throne about the same time with Mahomed Shah, the last of the race of Timoor who deserved the name of emperor of India. During the reign of Sangram, from A.D. 1716 to 1734, this mighty empire was dismembered; when, in lieu of one paramount authority, numerous independent governments started up, which preserved their uncertain existence until the last revolution, which has given a new combination to these discordant materials—Mahomedan, Mahratta, and Rajpoot, in the course of one century under the dominion of a handful of Britons! Like the Satraps of the ancient Persian, or the Lieutenants of Alexander, each chief proclaimed himself master of the province, the government of which was confided to his loyalty and talents; and it can not fail to diminish any regret at the successive prostration of Bengal, Oude, Hydrabad, and other less

conspicuous states, to remember that they were founded in rebellion, and erected on ingratitude; and that their rulers were destitute of those sympathies, which could alone give stability to their ephemeral greatness, by improving the condition of their subjects. With the Mahrattas the case is different: their emergence to power claims our admiration, when tyranny transformed the industrious husbandman, and the minister of religion, into a hardy and enterprising soldier, and a skilful functionary of government. Had their ambition been restrained within legitimate bounds, it would have been no less gratifying than politically and morally just that the family of Sevaji should have retained its authority in countries which his active valour wrested from Arungzebe. But the genius of conquest changed their natural habits: they devastated instead of consolidating; and in lieu of that severe and frugal simplicity, and that energy of enterprise, which were their peculiar characteristics, they became distinguished for mean parsimony,



low cunning, and dastardly depredation. Had they, retaining their original character, been content with their proper sphere of action, the Dekhan, they might yet have held the sovereignty of that vast region, where their habits and language assimilated them with the people. But as they spread over the north they encountered national antipathies, and though professing the same creed, a wider difference in sentiment divided the Mahratta from the Rajpoot, than from the despots of Delhi, whose tyrannical intolerance was more endurable, because less degrading, than the rapacious meanness of the Southron. Rajasthan benefited by the demolition of the empire: to all but Mewar it yielded an extension of power. Had the national mind been allowed to repose, and its energies to recruit, after so many centuries of demoralization, all would have recovered their strength, which lay in the opinions and industry of the people, a devoted tenantry and brave vassalage, whom we have so often depicted as abandoning their habitations and pursuits to aid the patriotic views of their princes.

The short reign of Ferocksere was drawing to a close; its end was accelerated by the very means by which that monarch hoped to emancipate himself from the thralldom of the Syeds, against whose authority the faction of Enayet Oolla was but a feeble counterpoise, and whose arbitrary habits, in the re-establishment of the jezeya, lost him even the support of the father of his queen. It was on this occasion that the celebrated Nizam-ool Moolk, the founder of the Hyderabad state, was brought upon the stage: he then held the unimportant charge of the

district of Moradabad; but possessed of high talents, he was bought over, by the promise of the government of Malwa, to further the views of the Syeds. Supported by a body of ten thousand Mahrattas, these makers of kings soon manifested their displeasure by the deposal of Ferocksere, who was left without any support but that of the princes of Ambar and Boondi. Yet they would never have abandoned him had he hearkened to their counsel to take the field, and trust his cause to them: but, cowardly and infatuated, he refused to quit the walls of his palace, and threw himself upon the mercy of his enemies, who made him dismiss the faithful Rajpoots and "admit a guard of honour of their troops into the citadel."*

* Amongst the archives of the Rana to which I had access, I discovered an autograph letter of Raja Jey Sing, addressed at this important juncture to the Rana's prime minister, Behari-das.

"The Ameer-ool Omra has arrived, and engagements through Ballajee Pundit have been agreed to: he said that he always had friendship for me, but advised me to march, a measure alike recommended by Kishen Sing and Jawa Loll. On this I presented an *arzee* to his Majesty, stated the advice, but desired to have his Majesty's commands; when the king sanctioning my leave, such being the general desire, on Thursday the 9th of Falgoon I moved, and pitched my tents at Serbul Serai. I told the Rao Raja (of Boondi) to accompany me, but it did not reach his mind, and he joined Kootub-ool Moolk, who gave him some horse, and made him encamp with Ajit Sing. Bheem Sing's (of Kota) army arrived, and an engagement took place, in which Jaet Sing Hara was killed, and the Rao Raja fled to Aliverdi Khan's serai. I sent troops to his aid; the king has made over the baths and wardrobe to the Syeds, who have every thing their own way. You know the Syeds; I am on my way back to my own country, and have much to say *viva voce* to the *Huzoor*: (a) come and meet me. Falgoon, S. 19th, 1775 (A. D. 1719)."

"Sid Sri Maharaja dheraj Sri Singram Sing ji; receive the

(a) *Huzoor* signifies the Presence. Such was the respectful style of the Ambar prince to the Rana; to illustrate which I shall add another letter from the same prince, though merely complementary, to the Rana.

Ferocksere hoped for security in the inviolability of the harem—but he found no sanctuary even there: to use the words of the Mogul memoir, “night advanced, and day, “like the fallen star of the emperor, sunk in “darkness. The gates of the citadel were “closed upon his friends: the Vizier and Ajit “Sing remained within. This night was “dreadful to the inhabitants of the city; no “one knew what was passing in the palace, “and the troops under the Ameer-ool Omra, “with ten thousand Mahrattas, remained “under arms: morning came, and all hope “was extinguished by the royal band (*Nobut*) “announcing the deposal of Ferocksere, in “the proclamation of Ruffeh-ool Dirjat, his “successor.” The interval between the deposal and the death of an Asiatic prince is short, and even while the heralds vociferated “*long live the king!*” to the new puppet, the bow-string was on the neck of the contemptible Ferocksere.

The first act of the new reign (A. D. 1719) was one of conciliation towards Ajit Sing and the Rajpoots, namely, the abrogation of the *jezeyā*; and the Syeds further showed their disposition to attach them by conferring the important office of *Dewan* on one of their own faith: Raja Ruttun Chund was accordingly inducted into the ministry in lieu of Enayet Oolla. Three phantoms of royalty flitted across the scene in a few

“*moojra*(a) of Raja Sawaie Jey Sing. Here all is well; “your welfare is desired; you are the chief, nor is there “any separation of interests: my horses and Rajpoots are “at your service; command when I can be of use. It is “long since I have seen the royal mother (*Sri Baeji* “*Raj*); if you come this way, I trust she will accompany “you. For news I refer you to Deep Chund Pancholi. “Asoj 6, S. 1777.”

(a) *Moojra* is a salutation of respect used to a superior.

months, till Roshun Akter, the eldest son of Buhadoor Shah, was enthroned with the title of Mahomed Shah (A. D. 1720), during whose reign of nearly thirty years the empire was completely dismembered, and Mahrattas from the south disputed its spoils with the Afghan mountaineers. The haughty demeanour of the Syeds disgusted all who acted with them, especially their coadjutor the Nizam,* of whose talents, displayed in restoring Malwa to prosperity, they entertained a dread. It was impossible to cherish any abstract loyalty for the puppets they established, and treason lost its name, when the Nizam declared for independence, which the possession of the fortresses of Aser and Boorhanpur enabled him to secure. The brothers had just cause for alarm. The Rajpoots were called upon for their contingents,†

* Raja Jey Sing to Beharridas, the Rana's minister:—“You write that your Lord despatches money for the “troops—I have no accounts thereof; put the treasure “on camels and send it without delay. The Nawub “Nizam-ool Moolk is marching rapidly from Oojein, and “Jubeela Ram is coming hither, and according to accounts from Agra he has crossed at Calpee. Let the “Dewan's army form a speedy junction. Make no delay; “in supplies of cash every thing is included.”—Bha- “doon, 4th, S. 1776 (A.D. 1720).

† Letter from Raja Bukt Sing of Nagore to Beharridas the Rana's prime minister:—“Your letter was received, “and its contents made me happy. *Sri Dewan's roggu* “reached me and was understood. You tell me both “the Nawubs (*Syeds*) had taken the field, that both the “Maharajas attended, and that your own army was “about to be put in motion, for how could ancient “friendships be severed? All was comprehended. But “neither of the Nawubs will take the field, nor will “either of the Maharajas proceed to the Dekhan; they “will sit and enjoy themselves quietly in talking at home. “But should by some accident the Nawubs take the “field, espouse their cause; if you cling to any other you “are lost: of this you will be convinced ere long, so “guard yourself—if you can wind up your own thread, “don't give it to another to break—you are wise, and “can anticipate intentions. Where there is such a “servant as you, that house can be in no danger.”



and the princes of Kotah and Nirwur gallantly interposed their own retainers to cut off the Nizam from the Nerbudda, on which occasion the Kotah prince was slain. The independence of the Nizam led to that of Oude. Saadut Khan was then but the commandant of Biana, but he entered into the conspiracy to expel the Syeds, and was one of those who drew lots to assassinate the Ameer-ool Omra. The deed was put into execution on the march to reduce the Nizam, when Hyder Khan buried his poniard in the Ameer's heart. The emperor then in camp, being thus freed, returned against the Vizier, who instantly set up Ibrahim and marched against his opponents. The Rajpoots wisely remained neutral, and both armies met. The decapitation of Ruttun Chund was the signal for the battle, which was obstinate and bloody; the vizier was made prisoner, and subjected to the bowstring. For the part Saadut Khan acted in the conspiracy he was honoured with the title of Buhadoor Jung, and the government of Oude. The Rajpoot princes paid their respects to the conqueror, who confirmed the repeal of the *jezeya*, and as the reward of their neutrality the Rajas of Ambar and Jodpur, Jey Sing and Ajit, were gratified, the former with the government of the province of Agra, the last with that of Guzerat and Ajmeer, of which latter fortress he took possession. Gheerdir-das* was made governor of Malwa to oppose the Mahrattas, and the Nizam was invited from his government of Hyderabad to accept the office of vizier of the empire.

The policy of Mewar was too isolated for

the times; her rulers clung to forms and unsubstantial homage, while their neighbours, with more active virtue, plunged into the tortuous policy of the imperial court, and seized every opportunity to enlarge the boundaries of their states: and while Ambar appropriated to herself the royal domains almost to the Jumna; while Marwar planted her banner on the battlements of Ajmeer, dismembered Guzerat, and pushed her clans far into the desert, and even to "the world's end;"* Mewar confined her ambition to the control of her ancient feudatories of Aboo, Edur, and the petty states which grew out of her, Dongerpur and Banswarra. The motive for this policy was precisely the same which had cost such sacrifices in former times; she dreaded amalgamating with the imperial court, and preferred political inferiority to the sacrifice of principle. The internal feuds of her two great clans also operated against her aggrandizement; and while the brave Suktawut, Jeit Sing, expelled the Rahtore from Edur, and subdued the wild mountaineers even to Koliwarra, the conquest was left incomplete by the jealousy of his rival, and he was recalled in the midst of his success. From these and other causes an important change took place in the internal policy of Mewar, which tended greatly to impair her energies. To this period none of the vassals had the power to erect places of strength within their domains, which, as already stated, were not fixed, but subject to triennial change; their lands were given for subsistence, their native hills were their

* Gheerdir-das was a Nagar Brahmin, son of Jubeela Ram, the chief Secretary of Ruttun Chund.

* *Jugut coont*, "the *Jigat*, point, of our maps, at Dwarica, where the *Bhadails*, a branch of the Rahtores, established themselves.



fortresses, and the frontier strongholds defended their families in time of invasion. As the Mogul power waned, the general defensive system was abandoned, while the predatory warfare which succeeded compelled them to stud their country with castles, in order to shelter their effects from the Mahratta and Pathan, and in later times to protect rebels.

Rana Sangram ruled eighteen years; under him Mewar was respected, and the greater portion of her lost territory was regained. His selection of Beharidas Pancholi evinced his penetration, for never had Mewar a more able or faithful minister, and numerous autograph letters of all the princes of his time attest his talent and his worth as the oracle of the period. He retained his office during three reigns: but his skill was unable to stem the tide of Mahratta invasion, which commenced on the death of Sangram.

Tradition has preserved many anecdotes of Sangram, which aid our estimate of Rajpoot character, whether in the capacity of legislators or the more retired sphere of domestic manners. They uniformly represent this Rana as a patriarchal ruler, wise, just, and inflexible,* steady in his application to business, regulating public and private expenditure, and even the sumptuary laws, which were rigidly adhered to, and on which the people still expatiate, giving homely illustrations of the contrast between them and the existing profusion. The Chohan of Kotario, one

of the highest class of chieftains, had recommended an addition to the folds of the court robe, and as courtesy forbids all personal denial, his wish was assented to, and he retired to his estate pluming himself on his sovereign's acquiescence. But the Rana, sending for the minister, commanded the sequestration of two villages of Kotario, which speedily reaching the ears of the chief, he repaired to court, and begged to know the fault which had drawn upon him this mark of displeasure. "None, Raoji; but on a minute calculation I find the revenue of these two villages will just cover the expense of the superfluity of garment which obedience to your wishes will occasion me, and as every iota of my own income is appropriated, I had no other mode of innovating on our ancient costume than by making you bear the charge attending a compliance with your suggestion." It will readily be believed, that the Chohan prayed the revocation of this edict, and that he was careful for the future of violating the sumptuary laws of his sovereign.

On another occasion, from lapse of memory or want of consideration, he broke the laws he had established, and alienated a village attached to the household. Each branch had its appropriate fund, whether for the kitchen, the wardrobe, the privy purse, the queens; these lands were called *thooa*, and each had its officer, or *thooa-dar*, all of whom were made accountable, for their trust to the prime minister; it was one of these he had alienated. Seated with his chiefs in the *russorah*, or banqueting-hall, there was no sugar forthcoming for the curds, which has a

* In the dialect, "*churri muzboot tha*," his rod was strong—a familiar phrase, which might be rendered "*sceptre*"—a long rod with an iron spike on it, often placed before the *gadi* or throne.

place in the dinner *carte* of all Rajpoots, and he chid the superintendent for the omission. "Andata" (giver of food), replied the officer, "the minister says you have given away the village set apart for sugar."—"Just," replied the Rana, and finished his repast without further remark, and without sugar to his curds.

Another anecdote will shew his inflexibility of character, and his resistance to that species of interference in state affairs which is the bane of Asiatic governments. Sangram had recently emancipated himself from the trammels of a tedious minority, during which his mother, according to custom, acted a conspicuous part in the guardianship of her son and the state. The chieftain of Deriavud had his estate confiscated: but as the Rana never punished from passion or pardoned from weakness, none dared to plead his cause, and he remained proscribed from court during two years, when he ventured a petition to the queen-mother through the *Bindarins*,* for the reversion of the decree, accompanied with a note for two lacks of rupees,† and a liberal donation to the fair mediators. It was the daily habit of the Rana to pay his respects to his mother before dinner, and on one of these visits she introduced the Rana-wut's request, and begged the restoration of the estate. It was customary, on the issue of every grant, that eight days should elapse from the mandate to the promulgation of the edict, to which eight official seals‡ were

attached; but on the present occasion the Rana commanded the execution of the deed at once, and to have it ere he left the *Rawula*. On its being brought, he placed it respectfully in his mother's hands, begging her to return the note to the Rana-wut; having made this sacrifice to duty, he bowed and retired. The next day he commanded dinner an hour earlier, without the usual visit to the *Rawula*: all were surprised, but none so much as the queen-mother—the day passed—another came—still no visit, and to a confidential message, she received a ceremonious reply. Alarmed for the loss of her son's affections, she pondered on the cause, but could find none, except the grant—she entreated the minister's interference; he respectfully intimated that he was interdicted from the discussion of state affairs but with his sovereign—she had recourse to other expedients, which proving alike fruitless, she became sullen, punished her damsels without cause, and refused food: Sangram still remained obdurate. She talked of a pilgrimage to the Ganges, and befitting equipage and escort were commanded to attend her—the moment of departure was at hand, and yet he would not see her. She repaired by Ambar on her route to Muttra, to worship the Apollo of Vrij, when the great Raja Jey Sing (married to the Rana's sister*) advanced, and con-

* The dames attendant on the queens,—the Lady Mashams of every female court in Rajasthan.

† £25,000.

‡ There were eight ministers; from this the Mahrattas had their '*usht purdhans*,' the number which formed the ministry of Rama.

* I discovered the following letter from one of the princesses of Ambar to Rana Sangram, written at this period; it is not evident in what relation she stood to him, but I think she must have been his wife, and the sister of Jey Sing:

"To *Sid Sri Singram Sing*, happiness! the Cutchwaha Ranee (*queen*) writes, read her *asees* (*a*) (blessing).

(*a*) *Asees* is benediction, which only ladies and holy men employ in epistolary writing or in verbal compliment.

ducted her to his new city of Jeypur, and to evince his respect "put his shoulder to the "travelling litter or palkee," and promised to return with her and be a suppliant to his brother-in-law for the restoration of his regard. She made a tour of the sacred places, and on return accepted the escort of the Prince of Ambar. The laws of hospitality amongst the Rajpoots are rigid: the Rana could not refuse to his guest the request for which he had left his capital: but averse to owing reconciliation to external intercession, and having done enough for the suppression of intrigue, he advanced to meet the *cortege* when within one march of Oodipur, as if to receive the Ambar prince; but proceeding direct to his mother's tents, he asked her blessing, and having escorted her to the palace, returned to greet and conduct his brother prince; all the allusion he made to the subject was in the simple but pithy expression, "family quarrels should be kept in the family."

Another anecdote shews him as the vigilant shepherd watching over the safety of his flock. As he sat down to dinner, tidings arrived of an invasion of the Malwa Pathans who had rifled several villages at Mundisore,

"Here all is well; the welfare of the *Sri Dewan-ji* is desired. You are very dear to me; you are great, the son of Hindusthan; if you do not thus act, who else can? the action is worthy of you; with your house is my entire friendship. From ancient times we are the Rajpoots of your house, from which both Raja's (a) have had their consequence increased, and I belong to it of old, and expect always to be fostered by it, nor will the *Sri Dewan-ji* disappoint us. My intention was to proceed to the feet of the *Sri dewan-ji*, but the wet weather has prevented me; but I shall soon make my appearance."—S. 1778 (A. D. 1722).

(a) Ambar and Marwar; this expression denotes the letter to have been written on intermarriage with the Rana's house, and shews her sense of such honour.

carrying the inhabitants into captivity. Pushing the platter from him, he ordered his armour, and the *nakara* to beat the assemblage of his chieftains. With all speed a gallant band formed on the terrace below, but they prevailed on the Rana to leave the punishment of the desultory aggression to them, as unworthy of his personal interference. They departed: several hours after, the chief of Kanorh arrived, having left a sick bed, and with a tertian come in obedience to his sovereign's summons. Vain was his prince's dissuasion to keep him back, and he joined the band as they came up with the invaders. The foe was defeated and put to flight, but the sick chieftain fell in the charge, and his son was severely wounded by his side. On the young chief repairing to court he was honoured with a *beera** from the Rana's own hand, a distinction which he held to be an ample reward for his wounds, and testimonial of the worth of his father. The existence of such sentiments are the strongest tests of character.

On another occasion, some parasite had insinuated suspicions against the chief of the nobles, the Rawut of Saloombra, who had just returned victorious in action with the royal forces at Malwa, and had asked permission to visit his family on his way to court. The Rana spurned the suspicion, and to shew his reliance on the chief, he despatched a messenger for Saloombra to wait his arrival and summon him to the presence. He had

* The *beera* is the beetle or pan-leaf folded up, containing aromatic spices, and presented on taking leave. The Kanorh chieftain, being of the second grade of nobles, was not entitled to the distinction of having it from the sovereign's own hand.

reached his domain, given leave to his vassals as they passed their respective abodes, dismounted, and reached the door of the *Rawula*, when the herald called aloud, "the Rana salutes you, Rawut-ji, and commands this letter." With his hand on the door where his wife and children awaited him, he demanded his horse, and simply leaving his "duty for his mother," he mounted, with half a dozen attendants, nor loosed the rein until he reached the capital. It was midnight; his house empty; no servants, no dinner; but his sovereign had foreseen and provided, and when his arrival was announced, provender for his cattle, and vessels of provision prepared in the royal kitchen, were immediately sent to his abode. Next morning, Saloombra attended the court. The Rana was unusually gracious, and not only presented him with the usual tokens of regard, a horse and jewels, but moreover a grant of land. With surprise he asked what service he had performed to merit such distinction, and from a sentiment becoming the descendant of Chonda solemnly refused to accept it; observing, that even if he had lost his head, the reward was excessive; but if his prince would admit of his preferring a request, it would be, that in remembrance of his sovereign's favour, when he, or his, in after times, should on the summons come from their estate to the capital, the same number of dishes from the royal kitchen should be sent to his abode: it was granted, and to this day his descendants enjoy the distinction. These anecdotes paint the character of Sangram far more forcibly than any laboured effort. His reign was as honourable to himself as it was beneficial to his country, in whose defence he had fought

eighteen actions; but though his policy was too circumscribed, and his country would have benefited more by a surrender of some of those antique prejudices which kept her back in the general scramble for portions of the dilapidated monarchy of the Moguls, yet he was respected abroad, was beloved by his subject, of whose welfare he was ever watchful, and to whose wants ever indulgent. Rana Sangram was the last prince who upheld the dignity of the *gadi* of Bappa Rawul; with his death commenced Mahratta ascendancy, and with this we shall open the reign of his son and successor.

Juggut Sing II., the eldest of the four sons of Sangram, succeeded S. 1790 (A. D. 1734). The commencement of his reign was signalized by a revival of the triple alliance formed by Rana Umra, and broken by Raja Ajit's connexion with the Syeds and the renewal of matrimonial ties with the empire, the abjuration whereof was the basis of the treaty. The present engagement, which included all the minor states, was formed at Hoorlah, a town in Mewar on the Ajmeer frontier, where the confederate princes met at the head of their vassals. To insure unanimity, the Rana was invested with paramount control, and headed the forces which were to take the field after the rains, already set in.* Unity of interests was the chief

* Treaty.

		Seal of Rana.
Agreed.	Agreed.	Sri Eklinga. (a)
Seeta Rama jeiyati. (c)	Vrij Adhees. (b)	Abhe Sing. (d)

(a) (b) (c) All these seals of Mewar, Marwar, and Ambar, bear respectively the names of the tutelary



character of the engagement, had they adhered to which, not only the independence, but the aggrandizement, of Rajasthan, was in their power, and they might have alike defied the expiring efforts of the Mogul tyranny, and the Parthian-like warfare of the Mahratta. They were indeed the most formidable power in India at this juncture; but difficult as it had ever proved to coalesce the Rajpoots for mutual preservation, even when a paramount superiority of power, both temporal and spiritual belonged to the Ranas, so now, since Ambar and Marwar had attained an equality with Mewar, it was found still less practicable to prevent the operation of the principles of disunion. In fact a moment's reflection must discover that the component parts of a great feudal federation, such as that described, must contain too many discordant particles—too many rivalries and national antipathies, ever cordially to amalgamate. Had it been otherwise, the

Swesta Sri ! By the united chiefs the under-written has been agreed to, from which no diviation can take place. Sawun sood 13, S. 1791 (A. D. 1735), Camp Hoorlah.

1. All are united, in good and in evil, and none will withdraw therefrom, on which oaths have been made, and faith pledged, which will be lost by whoever acts contrary thereto. The honour and shame of one is that of all, and in this everything is contained.

2. No one shall countenance the traitor of another.

3. After the rains the affair shall commence, and the chiefs of each party assemble at Rampur; and if from any cause the head can not come, he will send his *Konwar* (heir) or some personage of weight.

4. Should from inexperience such *Konwar* commit error the Rana alone shall interfere to correct it.

5. In every enterprize, all shall unite to effect it.

divinity of each prince and his tribe:—(a) Eklinga, or Mahadeva of the Seesodias of Mewar; (b) Vrij Adhees, the lord of Vrij, the country round Mathoora; the ephithet of Chrishna; seal of the Hara prince; (c) Victory to Seeta and Rama, the demi-god ancestor of the princes of Ambar; (d) Ahre Sing, prince of Marwar.

opportunities were many and splendid for the recovery of Rajpoot freedom; but though individually enamoured of liberty, the universality of the sentiment prevented its realization: they never would submit to the control required to work it out, and this, the best opportunity which had ever occurred, was lost. A glance at the disordered fragments of the throne of Akbar will shew the comparative strength of the Rajpoots.

Nizam-ool Moolk had completely emancipated himself from his allegiance, and signalled his independence, by sending the head of the imperial general, who ventured to oppose it, as that of a traitor, to the emperor. He leagued with the Rajpoots, and instigated Bajerow to plant the Mahratta standard in Malwa and Guzerat. In defending the former, Dya Buhadoor fell; and Jey Sing of Ambar, being nominated to the trust, delegated it to the invader, and Malwa was lost. The extensive province of Guzerat soon shared the same fate; for in the vacillating policy of the court, the promise of that government to the Rahtores had been broken and Abhe Sing, son of Ajit, who had expelled Sirbulland Khan after a severe contest, following the example of his brother prince of Ambar, connived with the invaders, while he added its most northern districts to Marwar. In Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, Shuja ud Dowlah, and his deputy Aliverdi Khan, were supreme, and Sufdur Jung, (son of Saadut Khan) was established in Oude. The basest disloyalty marked the rise of this family, which owed every thing to Mahomed Shah. It was Saadut Khan who invited Nadir Shah, whose invasion gave the final stab to the empire; and it was his son,

Sufdur Jung, who, when commandant of the artillery (*meer atush*), turned it against his sovereign's palace, and then conveyed it to Oude. Of the Dewans of Bengal we must speak only with reverence; but, whether they had any special dispensation, their loyalty to the descendant of Ferocksere has been very little more distinguished than that of the satraps enumerated, though the original tenure of Bengal is still apparent, and the feudal obligation to the suzerain of Delhi manifested, in the homage of "*petite serjanterie*," in transmitting with the annual fine of relief (one hundred mohurs) the spices of the eastern archipelago. Yet of all those who gloried in the title of "*fidooe padshah ghazi*," the only *slave* of the *victorious king* who has been generous to him in the day of his distress, is the Dewan of Bengal, better known as the English East-India Company. In the hour of triumph, they rescued the blind and aged descendant of the illustrious Baber from a state of degradation and penury, and secured to him all the dignity and comfort which his circumstances could lead him to hope; and the present state of his family, contrasted with the thraldom and misery endured while fortune favoured the Mahratta, is splendid. Yet perhaps the most acute stroke of fortune to this fallen monarch was when the British governor of India lent his aid to the descendant of the rebellious Sufdur Jung to mount the throne of Oude, and to assume, in lieu of the title of vizier of the empire, that of king. We can appreciate and commiserate the feeling; for the days of power were yet too*

* I have conversed with an aged Sikh who recollected the splendour of Mahomed Shah's reign before

recent for Akber *Sani* (the second) to receive such intelligence without a shock, or without comparing his condition with him whose name he bore. It is well to pause upon this page of eastern history, which is full of instruction; since by weighing the abuses of power, and its inevitable loss through placing a large executive trust in the hands of those who exercised it without sympathy towards the governed, we may at least retard the day of our decline.

The Mahratta establishments in Malwa and Guzerat constituted a nucleus for others to form upon, and like locusts, they crossed the Nerbuda in swarms; when the Holkars, the Sindhias, the Puars, and other less familiar names, emerged from obscurity; when the plough* was deserted for the sword, and the goatherd† made a lance of his crook. They devastated, and at length settled upon, the lands of the indigenous Rajpoots. For a time, the necessity of unity made them act under one standard, and hence the vast masses under the first Bajerow, which bore down all opposition, and afterwards dispersed themselves over those long-oppressed regions. It was in A. D. 1735 that he first crossed the Chumbul‡ and appeared before Delhi, which he blockaded, when his retreat was purchased by the surrender of the *chouth* or fourth of the gross revenues of the empire. The Nizam, dreading the influence such pusillanimous concession might exert upon his rising power, determined to

Nadir's invasion. He was *darogah* (superintendent) to the Dooab canal, and described to me the fete on its opening.

* Sindhia's family were husbandmen.

† Holkar was a goatherd.

‡ The ford near Dhalpur is still called Bhow-ghat.

drive the Mahrattas from Malwa, where, if once fixed, they would cut off his communications with the north. He accordingly invaded Malwa, defeated Bajerow in a pitched battle, and was only prevented from following it up by Nadir Shah's advance, facilitated by the Afghans, who, on becoming independent in Cabul, laid open the frontiers of Hindusthan.* In this emergency "great hopes were placed on the valour of the Rajpoots;" but the spirit of devotion in this brave race, by whose aid the Mogul power was made and maintained, was irretrievably alienated, and not one of those high families, who had throughout been so lavish of their blood in its defence, would obey the summons to the royal standard, when the fate of India was decided on the plains of Kurnal. A sense of individual danger brought together the great home feudatories, when the Nizam and Saadut Khan (now Vizier) united their forces under the imperial commander; but their demoralized levies were no match for the Persian and the northern mountaineer. The Ameer-ool Omra was slain, the Vizier made prisoner, and Mahomed Shah and his kingdom were at Nadir's disposal. The disloyalty of the Vizier filled the capital with blood, and subjected his sovereign to the condition of a captive. Jealous of the Nizam, whose diplomatic success had obtained him the office of Ameer-ool Omra, he stimulated the avarice of the conqueror by exaggerating the riches of Delhi, and declared that he alone could furnish the ransom negotiated by the Nizam. Nadir's love of gold overpowered his principle; the treaty was broken, the keys of Delhi were deman-

ded, and its humiliated emperor was led in triumph through the camp of the conqueror, who, on the 8th March A. D. 1740, took possession of the palace of Timur, and coined money bearing this legend:

"King over the kings of the world.

"Is Nadir king of kings and lord of the period."

The accumulated wealth of India contained in the royal treasury, notwithstanding the lavish expenditure during the civil wars, and the profuse rewards scattered by each competitor for dominion, was yet sufficient to gratify even avarice itself, amounting in gold, jewels, and plate, to forty millions sterling, exclusive of equipages of every denomination. But this enormous spoil only kindled instead of satiating the appetite of Nadir, and a fine of two millions and a half was exacted, and levied with such unrelenting rigour and cruelty on the inhabitants, that men of rank and character could find no means of escape but by suicide. A rumour of this monster's death excited an insurrection, in which several Persians were killed. The provocation was not lost: the conqueror ascended a mosque,* and commanded a general massacre, in which thousands were slain. Pillage accompanied murder; whilst the streets streamed with blood, the city was fired, and the dead were consumed in the conflagration of their late habitations. If a single ray of satisfaction could be felt, amidst such a scene of horror, it must have been when Nadir commanded the minister of the wretch who was the author of this atrocity, the infamous Saadut Khan, to send, on pain of death, an inventory of his own and his master's wealth; demanding meanwhile the two millions and a half, the

* A. D. 1740.

* It is yet pointed out to the visitor of this famed city.

original composition settled by the Nizam, from the Vizier alone. Whether his "coward conscience" was alarmed at the mischief he had occasioned, or mortification at discovering that his ambition had "o'erleaped itself," and recoiled with vengeance on his own head, tempted the act, it is impossible to discover, but the guilty Saadut became his own executioner. He swallowed poison; an example followed by his Dewan, Raja Mujlis Rae, in order to escape the rage of the offended Nadir. By the new treaty, all the western provinces, Cabul, Tatta, Sindé, and Mooltan, were surrendered and united to Persia, and on the vernal equinox, Nadir, gorged with spoil, commenced his march, from the desolated Delhi.* The

* As the hour of departure approached, the cruelties of the ruthless invaders increased, to which the words of the narrator, an eye-witness, can alone do justice: "a type of the last day afflicted the inhabitants of this once happy city; hitherto it was a general massacre, but now came the murder of individuals. In every house was heard the cry of affliction. Bussunt Rae, agent for pensions, killed his family and himself; Khalik Yar Khan stabbed himself; many took poison, the venerable chief magistrate was dishonoured by stripes; sleep and rest forsook the city. The officers of the court were bitten without mercy, and a fire broke out in the imperial *forash-khana*, and destroyed effects to the amount of a crore (a million sterling). There was a scarcity of grain, two seers of coarse rice sold for a rupee, and from a pestilential disorder crowds died daily in every street and lane. The inhabitants, like the affrighted animals of the desert, sought refuge in the most concealed corners. Yet four or five crores (millions) more were thus extracted." On the 5th April, Nadir's seals were taken off the imperial repositories, and his firmans sent to all the feudatories of the empire to notify the peace and to inculcate obedience "to his dear brother," which as a specimen of eastern diplomatic phraseology is worth insertion. It was addressed to the Rana, the Rajas of Marwar and Ambar, Nagore, Sitarra, the Peshwa Bajerow, &c. "Between us and our dear brother, Mahomed Shah, in consideration of the regard and alliances of the two sovereignties, the connections of regard and friendship have been renewed, so that we may be esteemed as one soul in

philosophic comment of the Native historian on these events is so just, that we shall transcribe it verbatim. "The people of Hindustan than at this period thought only of personal safety and gratification; misery was disregarded by those who escaped it, and man, centred wholly in self, felt not for his kind. This selfishness, destructive of public and private virtue, was universal in Hindusthan at the invasion of Nadir Shah; nor have the people become more virtuous since, and consequently neither more happy nor more independent."

At this eventful era in the political history of India, the Rajpoot nation had not only maintained their ground amidst the convulsions of six centuries under the paramount sway of the Islamite, but two of the three chief states, Marwar and Ambar, had by policy and valour created substantial states out of petty principalities, junior branches* from which had established their independence, and still enjoy it under treaty with the British Government. Mewar at this juncture was defined by nearly the same boundaries as when Mahmood of Ghizni invaded her in the tenth century, though her influence over many of her tributaries, as Boondi, Aboo, Edur, and Deola, was

"two bodies. Now our dear brother has been replaced on the throne of this extensive empire, and we are moving to the conquest of other regions, it is incumbent that ye like your forefathers, walk in the path of submission and obedience to our dear brother, as they did to former sovereigns of the house of Timoor. God forbid it; but if accounts of your rebelling should reach our ears, we will blot you out of the pages of the book of creation."—*Memoirs of Fradut Khan*.—Scott's History of Dekhan, vol. ii, page 213.

* Bikaneer and Kishengurh arose out of Marwar, and Macheri from Ambar.—to which we might add Shikharvati, which though not separate, is tributary to Ambar, (now Jeypur).



destroyed. To the west, the fertile district of Godwar carried her beyond her natural barrier, the Aravali, into the desert; while the Chumbul was her limit to the east. The Khary separated her from Ajmeer, and to the south she adjoined Malwa. These limits comprehended one hundred and thirty miles of latitude and one hundred and forty of longitude, containing 10,000 towns and villages, with upwards of a million sterling of revenue, raised from a fertile soil by an excellent agricultural population, a wealthy mercantile community, and defended by a devoted vassalage. Such was this little patriarchal state after the protracted strife which has been related; we shall have to exhibit her, in less than half a century, on the verge of annihilation from the predatory inroads of the Mahrattas.

In order to mark with exactitude the introduction of the Mahrattas into Rajasthan, we must revert to the period* when the dastardly intrigues of the advisers of Mahomed Shah surrendered to them as tribute the *chouth*, or fourth of his revenues. Whether in the full tide of successful invasion, these spoilers deemed any other argument than force to be requisite in order to justify their extortions, they had in this surrender a concession of which the subtle Mahrattas were well capable of availing themselves; and as the Mogul claimed sovereignty over the whole of Rajasthan, they might plausibly urge their right of *chouth*, as applicable to all the territories subordinate to the empire.

The rapidity with which these desultory bands flew from conquest to conquest appears

to have alarmed the Rajpoots, and again brought about a coalition, which, with the characteristic peculiarity of all such contracts, was commenced by matrimonial alliances. On this occasion, Beejy Sing, the heir of Marwar, was affianced to the Rana's daughter, who at the same time reconciled the princes of Marwar and Ambar, whose position at the court of the Mogul often brought their national jealousies into conflict, as they alternately took the lead in his councils: for it was rare to find both in the same line of politics. These matters were arranged at Oodipur.*

*These documents are interesting, if merely shewing the high respect paid by every Rajpoot prince to the Ranas of Mewar, and illustrating what is recorded in the reign of Petrap, who abjured all intercourse with them.

No. 1.

"From Konwar Beejy Sing of Marwar to
"the Mah-Rana Sri-Sri-Sri.

"Juggut sing's presence—let my *moojra* (obedience) be known. You honoured me by sending Rawut Kesuri Sing and Behari-das, and commanding a marriage connection. Your orders are on your child's head. You have made me a servant. To every thing I am agreed, and now I am your child; while I live I am yours. If a true Rajpoot, my head is at your disposal. You have made 20000 Rahtores your servants. If I fail in this, the almighty is between us. Whoever is of my blood will obey your commands, and the fruit of this marriage shall be sovereign, and if a daughter, should I bestow her on the *Toorkana*, I am no true Rajpoot. She shall be married to a proper connection, and not without your advice; and even, should *Sri Bhahaji* (an epithet of respect to his father), or others of our elders, recommend such proceeding, I swear by God I shall not agree. I am the Dewans, let others approve or disapprove.—Assar Sood Poonum, Full Moon, Thursday, S. 1791 (A. D. 1735-6)."

"N. B. This deed was executed in the balcony of the Kishen-bulas by Rawut Kesuri Sing and Pancholi Behari-das, and written by Pancholi Laljee—viz. marriage-deed of Konwar Beejy Sing, son of Bhukt Sing."

No. 2.

"From Beejy Sing to the Rana Juggut Sing.

"Here all is well. Preserve your friendship and favour for me, and give me tidings of your welfare. That day I shall behold you will be without price (*amotue*). You have made me a thorough Rajpoot—never shall I fail in whatever service I can perform. You are the

* A. D. 1735.

But, as we have often had occasion to observe, no public or general benefit ever resulted from these alliances, which were obstructed by the multitude of petty jealousies inseparable from clanship; even while this treaty was in discussion, the fruit of the triple league formed against the tyranny of

Arungzebe was about to shew its baneful influence, as will presently appear.

When Malwa was acquired by the Maharattas, followed by the cession of the *chouth*, their leader, Bajerow, repaired to Mewar, where his visit created great alarm.* The Rana desired to avoid a personal interview,

"father of all the tribes, and bestow gifts on each according to his worth—the support and preservation of all around you—to your enemy destruction; great in knowledge, and wise like Bramha. May the Lord of the world keep the Rana happy.—Asar 13."

No. 3.

"Raja Bhukt Sing to the Rana.

To Mahrana Sri-Sri-Sri Juggut Sing, let Bhukt Sing's respects (*moogra*) be made known. *You have made me a thorough Rajpoot*, and by such your favour is known to the world. What service I can perform, you will never find me backward. The day I shall see you I shall be happy, my heart yearns to be with you.—Asar 11."

No. 4.

Sawaie Jey Sing to the Rana.

"May the respects of Sawaie Jey Sing be known to the Mahrana. According to the Sri Dewan's commands (*hooqm*), I have entered into terms of friendship with you (Abhi Sing of Marwar). For neither Hindu nor Mussulman shall I swerve therefrom. To this engagement God is between us; and the Sri Dewan-ji is witness.—Asar Sood 7."

No. 5.

"Raja Bhukt Sing to the Rana.

"Your *Khas rogqua* (note in the Rana's own hand) I received, read, and was happy. Jey Sing's engagement you will have received, and mine also will have reached you. At your commands I entered into friendship with him, and as to my preserving it have no doubts, for having given you as my guarantee, no deviation can occur; do you secure his. Whether you may be accounted my father, brother, or friend, I am yours; besides you I care for neither connection nor ~~km~~—Asar 6."

No. 6.

"From Raja Abhi Sing to the Rana.

"To the Presence of Mahrana Juggut Sing, Mahraja Abhi Sing writes—read his respects (*moogra*). God is witness to our engagement, whoever breaks it may he fare ill. In good and in evil we are joined; with one mind let us remain united, and let no selfishness disunite us. Your chiefs are witnesses, and the true Rajpoot will not deviate from his engagement.—Asoj 3d, Thursday."

Abhi Sing and Bhukt Sing were brothers, sons of Raja Ajit of Marwar, to whom the former succeeded, while Bhukt Sing held Nagore independently. His son was Beejy Sing, with whom this marriage was contracted. He ultimately succeeded to the government of Marwar or Jodpur. He will add another example of political expediency counteracting common gratitude, in seizing on domestic convulsions to deprive the Rana's grandson of the province of Godwar. Zalim Sing was the fruit of this marriage, who resided during his elder brother's (Futteh Sing) lifetime at Oodipur. He was brave, amiable, and a distinguished poet. The *Yati* (priest), who attended me during twelve years, my assistant in these researches, was brought up under the eye of this prince as his amanuensis, and from him he imbibed his love of history and poetry, in reading which he excelled all the bards of Rajwarra.

* Letter from Rana Juggut Sing to Behari-das Pancholi.

No. 1.

"Swesta Sri, chief of ministers, Pancholi-ji, read my *Johar*. (a) The remembrance of you never leaves me, The Dekhany question you have settled well, but if a meeting is to take place, (b) let it be beyond Deola—nearer is not advisable. Lessen the number of your troops, by God's blessing there will be no want of funds. Settle for Rampura according to the preceding year, and let Dowlut Sing know the opportunity will not occur again. The royal mother is unwell. Garrarow and Guj Manik fought nobly, and Soondur Guj played a thousand pranks. (c) I regretted your absence. How shall I send Sobharam? Asoj 6, S. 1791 (A. D. 1735)."

No 2.—*To the same.*

"I will not credit it, therefore send witnesses and a detail of their demands. Bajerow is come, and he will

(a) A compliment used from a superior to any inferior.

(b) To the Peshwa is the allusion.

(c) As the Rana never expected his confidential notes to be translated into English, perhaps it is illiberal to be severe on them; or we might say, his elephants are mentioned more *con amore* than his sick mother or state affairs. I obtained many hundreds of these autograph notes of this prince to his prime minister.

and sent as his ambassadors, the chief of Saloombra and his prime minister, Beharri-das. Long discussions followed as to the

"derive reputation from having compelled a contri-
"bution from me, besides his demand of land. He has
"commenced with my country, and will take twenty
"times more from me than other Rajas—if a propor-
"tionate demand, it might be complied with. Mulhar
"came last year, but this was nothing—Bajerow this,
"and he is powerful. But if God hears me he will not
"get my land. From Davichund learn particulars.

"Thursday, S. 1792.

"At the *Holi* all was joy at the Jugmundur, (a) but
"what is food without salt? what Oodipur without
"Behari-das!"

No. 3.—*Same to the Same.*

"With such a man as you in my house I have no fears
"for its stability; but why this appearance of poverty?
"perhaps you will ask, what fault have you committed?
"that you sit and move as I direct. The matter is thus:
"money is all in all, and the troubles on foot can only
"be settled by you, and all other resolutions are useless.
"You may say, you have got nothing, and how can you
"settle them—but already two or three difficulties have
"occured, in getting out of which, both your pi-
"nions and mine, as to veracity, have been broken, so
"that neither scheming nor wisdom is any longer avail-
"able. Though you have been removed from me for
"some time, I have always considered you at hand; but
"now it will be well if you approach nearer to me, that
"we may raise supplies, for in the act of hiding you are
"celebrated, and the son (b) (*beta*) hides none: there-
"fore your hoarding is useless, and begets suspicions.
"Therefore, unless you have a mind to efface all regard
"for your master and your own importance at my court,
"you will get ready some jewels and bonds under good
"security and bring them to me. There is no way but
"this to allay these troubles; but should you think you
"have got ever so much time, and that I will send for
"you at all events, then have I thrown away mine in
"writing you this letter. You are wise—look to the
"future, and be assured I shall write no second letter.—
"S. 1792."

This letter will shew that the office of prime minister is not a bed of roses. The immediate descendants of Beharri-das are in poverty like their prince, though some distant branches of the family are in situations of trust; his ambassador to Delhi, and who subsequently remained with me as medium of communication with the Rana, was a worthy and able man—Kishen-das Pancholi.

(a) The Hindu saturnalia held in the island, "*the Minister of the world.*"

(b) The Rana always styled him 'father.'

mode of Bajerow's reception, which was settled to be on the same footing as the Raja of Bunera,* and that he should be seated in front of the throne. A treaty followed, stipulating an annual tribute, which remained in force during ten years,† when grasping

I shall subjoin another letter from the Sittara prince to Rana Juggut Sing, though being without date it is doubtful whether it is not addressed to Juggut Sing the First; this is however unimportant, as it is merely one of compliment, but shewing the high respect paid by the sovereign of the Peshwas to the house whence they originally sprung.

"Swesta Sri, worthy of all praise (*opma*), from whose
"actions credit results; the worshipper of the remover
"of troubles; the ambrosia of the ocean of the Raj-
"poot race (a) (*imrita rutnacara khetri eula*); resplen-
"dent as the sun; who has made a river of tears from
"the eyes of the wives of your warlike foes; in deeds
"munificent. *Sriman Maharaja dheraj Maharana Sri*
"*Juggut Sing-ji*, of all the princes chief, *Sriman Sahoo*
"*Chuthurpati Raja* writes, read his Ram, Ram! Here
"all is well; honour me by good accounts, which I am
"always expecting, as the source of happiness.

"Your favor was received by the Pundit Purdhan (b)
"with great respect; and from the period of the arrival
"of Raj Sri Rawut Oody Sing to this time my good-will
"has been increasing towards him: let your favour be-
"tween us be enlarged: what more can I write?"

* The descendant of Bheem, son of Rana Raj Sing. The seat assigned to Bajerow was made the precedent for the position of the representative of the British government.

† The amount was 1,60,000 rupees, divided into three shares of 53,333 0 4½, assigned to Holkar, Sindhia, and the Puar. The management was entrusted to Holkar;

(a) The ocean has the poetical appellation of *rutnacara*, or "house of gems;" the fable of the churning of the ocean is well known, when were yielded many boun-
ties, of which the *imrita* or 'immortal food' of the gods was one, to which the Rana, as head of all the Rajpoot tribes, is likened.

(b) This expression induces the belief that the letter is written by the Peshwa in his sovereign's name, as they had at this time commenced their usurpation of his power. It was to the second Juggut Sing that an offer was made to fill the Sittara throne by a branch of his family, then occupied by an imbecile. A younger brother of the Rana, the ancestor of the present heir presumptive, Sheodan Sing, was chosen, but intrigues prevented it, the Rana dreading a superior from his own family.

at the whole they despised a part, and the treaty became a nullity.* The dissensions which arose soon after, in consequence of the Rajpoot engagements, afforded the opportunity sought for to mix in their internal concerns. It may be recollected that in the family engagements formed by Rana Umra there was an obligation to invest the issue of such marriage with the rights of primogeniture; and the death of Sawaie Jey Sing† of Ambar, two years after Nadir's invasion, brought that stipulation into effect. His eldest son, Esuri Sing, was proclaimed Raja, but a strong party supported Madhu Sing, the Rana's nephew, and the stipulated, against the natural order of succession. We are left in doubt as to the real designs of Jey Sing in maintaining his guarantee, which was doubtless inconvenient; but that Madhu Sing was not brought up to the expectation is evident, from his holding a fief of the Rana Sangram, who appropriated the domain of Rampura for his support, subject to the service of one thousand horse and two thousand foot, formally sanctioned by his father, who allowed the transfer of his services. On the other hand, the letter of permission entitles him *Cheema*, an epithet only applied to the heir-apparent of Jeypur. Five years however elapsed before any extraordinary exertions were made to annul the rights of Esuri Sing, who led his vassals to the Sutledge in order to oppose the first invasion of the Dooranees.‡ It would be tedious

to give even an epitome of the intrigues for the development of this object, which properly belong to the annals of Ambar, and whence resulted many of the troubles of Rajpootana. The Rana took the field with his nephew, and was met by Esuri Sing,* supported by the Mahrattas; but the Seesodias did not evince in the battle of Rajmahal that gallantry which must have its source in moral strength: they were defeated and fled. The Rana vented his indignation in a galling sarcasm; he gave the sword of state to a common courtesan to carry in procession, observing "it was a woman's weapon in these degenerate times;" a remark, the degrading severity of which made a lasting impression in the decline of Mewar. Elated with this success, Esuri Sing carried his resentments and his auxiliaries, under Sindhia, against the Haras of Kotah and Boondi, who supported the cause of his antagonist. Kotah stood a seige and was gallantly defended, and Sindhia (Appajee) lost an arm: on this occasion both the states suffered a diminution of territory, and were subjected to tribute. The Rana, following the example of the Cutchwahas, called in as auxiliary Mulhar Rao Holkar, and engaged to pay sixty-four lacks of rupees (£800,000) on the deposal of Esuri Sing. To avoid degradation this unfortunate prince resolved on suicide, and a dose of poison gave Madhu Sing the *gadi*, Holkar his bribe, and the Mahrattas a firm hold upon Rajasthan. Such was the cause of Rajpoot abasement; the moral force of the vassals was lost in a contest unjust in all its

subsequently Sindhia acted as receiver-general. This was the only regular tributary engagement Mewar entered into.

* See letter No. 2, in note, page 328.

† A. D. 1743.

‡ A. D. 1747.

* The great Jey Sing built a city which he called after himself, and henceforth Jeypur will supersede the ancient appellation, Ambar.



associations, and from this period we have only the degrading spectacle of civil strife and predatory spoliation till the existing treaty of A.D. 1817.

In S. 1808 (A.D. 1752) Rana Juggut Sing died. Addicted to pleasure, his habits of levity and profusion totally unfitted him for the task of governing his country at such a juncture ; he considered his elephant fights*

of more importance than keeping down the Mahrattas. Like all his family, he patronized the arts, greatly enlarged the palace, and expended £250,000 in embellishing the islets of the Peshola. The villas scattered over the valley were all erected by him, and many of those festivals devoted to idleness and dissipation, and now firmly rooted at Oodipur, were instituted by Juggut Sing II.

CHAPTER XVI.

Rana Pertap II.—Rana Raj Sing II.—Rana Ursi.—Holkar invades Mewar, and levies Contributions.—Rebellion to depose the Rana.—A Pretender set up by the Rebel Chiefs.—Zalim Sing of Kotah.—The Pretender unites with Sindhia.—Their combined Force attacked by the Rana, who is defeated.—Sindhia invades Mewar and besieges Oodipur.—Umra Chund made Minister by the Rana—his noble conduct—negociaties with Sindhia, who withdraws.—Loss of Territory to Mewar.—Rebel Chiefs return to their Allegiance.—Province of Godwar lost.—Assassination of the Rana.—Rana Hamir succeeds.—Contentions between the Queen Regent and Umra.—His noble Conduct, Death, and Character.—Diminution of the Mewar Territory.

PERTAP II. succeeded in A.D. 1752. Of the history of this prince, who renewed the most illustrious name in the annals of Mewar, there is nothing to record beyond the fact, that the three years he occupied the throne were marked by so many Mahratta invasions† and war contributions. By a daughter of Raja Jey Sing of Ambar he had a son, who succeeded him.

RANA RAJ SING II. was as little entitled to the name he bore as his predecessor. During the seven years he held the dignity,

at least seven shoals of the Southrons overran Mewar,* and so exhausted this country, that the Rana was compelled to ask pecuniary aid from the Brahmin collector of the tribute, to enable him to marry the Rahtore chieftain's daughter. On his death the order of succession retrograded, devolving on his uncle.

RANA URSI, in S. 1818, A.D. 1762. The levity of Juggut Sing, the inexperience of his successors Pertap and Raj Sing, with the ungovernable temper of Rana Ursi, and

* See letters from Rana Juggut Sing to Beharri-das, p. 328.

† The leaders of these invasions were Sutwaji, Jankoji and Ragunaut Rao.

* In S. 1812, Raja Buhadoor; in 1813, Mulhar Rao Holkar and Vitul Rao; in 1814, Ranaji Boortea: in 1813 three war contributions were levied, viz. by Sudasheo Rao, Govind Rao, and Kunaje Jadoon.

the circumstances under which he succeeded to power, introduced a train of disorders which proved fatal to Mewar. Until this period not a foot of territory had been alienated. The wisdom of the Pancholi ministers, and the high respect paid by the organ of the Sitarra government, for a while preserved its integrity; but when the country was divided by factions, and the Mahrattas, ceasing to be a federate body, prowled in search of prey under leaders, each having an interest of his own, they formed political combinations to suit the ephemeral purposes of the former, but from which they alone reaped advantage. An attempt to depose Pertap and set up his uncle Nathji introduced a series of rebellions, and constituted Mulhar Rao Holkar, who had already become master of a considerable portion of the domain of Mewar, the umpire in their family disputes.

The ties of blood or of princely gratitude are feeble bonds if political expediency demands their dissolution; and Madhu Sing, when firmly established on the throne of Ambar, repaid the immense sacrifices by which the Rana had effected it by assigning his fief of Rampura, which he had not a shadow of right to alienate, to Holkar: this was the first limb severed from Mewar.* Holkar had also become the assignee of the tribute imposed by Bajerow, but from which

the Rana justly deemed himself exempt, when the terms of all further encroachment in Mewar were set at naught. On the plea of recovering these arrears, and the rent of some districts* on the Chumbul, Mulhar, after many threatening letters, invaded Mewar, and his threats of occupying the capital were only checked by draining their exhausted resources of six hundred thousand pounds.† In the same year‡ a famine afflicted them, when flour and tamarinds were equal in value, and were sold at the rate of a rupee for one pound and a half. Four years subsequent to this, civil war broke out and continued to influence all posterior proceedings, rendering the inhabitants of this unhappy country a prey to every invader until 1817, when they tasted repose under British protection.

The real cause of this rebellion must ever remain a secret: for while some regard it as a patriotic effort on the part of the people to redeem themselves from foreign domination, others discover its motive in the selfishness of the hostile clans, who supported or opposed the succession of Rana Ursi. This prince is accused of having unfairly acquired the crown, by the removal of his nephew Raj Sing; but though the traditional anecdotes of the period furnish strong grounds of suspicion, there is nothing which affords a direct confirmation of the crime. It is, however, a public misfortune when the line of succession retrogrades in Mewar; Ursi had

* This was in S. 1808 (A. D. 1752); portions, however, remained attached to the fisc of Mewar for several years, besides a considerable part of the feudal lands of the Chandarawut chief of Amud. Of the former, the Rana retained Hinglazgurh and the Tuppas of Jarda Kinjerra, and Boodsoo. These were surrendered by Raj Sing, who rented Boodsoo under its new appellation of Mulhargurh.

* Boodsoo, &c.

† Holkar advanced as far as Ontala, where Urjoon Sing of Korabur and the Rana's foster-brothers met him, and negotiated the payment of fifty-one lacs of rupees.

‡ S. 1820, A. D. 1764.

no right to expect the inheritance he obtained, having long held a seat below the sixteen chief nobles; and as one of the 'infants' (*babas*) he was incorporated with the second class of nobles with an appanage of only £3,000 per annum. His defects of character had been too closely contemplated by his compeers, and had kindled too many enmities, to justify expectation that the adventitious dignity he had attained would succeed in obliterating the memory of them; and past familiarity alone destroyed the respect which was exacted by sudden greatness. His insolent demeanour estranged the first of the home nobility, the Sadri chieftain,* whose ancestor at Huldighat acquired a claim to the perpetual gratitude of the Seesodias, while to an unfeeling pun on a personal defect of Jeswunt Sing of Deogurh is attributed the hatred and revenge of this powerful branch of the Chondawuts. These chiefs formed a party which eventually entrained many of lesser note to depose their sovereign, and immediately set up a youth called Rutna

Sing, declared to be the posthumous son of the last Rana by the daughter of the chief of Gogoonda, though to this hour disputes run high as to whether he was really the son of Raj Sing, or merely the puppet of a faction. Be the fact as it may, he was made a rallying point for the disaffected, who soon comprehended the greater portion of the nobles, while out of the 'sixteen' greater chiefs five* only withstood the defection: of these, Saloombra, the hereditary premier, at first espoused, but soon abandoned, the cause of the pretender; not from the principle of loyalty which his descendants take credit for, but from finding the superiority of intellect of the heads of the rebellion† (which now counted the rival Suktawuts) too powerful for the supremacy he desired. Bussut Pal, of the Depra tribe, was invested with the office of *Purdhan* to the Pretender. The ancestor of this man accompanied Samarsi in the twelfth century from Delhi, where he held a high office in the household of Prithwi Raj, the last emperor of the Hindus, and it is a distinguished proof of the hereditary quality of official dignity to find his descendant, after the lapse of centuries, still holding office with the nominal title of *Purdhan*. The *Fitoori*,‡ (by which name the court still designates the Pretender), took post with his faction in Komulmeer; where he was formally installed, and whence he promulgated his decrees as Rana of Mewar. With that heedlessness of consequences and the political debasement

* An autograph letter of this chief's to the minister of the day I obtained, with other public documents, from the descendant of the Pancholi:

"To Jeswunt Rao Pancholi, Raj Rinna Raghoodeo writes. After compliments. I received your letter— from old times you have been my friend, and have ever maintained faith towards me, for I am of the loyal to the Rana's house. I conceal nothing from you, therefore I write that my heart is averse to longer service, and it is my purpose in Asar to go to *Gya*. (a) When I mentioned this to the Rana, he sarcastically told me 'I might go to *Dwarica*. (b) If I stay, the Rana will restore the villages in my fief, as during the time of Jaetji. My ancestors have performed good service, and I have served since I was fourteen. If the Durbar intends me any favour, this is the time.'

(a) *Gya* is esteemed the proper pilgrimage for the Rajpoots.

(b) *Dwarica*, the resort for religious and unwarlike tribes.

* Saloombra (*Chondawut*), Bijolli, Amait, Ganora, and Bednore.

† Bheendir (*Suktawut*), Deogurh, Sadri, Gogoonda, Dailwarra, Baidla, Kotario, and Kanorh.

‡ Agitator, or disturber.

which are invariable concomitants of civil dissention, they had the meanness to invite Sindhia to their aid, with a promise of a reward of more than one million sterling* on the dethronement of Ursi.

This contest first brought into notice one of the most celebrated Rajpoot chiefs of India, Zalim Sing of Kotah, who was destined to fill a distinguished part in the annals of Rajasthan, but more especially in Mewar, where his political sagacity first developed itself. Though this is not the proper place to delineate his history, which will occupy a subsequent portion of the work, it is impossible to trace the events with which he was so closely connected without adverting slightly to the part he acted in these scenes. The attack on Kotah, of which his father was military governor (during the struggle to place Madhu Sing on the throne of ambar), by Esuri Sing, in conjunction with Sindhia, was the first avenue to his distinguished career, leading to an acquaintance with the Mahratta chiefs, which linked him with their policy for more than half a century. Zalim having lost his prince's favour, whose path in love he had dared to cross, repaired, on his banishment from Kotah, to the Rana, who, observing his talents, enrolled him amongst his chiefs, and conferred on him, with the title of Raj Rinna, the lands of Cheeturkhaira for his support. By his advice the Mahratta leaders Raghoo Paigawalla and Dowla Meea, with their bands, were called in by the Rana who, setting aside the ancient Pancholi ministry, gave the seals of office to Uggurji Mehta. At this period (S. 1824, A.D. 1768),

Madhaji Sindhia was at Oojein. whither the conflicting parties hastened, each desirous of obtaining this chieftain's support. But the Pretender's proposals had been already entertained, and he was then encamped with Sindhia on the banks of the Sippra.

The Rana's force, conducted by the chief of Saloombra, the Rajas of Shapura and Bunera, with Zalim Sing and the Mahratta auxiliaries, did not hesitate to attack the combined camp, and for a moment they were victorious, driving Madhaji and the Pretender from the field, with great loss, to the gates of Oojein. Here, however, they rallied, and being joined by a fresh body of troops, the battle was renewed with great disadvantage to the Rajpoots, who, deeming the day theirs, had broken and dispersed to plunder. The chiefs of Saloombra, Shapura, and Bunera were slain, and the auxiliary Dowla Meea, Raja Maun (ex-prince of Nirwur), and Raj Kullian, the heir of Sadri, severely wounded. Zalim Sing had his horse killed under him, and being left wounded on the field, was made prisoner, but hospitably treated by Trim-buck Rao, father to the celebrated Umbaji. The discomfited troops retreated to Oodipur, while the Pretender's party remained with Sindhia, inciting him to invest that capital and place Rutna on the throne. Some time, however, elapsed before he could carry this design into execution; when, at the head of a large force, the Mahratta chief gained the passes and besieged the city. The Rana's cause now appeared hopeless. Bheem Sing of Saloombra, uncle and successor to the chief slain at Oojein, with the Rahtore chief of Bednore (descendant of Jeimul), were the only nobles of high rank

* One crore and twenty-five lacs.

who defended their prince and capital in this emergency ; but the energies of an individual saved both.

Umra Chund Burwa, of the mercantile class, had held office in the preceding reigns, when his influence retarded the progress of evils which no human means could avert. He was now displaced, and little solicitous of recovering his transient power, amidst hourly increasing difficulties, with a stubborn and unpopular prince, a divided aristocracy, and an impoverished country. He was aware also of his own imperious temper, which was as ungovernable as his sovereign's, and which experienced no check from the minor Pertap, who regarded him as his father. During the ten years he had been out of office, mercenaries of Sindh had been entertained and established on the forfeited lands of the clans, perpetuating discontent and stifling every latent spark of patriotism. Even those who did not join the Pretender remained sullenly at their castles, and thus all confidence was annihilated. A casual incident brought Umra forward at this critical juncture. Oodipur had neither ditch nor walls equal to its defence. Ursi was engaged in fortifying Eklingurh, a lofty hill south of the city, which it commanded, and attempting to place thereon an enormous piece of ordnance, but it baffled their mechanical skill to get it over the craggy ascent. Umra happened to be present when the Rana arrived to inspect the proceedings. Excuses were made to avert his displeasure, when turning to the ex-minister, he inquired what time and expense ought to attend the completion of such an undertaking. The reply was, "a few rations of grain and some days:" and

he offered to accomplish the task, on condition that his orders should be supreme in the valley during its performance. He collected the whole working population, cut a road, and in a few days gave the Rana a salute from Eklingurh. The foster-brother of the Rana had succeeded the Jhala chieftain, Raghuo Deo, in the ministerial functions. The city was now closely invested on every side but the west, where communications were still kept open by the lake, across which the faithful mountaineers of the Aravali, who in similar dangers never failed, supplied them with provisions. All defence rested on the fidelity of the mercenary Sindhies, and they were at this very moment insolent in their clamours for arrears of pay. Nor were the indecisive measures daily passing before their eyes calculated to augment their respect, or stimulate their courage. Not satisfied with demands, they had the audacity to seize the Rana by the skirt of his robe as he entered the palace, which was torn in the effort to detain him. The haughtiness of his temper gave way to this humiliating proof of the hopelessness of his condition ; and while the *Dhabhae* (foster-brother) counselled escape by water to the mountains, whence he might gain Mandelgurh, the Saloombra chief confessed his inability to offer any advice save that of recourse to Umra Chund. He was summoned, and the uncontrolled charge of their desperate affairs offered to his guidance. He replied that it was a task of which no man could be covetous, more especially himself, whose administration had formerly been marked by the banishment of corruption and disorder, for that he must now call in the aid of these vices, and assi-

milate the means to the times. "You know "also," he added, "my defect of temper, "which admits of no control. Wherever "I am, I must be absolute—no secret advisers, no counteraction of measures. "With finances ruined, troops mutinous, provisions expended, if you desire me to act, "swear that no order, whatever its purport, "shall be countermanded, and I may try "what can be done :—but recollect Umra, "the just,* will be the unjust, and reverse "his former character." The Rana pledged himself by the patron deity to comply with all his demands, adding this forcible expression : "Should you even send to the queen's "apartment and demand her necklace or "nutna,* it shall be granted." The advice of the *Dhabhae* encountered the full flood of Umra's wrath. "The counsel is such "as might be expected from your condition. "What will preserve your prince at Mandelgurih if he flies from Oodipur, and what "hidden resources have you there for your support? The project would suit you, "who might resume your original occupation of tending buffaloes and selling milk, "more adapted to your birth and understanding than state affairs; but these pursuits "your prince has yet to learn." The Rana and his chiefs bent their heads at the bold bearing of Umra. Descending to the terrace, where the Sindhie leaders and their bands were assembled, he commanded them to follow him, exclaiming, "look to me for "your arrears, and as for your services, it "will be my fault if you fail." The mutineers, who had just insulted their sovereign,

rose without reply, and in a body left the palace with Umra, who calculated their arrears and promised payment the next day. Meanwhile he commanded the *bundars* (repositories) to be broken open, as the keeper of each fled when the keys of their trust were demanded. All the gold and silver, whether in bullion or in vessels, were converted into money—jewels were pledged—the troops paid and satisfied, ammunition and provisions laid in—a fresh stimulus supplied, the enemy held at defiance, and the siege prolonged during six months.

The Pretender's party had extended their influence over a great part of the crown domain, even to the valley of Oodipur; but unable to fulfil the stipulation to Sindhia, the baffled Mahratta, to whom time was treasure, negotiated with Umra to raise the siege, and abandon the Pretender on the payment of seventy lacs. But scarcely was the treaty signed, when the reported disposition of the auxiliaries, and the plunder expected on a successful assault, excited his avarice and made him break his faith, and twenty lacs additional were imposed. Umra tore up the treaty, and sent back the fragments to the faithless Mahratta with defiance. His spirit increased with his difficulties, and he infused his gallantry into the hearts of the most despairing. Assembling the Sindhies and the home-clans who were yet true to their prince, he explained to them the transaction, and addressed them in that language which speaks to the souls of all mankind, and to give due weight to his exhortation, he distributed amongst the most deserving, many articles of cumbrous ornament lying useless in the treasury. The stores of

* The nose-jewel, which even to mention is considered a breach of delicacy.

grain in the city and neighbourhood, whether public or private, were collected and sent to the market, and it was proclaimed by beat of drum that every fighting man should have six months' provision on application. Hitherto grain had been selling at little more than a pound for the rupee, and these unexpected resources were matter of universal surprise, more especially to the besiegers.* The Sindhies, having no longer cause for discontent, caught the spirit of the brave Umra, and went in a body to the palace to swear in public never to abandon the Rana, whom their leader, Adil Beg,† thus addressed: "We have long eaten your salt and received numerous favours from your house, and we now come to swear never to abandon you. Oodipur is our home, and we will fall with it. We demand no further pay, and when our grain is exhausted, we will feed on the beasts, and when these fail we will thin the ranks of the Southrons and die sword in hand." Such were the sentiments that Umra had inspired, the expression of which extorted tears from the Rana—a sight so unusual with this stern prince, as to raise frantic shouts from the Sindhies and his Rajpoots. The enthusiasm spread and was announced to Sindhia with all its circumstances by a general discharge of cannon on his advanced posts. Apprehensive of some desperate display of Rajpoot valour, the wary Mahratta made overtures for a

renewal of the negociation. It was now Umra's turn to triumph, and he replied that he must deduct from the original terms the expense they had incurred in sustaining another six months' siege. Thus outwitted, Sindhia was compelled to accept sixty lacs, and three and a half for official expenses.*

Thrity-three lacs in jewels and specie, gold and silver plate, and assignments on the chiefs, were immediately made over to Sindhia, and lands mortgaged for the liquidation of the remainder. For this object the districts of Jawud, Jeerun, Neemutch, and Morwun, were set aside to be superintended by joint officers of both governments, with an annual investigation of accounts. From S. 1825 to S. 1831 no infringement took place of this arrangement; but in the latter year Sindhia dismissed the Rana's officers from the management, and refused all further settlement; and with the exception of a temporary occupation on Sindhia's reverse of fortune in S. 1851, these rich districts have remained severed from Mewar. In S. 1831 the great officers of the Mahratta federation began to shake off the trammels of the Peshwa's authority; and Sindhia retained for the state of which he was the founder, all these lands except Morwun, which was made over to Holker, who the year after the transaction demanded of the Rana the surrender of the district of Neembahaira, threatening, in the event of non-compliance, to repeat the part his predatory coadjutor Sindhia had just performed. The cession was unavoidable.

* To Umra's credit it is related, that his own brother-in-law was the first and principal sufferer, and that to his remonstrance and hope that family ties would save his grain pits, he was told, that it was a source of great satisfaction that he was enabled through him to evince his disinterestedness.

† See grant to this chief's son, page 154.

* "*Mootsuddi kurch*," or douceur to the officers of government, was an authorized article of every Mahratta *moamla*, or war contribution.

Thus terminated, in S. 1826, the siege of Oodipur, with the dislocation of these fine districts from Mewar. But let it be remembered that they were only mortgaged :* and although the continued degradation of the country from the same causes has prevented their redemption, the claim to them has never been abandoned. Their recovery was stipulated by the ambassadors of the Rana in the treaty of A.D. 1817 with the British government ; but our total ignorance of the past transactions of these countries, added to our amicable relations with Sindhia, prevented any pledge of the reunion of these districts ; and it must ever be deeply lamented that, when the treacherous and hostile conduct of Sindhia gave a noble opportunity for their restoration, it was lost, from policy difficult to understand, and which must be subject to the animadversions of future historians of that important period in the history of India. It yet remains for the wisdom of the British government to decide whether half a century's abeyance, and the inability to redeem them by the sword, render the claim a dead letter. At all events, the facts here recorded from a multiplicity of public documents, and corroborated by living actors† in the scene, may be useful at some future day, when expedience may admit of their being reannexed to Mewar.

Umra's defence of the capital, and the retreat of the Mahrattas, was a death-blow

to the hopes of the Pretender, who had obtained not only many of the strongholds, but a footing in the valley of the capital. Rajnuggur, Raepur, and Ontala were rapidly recovered ; many of the nobles returned to the Rana and to their allegiance ; and Rutna was left in Komulmeer with the Depra Minister, and but three of the sixteen principal nobles, namely, Deogurh, Bheendir, and Amait. These contentions lasted till S. 1831, when the chiefs above-named also abandoned him, but not until their rebellion had cost the feather in the crown of Mewar. The rich province of Godwar, the most fruitful of all her possessions, and containing the most loyal of her vassalage, the Ranawuts, Rahtores, and Solankis, was nearly all held on tenure of feudal service, and furnished three thousand horse besides foot, a greater number than the aggregate of the Chondawuts. This district, which was won with the title of Rana from the Purihara prince of Mundore, before Jodpur was built, and whose northern boundary was confirmed by the blood of the Chondawut chief in the reign of Joda, was confided by the Rana to the care of Raja Beejy Sing of Jodpur, to prevent its resources being available to the Pretender, whose residence, Komulmeer, commanded the approach to it : and the original treaty yet exists in which the prince of Marwar binds himself to provide and support a body of three thousand men for the Rana's service from its revenues. This province might have been recovered ; but the evil genius of Ursi Rana at this time led him to Boondi to hunt at the spring festival (the *Ahaira*), with the Hara prince, in spite of the prophetic warning of the

* Little Maloni, now *Gungapur*, with its lands, was the only place decidedly alienated, being a voluntary gift to Sindhia, to endow the establishment of his wife, Gunga Bae, who died there.

† Zalim Sing of Kotah, and Lallaji Bellal, both now dead.

suttee, who from the funeral pile denounced a practice which had already thrice proved fatal to the princes of Mewar. Rana Ursi fell by the hand of the Boondi prince, and Godwar, withheld from his minor successor, has since remained severed. The Boondi heir, who perpetrated this atrocious assassination, was said to be prompted by the Mewar nobles, who detested their sovereign, and with whom, since the late events, it was impossible they could ever unite in confidence. Implacable in his disposition, he brooded over injuries, calmly awaiting the moment to avenge them. A single instance will suffice to evince this, as well as the infatuation of Rajpoot devotion. The Saloombra chief, whose predecessor had fallen in support of the Rana's cause at the battle of Oojein, having incurred his suspicions, the Rana commanded him to eat the *pan* (leaf) presented on taking leave. Startled at so unusual an order, he remonstrated, but in vain; and with the conviction that it contained his death-warrant he obeyed, observing to the tyrant, "my compliance will cost you and your family dear:" words fulfilled with fearful accuracy, for to this and similar acts is ascribed the murder of Ursi, and the completion of the ruin of the country. A colour of pretext was afforded to the Boondi chief in a boundary dispute regarding a patch of land yielding only a few good mangoes; but, even admitting this as a palliative, it could not justify the inhospitable act, which in the mode of execution added cowardice to barbarity: for while both were pursuing the boar, the Boondi heir drove his lance through the heart of the Rana. The assassin fell a victim to remorse, the deed being not only

disclaimed, but severely reprobated by his father, and all the Hara tribe. A cenotaph still stands on the site of the murder, where the body of Ursi was consumed, and the feud between the houses remains unappeased.

Rana Ursi left two sons, Hamir and Bheem Sing. The former, a name of celebrity in their annals, succeeded in S. 1828 (A.D. 1772) to the little enviable title of Rana. With an ambitious mother, determined to control affairs during his minority, a state pronounced by the bard peculiarly dangerous to a Rajpoot dynasty—and the vengeful competition of the Saloombra chief (successor to the murdered noble), who was equally resolved to take the lead, combined with an unextinguishable enmity to the Suktawuts, who supported the policy of the queen-mother, the demoralization of Mewar was complete: her fields were deluged with blood, and her soil was the prey of every paltry marauder.

The mercenary Sindhies, who won by the enthusiasm of Umra, had for a moment assumed the garb of fidelity, threw it off at their prince's death, taking possession of the capital, which it will be remembered had been committed to the charge of the Saloombra chief, whom they confined and were about to subject to the torture of the hot iron* to extort their arrears of pay, when he was rescued from the indignity by the unlooked-for return of Umra from Boondi. This faithful minister determined to establish the rights of the infant prince against all other claimants for power. But

* A heated platter used for baking bread, on which they place the culprit.

he knew mankind, and had attained, what is still more difficult, the knowledge of himself. Aware that his resolution to maintain his post at all hazards, and against every competitor, would incur the imputation of self-interest, he, like our own Wolsey, though from far different motives, made an inventory of his wealth, in gold, jewels, and plate, even to his wardrobe, and sent the whole in trays to the queen-mother. Suspicion was shamed and resentment disarmed by this proceeding; and to repeated entreaties that he would receive it back he was inflexible, with the exception of articles of apparel that had already been in use. This imperious woman was a daughter of Gogoonda. She possessed considerable talents, but was ruled by an artful *intriguante*, who, in her turn, was governed by a young *homme d'affaires*, then holding an inferior office, but who subsequently acted a conspicuous part; slew and was slain, like almost all who entered into the politics of this tempestuous period. The queen-mother, now supported by the Chondawuts, opposed the minister, who maintained himself by aid of the Sindhies, kept the Mahrattas from the capital, and protected the crown land; but the ungrateful return made to his long-trying fidelity rendered his temper ungovernable. Ram-pearie* (such the name of the *intriguante*) repaired on one occasion to the office of the minister, and in the name of the regent queen reviled him for some supposed omission. Umra, losing all temper at this intrusion, applied to the fair abigail the coarsest epithets used to her sex, bidding her be gone as a *Kootee ea Rand*, (a phrase we shall not

translate), which was reported with exaggeration to the queen, who threw herself into a litter and set off to the Saloombra chief. Umra, anticipating an explosion, met the cavalcade in the street, and enjoined her instant return to the palace. Who dared disobey? Arrived at the door of the Rawula, he made his obeisance, and told her it was a disgrace to the memory of her lord that she should quit the palace under any pretext; that even the potter's wife did not go abroad for six months after her husband's death, while she, setting decorum at defiance, had scarcely permitted the period of mourning to elapse. He concluded by saying he had a duty to perform, and that he would perform it in spite of all obstacles, in which, as it involved her own and her children's welfare, she ought to co-operate, instead of thwarting him. But Baeji Raj (the *royal mother*) was young, artful, and ambitious, and persevered in her hostility till the demise of this uncompromising minister shortly after, surmised to be caused by poison. His death yielded a flattering comment on his life; he left not funds sufficient to cover the funeral expenses, and is, and will probably continue, the sole instance on record in Indian history, of a minister having his obsequies defrayed by subscription among his fellow citizens.

The man who thus lived and thus died would have done honour to any, even the most civilized country, where the highest incentives to public virtue exist. What therefore does not his memory merit, when amongst a people who through long oppression, were likely to hold such feelings in little estimation, he pursued its dictates from principle alone, his sole reward that which

* * *The beloved of Rama.*

the world could not bestow, the applause of the monitor within? But they greatly err who, in the application of their own overweening standard of merit, imagine there is no public opinion in these countries; for recollections of actions like this (of which but a small portion is related) they yet love to descant upon, and an act of vigour and integrity is still designated *Umrachunda*;* evincing that if virtue has few imitators in this country, she is not without ardent admirers.

In S. 1831 (A.D.1775) the rebellion of the Beygoo chief, head of a grand division of the Chondawuts, the *Megawut*, obliged the queen-mother to call upon Sindhia for his reduction, who recovered the crown lands he had usurped, and imposed on this refractory noble a fine of twelve lacs of rupees, or £100,000 sterling.† But instead of confining himself to punishing the guilty, and restoring the lands to the young Rana, he inducted his own son-in-law Berji Tap into the districts of Ruttengurh Kheri and Singolli; and at the same time made over those of Irnia, Jauth, Beechore, and Nud-dowye, to Holkar, the aggregate revenue of which amounted to six lacs annually. Besides these alienations of territory, the Mahrattas levied no less than four grand war contribu-

tions in S. 1830-31,* while in S. 1836† their rapacity exacted three more. Inability to liquidate these exorbitant demands, was invariably a signal for further sequestration of land. Amidst such scenes of civil strife and external spoliation, one Mahratta following another in the same track of rapine, Hamir died before he had attained even Rajpoot majority,‡ in S. 1834 (A.D.1778).

We may here briefly recapitulate the diminution of territory and wealth in Mewar from the period of the first Mahratta visitation in A.D. 1736, to the death of Hamir. It were a waste of time to enumerate the rapacious individuals who shared in the spoils of this devoted country. We may be content to say their name was "*legion*." These forty years were surcharged with evil. The Mogul princes observed at least the forms of government and justice, which occasionally tempered their aggressions; the Mahrattas were associations of vampires, who drained the very life-blood wherever the scent of spoil attracted them. In three payments we have seen the enormous sum of one crore and eighty-one lacs,§ upwards of two millions English money, exacted from Mewar, exclu-

* 1830, Madhaji Sindhia's contribution (*moamla*) on account of Beygoo; 1831, Berji Tap's *moamla* through Govind and Gunput Rao; 1831, Umbaji Ingolia, Bappoo Holkar and Dadooji Pundit's joint *moamla*.

† 1st Appaji and Makaji Getea, on Holkar's account; 2d Tukoji Holkar's through Somji; 3d Alli Buhadoor's, through Somji.

‡ The age of eighteen.

§ Viz. S. 1808, by Rana Jaggut Sing to

Holkar	Lacs 66
1820, Pertap and Ursi Rana to Holkar	" 51
1826, Ursi Rana to Madhaji Sindhia	" 64
Total	" 1,81

* *Umra Chund* it will be recollected was the name of the minister.

† The treaty by which Sindhia holds these districts yet exists, which stipulates their surrender on the liquidation of the contribution. The Rana still holds this as a responsible engagement, and pleaded his rights in the treaty with the British government in A. D. 1817-18. But half a century's possession is a strong bond, which we dare not break; though the claim now registered may hereafter prove of service to the family.



sive of individual contributions levied on chiefs, ministers, and the pretender's party : and a schedule drawn up by the reigning prince of contributions levied up to his own time, amounts to £5,000,000 sterling. Yet the land would eventually have reimbursed these sums, but the penalty inflicted for

deficiencies of payment renders the evil irremediable ; for the alienated territory which then produced an annual revenue of twenty-eight lacs,* or £323,000 sterling, exceeds in amount the sum-total now left, whether fiscal or feudal, in the present impoverished state of the country.

CHAPTER XVII.

Rana Bheem—Feud of Seogurh.—The Rana redeems the alienated Lands.—Ahelia Bae attacks the Rana's Army—which is defeated.—Chondawut Rebellion.—Assassination of the Minister Somji.—The Rebels seizè on Cheetore.—Madhaji Sindhia called in by the Rana.—Invests Cheetore.—The Rebels surrender.—Designs of Zalim Sing for power in Mewar.—Counteracted by Umbaji—who assumes the title of Soobadar, contested by Lukwa.—Effects of these Struggles.—Zalim obtains Jehajpur.—Holkar invades Mewar.—Confines the priests of Nathdwara.—Heroic Conduct of the Chief of Kotario.—Lukwa dies.—The Rana seizes the Mahratta Leaders.—Liberated by Zalim Sing.—Holkar returns to Oodipur—imposes a heavy Contribution.—Sindhia's Invasion.—Reflections on their Contest with the British.—Umbaji projects the Partition of Mewar—frustrated.—Rivalry for Krishna Kumari, the Princess of Mewar, produces War throughout Rajasthan.—Immolation of Krishna.—Meer Khan and Ajit Sing—their villany.—British Embassy to Sindhia's Court at Oodipur.—Umbaji is disgraced, and attempts Suicide.—Meer Khan and Bapoo Sindhia desolate Mewar.—The Rana forms a Treaty with the British.

RANA BHEEM SING (the reigning prince), who succeeded his brother in S. 1834 (A.D. 1778), was the fourth minor in the space of forty years who inherited Mewar ; and the half century during which he has occupied the throne, has been as fruitful in disaster as any period of her history already recorded. He was but eight years of age on his accession, and remained under his mother's tutelage long after his minority had expired. This subjection fixed his character ; naturally defective in energy, and impaired by long

misfortune, he continued to be swayed by faction and intrigue. The cause of the pretender, though weakened, was yet kept alive ; but his insignificance eventually left

* S. 1808, Rampura, Bhanpura	Lacs	9
1826, Jawud, Jeerun, Neemutch,		
Neembahaira	„	4½
1831, Ruttungurh Kheri, Singolli,		
Irnia, Jauth, Nuddowye, &c.&c. „		6
1831, Godwar	„	9
	Total.....	28½

him so unsupported, that his death is not even recorded.

In S. 1840 (A.D. 1784) the Chondawuts reaped the harvest of their allegiance and made the power thus acquired subservient to the indulgence of ancient animosities against the rival clan of Suktawut. Saloombra, with his relatives Oorjun Sing* of Korabur and Pertap Sing† of Amait, now ruled the councils, having the Sindhie mercenaries under their leaders Chundun and Sadik at their command. Mustering therefore all the strength of their kin and clans, they resolved on the prosecution of the feud, and invested Bheendir, the castle of Mokhim the chief of the Suktawuts, against which they placed their batteries.

Sangram Sing, a junior branch of the Suktawuts, destined to play a conspicuous part in the future events of Mewar, was then rising into notice, and had just completed a feud with his rival the Poorawut, whose abode, Lawah,‡ he had carried by escalade; and now, determined to make a diversion in favour of his chief, he invaded the estate of Korabur, engaged against Bheendir, and was driving off the cattle, when Salim Sing the heir of Korabur intercepted his retreat, and an action ensued in which Salim § was

slain by the lance of Sangram. The afflicted father, on hearing the fate of his son, "threw the turban off his head" swearing never to replace it till he had tasted revenge. Feigning a misunderstanding with his own party he withdrew from the siege, taking the road to his estate, but suddenly abandoned it for Seogurh, the residence of Lalji the father of Sangram. The castle of Seogurh, placed amidst the mountains and deep forests of Chuppun, was from its difficulty of access deemed secure against surprise; and here Sangram had placed the females and children of his family. To this point Oorjun directed his revenge, and found Seogurh destitute of defenders save the aged chief; but though seventy summers had whitened his head, he bravely met the storm, and fell in opposing the foe; when the children of Sangram were dragged out and inhumanly butchered, and the widow* of Lalji ascended the pyre. This barbarity aggravated the hostility which separated the clans, and together with the minority of their prince and the yearly aggressions of the Mahrattas, accelerated the ruin of the country. But Bheem Sing, the Chondawut leader, was governed by insufferable vanity, and not only failed in respect to his prince, but offended the queen regent. He parcelled out the crown domain from Cheetore to Oodipur amongst the Sindhie bands, and whilst his sovereign was obliged to borrow money to defray his mar-

* Brother of Ajit, the negociator of the treaty with the British.

† Chief of the Juggawut clan, also a branch of the chondawuts; he was killed in a battle with the Mahrattas.

‡ It is yet held by the successor of Sangram, whose faithful services merited the grant he obtained from his prince, and it was in consequence left unmolested in the arrangement of 1817, from the knowledge of his merits.

§ The father of Rawut Joan Sing, whom I found at Oodipur as military minister, acting for his grand uncle Ajit the organ of the Chondawuts, whose head, Puddum

Sing, was just emerging from his minority. It was absolutely necessary to get to the very root of all these feuds, when as envoy and mediator I had to settle the disputes of half a century, and make each useful to detect their joint usurpations of the crown domain.

* She was the grandmother of Maun Sing, a fine specimen of a Suktawut cavalier.

riage at Edur, this ungrateful noble had the audacity to disburse upwards of £100,000 on the marriage of his own daughter. Such conduct determined the royal mother to supplant the Chondawuts, and calling in the Suktawuts to her aid, she invested with power the chiefs of Bheendir and Lawah. Aware, however, that their isolated authority was insufficient to withstand their rivals, they looked abroad for support, and made an overture to Zalim Sing of Kotah, whose political and personal resentments to the Chondawuts, as well as his connexion by marriage with their opponents, made him readily listen to it. With his friend the Mahratta, Lallaji Bellal, he joined the Suktawuts with a body of 10,000 men. It was determined to sacrifice the Saloombra chief, who took post in the ancient capital of Cheetore, where the garrison was composed chiefly of Sindhies, thus effacing his claim to his prince's gratitude, whom he defied, while the pretender still had a party in the other principal fortress, Komulmeer.

Such was the state of things, when the ascendancy of Madhaji Sindhia received a signal check from the combined forces of Marwar and Jeypur; and the battle of Lalsont, in which the Mahratta chief was completely defeated, was the signal for the Rajpoots to resume their alienated territory. Nor was the Rana backward on the occasion, when there appeared a momentary gleam of the active virtue of past days. Maldas Mehta was civil minister, with Mouzee Ram as his deputy, both men of talent and energy. They first effected the reduction of Neembhahaira and the smaller garrisons of Mahrattas in its vicinity, who from a sense

of common danger assembled their detachments in Jawud, which was also invested. Sevaji Nana, the governor, capitulated, and was allowed to march out with his effects. At the same time, the "*sons of the black cloud*"* assembling, drove the Mahrattas from Beygoo, Singolli, &c., and the districts on the plateau; while the Chonderawuts redeemed their ancient fief of Rampura, and thus for a while the whole territory was recovered. Elated by success, the united chiefs advanced to Churdoo on the banks of the Rirkia, a streamlet dividing Mewar from Malwa, preparatory to further operations. Had these been confined to the maintenance of the places they had taken, and which had been withheld in violation of treaties, complete success might have crowned their efforts; but in including Neembhahaira in their capture they drew upon them the energetic Ahelia Bae, the regent-queen of the Holkar state, who unluckily for them was at hand, and who coalesced with Sindhia's partisans to check this reaction of the Rajpoots. Toolaji Sindhia and Sri Bhac, with five thousand horse, were ordered to support the discomfited Seva Nana, who had taken refuge in Mundisore, where he rallied all the garrisons whom the Rajpoots had unwisely permitted to capitulate. On Tuesday the 4th of Magh S. 1844,† the Rana's troops were surprised and defeated with great slaughter, the minister slain, the chiefs of Kanorh and Sadri with many others severely

* Megh Sing was the chief of Beygoo, and founder of that subdivision of the Chondawuts called after him *Meghawut*, and his complexion being very dark (*kala*), he was called "*kala meg*h," the "*black cloud*." His descendants were very numerous and very refractory.

† A. D. 1788.



wounded, and the latter made prisoner.* The newly made conquests were all rapidly lost with the exception of Jawud, which was gallantly maintained for a month by Deep Chund, who, with his guns and rockets, effected a passage through the Mahrattas, and retired with his garrison to Mandelgurrh. Thus terminated an enterprize which might have yielded far different results but for a misplaced security. All the chiefs and clans were united in this patriotic struggle except the Chondawuts, against whom the queen-mother and the new minister, Somji, had much difficulty to contend for the establishment of the minor's authority. At length overtures were made to Saloombra, when the fair Rampearie was employed to conciliate the obdurate chief, who condescended to make his appearance at Oodipur and to pay his respects to the prince. He pretended to enter into the views of the minister and to coalesce in his plans; but this was only a web to ensnare his victim, whose talent had diminished his authority, and was a bar to the prosecution of his ambitious views. Somji was seated in his bureau when Oorjun Sing of Korabur and Sirdar Sing† of Bhadaisser entered, and the latter, as he demanded how he dared to resume his fief, plunged his dagger into the minister's breast. The Rana was passing the day at one of the villas in the valley called the *Suhailea Bari* 'the garden of

nymphs', attended by Jait Sing of Bednore, when the brothers* of the minister suddenly rushed into the presence to claim protection against the murderers. They were followed by Oorjun of Korabur, who had the audacity to present himself before his sovereign with his hands yet stained with the blood of Somji. The Rana, unable to punish the insolent chief, branding him as a traitor, bade him begone; when the whole of the actors in this nefarious scene, with their leader Saloombra, returned to Cheetore. Sheodas and Suttidas, brothers to the murdered minister, were appointed to succeed him, and with the Suktawuts fought several actions against the rebels, and gained one decisive battle at Akola, in which Oorjun of Korabur commanded. This was soon balanced by the defeat of the Suktawuts at Khyroda. Every triumph was attended with ruin to the country. The agriculturist, never certain of the fruits of his labour, abandoned his fields, and at length his country; mechanical industry found no recompense, and commerce

* He did not recover his liberty for two years, nor till he had surrendered four of the best towns in his fief.

† Father of the present Hamir Sing, the only chief with whom I was compelled to use severity; but he was incorrigible. He was celebrated for his raids in the troubles, and from his red whiskers bore with us the name of the '*Red River*' of Bhadaisser—more of him y-and-bye.

* Sheodas and Suttidas, with their cousin Jychund. They revenged their brother's death by that of his murderer, and were both in turn slain. Such were these times. The author more than once, when resuming the Chondawut lands, and amongst them Bhadaisser, the fief of the son of Sirdar, was told to recollect the fate of Somji; the advice, however, excited only a smile; he was deemed more of a Suktawut than a Chondawut, and there was some truth in it, for he found the good actions of the former far outweigh the other, who made a boast and monopoly of their patriotism. It was a curious period in his life; the stimulus to action was too high, too constant, to think of self; and having no personal views, being influenced solely by one feeling, the prosperity of all, he despised the very idea of danger, though it was said to exist in various shapes, even in the hospitable plate put before him! But he deemed none capable of such treachery, though once he was within a few minute's march to the other world; but the cause, if the right one, came from his own *cuisinier*, or rather *boulangier*, whom he discharged.

was at the mercy of unlicensed spoliation. In a very few years Mewar lost half her population ; her lands lay waste, her mines were unworked, and her looms, which formerly supplied all around, forsaken. The prince partook of the general penury ; instead of protecting, he required protection ; the bonds which united him with his subjects were snapped, and each individual or petty community provided for itself that defence which he could not give. Hence arose a train of evils : every cultivator, whether fiscal or feudal, sought out a patron, and entered into engagements as the price of protection. Hence every Rajpoot who had a horse and lance, had his clients ; and not a camel-load of merchandize could pass the abode of one of these cavaliers without paying fees. The effects of such disorder were felt long after the cause ceased to exist, and claims difficult to adjust arose out of these licentious times, for the having prescriptive right was deemed sufficient to authorize their continuance.* Here were displayed the effects of a feudal association, where the powers of government were enfeebled. These feuds alone were sufficient to ruin the country : but when to such internal ills shoals of Mahratta plunderers were added, no art is required to describe the consequences.

The Rana and his advisers at length determined to call in Sindhia to expel the rebellious Chondawuts from the ancient capital ; a step mainly prompted by Zalim Sing (now regent of Kotah), who with the Rana's ministers was deputed to the Mahratta chieftain, then enjoying himself at the sacred lake

of Poshkur.* Since the overthrow of Lalsont he had re-organized his brigades under the celebrated De Boigne, through whose conduct he had redeemed his lost influence in Rajpootana by the battles of Mairta and Patun, in which the brave Rahtores, after acts of the most devoted gallantry, were completely overthrown. Sindhia's plans coincided entirely with the object of the deputation, and he readily acquiesced in the Rana's desire. This event introduced on the political stage some of the most celebrated men of that day, whose actions offer a fair picture of manners, and may justify our entering a little into details.†

Zalim Sing had for some years become regent of Kotah, and though to maintain himself in power, and the state he controlled in an attitude to compel the respect of surrounding foes, was no slight task, yet he found the field too contracted for his ambition, and his secret views had long been directed to permanent influence in Mewar. His skill in reading character convinced him that the Rana would be no bar to his wishes, the attainment of which, by giving him the combined resources of Haravati and Mewar, would bestow the lead in Rajasthan. The Jeypur court he disregarded, whose effeminate army he had himself defeated single-handed with the Kotah troops, and the influence he established amongst the leading chiefs of Marwar held out no fear of counteraction from that quarter. The stake was high, the game sure, and success would have

* S. 1847 (A. D. 1791).

† Acquired from the actors in those scenes: the prince, his ministers, Zalim Sing, and the rival chiefs have all contributed.

* See the Essay on a Feudal System.

opened a field to his genius which might have entirely altered the fate of Hindusthan; but one false move was irretrievable, and instead of becoming the arbitrator of India, he left only the reputation of being the Nestor of Rajpootana.

The restriction of the Rana's power was the cloak under which he disguised all his operations, and it might have been well for the country had his plans succeeded to their full extent. To re-establish the Rana's authority, and to pay the charges of the reduction of Cheetore, he determined that the rebels chiefly should furnish the means, and that from them and the fiscal lands, mostly in their hands, sixty-four lacs should be levied, of which three-fifths should be appropriated to Sindhia, and the remainder to replenish the Rana's treasury. Preliminaries being thus arranged, Zalim was furnished with a strong corps under Umbaji Ingolia; while Sindhia followed, hanging on the Marwar frontier, to realize the contributions of that state. Zalim Sing and Umbaji moved towards Cheetore, levying from the estates of those obnoxious to Zalim's views. Hamirgurh, whose chief, Dheruj Sing, a man of talent and courage was the principal adviser of Bheem Sing, the Saloombra chief, was besieged, and stood several assaults during six weeks' vigorous operations, when the destruction of the springs of the wells from the concussion of the guns compelled its surrender, and the estate was sequestered. The force continued their progress, and after a trifling altercation at Bussee, a Chondawut fief, also taken, they took up a position at Cheetore, and were soon after joined by the main body under Sindhia.

Zalim, to gratify Madhaji's vanity, who was desirous of a visit from the Rana, which even the Peshwa considered an honour, proceeded to Oodipur to effect this object; when the Rana, placing himself under his guidance, marched for this purpose, and was met at the Tiger mount, within a few miles of his capital, by Sindhia, who received the Rana, and escorted him to the besieging army. But in this short interval, Umbaji, who remained with the army at Cheetore, intrigued with the rebel Chondawut to supplant the predominant influence of his friend Zalim Sing, and seized the opportunity of his absence to counteract him, by communicating his plans to Saloombra; aware that, unless he broke with Zalim, he could only hope to play a secondary part under him. Though the ulterior views of Zalim were kept to his own breast, they could not escape the penetration of the crafty Mahratta; his very anxiety to hide them furnished Umbaji with the means of detection. Had Zalim possessed an equal share of meanness with his political antagonist, he might have extricated himself from the snare; but once overreached, he preferred sinking to grasping at an unworthy support. Bheem Sing (Saloombra) privately negotiated with Umbaji the surrender of Cheetore, engaging to humble himself before the Rana, and to pay a contribution of twenty lacs, levied on the clans, provided Zalim Sing was ordered to retire. This suggestion, apparently founded on the rebellious chief's antipathy to Zalim, but in reality prompted by Umbaji, ensured the approbation, as it suited the views, of all parties, but especially Sindhia, who was desirous of repairing to Poonah. Zalim, the sole

obstacle to this arrangement, furnished to his enemies the means of escape from the dilemma, and lost the opportunity of realizing his long-cherished scheme of wielding the united resources of Mewar and Haravati. Zalim had always preserved a strict amity with Umbaji wherever their interests did not clash, and his regard had the cement of gratitude to the Mahratta, whose father Trimbukji had saved Zalim's life and procured his liberty, when left wounded and a prisoner at the battle of Oojein. On Zalim's return with the Rana, Umbaji touched on the terms of Bheem Sing's surrender, hinting that Zalim's presence was the sole obstacle to this desirable result; who, the more to mask his views, which any expressed reluctance to the measure might expose, went beyond probability in asseverations of readiness to be no bar to such arrangement, even so far as to affirm that, besides being tired of the business from the heavy expense it entailed on him, he had his prince's wish for his return to Kotah. There is one ingredient in Zalim's character, which has never been totally merged in the vices acquired from the tortuous policy of a long life, and which in the vigour of youth had full sway—namely, pride, one of the few virtues left to the Rajpoot, defrauded of many others by long oppression. But Zalim's pride was legitimate, being allied to honour; and it has retained him an evident superiority, through all the mazes of ambition. Umbaji skilfully availed himself of this defect in his friend's political character. "A pretty story, indeed!—you tell this to me: it might find credit with those who did not know you." The sarcasm only plunged

him deeper into asseveration. "Is it then really your wish to retire?"—"Assuredly."—"Then," retorted the crafty Umbaji, "your wish shall be gratified in a few minutes." Giving him no time to retract, he called for his horse and galloped to Sindhia's tent. Zalim relied on Sindhia not acceding to the proposition; or if he did, that the Rana, over whom he imagined he had complete influence, would oppose it. His hopes of Sindhia rested on a promise privately made to leave troops under his authority for the restoration of order in Mewar; and a yet stronger claim, the knowledge that without Zalim he could not realize the stipulated sums for the expulsion of the Chondawut from Cheetore. Umbaji had foreseen and prepared a remedy for these difficulties, and upon their being urged, offered himself to advance the amount by bills on the Dekhan. This argument was irresistible; money, and the consequent prosecution of his journey to Poonah, being attained, Sindhia's engagements with Zalim and the Rana ceased to be a matter of importance. He nominated Umbaji his lieutenant, with the command of a large force, by whose aid he would reimburse himself for the sums thus advanced. Having carried his object with Sindhia, Umbaji proceeded direct from his tent to that of the Rana's ministers, Sheodas and Suttidas, with whom, by the promise of co-operation in their views, and perfect subserviency to the Rana's interests, he was alike successful. Umbaji, with the rapidity necessary to ensure success, having in a few hours accomplished his purpose, hastened back to Zalim, to acquaint him that his wish to retire had met with general acquiescence; and so well did he



manage, that the Rana's mace-bearer arrived at the same moment to announce that the '*khelat of leave*' awaited his acceptance. Zalim being thus outwitted, the Saloombra chief descended from Chectore, and '*touched the Rana's feet*.' Sindhia pursued his march to the Dekhan, and Umbaji was left sole arbiter of Mewar. The Suktawuts maintained the lead at court, and were not backward in consigning the estates of their rivals to the incubus now settled on the country: while the mortified Zalim, on his retreat, recorded his expenses, to be produced on some fitting occasion.

Umbaji remained eight years in Mewar, reaping its revenues and amassing those hoards of wealth, which subsequently gave him the lead in Hindusthan, and enabled him nearly to assert his independence. Yet, although he accumulated £2,000,000 sterling from her soil,* exacting one-half of the produce of agricultural industry, the suppression of feuds and exterior aggressions gave to Mewar a degree of tranquillity and happiness to which she had long been a stranger. The instructions delivered to Umbaji were,

1st. The entire restoration of the Rana's authority and resumption of the crown-lands from rebellious chiefs and mercenary Sindhies.

2d. The expulsion of the pretender from Komulmeer.

3d. The recovery of Godwar from the Raja of Marwar.

4th. To settle the Boondi feud for the murder of Rana Ursi.

A schedule (*pandri*) for the twenty lacs stipulated was made and levied; twelve from the Chondawut estates, and eight from the Suktawuts; and the sum of sixty lacs was awarded, besides the expense of Umbaji's army, when the other specified objects should be attained. Within two years the pretender was expelled Komulmeer, Jehajpur was recovered from a rebellious Ranawut, and the crown-lands* were redeemed from the nobles; the personal domain of the Rana, agricultural and commercial, still realized nearly fifty lacs of rupees. After these services, though Godwar was still unredeemed, the Boondi feud unappeased, and the lands mortgaged to the Mahrattas were not restored, Umbaji assumed the title of Soobadar of Mewar, and identified himself with the parties of the day. Yet so long as he personally upheld the interests of the Rana, his memory is done justice to, notwithstanding he never conformed to the strict letter of his engagements. The Rana's ministers, fearing lest their brother's fate should be theirs in the event of the Chondawuts again attaining power, and deeming their own and their sovereign's security dependent on Umbaji's presence, made a subsidiary engagement with him, and lands to the amount of 75,000 rupees monthly, or eight lacs annually;

* It was levied as follows:—

Saloombra	Lacs	3
Deogurh	"	3
Singirgir Gosen, their adviser	"	2
Kositul	"	1
Amait	"	2
Korabur	"	1

Lacs... 12

* Raepur Rajnuggur from the Sindhies; Goorlah and Gadermala from the Poorawuts; Hamirgurh from Sirdar Sing, and Koorj Kowario from Saloombra.

were appropriated for his force ; but so completely were the resources of the country diverted from their honest use, that when, in S. 1851, a marriage was negotiated between the Rana's sister and the prince of Jeypur, the Rana was obliged to borrow £50,000 from the Mahratta commander to purchase the nuptial presents. The following year was marked by a triple event—the death of the queen-mother, the birth of a son and heir to the Rana, and the bursting of the embankment of the lake, which swept away a third of the city and a third of its inhabitants. Superstition attributed this catastrophe to the Rana's impiety, in establishing a new festival* to Gowrie, the Isis of Rajasthan.

Umbaji, who was this year nominated by Sindhia his viceroy in Hindusthan, left Gunes Punt as his lieutenant in Mewar, with whom acted the Rana's officers, Sewaie and Sheerji Mehta ;† who applied themselves to make the most of their ephemeral power with so rapacious a spirit, that Umbaji was compelled to displace Gunes Punt and appoint the celebrated Rae Chund. To him they would not yield, and each party formed a nucleus for disorder and misrule. It would be uninteresting and nauseating to the reader to carry him through all the scenes of villany which gradually desolated this country ; for whose spoil pilfering Mahrattas,

savage Rohillas, and adventurous Franks were all let loose. The now humbled Chondawuts many of whose fiefs were confiscated, took to horse, and in conjunction with lawless Sindhies scoured the country. Their estates were attacked, Korabur was taken, and batteries were placed against Saloombra, whence the Sindhies fled and found refuge in Deogurh. In this exigence, the Chondawuts determined to send an envoy to Umbaji, who was then engaged in the siege of Duttea ; and Ajit Sing, since prominent in the intrigues of Mewar, was the organ of his clan on this occasion. For the sum of ten lacs the avaricious Mahratta agreed to recall his deputy from Mewar,* to renounce Sheodas and the Suktawuts, and lend his support to the Chondawuts. The Saloombra chief again took the lead at court, and with Aggurji Mehta† as minister, the Suktawuts were attacked, the stipulated ten lacs raised from their estates, and two fiefs of note, Heeta and Saimari, confiscated.

* S. 1853, A. D. 1797.

† This person was nominated the chief civil minister on the author's arrival at Oodipur, an office to which he was every way unequal. The affairs of Mewar had never prospered since the faithful Pancholis were deprived of power. Several productions of the descendants of Beharri-das have fallen into my hands ; their quaint mode of conveying advice may authorize their insertion here.

The Pancholis who had performed so many services to the country had been for some time deprived of the office of prime minister, which was disposed of as it suited the views of the factious nobles who held power for the time being : and who bestowed it on the Mehtas, Depras, or Dhabhaes. Amongst the papers of the Pancholis, several addressed to the Rana and to Uggurji Mehta, the minister of the day, are valuable for the patriotic sentiments they contain, as well as for the general light they throw upon the period. In S. 1853 (A.D. 1797) Imrit Rao devised a plan to remedy the evils that oppressed the country. He inculcated the necessity of dispensing with the interference of the Suktawuts and

* In Bhadoon, the third month of the rainy season. An account of this festival will hereafter be given.

† The first of these is now the manager of Prince Jowan Sing's estates, a man of no talent ; and the latter, his brother, was one of the ministers on my arrival at Oodipur. He was of invincible good-humour, yet full of the spirit of intrigue, and one of the bars to returning prosperity. The cholera carried off this Falstaff of the court, not much to my sorrow.

The death of Madhaji Sindhia, and the accession of his nephew Dowlut Rao, his

Chondawuts in the affairs of Government, and strengthening the hands of the civil administration by admitting the foreign chieftains to the power he proposed to deprive the former of. He proceeds in the following quaint style.

"Disease fastened on the country from the following causes,—envy and party spirit. With the *Toorh* disease was introduced; but then the prince, his ministers, and chiefs, were of one mind, and medicine was ministered and a cure effected. During Rana Jey Sing's time the disorder returned, which his son Umra put down. He recovered the affairs of government from confusion, gave to every one his proper rank and dignity, and rendered all prosperous. But Maharana Sangram Sing put from under his wing the Chunderawut of Rampura, and thus a pinion of Mewar was broken. The calamity of Beharridas, whose son committed suicide, increased the difficulties. The arrival of the Dekhanis under Baji Rao, the Jeypur affair, (a) and the defeat at Rajmahl, with the heavy expenditure thereby occasioned, augmented the disorder. Add to this in Juggut Sing's time the enmity of the Dhabhaes towards the Pancholis, which lowered their dignities at home and abroad, and since which time every man has thought himself equal to the task of government. Juggut Sing was also afflicted by the rebellious conduct of his son Pertap, when Shama Solanki and several other chiefs were treacherously cut off. Since which time the minds of the nobles have never been loyal, but black and not to be trusted. Again, on the accession of Pertap, Maharaja Nathji allowed his thoughts to aspire, from which all his kin suffered. Hence animosities, doubts, and deceits, arose on all sides. Add to this the haughty proceeding of Umra Chund now in office; and besides the strife of the Pancholis with each other, their enmity to the Depras. Hence parties were formed which completely destroyed the credit of all. Yet notwithstanding, they abated none of their strife, which was the *acme* to the disease. The feud between Koman Sing and the Suktawuts for the possession of Heetha aggravated the distresses. The treacherous murder of Maharaja Nathji and the consequent disgust and retreat of Jeswunt Sing of Deogurh; the setting up the impostor Rutna Sing, and Jhala Raghoo Deo's struggle for office, with Umra Chund's entertaining the mercenaries of Sind, brought it to a crisis. The negligence arising out of luxury, and the intrigues of the Dhabhaes of Rana Ursi, made it spread so as to defeat all attempt at cure. In S. 1829, on the treacherous murder of the Rana by the Boondi prince, and the accession of the minor Hamir, every one set up his own

(a) The struggle to place the Rana's nephew, Madhu Sing, on the throne of Jeypur.

murder of the Sainowee Brahmins, and his quarrels with the Baes ('princesses,' wives of the deceased Sindhia), all occurred at this time, and materially influenced the events in Mewar. The power of Umbaji as Soobadar of Hindusthan was strengthened by the

"authority, so that there was not even the semblance of government. And now you (to the Rana), listening to the advice of Bheem Sing (Saloombra), and his brother, Urjoon, have taken foreigners (a) into pay, and thus rivetted all the former errors. You and *Sri Baeji Raj* (the royal mother), putting confidence in foreigners and Dekhanis, have rendered the disease contagious: besides, your mind is gone. What can be done? Medicine may yet be had. Let us unite and struggle to restore the duties of the minister, and we may conquer, or at least check its progress. If now neglected, it will hereafter be beyond human power. The Dekhanis are the great sore. Let us settle their accounts, and at all events get rid of them, or we lose the land for ever. At this time there are treaties and engagements in every corner. I have touched on every subject. Forgive whatever is improper. Let us look the future in the face, and let chiefs, ministers, and all unite. With the welfare of the country all will be well. But this is a disease which, if not now conquered, will conquer us."

A second paper as follows:—

"The disease of the country is to be considered and treated as a remittent.
"Umra Sing cured it and laid a complete system of government and justice.
"In Sangram's time it once more gained ground.
"In Juggut Sing's time the seed was thrown into the ground thus obtained.
"In Petrap's time it sprung up.
"In Raj Sing's time it bore fruit.
"In Rana Ursi's time it was ripe.
"In Hamir's time it was distributed, and all have had a share.

"And you, Bheem Sing (the present Rana), have eaten plentifully thereof. Its virtues and flavour you are acquainted with, and so likewise is the country; and if you take no medicine you will assuredly suffer much pain, and both at home and abroad you will be lightly thought of. Be not therefore negligent, or faith and land will depart from you."

A third paper to Uggurji Mehta (then minister):—

"If the milk is curdled it does not signify. Where there is sense butter may yet be extracted: and if the

(a) The Pancholi must allude to the Mahratta subsidiary force under umbaji.

minority of Sindhia, although contested by Lukwa and the Baes, supported by the Kheechie prince, Doorjun Sal, and the Duttea Raja, who fought and died for the princesses. Lukwa wrote to the Rana to throw off Umbaji's yoke and expel his lieutenant; while Umbaji commanded his deputy to eject the Sainowee* Brahmins, supporters of Lukwa, from all the lands in Mewar. To this end Gunes Punt called on the Rana's ministers and chiefs, who, consulting thereon, determined to play a deep game; and while they apparently acquiesced in the schemes of Gunes, they wrote the Sainowees to advance from Jawud and attack him, promising them support. They met at Sawah; Nana was defeated with the loss of his guns, and retired on Cheetore. With a feint of support, the Chondawuts made him again call in his garrison and try another battle, which he also lost and fled to Hamingurh; then uniting with his enemies, they invested the place with 15,000 men. Nana bravely maintained himself, making many sallies, in one of which both the sons of Dheruj Sing, the chief of

Hamingurh, were slain. Shortly after, Nana was relieved by some battalions of the new raised regulars sent by Umbaji under Golaub Rao Kudum, upon which he commenced his retreat on Ajmeer. At Moosa-Moosi he was forced to action, and success had nearly crowned the efforts of the clans, when a horseman, endeavouring to secure a mare, calling out, "*Bhaga! bhaga!*" "She flies! she flies!" the word spread, while those who caught her, exclaiming "*Milgya! milgya!*" "She is taken!" but equally significant with 'going over' to the enemy, caused a general panic, and the Chondawuts, on the verge of victory, disgraced themselves, broke and fled. Several were slain, among whom was the Sindhie leader Chundun. Shapura opened its gates to the fugitives led by the Goliah of the host, the chief of Deogurh.* It was an occasion not to be lost by the bards of the rival clan, and many a ribald stanza records this day's disgrace. Umbaji's lieutenant, however, was so roughly handled that several chiefs redeemed their estates, and the Rana much of the fisc, from Mahratta control. Mewar now became the arena on which the rival satraps Umbaji and Lukwa contested the exalted office of Sindhia's lieutenantancy in Hindusthan. Lukwa was joined by all the chiefs of Mewar, his cause being their own; and Hamingurh, still held by Nana's party, was reinvested. Two thousand shot had made a practicable breach, when Bala Rao Inglija, Bapoo Sindhia,

"butter-milk (*chauch*) is thrown away it matters not,
"But if the milk be curdled and black it will require
"wisdom to restore its purity. This wisdom is now
"wanted. The foreigners are the black in the curdled
"milk of Mewar. At all hazards remove them. Trust
"to them and the land is lost.

"In moonlight what occasion for a blue light?
"(*Chundra jote*.) (a)

"Who looks to the false coin of the Juggler?

"Do not credit him who tells you he will make a
"pigeon out of a feather.

"Abroad it is said there is no wisdom left in Mewar,
"which is a disgrace to her reputation."

* There are three classes of Mahratta Brahmins: Sainowee, Parbo, and Mahrat. Of the first was Lukwa, Balabha Tantia, Jawa Dada, Sewaji Nana, Lallaji Pundit, and Jeswunt Rao Bhow, men who held the mortgaged lands of Mewar.

(a) Literally a "moonlight." The particular kind of firework which we call a "blue light."

* I knew him well. He stood six feet six inches, and was bulky in proportion. His limbs rivalled those of the Hercules Farnese. His father was nearly seven feet, and died at the early age of twenty-two, in a vain attempt to keep down, by regimen and medicine, his enormous bulk.



Eswant Rao Sindhia, a brigade under the European 'Mutta field,' with the auxiliary battalions of Zalim Sing of Kotah, the whole under the command of Umbaji's son, arrived to relieve the lieutenant. Lukwa raised the siege, and took post with his allies under the walls of Cheetore; whilst the besieged left the untenable Hamirgurh, and joined the relief at Gosoonda. The rival armies were separated only by the Beris river, on whose banks they raised batteries and cannonaded each other, when a dispute arose in the victor camp regarding the pay of the troops, between Bala Rao (brother of Umbaji) and Nana, and the latter withdrew and retreated to Sanganer. Thus disunited, it might have been expected that these congregated masses would have dissolved, or fallen upon each other, when the Rajpoots might have given the *coup de grace* to the survivors; but they were Mahrattas, and their politics were too complicated to end in simple strife: almost all the actors in these scenes lived to contest with, and be humiliated by, the British.

The defection of Nana equalized the parties; but Bala Rao, never partial to fighting, opportunely recollected a debt of gratitude to Lukwa, to whose clemency he owed his life when taken by storm in Googul Chupra. He also wanted money to pay his force, which a private overture to Lukwa secured. They met, and Bala Rao retired boasting of his gratitude, to which, and the defection of Nana, soon followed by that of Bapoo Sindhia, the salvation of Lukwa was attributed. Sutherland with a brigade was detached by Umbaji to aid Nana; but a dispute depriving him of this reinforcement, he called in a partizan of

more celebrity, the brave George Thomas. Umbaji's lieutenant and Lukwa were once more equal foes, and the Rana, his chiefs and subjects being distracted between these conflicting bands, whose leaders alternately paid their respects to him, were glad to obtain a little repose by espousing the cause of either combatant, whose armies during the monsoon encamped for six weeks within sight of each other.*

Doorjun Sal (Kheechie), with the nobles of Mewar, hovered round Nana's camp with five thousand horse to cut off his supplies; but Thomas escorted the convoys from Shapura with his regulars, and defied all their efforts. Thomas at length advanced his batteries against Lukwa, on whose position a general assault was about taking place, when a tremendous storm, with torrents of rain which filled the stream, cut off his batteries from the main body, burst the gates of Shapura, his *point d'appui*, and laid the town in ruins.† Lukwa seized the moment, and with the Mewar chiefs stormed and carried the isolated batteries, capturing fifteen pieces of cannon; and the Shapura Raja, threatened at once by his brother-nobles and the vengeance of heaven, refused further provision to Nana, who was compelled to abandon his position and retreat to Sanganer. The discomfited lieutenant vowed

* Both camps were on the right bank of the Bunas: Lukwa's at Amlee, about ten miles south of Shapura, and Nana's at Kadaira, between these towns.

† Lukwa at this time (a) put the Shapura Raja in possession of the important fortress and district of Jehajpur, which, although the Rana consented to it, covertly receiving from the Raja two lacs of Rupees, disgusted the nobles with Lukwa.

(a) S. 1856 (A. D. 1800).

vengeance against the estates of the Mewar chieftains, and after the rains, being reinforced by Umbaji, again took the field. Then commenced a scene of carnage, pillage, and individual defence. The whole of the Chondawut estates under the Aravali range were laid waste, their castles assaulted, some taken and destroyed, and heavy sums levied on all. Thomas besieged Deogurh and Amaid and both fought and paid. Kossitul and Lusani were captured, and the latter razed for its gallant resistance. Thus they were proceeding in the work of destruction, when Umbaji was dispossessed of the government of Hindusthan, to which Lukwa was nominated,* and Nana was compelled to surrender all the fortresses and towns he held in Mewar.

From this period must be dated the pretensions of Sindhia to consider Mewar as tributary to him. We have traced the rise of the Mahrattas, and the progress of their baneful influence in Mewar. The abstractions of territory from S. 1826 to 1831, as pledges for contributions, satisfied their avarice till 1848, when the Saloombra rebellion brought the great Sindhia to Cheetore, leaving Umbaji as his lieutenant, with a subsidiary force, to recover the Rana's lost possessions. We have related how these conditions were fulfilled; how Umbaji, inflated with the wealth of Mewar, assumed almost regal dignity in Hindusthan, assigning the devoted land to be governed by his deputies, whose contest with other aspirants made this unhappy region the stage for constant

struggles for supremacy; and while the secret policy of Zalim Sing stimulated the Suktawuts to cling to Umbaji, the Chondawuts gave their influence and interest to his rival Lukwa. The unhappy Rana and the peasantry paid for this rivalry; while Sindhia, whose power was now in its zenith, fastened one of his desultory armies on Mewar, in contravention of former treaties, without any definite views, or even instructions to its commander. It was enough that a large body should supply itself without assailing him for prey, and whose services were available when required.

Lukwa, the new viceroy, marched to Mewar: Aggurji Mehta was appointed minister to the Rana, and the Chondawuts again came into power. For the sum of six lacs Lukwa dispossessed the Shapura of Jehajpur, for the liquidation of which thirty-six of its towns were mortgaged. Zalim Sing, who had long been manœuvring to obtain Jehajpur, administered to the necessities of the Mahratta, paid the note of hand, and took possession of the city and its villages. A contribution of twenty-four lacs was imposed throughout the country, and levied by force of arms, after which first act of the new viceroy he quitted Mewar for Jeypur, leaving Jesswunt Rao Bhow as his deputy. Monjee Ram, the deputy of Aggurji (the Rana's minister), determined to adopt the European mode of discipline, now become general amongst all the native powers of India. But when the chiefs were called upon to contribute to the support of mercenary regulars, and a field-artillery, they evinced their patriotism by confining this zealous minister. Suttidas was once

* Balabha Tantia and Bukshu Narrain Rao were Sindhia's ministers at this period, of the same tribe (the Sainowee) as Lukwa.

more placed in power, and his brother Sheodas recalled from Kotah, whither he had fled from the Chondawuts, who now appropriated to themselves the most valuable portions of the Rana's personal domain.

The battle of Indore, in A.D. 1802, where at least 150,000 men assembled to dispute the claim to predatory empire, wrested the ascendancy from Holkar, who lost his guns, equipage, and capital, from which he fled to Mewar, pursued by Sindhia's victorious army led by Sudasheo and Bala Rao. In his flight he plundered Rutlam, and passing Bheendir, the castle of the Suktawut chief, he demanded a contribution, from which and his meditated visit to Oodipur, the Rana and his vassal were saved by the activity of the pursuit. Failing in these objects, Holkar retreated on Nathdwarra, the celebrated shrine of the Hindu Apollo. It was here this active soldier first shewed symptoms of mental derangement. He upbraided Crishna, while prostrate before his image, for the loss of his victory; and levied three lacs of rupees on the priests and inhabitants, several of whom he carried to his camp as hostages for the payment. The portal (*dwarra*) of the god (*Nath*) proving no bar either to Toork or equally impious Mahratta, Damodurji, the high priest, removed the God of Vrij from his pedestal and sent him with his establishment to Oodipur for protection. The Chohan chief of Kotario (one of the sixteen nobles), in whose estate was the sacred fane, undertook the duty, and with twenty horsemen, his vassals, escorted the shepherd god by intricate passes to the capital. On his return he was intercepted by a band of Holkar's troops, who

insultingly desired the surrender of their horses. But the descendant of the illustrious Pirthwi Raj preferred death to dishonour: dismounting, he hamstrung his steed, commanding his vassals to follow his example; and sword in hand courted his fate in the unequal conflict, in which he fell, with most of his gallant retainers. There are many such isolated exploits in the records of this eventful period, of which the Chohans of Kotario had their full share. Spoil, from whatever source, being welcome to these depredators, Nathdwarra* remained long abandoned; and Apollo, after six months' residence at Oodipur, finding insufficient protection, took another flight to the mountains of Gassyar, where the high priest threw up fortifications for his defence; and spiritual thunders being disregarded, the pontiff henceforth buckled on the armour of flesh, and at the head of four hundred cavaliers, with lance and shield, visited the minor shrines in his extensive diocese.

To return to Holkar. He pursued his route by Bunera and Shapura, levying from both, to Ajmeer, where he distributed a portion of the offerings of the followers of Crishna amongst the priests of Mahommed at the mosque of Khwaja Peer. Thence he proceeded towards Jeypur. Sindhia's leaders on reaching Mewar renounced the pursuit, and Oodipur was cursed with their presence, when three lacs of rupees were extorted from the unfortunate Rana, raised by the sale of household effects and the jewels of the females of his family. Jesswunt Rao

* Five and twenty miles north of Oodipur. On this subject we shall have much to say hereafter.

Bhow, the soobadar of Mewar, had prepared another schedule (*pandri*), which he left with Tantia, his deputy, to realize. Then followed the usual scene of conflict—the attack of the chieftain's estates, distraining of the husbandman, seizure of his cattle, and his captivity for ransom, or his exile.

The celebrated Lukwa, disgraced by his prince, died at this time* in sanctuary at Saloombra; and Bala Rao, brother to Umbaji, returned, and was joined by the Suktawuts and the minister Suttidas, who expelled the Chondawuts for their control over the prince. Zalim Sing, in furtherance of his schemes and through hatred of the Chondawuts, united himself to this faction, and Devi Chund, minister to the Rana, set up by the Chondawuts, was made prisoner. Bala Rao levied and destroyed their estates with unexampled ferocity, which produced a bold attempt at deliverance. The Chondawut leaders assembled at the Chougan (the *Camp de Mars*) to consult on their safety. The insolent Mahratta had preceded them to the palace, demanding the surrender of the minister's deputy, Moujee Ram. The Rana indignantly refused them—the Mahratta importuned, threatened, and at length commanded his troops to advance to the palace, when the intrepid minister pinioned the audacious plunderers, and secured his adherents (including their old enemy, Nana Gunes), Jumalkur, and Ooda Kooer. The latter, a notorious villain, had an elephant's chain put round his neck, while Bala Rao was confined in a bath. The leaders thus arrested, the Chondawuts sallied forth and attacked their camp in the valley,

which surrendered; though the regulars under Hearsay retreated in a hollow square, and reached Gadermala in safety. Zalim Sing determined to liberate his friend Bala Rao from peril; and aided by the Suktawuts under the chiefs of Bheendir and Lawah, advanced to the Chajja pass, one of the defiles leading to the capital. Had the Rana put these chiefs to instant death, he would have been justified, although he would have incurred the resentment of the whole Mahratta nation. Instead of this, he put himself at the head of a motley levy of six thousand Sindhies, Arabs, and Goseins, with the brave Jey Sing and a band of his gallant Kheechies, ever ready to poise the lance against a Mahratta. They defended the pass for five days against a powerful artillery. At length the Rana was compelled to liberate Bala Rao, and Zalim Sing obtained by this interference possession of the fortress and entire district of Jehajpur. A schedule or war contribution, the usual final to these events, followed Bala's liberation, and no means were left untried to realize the exaction, before Holkar, then approaching, could contest the spoil.

This chief having recruited his shattered forces, again left the south.* Bheendir felt his resentment for non-compliance with his demands on his retreat after the battle of Indore; the town was nearly destroyed, but spared for two lacs of rupees, for the payment of which villages were assigned. Thence he repaired to Oodipur, being met by Ajit Sing, the Rana's ambassador, when the enormous sum of forty lacs, or £500,000, was demanded from the country, of which one-third was commanded to be instantly

* S. 1859 (A.D. 1803).

* In S. 1860 (A.D. 1804).



forthcoming. The palace was denuded of every thing which could be converted into gold; the females were deprived of every article of luxury and comfort: by which, with contributions levied on the city, twelve lacs were obtained; while hostages from the household of the Rana and chief citizens were delivered as security for the remainder, and immured in the Mahratta camp. Holkar then visited the Rana. Lawah and Bednore were attacked, taken, and restored on large payments. Deogurh alone was mulcted four and a half lacs. Having devastated Mewar during eight months, Holkar marched to Hindusthan,* Ajit Sing accompanying him as the Rana's representative; while Bala Ram Seth was left to levy the balance of the forty lacs. Holkar had reached Shapura when Sindhia entered Mewar, and their camps formed a junction to allow the leaders to organize their mutual plans of hostility to the British Government. These chieftains, in their efforts to cope with the British power, had been completely humiliated, and their resources broken. But Rajasthan was made to pay the penalty of British success, which rivetted her chains, and it would be but honest, now we have the power, to diminish that penalty.

The rainy season of A.D. 1805 found

Sindhia and Holkar encamped in the plains of Bednore, desirous, but afraid, to seek revenge in the renewal of war. Deprived of all power in Hindusthan, and of the choicest territory north and south of the Nerbudda, with numerous discontented armies now let loose on these devoted countries, their passions inflamed by defeat, and blind to every sentiment of humanity, they had no alternative to pacify the soldiery and replenish their own ruined resources but indiscriminate pillage. It would require a pen powerful as the pencil of Salvator Rosa to paint the horrors which filled up the succeeding ten years, to which the author was an eye-witness, destined to follow in the train of rapine, and to view in the traces of Mahratta camps the desolation and political annihilation of all the central states of India,* several of which aided the British in their early struggles for dominion, but were now allowed to fall without a helping hand, the scape-goats of our successes. Peace between the Mahrattas and British was, however, doubtful, as Sindhia made the restoration of the rich provinces of Gohud and Gwalior a *sine qua non*: and unhappily for their legitimate ruler, who had been inducted into the seat of his fore-

* At this juncture an officer of Holkar's, Hurnat Chela on passing through Bansein, had some camels carried off by the Bhils of the Satola estate. Hurnat summoned Golab Sing Chondavut, who came with eight of his relatives, when he was told he should be detained till the cattle were restored; and in the morning, as the Mahratta mounted his elephant, he commanded the Raghaut chieftain to be seized. Golab drew his sword and made at Hurnat, but his sword broke in the howda, when he plunged his dagger into the elephant; but at length, with all his relations, who nobly plied their swords on the Mahrattas, was cut to pieces.

* The Rana of Gohud and Gwalior, the Kheechie chiefs of Ragoogurh and Buhadoorgurh, and the Nabob of Bhopal, made common cause with us in Warren Hastings' time. The three first possess not a shadow of independence; the latter fortunately formed a link in our own policy, and Lord Hastings, in 1818, repaid with liberal interest the services rendered to the government of Warren Hastings in 1782. It was in his power, with equal facility, to have rescued all the other states, and to have claimed the same measure of gratitude which Bhopal is proud to avow. But there was a fatality in the desire to maintain terms with Sindhia, whose treachery to our power was overlooked.

fathers, a Governor General (Lord Cornwallis) of ancient renown, but in the decline of life, with views totally unsuited to the times, abandoned our allies, and renounced all for peace, sending an ambassador* to Sindhia to reunite the bonds of "perpetual friendship."

The Mahratta leaders were anxious, if the war should be renewed, to shelter their families and valuables in the strong-holds of Mewar, and their respective camps became the rendezvous of the rival factions. Sirdar Sing, the organ of the Chondawuts, represented the Rana at Sindhia's court, at the head of whose councils Umbaji had just been placed.† His rancour to the Rana was implacable, from the support given in self-defence to his political antagonist, Lukwa, and he agitated the partition of Mewar amongst the great Mahratta leaders. But whilst his baneful influence was preparing this result, the credit of Sangram Sukta-wut with Holkar counteracted it. It would be unfair and ungallant not to record that a fair suitor, the Baeza Bae, Sindhia's wife, powerfully contributed to the Rana's preservation on this occasion. This lady, the daughter of the notorious Surji Rao, had unbounded power over Sindhia. Her sympathies were awakened in behalf of the supreme head of the Rajpoot nation, of which blood she had to boast, though she was now connected with the Mahrattas.

Even the hostile clans stifled their animosities on this occasion, and Sirdar Sing Chondawut left Sindhia's camp to join his rival Sangram with Holkar, and aided by the upright Kishen-das Pancholi, united in their remonstrances, asking Holkar if he had given his consent to sell Mewar to Umbaji. Touched by the picture of the Rana's and their country's distresses, Holkar swore it should not be; advised unity amongst themselves, and caused the representatives of the rival clans "*to eat opium together.*" Nor did he stop here, but with the envoys repaired to Sindhia's tents descended on the Rana's high descent, "the master of their master's master,"* urging that it did not become them to overwhelm him, and that they should even renounce the mortgaged lands which their fathers had too long unjustly held, himself setting the example by the restitution of Neembahaira. To strengthen his argument, he expatiated with Sindhia on the policy of conciliating the Rana, whose strong-holds might be available in the event of a renewal of hostilities with the British. Sindhia appeared a convert to his views, and retained the envoys in his camp. The Mahratta camps were twenty miles apart, and incessant torrents of rain had for some days prevented all intercourse. In this interim, Holkar received intelligence that Bhiroo Bux, as envoy from the Rana, was in Lord Lake's camp negotiating for the aid of British troops, then at Tonk, to drive the Mahrattas from Mewar. The incensed Holkar sent for the Rana's ambassadors, and

* The author, then a subaltern, was attached to the suite of the ambassador, Mr. Graeme Mercer. He left the subsidiary force at Gwalior in December 1805, and the embassy reached Sindhia's court in the spring of 1806, then encamped amidst the ruins of Mewar.

† The ministers of Sindhia were Umbaji, Bapoo Chitnaves, Madhuba Huzooria, and Anaji Bhasker.

* That is, chief of the race from which issued the Sitarra sovereigns, whose minister, the Peshwa, accounted Sindhia and Holkar his feudatories.



assailed them with a torrent of reproach; accusing them of treachery, he threw the newspaper containing the information at Kishen-das, asking if that were the way in which the Mewarries kept faith with him? "I cared not to break with Sindhia in support of your master, and while combating the Fringies (Franks), when all Hindus should be as brothers, your sovereign the Rana, who boasts of not acknowledging the supremacy of Delhi, is the first to enter into terms with them. Was it for this I prevented Umbaji being fastened on you?" Kishen-das here interrupted and attempted to pacify him, when Alikur Tantia, Holkar's minister, stopped him short, observing to his prince, "You see the faith of these *Rangras* ;* they would disunite you and Sindhia, and ruin both. Shake them off: be reconciled to Sindhia, dismiss Surji Rao, and let Umbaji be Soobadar of Mewar, or I will leave you and take Sindhia into Malwa." The other councillors, with the exception of Bhow Bhasker, seconded this advice: Surji Rao was dismissed; and Holkar proceeded northward, where he was encountered and pursued to the Punjab by the British under the intrepid and enterprising Lake, who dictated terms to the Mahratta at the altars of Alexander.

Holkar had the generosity to stipulate, before his departure from Mewar, for the security of the Rana and his country, telling Sindhia he should hold him personally amenable to him if Umbaji were permitted to violate his guarantee. But in his misfortunes this threat was disregarded, and a contribu-

tion of sixteen lacs was levied immediately on Mewar; Sudasheo Rao, with Baptiste's brigade, was detached from the camp in June 1806, for the double purpose of levying it, and driving from Oodipur a detachment of the Jeypur prince's troops, bringing proposals and preliminary presents for this prince's marriage with the Rana's daughter.

It would be imagined that the miseries of Rana Bheem were not susceptible of aggravation, and that fortune had done her worst to humble him; but his pride as a sovereign and his feelings as a parent were destined to be yet more deeply wounded. The Jeypur *cortege* had encamped near the capital, to the number of three thousand men, while the Rana's acknowledgments of acceptance were despatched, and had reached Shapura. But Raja Maun of Marwar also advanced pretensions, founded on the princess having been actually betrothed to his predecessor; and urging that the throne of Marwar, and not the individual occupant, was the object, he vowed resentment and opposition if his claims were disregarded. These were suggested, it is said, by his nobles to cloak their own views; and promoted by the Chondawuts (then in favour with the Rana) whose organ, Ajit, was bribed to further them, contrary to the decided wishes of their prince.

Krishna Kumari (the *Virgin Krishna*) was the name of the lovely object, the rivalry for whose hand assembled under the banners of her suitors, (Juggut Sing, of Jeypur, and Raja Maun of Marwar,) not only their native chivalry, but all the predatory powers of India; and who like Helen of old, invol-

* Rangra is an epithet applied to the Rajpoots, implying turbulent, from '*ring*,' strife.

ved in destruction her own and the rival houses. Sindhia having been denied a pecuniary demand by Jeypur, not only opposed the nuptials, but aided the claims of Raja Maun, by demanding of the Rana the dismissal of the Jeypur embassy : which being refused, he advanced his brigades and batteries, and after a fruitless resistance, in which the Jeypur troops joined, forced the pass, threw a corps of eight thousand men into the valley, and following in person, encamped within cannon-range of the city. The Rana had now no alternative but to dismiss the nuptial *cortege*, and agree to whatever was demanded. Sindhia remained a month in the valley, during which an interview took place between him and the Rana at the shrine of Eklinga.*

* To increase his importance, Sindhia invited the British envoy and suite to be present on the occasion, when the princely demeanour of the Rana and his sons was advantageously contrasted with that of the Mahratta and his suite. It was in this visit that the regal abode of this ancient race, its isles and palaces, acted with irresistible force on the cupidity of this *scion of the plough*, who aspired to, yet dared not sit himself in, "the halls of the Cæsars." It was even surmised that his hostility to Jeypur was not so much from the refused war-contribution, as from a mortifying negative to an audacious desire to obtain the hand of this princess himself.

The impression made on the author upon this occasion by the miseries and noble appearance of "this descendant of a hundred kings," was never allowed to weaken, but kindled an enthusiastic desire for the restoration of his fallen condition, which stimulated his perseverance to obtain that knowledge by which alone he might be enabled to benefit him. Then a young *Sub*, his hopes of success were more sanguine than wise; but he trusted to the rapid march of events, and the discordant elements by which he was surrounded, to effect the redemption of the prince from thralldom. It was long a dream—but after ten years of anxious hope, at length realized—and he had the gratification of being instrumental in snatching the family from destruction, and subsequently of raising the country to comparative prosperity.

The heralds of Hymen being thus rudely repulsed and its symbols intercepted, the Jeypur prince prepared to avenge his insulted pride and disappointed hopes, and accordingly arrayed a force such as had not assembled since the empire was in its glory. Raja Maun eagerly took up the gauntlet of his rival, and headed "*the swords of Maroo*." But dissension prevailed in Marwar, where rival claimants for the throne had divided the loyalty of the clans, introducing there also the influence of the Mahrattas. Raja Maun, who had acquired the sceptre by party aid, was obliged to maintain himself by it, and to pursue the demoralizing policy of the period by ranging his vassals against each other. These nuptials gave the malcontents an opportunity to display their long-curbed resentments, and following the example of Mewar, they set up a pretender, whose interests were eagerly espoused, and whose standard was erected in the array of Jeypur; the prince at the head of 120,000 men advancing against his rival, who with less than half the number met him at Purbutsir, on their mutual frontier. The action was short, for while a heavy cannonade opened on either side, the majority of the Marwar nobles went over to the pretender. Raja Maun turned his poniard against himself: but some chiefs yet faithful to him wrested the weapon from his hand, and conveyed him from the field. He was pursued to his capital, which was invested, besieged, and gallantly defended during six months. The town was at length taken and plundered, but the castle of Joda "laughed a siege to scorn;" in time with the aid of finesse, the mighty host of Jeypur, which had consumed

the forage of these arid plains for twenty miles around, began to crumble away; intrigue spread through every rank, and the siege ended in pusillanimity and flight. The Xerxes of Rajwarra, the effeminate Cutchwaha, alarmed at length for his personal safety, sent on the spoils of Purbutsir and Jodpur to his capital; but the brave nobles of Marwar, drawing the line between loyalty and patriotism, and determined that no trophy of Rahtore degradation should be conveyed by the Cutchwahas from Marwar, attacked the *cortege* and redeemed the symbols of their disgrace. The colossal array of the invader was soon dismembered, and the "*lion of the world*" (Juggut Sing) humbled and crestfallen, skulked from the desert retreat of his rival, indebted to a partizan corps for safety and convoy to his capital, around whose walls the wretched remnants of this ill-starred confederacy long lagged in expectation of their pay, while the bones of their horses and the ashes of their riders whitened the plain, and rendered it a Golgotha.*

By the aid of one of the most notorious villains India ever produced, the Nawab Ameer Khan, the pretender's party was treacherously annihilated. This man with his brigade of artillery and horse was amongst the most efficient of the foes of Raja Maun; but the *auri sacra fames* not only made him desert the side on which he came for that of the Raja, but for a specific sum

offer to rid him of the pretender and all his associates. Like Judas, he kissed whom he betrayed, took service with the pretender, and at the shrine of a saint of his own faith exchanged turbans with their leaders; and while the too credulous Rajpoot chieftains celebrated this acquisition to their party in the very sanctuary of hospitality, crowned by the dance and the song, the tents were cut down, and the victims thus enveloped, slaughtered in the midst of festivity by showers of grape.

Thus finished the under-plot; but another and more noble victim was demanded before discomfited ambition could repose, or the curtain drop on this eventful drama. Neither party would relinquish his claim to the fair object of the war; and the torch of discord could be extinguished only in her blood. To the same ferocious Khan is attributed the unhallowed suggestion, as well as its compulsory execution. The scene was now changed from the desert castle of Joda to the smiling valley of Oodipur, soon to be filled with funereal lamentation.

Krishna Kumari Bae, the "Virgin Princess Krishna," was in her sixteenth year: her mother was of the Chawura race, the ancient kings of Anhulwara. Sprung from the noblest blood of Hind, she added beauty of face and person to an engaging demeanour, and was justly proclaimed the "flower of Rajasthan." When the Roman father pierced the bosom of the dishonoured Virginia, appeased virtue applauded the deed. When Iphigenia was led to the sacrificial altar, the salvation of her country yielded a noble consolation. The votive victim of Jephtha's success had the triumph of a

* I witnessed the commencement and the end of this drama, and have conversed with actors in all the intermediate scenes. In June 1806 the passes of Oodipur were forced; and in January 1808, when I passed through Jeypur in a solitary ramble, the fragments of this contest were scattered over its sandy plains.

father's fame to sustain her resignation, and in the meekness of her sufferings we have the best parallel to the sacrifice of the lovely Krishna : though years have passed since the barbarous immolation, it is never related but with a faltering tongue and moistened eyes, "albeit unused to the melting mood."

The rapacious and blood-thirsty Pathan, covered with infamy, repaired to Oodipur, where he was joined by the pliant and subtle Ajit. Meek in his demeanour, unostentatious in his habits; despising honours, yet covetous of power,—religion, which he followed with the zeal of an ascetic, if it did not serve as a cloak, was at least no hindrance to an immeasurable ambition, in the attainment of which he would have sacrificed all but himself. When the Pathan revealed his design, that either the princess should wed Raja Maun, or by her death seal the peace of Rajwarra, whatever arguments were used to point the alternative, the Rana was made to see no choice between consigning his beloved child to the Rahtore prince, or witnessing the effects of a more extended dishonour from the vengeance of the Pathan, and the storm of his palace by his licentious adherents :—the fiat passed that Krishna Kumari should die.

But the deed was left for women to accomplish—the hand of man refused it. The *Rawula** of an eastern prince is a world within itself; it is the labyrinth containing the strings that move the puppets which alarm mankind. Here intrigue sits enthroned, and hence its influence radiates to the world, always at a loss to trace effects

to their causes. Maharaja Dowlut Sing,* descended four generations ago from one common ancestor with the Rana, was first sounded "to save the honour of Oodipur;" but, horror-struck, he exclaimed, "accursed the tongue that commands it! Dust on my allegiance, if thus to be preserved!" The Maharaja Jowandas, a natural brother, was then called upon; the dire necessity was explained, and it was urged that no common hand could be armed for the purpose. He accepted the poniard, but when in youthful loveliness Krishna appeared before him, the dagger fell from his hand, and he returned more wretched than the victim. The fatal purpose thus revealed, the shrieks of the frantic mother reverberated through the palace, as she implored mercy, or execrated the murderers of her child, who alone was resigned to her fate. But death was arrested, not averted. To use the phrase of the narrator, "she was excused the steel—the cup was prepared,"—and prepared by female hands! As the messenger presented it in the name of her father, she bowed and drank it, sending up a prayer for his life and prosperity. The raving mother poured imprecations on his head, while the lovely victim, who shed not a tear, thus endeavoured to console her: "Why afflict yourself, my mother, at this shortening of the sorrows of life? I fear not to die! Am I not your daughter? Why should I fear death? We are marked out for sacrifice† from our birth; we scarcely enter the world but to be sent out again; let me thank my

* I knew him well—a plain honest man.

† Alluding to the custom of infanticide—here, very rare; indeed, almost unknown.

* Harem.



"father that I have lived so long!"* Thus she conversed till the nauseating draught refused to assimilate with her blood. Again the bitter potion was prepared. She drained it off, and again it was rejected; but, as if to try the extreme of human fortitude, a third was administered; and, for the third time, Nature refused to aid the horrid purpose. It seemed as if the fabled charm, which guarded the life of the founder of her race,† was inherited by the Virgin Krishna. But the bloodhounds, the Pathan and Ajit, were impatient till their victim was at rest; and cruelty, as if gathering strength from defeat, made another and a fatal attempt. A powerful opiate was presented—the *kasoomba draught*.‡ She received it with a

* With my mind engrossed with the scenes in which I had passed the better part of my life, I went two months after my return from Rajpootana, in 1823, to York Cathedral, to attend the memorable festival of that year. The sublime recitations of Handel in "Jephtha's Vow," the sonorous woe of Sapio's "Deeper and deeper still," powerfully recalled the sad exit of the Rajpootni; and the representation shortly after of Racine's tragedy of "Iphigénie," with Talma as Achille, Duchesnois as Clytemnestre, and a very interesting personation of the victim daughter of Agamemnon, again served to waken the remembrance of this sacrifice. The following passage, embodying not only the sentiments, but couched in the precise language in which the "Virgin Krishna" addressed her father—proving that human nature has but one mode of expression for the same feelings—I am tempted to transcribe;

....."Mon père,
"Cesseez de vous troubler, vous n'êtes point trahi.
"Quand vous commanderez, vous serez obéi:
"Ma vie est votre bien. Vous voulez le reprendre,
"Vos ordres, sans détour pouvaient se faire entendre;
"D'un œil aussi content, d'un cœur aussi soumis,
"Que j'acceptais l'époux que vous m'aviez promis,
"Je saurai, s'il le faut, victime obéissante
"Tendre au fer de Calchas une tête innocente;
"Et respectant le coup per vous-même ordonné,
"Vous rendre tout le sang que vous m'avez donné.
† Bappa Rawul.

‡ The *kasoomba draught* is made of flowers and herbs of a cooling quality; into this an opiate was introduced.

smile, wished the scene over, and drank it. The desires of barbarity were accomplished. "She slept!"* a sleep from which she never awoke.

The wretched mother did not long survive her child; nature was exhausted in the ravings of despair; she refused food; and her remains in a few days followed those of her daughter to the funeral pyre.

Even the ferocious Khan, when the instrument of his infamy, Ajit, reported the issue, received him with contempt, and spurned him from his presence, tauntingly asking "if this were the boasted Rajpoot valour?" But the wily traitor had to encounter language far more bitter from his political adversary, whom he detested. Sangram Suktawut reached the capital only four days after the catastrophe—a man in every respect the reverse of Ajit; audaciously brave, he neither feared the frown of his sovereign nor the sword of his enemy. Without introduction he rushed into the presence, where he found seated the traitor Ajit. "Oh dastard! who hast thrown dust "on the Seesodia race, whose blood which "has flowed in purity through a hundred "ages has now been defiled! this sin will "check its course for ever; a blot so foul "in our annals that no Seesodia† will ever "again hold up his head! A sin to which "no punishment were equal. But the end "of our race is approaching! The line of "Bappa Rawul is at an end! Heaven has "ordained this, a signal of our destruction." The Rana hid his face with his hands, when turning to Ajit, he exclaimed, "thou stain

* The simple but powerful expression of the narrator.

† The tribe of the Rana.

"on the Seesodia race, thou impure of
 "Rajpoot blood, dust be on thy head as thou
 "hast covered us all with shame. May you
 "die childless, and your name die with
 "you!* Why this indecent haste? Had
 "the Pathan stormed the city? Had he
 "attempted to violate the sanctity of the
 "Rawula? And though he had, could you
 "not die as Rajpoots, like your ancestors?
 "Was it thus they gained a name? Was it
 "thus our race became renowned—thus
 "they opposed the might of kings? Have
 "you forgotten the Sakas of Cheetore?
 "But whom do I address—not Rajpoots?
 "Had the honour of your females been
 "endangered, had you sacrificed them all
 "and rushed sword in hand on the enemy,
 "your name would have lived, and the
 "Almighty would have secured the seed of
 "Bappa Rawul. But to owe preservation
 "to this unballowed deed! You did not
 "even await the threatened danger. Fear
 "seems to have deprived you of every
 "faculty, or you might have spared the
 "blood of Sreejee,† and if you did not scorn
 "to owe your safety to deception, might
 "have substituted some less noble victim!
 "But the end of our race approaches!"

The traitor to manhood, his sovereign,
 and humanity, durst not reply. The brave
 Sangram is now dead, but the prophetic
 anathema has been fulfilled. Of *ninety-five*
 children, sons and daughters, but one son
 (the brother of Krishna)‡ is left to the Rana;
 and though his two remaining daughters
 have been recently married to the princes

of Jessulmeer and Bikaner, the Salic law,
 which is in full force in these states, pre-
 cludes all honour through female descent.
 His hopes rest solely on the prince, Juvana
 Sing,* and though in the flower of youth
 and health, the marriage bed (albeit boast-
 ing no less than four young princesses) has
 been blessed with no progeny.†

The elder brother of Juvana‡ died two
 years ago. Had he lived he would have
 been Umra the Third. With regard to Ajit,
 the course has been fully accomplished.
 Scarcely a month after, his wife and two
 sons were numbered with the dead; and
 the hoary traitor has since been wandering
 from shrine to shrine, performing penance
 and alms in expiation of his sins, yet unable
 to fling from him ambition; and with his
 beads in one hand, *Rama! Rama!* ever on
 his tongue, and subdued passion in his looks,
 his heart is deceitful as ever. Enough of
 him: let us exclaim with Sangram, "*Dust*
on his head,"§ which all the waters of the

* He was nearly carried off by that awful scourge, the
 cholera, and, singular to remark, was the first person at-
 tacked at Oodipur. I remained by his bed-side during
 the progress of this terrible visitation, and never shall I
 forget his grateful exclamation of surprise, when after a
 salutary sleep he opened his eyes to health. Sheerjee
 Mehta, his chief adviser and manager of his estates, merry
 as ever, though the heir of Mewar was given over, was
 seized with the complaint as his master recovered—was
 dead and his ashes blanching on the sands of the stream-
 let of Ar within twelve hours! Jovial and good-humoured
 as he was, "we could have better spared a better man."
 He was an adept in intrigue; of Umbaji's school; and
 till death shall extinguish the whole of this, and better
 morals are born, the country will but slowly improve.

† Since this work has gone to press: the author has
 been rejoiced to find that an heir has been born from the
 last marriage by a princess of Rewah of the Bhagela tribe.

‡ See genealogical descendants of Rana Juggut Sing.
 Appendix, No. VIII.

§ This was written at Oodipur in 1820. This old intri-
 guer then attempted to renew the past, as the organ of

* That is, without adoption even to perpetuate it.

† A respectful epithet to the prince—*sire*.

‡ By the same mother.



Ganges could not purify from the blood of the virgin Krishna, but

“rather would the multitudinous sea incarnadine.”

His coadjutor, Ameer Khan, is now linked by treaties “in amity and unity of interests” with the sovereigns of India; and though he has carried mourning into every house of Rajasthan, yet charity might hope forgiveness would be extended to him, could he cleanse himself from this deed of horror—“throwing this pearl away, richer than all his tribe!” His career of rapine has terminated with the caresses of the blind goddess, and placed him on a pinnacle to which his sword would never have traced the path. Enjoying the most distinguished post amongst the foreign chieftains of Holkar’s state, having the regulars and park under his control, with large estates for their support, he added the epithet of traitor to his other titles, when the British government, adopting the leading maxim of Asiatic policy, “*divide et impera*,” guaranteed to him the sovereignty of these districts on his abandoning the Mahrattas, disbanding his legions, and surrendering the park. But though he personally fulfilled not, nor could fulfil, one single stipulation, this man, whose services were not worth the pay of a single sepoy,—who fled from his camp* unattended, and sought personal protection in that of the

the Chondawuts, but his scheme ended in exile to the sacred city of Benares; and there he may now be seen with his rosary on the consecrated *ghat* of the Ganges.

* Brigadier-General Alexander Knox had the honour of dissolving these bands in the only way worthy of us. He marched his troops to take their guns and disperse their legions; and, when in order of battle, the gallant General taking out his watch, gave them half-an-hour to reflect, their commander Jamshid, second only in villany to his master, deeming “discretion the better part of valour,” surrendered.

British commander,—claimed and obtained the full price of our pledge, the sovereignty of about one-third of his master’s dominions; and the districts of Seronge, Tonk, Rampura, and Neembahaira, form the domain of the *Nawab Ameer Khan, &c. &c. &c.!!* This was in the fitful fever of success, when our arms were every where triumphant. But were the viceroy of Hind to summon the forty tributaries* now covered by the ægis of British protection to a meeting, the murderer of Krishna would still occupy a place (though low) in this illustrious divan. Let us hope that his character being known, he would feel himself ill at ease; and let us dismiss him likewise in the words of Sangram, “*Dust on his head!*”

The mind sickens at the contemplation of these unvarying scenes of atrocity; but this unhappy state had yet to pass through two more lustres of aggravated sufferings (to which the author of these annals was an eye-witness) before their termination, upon the alliance of Mewar with Britain. From the period of the forcing of the passes, the dismissal of the Jeypur embassy by Sindhia, and the murder of Krishna Kumari, the embassy of Britain was in the train of the Mahratta leader, a witness of the evils described—a most painful predicament—when the hand was stretched out for succour in vain, and the British flag waved in the centre of desolation, unable to afford protection. But this day of humiliation is past, thanks to the predatory hordes who goaded us on to their destruction; although the

* There are full this number of princes holding under the British.

work was incomplete, a nucleus being imprudently left in Sindhia for the scattered particles again to from.

In the spring of 1806, when the embassy entered the once-fertile Mewar, from whose native wealth the monuments the pencil will pourtray were erected, nothing but ruin met the eye—deserted towns, roofless houses, and uncultured plains. Wherever the Mahratta encamped, annihilation was ensured; it was a habit; and twenty-four hours sufficed to give to the most flourishing spot the aspect of a desert. The march of destruction was always to be traced for days afterwards by burning villages and destroyed cultivation. Some satisfaction may result from the fact, that there was scarcely an actor in these unhallowed scenes whose end was not fitted to his career. Umbaji was compelled to disgorge the spoils of Mewar, and his personal sufferings made some atonement for the ills he had inflicted upon her. This satrap, who had almost established his independence in the fortress and territory of Gwalior, suffered every indignity from Sindhia, whose authority he had almost thrown off. He was confined in a mean tent, manacled, suffered the torture of small lighted torches applied to his fingers, and even attempted suicide to avoid the surrender of his riches; but the instrument (an English penknife), was inefficient: the surgeon to the British embassy sewed up the wounds, and his coffers were eased of fifty-five lacs of rupees! Mewar was, however, once more delivered over to him; he died shortly after. If report be correct, the residue of his treasures was possessed by his ancient ally, Zalim Sing. In this case, the old politician

derived the chief advantage of the intrigues of S. 1848, without the crimes attendant on the acquisition.

Sindhia's father-in-law, when expelled that chief's camp, according to the treaty, enjoyed the ephemeral dignity of minister to the Rana, when he abstracted the most valuable records, especially those of the revenue.

Komulmeer was obtained by the minister Suttidas from Jesswunt Rao Bhow for seventy thousand rupees, for which assignments were given on this district, of which he retained possession. Meer Khan in A.D. 1809 led his myrmidons to the capital, threatening the demolition of the temple of Eklinga if refused a contribution of eleven lacs of rupees. Nine were agreed to, but which by no effort could be raised, upon which the Rana's envoys were treated with indignity, and Kishen-das* wounded. The passes were forced, Meer Khan entering by Dobarri, and his coadjutor and son-in-law, the notorious Jamshid, by the Cheerwa, which made but a feeble resistance. The ruffian Pathans were billeted on the city, subjecting the Rana to personal humiliation, and Jamshid† left with his licentious Rohillas in the capital. The traces of their barbarity are to be seen in its ruins. No woman could safely venture abroad, and a decent

* This veteran attended me during all these troubles, as the medium of communication with the Rana. Though leagued with the Chondawuts, he was a loyal subject and good servant. I saw him expire, and was of opinion, as well as the doctor who accompanied me, that his death was caused by poison. The general burst of sorrow from hundreds collected around his house, when the event was announced, is the best encomium on his public character.

† This monstrous villain (for he was a Golliah) died soon after Mewar was rescued, from a cancer in his back.



garment or turban was sufficient to attract their cupidity.

In S. 1867 (A.D. 1811) Bapoo Sindhia arrived with the title of Soobadar, and encamped in the valley, and from this to 1814 these vampires, representing Sindhia and Meer Khan, possessed themselves of the entire fiscal domain, with many of the fiefs, occasionally disputing for the spoils; to prevent which they came to a conference at the *Dhola Mugra* (the white hill), attended by a deputation* from the Rana, when the line of demarcation was drawn between the spoilers. A schedule was formed of the towns and villages yet inhabited, the amount to be levied from each specified, and three and a half lacs adjudged to Jamshid, with

the same sum to Sindhia; but this treaty was not better kept than the former ones. Mewar was rapidly approaching dissolution, and every sign of civilization fast disappearing; fields laid waste, cities in ruins, inhabitants exiled, chieftains demoralized, the prince and his family destitute of common comforts. Yet had Sindhia the audacity to demand compensation for the loss of his tribute stipulated to Bapoo Sindhia,* who rendered Mewar a desert, carrying her chiefs, her merchants, her farmers, into captivity and fetters in the dungeons of Ajmeer, where many died for want of ransom, and others languished till the treaty with the British, in A.D. 1817, set them free.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Overthrow of the Predatory System.—Alliances with the Rajpoot States.—Envoy appointed to Mewar.—Arrives at Oodipur.—Reception.—Description of the Court.—Political Geography of Mewar.—The Rana.—His Character.—His Minister.—Plans.—Exiles recalled.—Merchants invited.—Bhilwara established.—Assembly of the Nobles.—Charter ratified.—Resumptions of Land.—Anecdotes of the Chiefs of Arjah.—Bednore, Broodiser, and Amaid.—Landed Tenures in Mewar.—Village rule.—Freehold (barpota) of Mewar.—Bhomia, or allodial Vassals; Character and Privileges.—Great Register of Patents.—Traditions exemplifying right in the Soil.—The Patail; his Origin; Character.—Assessment of Landrents.—General Results.

THE history of the Rana's family has now been traced through all the vicissitudes of its fortunes, from the second to the nineteenth century, whilst contending for existence alternately with Parthians, Bhils, Tartars, and Mahrattas, till at length it has be-

come tributary to Britain. The last chapter portrays the degraded condition of their

* Sutti-das, Kishen-das, and Roop Ram.

* Bapoo Sindhia shortly outlived his expulsion from Ajmeer, and as he had to pass through Mewar in his passage to his future residence, he was hooted by the population he had plundered. While I was attending the Rana's court, some one reporting Bapoo Sindhia's arrival at his destination, mentioned that some pieces of ordnance formerly taken from Oodipur had, after salut-

princes, and the utter desolation of their country, in a picture which embodied the entire Rajpoot race. An era of repose at length dawned upon them. The destruction of that vast predatory system, under the weight of which the prosperity of these regions had so long been repressed, was effected by one short campaign in 1817; which if less brilliant than that of 1803, is inferior to none in political results. The tardy policy of the last named period, at length accomplished, placed the power of Britain in the East on an expugnable position, and rescued the Rajpoots from a progressing destruction.

To prevent the recurrence of this predatory system it was deemed politic to unite all these settled states, alike interested with ourselves in its overthrow, in one grand confederation. Accordingly the Rajpoot states were invited to shelter under our protecting alliance; and with one exception (Jeypur), they eagerly embraced the invitation. The ambassadors of the various governments followed each other in quick succession to Delhi, where the treaties were to be negotiated, and in a few weeks all Rajpootana was united to Britain by compacts of one uniform character;* insuring to them external protection with internal independence, as the price of acknowledged supremacy, and a portion of Revenue to the protecting government. By this comprehensive arrangement, we placed a most powerful barrier

ing him, *caused a quantity of water* which was received with the utmost gravity by the court, until I remarked they were crying because they should never again be employed in plunder: an idea which caused a little mirth.

* See appendix No. VI. for treaty with the Rana,

between our territories and the strong natural frontier of India; and so long as we shall respect their established usages, and by contributing to the prosperity of the people preserve our motives from distrust, it will be a barrier impenetrable to invasion.

Of all the princes who obtained succour at this momentous crisis in the political history of India, none stood more in need of it than the Rana of Oodipur. On the 16th January 1818 the treaty was signed, and in February an envoy was nominated; who immediately proceeded to the Rana's court, to superintend and maintain the newly-formed relations.* The right wing of the grand army† had already preceded him to compel the surrender of such territory as was unjustly held by the lawless partizans of Sindhia, and to reduce to obedience the refractory nobles, to whom anarchy was endeared from long familiarity. The strong-holds in the plains, as Raepur, Rajnuggur, &c. soon surrendered; and the payment of the arrears of the garrison of Komulmeer put this important fortress in our possession.

In his passage from Jehajpur, which guards the range on the east to Komulmeer on the Aravali west, a space of 140 miles,

* Commanded by Major-General Sir R. Donkin, K. C. B.

† The author had the honour to be selected by the Marquis of Hastings to represent him at the Rana's court, with the title of "*Political Agent to the Western Rajpoot States.*" During the campaign of 1817-18, he was placed as the point of communication to the various divisions of the northern army; at the same time being intrusted with the negotiations with Holkar (previous to the rupture), and with those of Kotah and Boondi. He concluded the treaty with the latter state *en route* to Oodipur, where as at the latter, there were only the benefits of moral and political existence to confer.

the limits of Mewar, only two thinly-peopled towns were seen which acknowledged the Rana's authority. All was desolate; even the traces of the footsteps of man were effaced. The babool (*mimosa Arabica*), and gigantic reed which harboured the boar and the tiger, grew upon the highways; and every rising ground displayed a mass of ruin. Bhilwara, the commercial *entrepot* of Rajpootana, which ten years before contained six thousand families, shewed not a vestige of existence. All was silent in her streets—no living thing was seen except a solitary dog, that fled in dismay from his lurking-place in the temple, scared at the unaccustomed sight of man.*

An envoy was despatched by the Rana to congratulate the Agent, who joined him in the British camp at Nathdwara; and while he returned to arrange the formalities of reception, the Agent obtained the cession of Komulneer; which, with the acquisitions before mentioned, paved the way for a joyful reception. The prince, Juvan Sing, with all the state insignia, and a numerous *cortege*, advanced to receive the mission, and conduct it to the capital. A spot was fixed on in a grove of palmyras, about two miles from the city, where carpets were spread, and where the prince received the Agent and suite in a manner at once courteous and dignified.† Of him it might have been said,

* The author had passed through Bhilwara in May 1806, when it was comparatively flourishing. On this occasion (Feb. 1818) it was entirely deserted. It excited a smile, in the midst of regrets, to observe the practical wit of some of the soldiers, who had supplied the naked representative of *Ad-nath* with an apron—not of leaves, but scarlet cloth.

† The Agent had seen him when a boy, at a meeting already described; but he could scarcely have hoped to

in the language applied by Jehangir to the son of Rana Umra—"His countenance carried the impression of his illustrious extraction."

We entered the city* by the gate of the sun; and through a vista of ruin the mission was inducted into its future residence, once the abode of the fair Rampearl.† Like all the mansions of Rajpootana, it was a quadrangular pile, with an open paved area, the suites of apartments carried round the sides, with latticed or open corridors extending parallel to each suite. Another deputation with the *mejmani*, consisting of a hundred trays of sweetmeats, dried fruits, and a purse of one thousand rupees for distribution amongst the domestics, brought the Rana's welcome upon our arrival in his capital, and fixed the next day for our introduction at court.

At four in the afternoon, a deputation, consisting of the officiating primeminister, the representative of the Chondawuts, with mace-bearers and a numerous escort, came to announce the Rana's readiness to receive the mission; which, with all the "pomp and circumstance" peculiar to these countries, was marshalled in front of the residency, thronged by crowds of well-dressed inhabitants, silently gazing at the unusual sight.‡

find in one, to the formation of whose character the times had been so unfavourable, such a specimen as this descendant of Pertap.

* A description of the city and valley will be more appropriate elsewhere.

† See p. 340.

‡ The escort consisted of two companies of foot, each of one hundred men, with half a troop of cavalry. The gentlemen attached the mission were Captain Waugh (who was secretary and commandant of the escort), with Lieutenant Carey as his subaltern. Dr. Duncan was the medical officer.

The grand Nakarras having announced the Rana in court, the mission proceeded through streets which every where presented marks of rapine, hailed by the most enthusiastic greetings. "Jy! jy! Frengi ca Raj!" victory, victory to the English government! resounded from every tongue. The bards were not idle; and the unpoetic name of the Agent was hitched into rhyme. Groups of musicians were posted here and there, who gave a passing specimen of the *tuppas* of Mewar; and not a few of the fair, with brazen ewers of water on their heads, welcomed us with the *suhailea*, or song of joy. Into each of these vessels the purse-bearer dropped a piece of silver; for neither the songs of the *suhailea*, the *tuppas* of the minstrel, nor encomiastic stave of the bard, are to be received without some acknowledgment that you appreciate their merit and talents, however you may doubt the value they put upon your own. As we ascended the main streets leading to the *TRIPOLIA*, or triple portal, which guards the sacred enclosure, dense masses of people obstructed our progress; and even the walls of the temple of Juggernath were crowded. According to etiquette, we dismounted at the *Porte*, and proceeded on foot across the ample terrace; on which were drawn up a few elephants and horse, exercising for the Rana's amusement.

The palace is a most imposing pile, of a regular form, built of granite and marble, rising at least a hundred feet from the ground, and flanked with octagonal towers, crowned with cupolas. Although built at various periods, uniformity of design has been very well preserved; nor is there in

the east a more striking or majestic structure. It stands upon the very crest of a ridge running parallel to, but considerably elevated above, the margin of the lake. The terrace, which is at the east and chief front of the palace, extends throughout its length, and is supported by a triple row of arches from the declivity of the ridge. The height of this arcaded wall is full fifty feet; and although all is hollow beneath, yet so admirably is it constructed, that an entire range of stables is built on the extreme verge of the terrace, on which the whole personal force of the Rana, elephants, horse, and foot, are often assembled. From this terrace the city and the valley lay before the spectator, whose vision is bounded only by the hills shutting out the plains; while from the summit of the palace nothing obstructs its range over lake and mountain.

A Band of Sindhies guarded the first entrance to the palace; and being Saturday, the Suktawuts were on duty in the great hall of assembly. Through lines of Rajpoots we proceeded till we came to the marble staircase, the steps of which had taken the form of the segment of an ellipse, from the constant friction of the foot; an image of *Ganesa* guarded the ascent to the interior of the palace, and the apartment, or landing, is called *Ganesa deori*, from the Rajpoot *Janus*. After proceeding through a suite of saloons, each filled with spectators, the herald's voice announced to "the lord of the world" that the English envoy was in his presence; on which he arose and advanced a few paces in front of the throne, the chieftains standing to receive the mission. Every thing being ruled by precedent, the



seat allotted for the envoy was immediately in front and touching the *royal cushion* (*gadi*): being that assigned to the Peshwa in the height of Mahratta prosperity, the arrangement, which was a subject of regular negotiation, could not be objected to. The apartment, chosen for the initiatory visit was the *Surya mahl* or "hall of the sun," so called from a medallion of the orb in basso relievo which decorates the wall. Close thereto is placed the Rana's throne, above which, supported by slender silver columns, rises a velvet canopy. The *Gadi*, or throne, in the East, is but a huge cushion, over which is thrown an embroidered velvet mantle. The chiefs of the higher grade, or "*the sixteen*," were seated, according to their rank, on the right and left of the Rana; next and below these were the princes Umra and Juvan Sing: and at right angles (by which the court formed three sides of a square), the chiefs of the second rank. The civil officers of the state were near the Rana in front, and the seneschal, butler, keeper of the wardrobe, and other confidential officers and inferior chieftains, formed a group standing on the extreme edge of the carpet.

The Rana's congratulations were hearty and sincere: in a few powerful expressions he depicted the miseries he had experienced, the fallen condition of his state, and the gratitude he felt to the British Government which had interposed between him and destruction; and which for the first moment of his existence allowed him to sleep in peace. There was an intense earnestness in every word he uttered, which, delivered with great fluency of speech and dignity of manner, inspired deep respect and sympathy. The

Agent said, that the Governor-General was no stranger to the history of his illustrious family, or to his own immediate sufferings; and that it was his earnest desire to promote, by every means in his power, the Rana's personal dignity and the prosperity of his dominions. After conversing a few minutes, the interview was closed with presents to the Agent and suite: to the former a caparisoned elephant and horse, jewelled aigrette, and pearl necklace, with shawls and brocades; and with the customary presentation of essence of rose and the pan leaf, the Rana and court rising, the envoy made his *salaam* and retired. In a short time the Rana, attended by his second son, ministers, and a select number of the chiefs, honoured the envoy with a visit. The latter advanced beyond his residence to meet the prince, who was received with presented arms by the guard, the officers saluting, and conducted to his throne, which had been previously arranged. Conversation was now unrestrained, and questions were demanded regarding every thing which appeared unusual. After sitting half an hour, the Agent presented the Rana with an elephant and two horses, caparisoned with silver and gilt ornaments and velvet embroidered housings, with *twenty-one shields** of shawls, brocades, muslins, and jewels; to prince Umra, unable from sickness to attend his father, a horse and *eleven shields*; and to his brother, the second prince, Juvan Sing, a horse and *nine shields*; to the ministers and chiefs according to rank: the whole entertainment costing about 20,000

* The buckler is the tray in which gifts are presented by the Rajpoots.

rupees, or £2,000. Amidst these ceremonies, receiving and returning visits of the Rana, his chiefs, his ministers, and men of influence and information commercial and agricultural, some weeks passed in silent observation, and in the acquisition of materials for action.*

For the better comprehension of the internal relations, past and present, of Mewar a sketch is presented, shewing the political divisions of the tribes and the fiscal domain, from which a better idea may be formed of Rajput feudal economy than from a chapter of dissertation. The princes of Mewar skillfully availed themselves of their natural

advantages in the partition of the country. The mountain-barriers east and west were allotted to the chiefs to keep the mountaineers and foresters in subjection, whose leading passes were held by a *lord-marcher*, and the quotas of his quarter; and while strong forts guarded the exposed northern and southern entrances, the crown-land lay in the centre, the safest and the richest. The exterior, thus guarded by a cordon of feudal levies composed of the quotas of the greater fiefs; the minor and most numerous class of vassals, termed *gole*, literally "the mass," and consisting of ten thousand horse, each holding directly of the crown independent of the greater chiefs, formed its best security against both external aggression and internal commotions.

Such is a picture of the feudal economy of Mewar in the days of her renown; but so much had it been defaced through time and accident, that with difficulty could the lineaments be traced with a view to their restoration: her institutions a dead letter, the prince's authority despised, the nobles demoralized and rebellious, internal commerce abandoned, and the peasantry destroyed by the combined operation of war, pestilence, and exile. Expression might be racked for phrases which could adequately delineate the miseries all classes had endured. It is impossible to give more than a sketch of the state of the *dos sches Mewar*, 'the ten thousand townships' which once acknowledged her princes, and of which above three thousand still exist. All that remained to them was the valley of the capital; and though Cheetore and Mandelgurnh were maintained by the fidelity of the Rana's

* If we dare compare the moral economy of an entire people to the physical economy of the individual, we should liken this period in the history of Mewar to intermittent pulsation of the heart—a pause in moral as in physical existence; a consciousness thereof, inertly awaiting the propelling power to restore healthful action to a state of languid repose; or what the Rajput would better comprehend, his own condition when the opiate stimulant begins to dissipate, and mind and body are alike abandoned to helpless imbecility. Who has lived out of the circle of mere vegetation, and not experienced this temporary deprivation of moral vitality? for no other simile would suit the painful pause in the sympathies of the inhabitants of this once fertile region, where experience could point out but one page in their annals, one period in their history, when the clangour of the war trumpet was suspended, or the sword shut up in its scabbard. The portals of Janus at Rome were closed but twice in a period of seven hundred years; and in exactly the same time from the conquest by Shahbadin to the great pacification, but twice can we record peace in Mewar—the reign of Numa has its type in Shah Jehan, while the more appropriate reign of Augustus belongs to Britain. Are we to wonder then that a chilling void now occupied (if the solicism is admissible) the place of interminable action? when the mind was released from the anxiety of daily, hourly, devising schemes of preservation, to one of perfect security—that enervating calm, in which, to use their own homely phrase, *Bher aur bakti iki thali sa pia*, 'the wolf and the goat drank from the same vessel.' But this unruffled torpidity had its limit: the Agrarian laws of Mewar were but mentioned, and the national pulse instantly rose.



servants, their precarious revenues scarcely sufficed to maintain their garrisons. The Rana was mainly indebted to Zalim Sing of Kotah for the means of subsistence; for in the struggle for existence his chiefs thought only of themselves, of defending their own estates, or buying off their foes; while those who had succumbed took to horse, scoured the country, and plundered without distinction. Inferior clanships declared themselves independent of their superiors, who in their turn usurped the crown domain, or by bribing the necessities of their prince, obtained his patents for lands, to which, as they yielded him nothing, he became indifferent. The crown-tenants purchased of these chiefs the protection (*rekwali*) which the Rana could not grant, and made alienations of the crown taxes, besides private rights of the community, which were often extorted at the point of the lance. Feuds multiplied, and the name of each clan became the watch-word of alarm or defiance to its neighbour: castles were assaulted, and their inmates, as at Seogurh and Lawah, put to the sword; the Meras and Bhils descended from their hills, or emerged from their forests, and planted ambuscades for the traveller or merchant, whom they robbed or carried to their retreats, where they languished in durance till ransomed. Marriage-processions were thus intercepted, and the honey-moon was passed on a cliff of the Aravali, or in the forests on the Myhie. The rajpoot, whose moral energies were blunted, scrupled not to associate and to divide the spoil with these lawless tribes, of whom it might be said, as of the children of Ishmael, "their hands were against every

man, and every man's hand against them." Yet notwithstanding such entire disorganization of society, external commerce was not stagnant; and in the midst of this rapine, the produce of Europe and Cashmere would pass each other in transit through Mewar, loaded it is true by a multiplicity of exactions, but guarded by those who scorned all law but the *point of honour*, which they were paid for preserving.

The capital will serve as a specimen of the country. Oodipur, which formerly reckoned fifty thousand houses within the walls, had not now three thousand occupied, the rest were in ruin, the rafters being taken for fire-wood. The realization of the spring harvest of 1818, from the entire fiscal land, was about £4000! Grain sold for seven seers the rupee, though thrice the quantity was procurable within the distance of eighty miles. Insurance from the capital to Nathdwara (twenty-five miles) was eight per cent. The Kotario chief, whose ancestors are immortalized for fidelity, had not a horse to conduct him to his prince's presence, though his estates were of fifty thousand rupees annual value. All were in ruins; and the Rana, the descendant of those patriot Rajpoots who opposed Baber, Akbar, and Arungzebe, in the days of Mogul splendour, had not fifty horse to attend him, and was indebted for all the comforts he possessed to the liberality of Kotah.

Such was the chaos from which order was to be evoked. But the elements of prosperity, though scattered, were not extinct; and recollections of the past deeply engraved in the national mind, became available to re-animate their moral and physical exist-

ence. To call these forth demanded only the exertion of moral interference, and every other was rejected. The lawless freebooter, and even the savage Bhil, felt awed at the agency of a power never seen. To him moral opinion (compared with which the strength of armies is nought) was inexplicable, and he substituted in its stead another invisible power—that of magic: and the belief was current throughout the intricate region of the West, that a single individual could carry an army in his pocket, and that our power could animate slips of paper cut into the figures of armed men, from which no precaution could guard their retreats. Accordingly, at the mere name of the British power, rapine ceased, and the inhabitants of the wilds of the West, the “forest lords,” who had hitherto laughed at subjection, to the number of seven hundred villages, put each the sign of the dagger to a treaty, promising abstinence from plunder and a return to industrious life—a single individual of no rank the negociator. Moreover the treaty was religiously kept for twelve months; when the peace was broken not by them, but against them.

To the Rajpoot, the moral spectacle of a Peshwa marched into exile with all the quietude of a pilgrimage, effected more than twenty thousand bayonets, and no other auxiliary was required than the judicious use of the impressions from this and other passing events, to relay the foundations of order and prosperity—by never doubting the issue, success was insured. The British force, therefore, after the reduction of the plans enumerated, was marched to cantonments; the rest was left for time and reason to accomplish.

Before proceeding further, it may be convenient to sketch the form of civil government in Mewar, and the characters of its most conspicuous members: the former we shall describe as it was when the machine was in regular action; it will be found simple, and perfectly suited to its object.

There are four grand officers of the government:—

- 1st. The Purdhan, or prime minister;
- 2d. Bukshee, commander of the forces;
- 3d. Soorutnama, keeper of the records;
- 4th. Suhaie, keeper of the signet.*

The first, the Purdhan, or civil premier, must be of the non-militant tribe. The whole of the territorial and financial arrangements are vested in him. He nominates the civil governors of districts, and the collectors of the revenue and custom; and has fourteen *thoas*, or departments, under him, which embrace all that relates to expenditure.

2d. The Bukshee must also be of a non-militant tribe, and one different from the Purdhan. His duties are mixed civil and military. He takes the musters, and pays mercenaries, or rations, to the feudal tenants when on extra-service, and he appoints a deputy to accompany all expeditions, or to head frontier-posts, with the title of *foujdar*, or commander. The royal insignia, the standard, and kettle-drums accompany him, and the highest nobles assemble under the general control of this civil officer, never under one of their own body. From the Bukshee's bureau all patents are issued,

* Or rather, who makes the monogrammatic signet “*Suhaie*” to all deeds, grants, &c.



as also all letters of sequestration of feudal land.

The Bukshee has four secretaries :—

1st, Draws out deeds ;

2d, Accountant ;

3d, Recorder of all patents or grants ;

4th, Keeps duplicates.

3d. The Soorutnama is the auditor and recorder of all the household expenditure and establishments, which are paid by his cheques. He has four assistants also, who make a daily report, and give a daily balance of accounts.

4th. The Subaie. He is secretary both for home and foreign correspondence. He draws out the royal grants or patents of estates, and superintends the deeds of grant on copper-plate to religious establishments. Since the privilege appertaining to Saloombra, of confirming all royal grants with his signet *the lance*, has fallen into desuetude, the *Subaie* executes this military autograph.*

To all decrees, from the daily stipend to the *putta*, or patent of an estate, each minister must append his seal, so that there is a complete system of check. Besides these the higher officers of government, there are thirty-six *kurkhanas*, or inferior officers, appointed directly by the Rana, the most conspicuous of which are the justiciary,† the keepers of the register-office, of the mint, of the armory, of the regalia, of the jewels, of the wardrobe, of the statutes, of the kitchen, of the band, of the seneschalsy, and of the seraglio.

* The saloombra chief had his deputy, who resided at court for this sole duty, for which he held a village. See page 154.

† Neeyao, Duftur, Taksala, Silleh, Gadi, Gyna, Kaprabindar, Ghora, Rusora, Nakar-khanch, Julaib, Rawula.

There was no want of aspirants to office, here hereditary ; but it was vain to look amongst the descendants of the virtuous Pancholi, or the severe Umrachund, and the prediction of the former, "Dust will cover the head of Mewar when virtue wanders in rags," was strictly fulfilled. There appeared no talent, no influence, no honesty ; yet the deficiency was calculated to excite sorrow rather than surprise ; to stimulate exertion in their behalf, rather than damp the hope of improvement ; though all scope for action, save in the field of intrigue, was lost, and talent was dormant for want of exercise.

The Rana's character was little calculated to supply his minister's deficiencies. Though perfectly versed in the past history of his country, its resources, and their management ; though able, wise, and amiable, his talents were nullified by numerous weak points. Vain shows, frivolous amusements, and an ill-regulated liberality alone occupied him ; and so long as he could gratify these propensities, he trusted complacently to the exertions of others for the restoration of order and his proper authority. He had little steadiness of purpose, and was particularly obnoxious to female influence. It is scarcely to be wondered that he coveted repose, and was little desirous to disturb the only moment his existence had presented of enjoying it, by inviting the turmoils of business. No man, however, was more capable of advising : his judgment was good, but he seldom followed its dictates ; in short, he was an adept in theory, and a novice in practice. The only man about the court at once of integrity and efficiency was Kishendass, who had long acted as ambassador, and

to whose assiduity the sovereign and the country owed much ; but his services were soon cut off by death.

Such were the materials with which the work of reform commenced. The aim was to bring back matters to a correspondence with an era of their history, when the rights of the prince, the vassal, and the cultivator, were alike well defined—that of Umra Sing.

The first point to effect was the recognition of the prince's authority by his nobles ; the surest sign of which was their presence at the capital, where some had never been, and others only when it suited their convenience or their views. In a few weeks the Rana saw himself surrounded by a court such as had not been known for half a century. It created no small curiosity to learn by what secret power they were brought into each other's presence. Even the lawless Hamira, who but a short while before had plundered the marriage dower of the Hari queen coming from Kotah, and the chief of the Sungawut clan, who had sworn "he might bend his head to woman, but never to his sovereign," left their castles of Bhadaiser and Deogurh, and "placing the royal rescript on their heads," hastened to his presence ; and in a few weeks the whole feudal association of Mewar was embodied in the capital.

To recal the exiled population was a measure simultaneous with the assembling of the nobles ; but this was a work requiring time : they had formed ties, and incurred obligations to the societies which had sheltered them, which could not at once be disengaged or annulled. But wherever a subject of Mewar existed, proclamations penetrated,

and satisfactory assurances were obtained, and realized to an extent which belied in the strongest manner the assertion that patriotism is unknown to the natives of Hindusthan. The most enthusiastic and cheering proofs were afforded, that neither oppression from without, nor tyranny within, could expel the feeling for the '*bapota*,' the land of their fathers. Even now, though time has chastened the impressions, we should fear to pen but a tythe of the proofs of devotion of the husbandman of Mewar to the *solum natale*: it would be deemed romance by those who never contemplated humanity in its reflux from misery and despair to the 'sweet influences' of hope ; he alone who had witnessed the day of trouble, and beheld the progress of desolation—the standing corn grazed by Mahratta horse—the rifled towns devoted to the flames—the cattle driven to the camp, and the chief men seized as hostages for money never to be realized—could appreciate their deliverance. To be permitted to see these evils banished, to behold the survivors of oppression congregated from the most distant provinces, many of them strangers to each other and the aged and the helpless awaiting the *lucky day* to take possession of their ruined abodes, was a sight which memory will not part with. Thus on the 3d of Swaun (*July*) a favourite day with the husbandman, three hundred of all conditions, with their wag-gons and implements of labour, and preceded by banners and music, marched into Kupasun ; and *Ganesa* was once again invoked as they reconsecrated their dwellings, and placed his portrait as the Janus of their portals. On the same day, and within eight



months subsequent to the signature of the treaty, above three hundred towns and villages were *simultaneously* re-inhabited; and the land, which for many years had been a stranger to the plough-share, was broken up. Well might the superstitious fancy that miracles were abroad; for even to those who beheld the work in progression it had a magical result, to see the waste covered with habitations, and the verdant corn growing in the fields where lately they had roused the boar from his retreat! It was a day of pride for Britain! By such exertions of her power in these distant lands her sway is hallowed. By Britain alone can this fair picture be defaced; the tranquillity and independence she has conferred, by her alone may be disturbed!

To these important preliminary measures, the assembly of the nobles and recall of the population, was added a third, without which the former would have been nugatory. There was no wealth, no capital, to aid their patriotism and industry. Foreign merchants and bankers had abandoned the devoted land; and those who belonged to it partook of her poverty and her shame. Money was scarce, and want of faith and credit had increased the usury on loans to a ruinous extent. The Rana borrowed at thirty-six per cent; besides twenty-five to forty *per cent.* discount for his *barats*, or patents empowering collection on the land; a system pursued for some time even after his restoration to authority. His profusion exceeded even the rapidity of renovation; and the husbandman had scarcely broken up his long-waste fields, when a call was made by

the harpies of the state for an advance on their produce, while he himself had been compelled to borrow at a like ruinous rate for seed and the means of support, to be paid by expectations. To have hoped for the revival of prosperity amidst such destitution, moral and pecuniary, would have been visionary. It was as necessary to improve the one, as to find the other: for poverty and virtue do not long associate, and certainly not in Mewar. Proclamations were therefore prepared by the Rana, inviting foreign merchants and bankers to establish connections in the chief towns throughout the country; but as in the days of demoralization little faith was placed in the words of princes, similar ones were prepared by the Agent, guaranteeing the stipulations, and both were distributed to every commercial city in India. The result was as had been foreseen: branch-banks were every where formed, and mercantile agents fixed in every town in the country, whose operations were only limited by the slow growth of moral improvement. The shackles which bound external commerce were at once removed, and the multifarious posts for the collections of transit duties abolished; in lieu of which chain of stations, all levies on goods in transit were confined to the frontiers. The scale of duties was revised; and by the abolition of intermediate posts, they underwent a reduction of from thirty to fifty per cent. By this system, which could not for some time be comprehended, the transit and custom duties of Mewar made the most certain part of the revenue, and in a few years exceeded in amount what had ever been known.

The chief commercial mart, Bhilwara, which shewed not a vestige of humanity, rapidly rose from ruin, and in a few months contained twelve hundred houses, half of which were occupied by foreign merchants. Bales of goods, the produce of the most distant lands, were piled up in the streets lately overgrown with grass, and a weekly fair was established for the home-manufactures. A charter of privileges and immunities was issued, exempting them from all taxation for the first year, and graduating the scale for the future; calculated with the same regard to improvement, by giving the mind the full range of enjoying the reward of its exertions. The right of electing their own chief magistrates and the assessors of justice, was above all things indispensable, so as to render them as independent as possible of the needy servants of the court. A guard was provided by the government for their protection, and a competent authority nominated to see that the full extent of their privileges, and the utmost freedom of action, were religiously maintained. The entire success of this plan may at once be recorded to prevent repetition. In 1822, Bhilwara contained nearly three thousand dwellings, which were chiefly inhabited by merchants, bankers, or artizans. An entire new street had been constructed in the centre of the town, from the duties levied, and the shops and houses were rented at a moderate rate; while many were given up to the proprietors of their sites, returning from exile, on their paying the price of construction. But as there is no happiness without alloy, so even this pleasing picture had its dark shades to chasten the too

sanguine expectation of imparting happiness to all. Instead of a generous emulation, a jealous competition checked the prosperity of Bhilwara; the base spirit of exclusive monopoly desired a distinction between the native and the stranger-merchant, for which they had a precedent in the latter paying an addition to the town-duty of *metage* (*mapa*). The unreasonableness of this was discussed, and it was shewn to be more consonant to justice that he who came from Jessulmeer, Surat, Benares, or Delhi, should pay less than the merchant whose domicile was on the spot. When at length the parties acquiesced in this opinion, and were intreated and promised to know none other distinction than that of "inhabitant of Bhilwara," sectarian differences, which there was less hope of reconciling, became the cause of disunion. All the Hindu merchants belong either to the Vishnu or Jain sects; consequently each had a representative head, and "*the five*" for the adjudication of their internal arrangements; and these, the wise men of both parties, formed the general council for the affairs of Bhilwara. But they carried their religious differences to the judgment-seat, where each desired pre-eminence. Whether the point in dispute hinged on the interpretation of law, which with all these sects is of divine origin, or whether the mammon of unrighteousness was the lurking cause of their bickerings, they assuredly did much harm, for their appeals brought into play what of all things was least desired, the intrigues of the profligate dependants of the court. It will be seen hereafter,* in

* In the Personal Narrative.

visits to Bhilwara, how these disputes were in some degree calmed. The leaders on both sides were distinctly given to understand they would be made to leave the place. Self-interest prevented this extremity; but from the withdrawing of that active interference (which the state of the alliance did not indeed warrant, but which humanity interposed for their benefit) together with the effect of appeals to the court, it is to be apprehended that Bhilwara may fail to become what it was intended to be, the chief commercial mart of Central India.*

Of the three measures simultaneously projected and pursued for the restoration of prosperity, the industrious portion has been described. The feudal interest remains, which was found the most difficult to arrange. The agricultural and commercial classes required only protection and stimulus, and we could repay the benefits their industry conferred by the lowest scale of taxation, which, though in fact equally beneficial to the government, was construed as a boon. But with the feudal lords there was no such equivalent to offer in return for the sacrifices many had to make for the re-establishment of society. Those who were well inclined, like Kotario, had every thing to gain, and nothing left to surrender; while those who,

like Deogurh, Saloombra, or Bednore, had preserved their power by foreign aid, intrigue, or prowess, dreaded the high price they might be called upon to pay for the benefit of security which the new alliance conferred. All dreaded the word 'restitution,' and the audit of half a century's political accounts; yet the adjustment of these was the cornerstone of the edifice, which anarchy and oppression had dismantled. Feuds were to be appeased, a difficult and hazardous task; and usurpations, both on the crown and each other, to be redeemed. "To bring the wolf and the goat to drink from the same vessel," was a task of less difficulty than to make the Chondawut and Suktawut labour in concert for the welfare of the prince and the country. In fine, a better idea cannot be afforded of what was deemed the hopelessness of success than the opinion of Zoorawur Sing, the chief of the latter clan, who had much to relinquish: "Were *Purmeswara* (the Almighty) to descend, he could not reform Mewar." We judged better of them than they did of each other.

It were superfluous to detail all the preparatory measures for the accomplishment of this grand object; the meetings and adjournments, which only served to keep alive discontent. On the 27th of April, the treaty with the British government was read, and the consequent change in their relations explained. Meanwhile, a charter, defining the respective rights of the crown and of the chiefs, with their duties to the community, was prepared, and a day named for a general assembly of the chieftains to sanction and ratify this engagement. The 1st of May was fixed: the chiefs assembled; the

* Although Bhilwara has not attained that high prosperity my enthusiasm anticipated, yet the philanthropic Heber records that in 1825 (three years after I had left the country) it exhibited "a greater appearance of trade, industry, and moderate but widely diffused wealth and comfort, than he had witnessed since he left Delhi." The record of the sentiments of the inhabitants towards me, as conveyed by the bishop, was gratifying, though their expression could excite no surprise in any one acquainted with the characters and sensibilities of these people.

articles, ten in number, were read and warmly discussed ; when with unmeaning expressions of duty, and objections to the least prominent, they obtained through their speaker, Goculdas of Deogurh, permission to re-assemble at his house to consider them, and broke up with the promise to attend next day. The delay, as apprehended, only generated opposition, and the 2d and 3d passed in intercommunications of individual hope and fear. It was important to put an end to speculation. At noon, on the 4th of May, the grand hall was again filled, when the Rana, with his sons and ministers, took their seats. Once more the articles were read, objections raised and combatted, and midnight had arrived without the object of the meeting being advanced, when an adjournment, proposed by Goculdas, till the arrival of the Rana's plenipotentiary from Delhi, met with a firm denial ; and the Rana gave him liberty to retire, if he refused his testimony of loyalty. The Beygoo chief, who had much to gain, at length set the example, followed by the chiefs of Amait and Deogurh, and in succession by all the sixteen nobles, who also signed as the proxies of their relatives, unable from sickness to attend. The most powerful of the second grade also signed for themselves and the absent of their clans, each, as he gave in his adhesion, retiring ; and it was three in the morning of the 5th of May ere the ceremony was over. The chief of the Suktawnts, determined to be conspicuous, was the last of his own class to sign. During this lengthened and painful discussion of fifteen hours' continuance, the Rana conducted himself with such judgment and firmness, as to give

sanguine hopes of his taking the lead in the settlement of his affairs.

This preliminary adjusted, it was important that the stipulations of the treaty* should be rigidly, if not rapidly effected. It will not be a matter of surprise, that some months passed away before the complicated arrangements arising out of this settlement were completed ; but it may afford just grounds for gratulation, that they were finally accomplished without a shot being fired, or the exhibition of a single British soldier in the country, nor, indeed, within one hundred miles of Oodipur. "Opinion" was the sole and all-sufficient ally effecting this political reform. The Rajpoots, in fact, did not require the demonstration of our physical strength ; its influence had reached far beyond Mewar. When a few firelocks defeated hundreds of the foes of public tranquility, they attributed it to "*the strength of the Company's salt*,"† the moral agency of

* A literal translation of this curious piece of Hindu legislation will be found at page 160. If not drawn up with all the dignity of the legal enactments of the great governments of the West, it has an important advantage in conciseness ; the articles cannot be misinterpreted, and require no lawyer to expound them.

† "*Compani Sahab ka nimuk ka zor sa*" is a common phrase of our native soldiery ; and "*Dowahi ! Compani ka !*" is an invocation or appeal against injustice ; but I never heard this watch-word so powerfully applied as when a *Sub.* with the Resident's escort in 1812. One of our men, a noble young Rajpoot about nineteen years of age, and six feet high, had been sent with an elephant to forage in the wilds of Nirwur. A band of at least fifty predatory horsemen assailed him, and demanded the surrender of the elephant, which he made by pointing his musket and giving them defiance. Beset on all sides, he fired, was cut down, and left for dead, in which state he was found, and brought to camp upon a litter. One sabre-cut had opened the back entirely across, exposing the action of the viscera, and his arms and wrists were barbarously hacked ; yet he was firm, collected, and even cheerful ; and to a kind reproach for

which was proclaimed the true basis of our power. "*Sachha Raj*," was the proud epithet applied by our new allies to the British government in the East; a title which distinguished the immortal Alfred, "the upright."

It will readily be imagined that a reform, which went to touch the entire feudal association, could not be accomplished without harassing and painful discussions, when the object was the renunciation of lands, to which in some cases the right of inheritance could be pleaded, in others, the cognizance of successful revenge, while to many prescriptive possession could be asserted. It was the more painful, because although the shades which marked the acquisition of such lands were varied, no distinction could be made in the mode of settlement, *viz.* unconditional surrender. In some cases, the Rana had to revoke his own grants, wrung either from his necessities or his weakness; but in neither predicament could arguments be adduced to soften renunciation, or to meet the powerful and pathetic, and often angry appeals to justice or to prejudice. Counter-appeals to their loyalty, and the necessity for the re-establishment of their sovereign's just weight and influence in the social body, without which their own welfare could not be secured, were adduced; but individual views and passions were too absorbing to bend to the general interest. Weeks thus

his rashness, he said, "What would you have said, Captain Saheb, had I surrendered the Company's musket (*compani ka bandooq*) without fighting?" From their temperate habits, the wound in the back did well; but the severed nerves of the wrists brought on a lock-jaw of which he died. The Company have thousands who would alike die for their *bandooq*. It were wise to cherish such feelings.

passed in interchange of visits, in soothing pride, and in flattering vanity by the revival of past recollections, which gradually familiarized the subject to the minds of the chiefs, and brought them to compliance. Time, conciliation, and impartial justice, confirmed the victory thus obtained; and when they were made to see that no interest was overlooked, that party views were unknown, and that the system included every class of society in its beneficial operation, cordiality followed concession. Some of these cessions were alienations from the crown of half a century's duration. Individual cases of hardship were unavoidable without incurring the imputation of favoritism, and the dreaded revival of ancient feuds, to abolish which was indispensable, but required much circumspection. Castles and lands in this predicament could therefore neither be retained by the possessor nor returned to the ancient proprietor without rekindling the torch of civil war. The sole alternative was for the crown to take the object of contention, and make compensation from its own domain. It would be alike tedious and uninteresting to enter into the details of these arrangements, where one chief had to relinquish the levy of transit duties in the most important outlet of the country, asserted to have been held during seven generations, as in the case of the chief of Deogurh. Of another (the Bheendir chief) who held *forty-three towns and villages*, in addition to his grant; of Amaid, of Bhadaiser, of Dabla, of Lawah, and many others who held important fortresses of the crown independent of its will; and other claims, embracing every right and privilege apper-

taining to feudal society ; suffice it, that in six months the whole arrangements were effected.

In the painful and protracted discussions attendant on these arrangements, powerful traits of national character were developed. The castle and domain of Arjah half a century ago belonged to the crown, but had been usurped by the Poorawuts, from whom it was wrested by storm about fifteen years back by the Suktawuts, and a patent sanctioning possession was obtained, on the payment of a fine of £1,000 to the Rana. Its surrender was now required from Futteh Sing, the second brother of Bheendir, the head of this clan ; but being regarded as the victorious completion of a feud, it was not easy to silence their prejudices and objections. The renunciation of the forty-three towns and villages by the chief of the clan caused not half the excitation, and every Suktawut seemed to forego his individual losses in the common sentiment expressed by their head : " Arjah is the price of blood, "and with its cession our honour is surrendered." To preserve the point of honour, it was stipulated that it should not revert to the Poorawuts, but be incorporated with the fisc, which granted an equivalent ; when letters of surrender were signed by both brothers, whose conduct throughout was manly and confiding.

The Bednore and Amait chiefs, both of the superior grade of nobles, were the most formidable obstacles to the operation of the treaty of the 4th of May. The first of these by name Jeyt Sing (*the victorious lion*), was of the Mairtea clan, the bravest of the brave race of Rahtore, whose ancestors had left

their native abodes on the plains of Marwar, and accompanied the celebrated Meera Bhæ on her marriage with Rana Koombho. His descendants, amongst whom was Jeimul, of immortal memory, enjoyed honours in Mewar equal to their birth and high deserts. It was the more difficult to treat with men like these, whose conduct had been a contrast to the general license of the times, and who had reason to feel offended, when no distinction was observed between them and those who had disgraced the name of Rajpoot. Instead of the submission expected from the Rahtore, so overwhelmed was he from the magnitude of the claims, which amounted to a virtual extinction of his power, that he begged leave to resign his estates and quit the country. In prosecution of this design, he took post in the chief hall of the palace, from which no intreaties could make him move ; until the Rana, to escape his importunities, and even restraint, obtained his promise to abide by the decision of the Agent. The forms of the Rana's court, from time immemorial, prohibit all personal communication between the sovereign and his chiefs in matters of individual interest, by which indecorous altercation is avoided. But the mimisters, whose office it was to obtain every information, did not make a rigid scrutiny into the title-deeds of the various estates previous to advancing the claims of the crown. This brave man had enemies, and he was too proud to have recourse to the common arts either of adulation or bribery to aid his cause. It was a satisfaction to find that the two principal towns demanded of him were embodied in a grant of Singram Sing's reign ; and the absolute rights of the



fisc, of which he had become possessed, were cut down to about fifteen thousand rupees of annual revenue. But there were other points on which he was even more tenacious than the surrender of these. Being the chief noble of the fine district of Bednore, which consisted of three hundred and sixty towns and villages, chiefly of feudal allotments (many of them of his own clan), he had taken advantage of the times to establish his influence over them, to assume the right of wardship of minors, and secure those services which were due to the prince, but which he wanted the power to enforce. The holders of these estates were of the third class of vassals or *gole* (the mass), whose services it was important to reclaim, and who constituted in past times the most efficient force of the Ranas, and were the preponderating balance of their authority when mercenaries were unknown in these patriarchal states. Abundant means towards a just investigation had been previously procured; and after some discussion, in which all admissible claims were recognized, and argument was silenced by incontrovertible facts, this chieftain relinquished all that was demanded, and sent in, as from himself, his written renunciation to his sovereign. However convincing the data by which his proper rights and those of his prince were defined, it was to feeling and prejudice that we were mainly indebted for so satisfactory an adjustment. An appeal to the name of Jeimul, who fell defending Cheetore against Akbar,* and the contrast of his ancestor's loyalty and devotion with his own contumacy, acted as a talisman, and wrung tears from his eyes and

the deed from his hand. It will afford some idea of the difficulties encountered, as well as the invidiousness of the task of arbitrating such matters, to give his own comment verbatim: "I remained faithful when his own kin deserted him, and was one of four chiefs who alone of all Mewar fought for him in the rebellion; but the son of Jeimul is forgotten, while the '*plun-*' '*derer*' is his boon companion, and though of inferior rank, receives an estate which elevates him above me;" alluding to the chief of Bhadaiser, who plundered the queen's dower. But while the brave descendant of Jeimul returned to Bednore with the marks of his sovereign's favour, and the applause of those he esteemed, the '*runner*' went back to Bhadaiser in disgrace, to which his prince's injudicious favour further contributed.

Hamira of Bhadaiser was of the second class of nobles, a Chondawut by birth. He succeeded to his father Sirdar Sing, the assassin of the prime minister even in the palace of his sovereign;* into whose presence he had the audacity to pursue the surviving brother, destined to avenge him.† Hamira

* See p. 345 and note.

† It will fill up the picture of the times to relate the revenge. When Jamshid, the infamous lieutenant of the infamous Meer Khan, established his head-quarters at Oodipur, which he daily devastated, Sirdar Sing, then in power, was seized and confined as a hostage for the payment of thirty thousand rupees demanded of the Rana. The surviving brothers of the murdered minister Somji "*purchased their foe*" with the sum demanded, and anticipated his clansmen, who were on the point of effecting his liberation. The same sun shone on the head of Sirdar, which was placed as a signal of revenge over the gate way of Rampear's palace. I had the anecdotes from the minister Scaloll, one of the actors in these tragedies, and a relative of the brothers, who were all swept away by the dagger. A similar fate often seemed to him; though a brave man, inevitable during these resumptions; which impression, added to the

* See p. 254.



inherited all the turbulence and disaffection, with the estates, of his father ; and this most conspicuous of the many lawless chieftains of the times was known throughout Rajasthan as Hamira '*the runner*' (*douract*). Though not entitled to hold lands beyond thirty thousand annually, he had become possessed to the amount of eighty thousand, chiefly of the fise or *khalisa*, and nearly all obtained by violence, though since confirmed by the prince's patent. With the chieftain of Lawah (precisely in the same predicament), who held the fortress of Khyroda and other valuable lands, Hamira resided entirely at the palace, and obtaining the Rana's ear by professions of obedience, kept possession, while chiefs in every respect his superiors had been compelled to surrender ; and when at length the Suktawut of Lawah was forbid the court until Khyroda and all his usurpations were yielded up, the son of Sirdar displayed his usual turbulence, "curled his moustache" at the minister, and hinted at the fate of his predecessor. Although none dared to imitate him, his stubbornness was not without admirers, especially among his own clan ; and as it was too evident that fear or favour swayed the Rana, it was a case for the Agent's interference, the opportunity for which was soon afforded. When forced to give letters of surrender, the Rana's functionaries, who went to take possession, were insulted, refused admittance, and compelled to return. Not a moment could be lost in punishing this contempt of authority ; and as the Rana was holding a court when the report arrived, the Agent requested an

audience. He found the Rana and his chiefs assembled in "the balcony of the sun," and amongst them the notorious Hamira. After the usual compliments, the Agent asked the minister if his master had been put in possession of Sianoh. It was evident from the general constraint, that all were acquainted with the result of the deputation ; but to remove responsibility from the minister, the Agent, addressing the Rana as if he were in ignorance of the insult, related the transaction, and observed that his government would hold him culpable if he remained at Oodipur while his highness's commands were disregarded. Thus supported, the Rana resumed his dignity, and in forcible language signified to all present his anxious desire to do nothing which was harsh or ungracious ; but that, thus compelled, he would not recede from what became him as their sovereign. Calling for a *beera*, he looked sternly at Hamira, and commanded him to quit his presence instantly, and the capital in an hour ; and, but for the Agent's interposition, he would have been banished the country. Confiscation of his whole estate was commanded, until renunciation was completed. He departed that night ; and, contrary to expectation, not only were all the usurpations surrendered, but, what was scarcely contemplated by the Agent, the Rana's flag of sequestration was quietly admitted into the fortress of Bhadaiser.*

Rana's known inconstancy of favour, robbed him of half his energies.

* Nearly twelve months after this, my public duty called me to Neembahaira *en route* to Kotah. The castle of Hamira was within an hour's ride, and at night he was reported as having arrived to visit me, when I appointed the next day to receive him. Early next morning, according to custom, I took my ride, with four of Skinner's horse, and galloped past him, stretched with his followers on the ground not far from my camp,



One more anecdote may suffice. The lands and fortress of Amlee had been in the family of Amait since the year 27, only five years posterior to the date to which these arrangements extended; their possession verged on half a century. The lords of Amait were of the sixteen, and were chiefs of the clan Jugawut. The present representative enjoyed a fair character: he could, with the chief of Bednore, claim the succession of the loyal; for Pertap and Jeimul, their respective ancestors, were rivals and martyrs on that memorable day when the genius of Cheetore abandoned the See-sodias. But the heir of Amait had not this alone to support his claims; for his predecessor Pertap had lost his life in defending his country against the Mahrattas, and Amlee had been his acquisition. Futteh Sing (such was his name) was put forward by the more artful of his immediate kin, the Chondawut interest; but his disposition, blunt and impetuous, was little calculated to promote their views: he was an honest Rajpoot, who neither could nor cared to conceal his anger, and at a ceremonious visit paid him by the Agent, he had hardly sufficient control over himself to be courteous, and though he said nothing, his eyes, inflamed with opium and disdain, spoke his feelings. He maintained a dogged indifference, and was inaccessible to argument, till at length, following the example of Bednore, he was induced to abide by the Agent's mediation. He came attended by his vassals, who anxiously

towards his fort. He came to me after breakfast, called me his greatest friend, "swore by his dagger he was my "Rajpoot," and that he would be in future obedient and loyal; but this, I fear, can never be,

awaited the result, which an unpremeditated incident facilitated. After a long and fruitless expostulation, he had taken refuge in an obstinate silence; and seated in a chair opposite to the envoy, with his shield in front, placed perpendicularly on his knees, and his arms and head reclined thereon, he continued vacantly looking on the ground. To interrupt this uncourteous silence in his own house, the envoy took a picture, which with several others was at hand, and placing it before him, remarked, "that chief did not gain his reputation for "*swamdherma*"* (loyalty) by conduct such "as yours." His eyes suddenly recovered their animation and his countenance was lighted with a smile, as he rapidly uttered, "how did you come by this—why does "this interest you?" A tear started in his eye as he added, "this is my father!"—"Yes," said the Agent, "it is the loyal "Pertap on the day he went forth to meet "his death; but his name yet lives, and a "stranger does homage to his fame."—"Take "Amlee, take Amlee," he hurriedly repeated, with a suppressed tone of exultation and sorrow, "but forget not the extent of the sacrifice." To prolong the visit would have been painful to both, but as it might have been trusting too much to humanity to delay the resumption, the Agent availed himself of the moment to indite the *choorchitti*† of surrender for the lands.

With these instances, characteristic of individuals and the times, this sketch of the introductory measures for improving the condition of Mewar may be closed. To enter

* Literally faith (*dherma*) to his lord (*swama*).

† Paper of relinquishment.

more largely in detail is foreign to the purpose of the work; nor is it requisite for the comprehension of the unity of the object, that a more minute dissection of the parts should be afforded. Before, however, we exhibit the general results of these arrangements, we shall revert to the condition of the more humble, but a most important part of the community, the peasantry of Mewar; and embody, in a few remarks, the fruits of observation or inquiry, as to their past and present state, their rights, the establishment of them, their infringement, and restitution. On this subject much has been necessarily introduced in the sketch of the feudal system, where landed tenures were discussed; but it is one on which such a contrariety of opinion exists, that it may be desirable to show the exact state of landed tenures in a country, where Hindu manners should exist in greater purity than in any other part of the vast continent of India.

The ryot (*cultivator*) is the proprietor of the soil in Mewar. He compares his right therein to the *akhye dhooba*,* which no vicissitudes can destroy. He calls the land his *bapota*, the most emphatic, the most ancient, the most cherished, and the most significant phrase his language commands for *patrimonial† inheritance*. He has nature and Menu in support of his claim, and can quote

* The *dhooba* grass flourishes in all seasons, and most in the intense heats; it is not only *amara* or 'immortal,' but *akhye*, 'not to be eradicated;' and its tenacity to the soil deserves the distinction.

† From *bap* 'father,' and the termination *of*, or *belonging to*, and by which clans are distinguished; as *Kurrunsote*, 'descended of Kurrin;' *Mansingote*, 'descended of Mansing.' It is curious enough that the mountain clans of Albania, and other Greeks, have the same distinguishing termination, and the *Mainote* of Greece and the *Mairote* of Rajpootana alike signify

the text, alike compulsory on prince and peasant, "*cultivated land is the property of him who cut away the wood, or who cleared and tilled it*:"* an ordinance binding on the whole Hindu race, and which no international wars, or conquest, could overturn. In accordance with this principle is the ancient adage, not of Mewar only but all Rajpootana, *Bhog ra dhanni Raj ho: bhom ra dhanni ma cho*: 'the government is owner of the rent, but I am the master of the land.' With the toleration and benevolence of the race the conqueror is commanded "to respect the deities adored by the conquered, also their virtuous priests, and to establish the laws of the conquered nation as declared in their books."† If it were deemed desirable to recede to the system of pure Hindu agrarian law, there is no deficiency of materials. The customary laws contained in the various reports of able men, superadded to the general ordinances of Menu, would form a code at once simple and efficient: for though innovation from foreign conquest has placed many principles in abeyance, and modified others, yet he has observed to little purpose who does not trace a uniformity of design, which at one time had ramified wherever the name of Hindu prevailed: language has been modified, and terms have been corrupted or changed, but the primary pervading principle is yet perceptible; and whether we examine the systems of Candeish, the Carnatic, or Rajasthan, we shall discover the elements to be the same.

mountaineer, or 'of the mountain,' *maina* in Albanian; *maira* or *mera* in Sanscrit.

* Text 44. On the 'Servile Classes,' Menu; Haughton's edition.

† On Government, text 201—3.

If we consider the system from the period described by Arrian, Curtius, and Diodorus, we shall see in the government of townships each commune an '*imperium in imperio*;' a little republic, maintaining its municipal legislation independent of the monarchy, on which it relies for general support, and to which it pays the *bhog*, or *tax in kind*, as the price of this protection; for though the prescribed duties of kings are as well defined by Menu* as by any jurisconsult in Europe, nothing can be more lax than the mutual relations of the governed and governing in Hindu monarchies, which are resolved into unbounded liberty of action. To the artificial regulation of society, which leaves all who depend on manual exertion to an immutable degradation, must be ascribed these multitudinous governments, unknown to the rest of mankind, which, in spite of such dislocation, maintain the bonds of mutual sympathies. Strictly speaking, every state presents the picture of so many hundred or thousand minute republics, without any connection with each other, giving allegiance (*an*) and rent (*bhog*) to a prince, who neither legislates for them, nor even forms a police for their internal protection. It is consequent on this want of paramount interference that, in matters of police, of justice,

and of law, the communes act for themselves; and from this want of paternal interference only have arisen those courts of equity, or arbitration, the '*punchaets*.'

But to return to the *freehold* ryot of Mewar, whose *bapota* is the *wuttun* and the *meeras* of the peninsula,—words of foreign growth, introduced by the Mahomedan conquerors; the first (Persian) is of more general use in Candeish; the other (Arabic) in the Carnatic. Thus the great Persian moralist Sadi exemplifies its application: "If you desire to succeed to your father's inheritance (*meeras*), first obtain his wisdom."

While the term *bapota* thus implies the inheritance or patrimony, its holder if a military vassal, is called '*Bhomia*,' a term equally powerful, meaning one actually identified with the soil (*bhom*), and for which the Mahomedan has no equivalent but in the possessive compound *wuttun-dar*, or *meeras-dar*. The *Caniatchi** of Malabar is the *Bhomia* of Rajasthan.

The emperors of Delhi, in the zenith of their power, bestowed the epithet '*zemin-dar*' upon the Hindu tributary sovereigns: not out of disrespect, but in the true application of their own term '*Bhomia Raj*,' expressive of their tenacity to the soil; and this fact affords additional evidence of the proprietary right being in the cultivator (*ryot*) namely, that he alone can confer the freehold *land*, which gives the title of *Bhomia*, and of which both past history and present usage will furnish us with examples. When

* "Let the king receive his annual revenue through his collectors; but let him observe the divine ordinances, and act as a father to his people." Text 80.—"To protect the people, and to honour the priests, are the highest duties of kings, and ensures them felicity." 88.—"From the people he must learn the theory of agriculture, commerce, and practical arts." 43.—To those who imagine that these ancient monarchies are simply despotic, instead of patriarchal, their divine legislator expressly declares, that "a king addicted to vices (which tend to misrule) may lose even his life from the public resentment." 46.—"The Duties of Kings."

* *Cani* 'land,' and *atchi* 'heritage': Report, p. 289.—I should be inclined to imagine the *atchi*, like the *ote* and *arvut*, Rajpoot termination, implying clanship.

the tenure of land obtained from the cultivator is held more valid than the grant of the sovereign, it will be deemed a conclusive argument of the proprietary right being vested in the ryot. What should induce a chieftain, when inducted into a perpetual fief, to establish through the ryot a right to a few acres in *bhom*, but the knowledge that although the vicissitudes of fortune or of favour may deprive him of his aggregate signiorial rights, his claims, derived from the spontaneous favour of the commune, can never be set aside; and when he ceases to be the lord, he becomes a member of the common-wealth, merging his title of Thacoor, or Signior, into the more humble one of *Bhomia*, the allodial tenant of the Rajpoot feudal system, elsewhere discussed.† Thus we have touched on the method by which he acquires this distinction, for protecting the community from violence; and if left destitute by the negligence or inability of the government, he is vested with the rights of the crown, in its share of the *bhog* or rent. But when their own land is in the predicament called '*gulthas*,' or reversions from lapses to the commune, he is '*seised*' in all the rights of the former proprietor; or, by internal arrangements, they can convey such right by cession of the commune.

The privilege attached to the *bhom*,† and acquired from the community by the protection afforded to it, is the most powerful argument for the recognition of its original rights. The *bhomia*, thus vested, may at pleasure drive his own plough, right to the soil. His *bhom* is exempt from

the *jureeb* (measuring rod); it is never assessed, and his only sign of allegiance is a quit-rent, in most cases triennial, and the tax of *khur-lakur*,* a war imposition, now commuted for money. The state, however, indirectly receives the services of these allodial tenants, the yeomen of Rajasthan, who constitute, as in the districts of Komulmeer and Mandelgurb, the *landwehr*, or local militia. In fact, since the days of universal repose set in, and the townships required no protection, an arrangement was made with the *Bhomias* of Mewar, in which the crown, foregoing its claim of quit-rent, has obtained their services in the garrisons and frontier stations of police at a very slight pecuniary sacrifice.

Such are the rights and privileges derived from the ryot cultivator alone. The Rana may dispossess the chiefs of Bednore, or Saloombra, of their estates, the grant of the crown—he could not touch the rights emanating from the community; and thus the descendants of a chieftain, who a few years before might have followed his sovereign at the head of one hundred cavaliers, would descend into the humble foot militia of a district. Thousands are in this predicament: the Kanawuts, Loonawuts, Koombhawuts, and other clans, who, like the Celt, forget not their claims of birth in the distinctions of fortune, but assert their propinquity as "brothers in the nineteenth or thirtieth degree to the prince" on the throne. So sacred was the tenure derived from the ryot, that even monarchs held lands in *bhom* from their subjects, for an instance of

* See page 160.

* See Sketch of Feudal System.



which we are indebted to the great poetic historian of the last Hindu king. Chund relates, that when his sovereign, the Chohan, had subjugated the kingdom of Anhwarrā* from the Solanki, he returned to the nephew of the conquered prince several districts and sea-ports, and *all the bhom held by the family*. In short, the Rajpoot vaunts his aristocratic distinction derived from the land; and opposes the title of '*Bhomia Raj*,' or government of the soil, to the '*Bania Raj*,' or commercial government, which he affixes as an epithet of contempt to Jeypur: where "wealth accumulates and men decay."

In the great "register of patents" (*putta buhye*) of Mewar, we find a species of *bhom* held by the greater vassals on particular crown lands; whether this originated from inability of ceding entire townships to complete the estate to the rank of the incumbent, or whether it was merely in confirmation of the grant of the commune, could not be ascertained. The benefit from this *bhom* is only pecuniary, and the title is '*bhom rekwalī*,'† or *land* [in return for] '*preservation*.' Strange to say, the crown itself holds '*bhom rekwalī*' on its own fiscal demesnes consisting of small portions in each village, to the amount of ten thousand rupees in a district of thirty or forty townships. This species, however, is so incongruous that we can only state it does exist: we should vainly seek the cause for such apparent ab-

surdity, for since society has been unhinged, the oracles are mute to much of antiquated custom.

We shall close these remarks with some illustrative traditions and yet existing customs, to substantiate the ryot's right in the soil of Mewar. After one of those convulsions described in the annals, the prince had gone to espouse the daughter of the Raja of Mundore, the (then) capital of Marwar. It is customary at the moment of "*latlewa*," or the junction of hands, that any request preferred by the bridegroom to the father of the bride should meet compliance, a usage which has yielded many fatal results; and the Rana had been prompted on this occasion to demand a body of ten thousand Jat cultivators to repopulate the deserted fisc of Mewar. An assent was given to the unprecedented demand, but when the inhabitants were thus despotically called on to migrate, they denied the power and refused. "Shall we," said they, "abandon the lands of our inheritance (*bapota*), the property of our children, to accompany a stranger into a foreign land, there to labour for him? Kill us you may, but never shall we relinquish our inalienable rights." The Mundore prince, who had trusted to this reply, deemed himself exonerated from his promise, and secured from the loss of so many subjects: but he was deceived. The Rana held out to them the enjoyment of the proprietary rights escheated to the crown in his country, with the lands left without occupants by the sword, and to all, increase of property. When equal and absolute power was thus conferred, they no longer hesitated to exchange the arid soil of Marwar for the garden of Rajwarra; and

* Nehrwalā of D'Anville; the Balhara sovereignty of the Arabian travellers of the eighth and ninth centuries. I visited the remains of this city on my last journey, and from original authorities shall give an account of this ancient emporium of commerce and literature.

† *Salvamenta* of the European system.

the descendants of these Jats still occupy the flats watered by the Beris and Bunas.

In those districts which afforded protection from innovation, the proprietary right of the ryot will be found in full force ; of this the populous and extensive district of Jehajpur, consisting of one hundred and six townships, affords a good specimen. There are but two pieces of land throughout the whole of this tract the property of the crown, and these were obtained by force during the occupancy of Zalim Sing of Kotah. The right thus unjustly acquired was, from the conscientiousness of the Rana's civil governor, on the point of being annulled by sale and reversion, when the court interfered to maintain its proprietary right to the tanks of Lohario and Etounda, and the lands which they irrigate, now the *bhom* of the Rana.* This will serve as an illustration how *bhom* may be acquired, and the annals of Kotah will exhibit, unhappily for the Ryots of that country, the almost total annihilation of their rights, by the same summary process which originally attached Lohario to the fisc.

The power of alienation being thus proved, it would be superfluous to insist further on the proprietary right of the cultivator of the soil.

Besides the ability to alienate as demonstrated, all the overt symbols which mark proprietary right in other countries are to be

found in Mewar ; that of entire conveyance by sale, or temporary by mortgage, and numerous instances could be adduced, especially of the latter. The fertile lands of Horlah, along the banks of the Khary, are almost all mortgaged, and the registers of these transactions form two considerable volumes, in which great variety of deeds may be discovered : one extended for one hundred and one years ;* when redemption was to follow, without regard to interest on the one hand, or the benefits from the land on the other, but merely by repayment of the sum borrowed. To maintain the interest during abeyance, it is generally stipulated that a certain portion of the harvest shall be reserved for the mortgagee—a fourth, a fifth, or '*googri*,'—a share so small as to be valued only as a mark of proprietary recognition.† The mortgagees were chiefly of the commercial classes of the large frontier towns ; in many cases the proprietor continues to cultivate for another the lands his ancestor mortgaged four or five generations ago, nor does he deem his right at all impaired. A plan had been sketched to raise money to redeem these mortgages, from whose complex operation the revenue was sure to suffer. No length of time or absence can affect the claim to the *bapota*, and so sacred is the right of absentees, that land will lay sterile and unproductive from the penalty which

* The author has to acknowledge with regret, that he was the cause of the Meena proprietors not re-obtaining their *bapota* : this arose, partly from ignorance at the time, partly from the individual claimants being dead, and more than all, from the representation that the intended sale originated in a bribe to Sudda-Ram the governor, which, however, was not the case.

* Claims to the *bapota* appear to be maintainable if not alienated longer than one hundred and one years ; and undisturbed possession (no matter how obtained) for the same period appears to confer this right. The *meeras* of Candeish appear to have been on the same footing. See Mr. Elphinstone's Report.

† The *savmy begum* of the peninsula in Fifth Report, p. 356-7 ; correctly *savamy bhoga*, 'lord's rent' in Sanskrit.



Menu denounces on all who interfere with their neighbour's rights : "for unless there be an especial agreement between the owner of the land and the seed, the fruits belong clearly to the land-owner;" even "if seed conveyed by water or by wind should germinate, the plant belongs to the land-owner, *the mere sower takes not the fruit.*"* Even crime and the extreme sentence of the law will not alter succession to property, either to the military or cultivating vassal ; and the old Kentish adage, probably introduced by the Jats from Scandinavia, who under Hengist established that kingdom of the heptarchy, *viz.*

"The father to the bough,
And the son to the plough."

is practically understood by the Jats and Bhomias† of Mewar, whose treason is not deemed hereditary, nor a chain of noble acts destroyed because a false link was thrown out. We speak of the military vassals—the cultivator can not aspire to so dignified a crime as treason.

The officers of the townships are the same as have been so often described, and are already too familiar to those interested in the subject to require illustration. From the Patel, the Cromwell of each township, to the village gossip, the ascetic Sanyasi, each deems his office, and the land he holds in virtue thereof in perpetuity, free of rent to the state, except a small triennial quit-rent,‡ and the liability, like every other branch of the state, to two war taxes.§

* Menu, 52-54, on the Servile Classes.

† Patel.

‡ Patel *burrar*.

§ The Ghur-geenti *burrar*, and Khur-lakur, or *wood and forage*, explained in the feudal system.

Opinions are various as to the origin and attributes of the Patel, the most important personage in village sway, whose office is by many deemed foreign to the pure Hindu system, and to which language even his title is deemed alien. But there is no doubt that both office and title are of ancient growth, and even etymological rule proves the Patel to be head (*pati*) of the community.* The office of Patel of Mewar was originally elective; he was "*primus inter pares*," the constituted attorney or representative of the commune, and as the medium between the cultivator and the government, enjoyed benefits from both. Besides his *bapota*, and the *seerano*, or one-fortieth of all produce from the ryot, he had a remission of a third or fourth of the rent from such extra lands as he might cultivate in addition to his patrimony. Such was the Patel, the link connecting the peasant with the government, ere predatory war subverted all order: but as rapine increased, so did his authority. He became the plenipotentiary of the community, the security for the contribution imposed, and often the hostage for its payment, remaining in the camp of the predatory hordes till they were paid off. He gladly undertook the liquidation of such contributions as these perpetual invaders imposed. To indemnify himself, a schedule

* In copper-plate grants dug from the ruins of the ancient Oojein (presented to the Royal Asiatic Society), the prince's patents (*putta*) conferring gifts are addressed to the *Potta-cilas* and Ryots. I never heard an etymology of this word, but imagine it to be from *putta* 'grant,' or 'patent,' and *cila*, which means a nail, or sharp instrument; metaphorically, that which binds or unites these patents; all, however, having *pati*, or chief, as the basis.—See Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. i. p. 237.

was formed of the share of each ryot, and mortgage of land, and sequestration of personal effects followed till his avarice was satisfied. Who dared complain against a Patel, the intimate of Pathan and Mahratta commanders, his adopted patrons? He thus became the master of his fellow-citizens; and, as power corrupts all men, their tyrant instead of their mediator. It was a system necessarily involving its own decay; for a while glutted with plenty, but failing with the supply, and ending in desolation, exile, and death. Nothing was left to prey on but the despoiled carcase; yet when peace returned, and in its train the exile ryot to reclaim the *bapota*, the vampire Patel was resuscitated, and evinced the same ardour for supremacy, and the same cupidity which had so materially aided to convert the fertile Mewar to a desert. The Patel accordingly proved one of the chief obstacles to returning prosperity; and the attempt to reduce this corrupted *middle-man* to his original station in society was both difficult and hazardous, from the support they met in the corrupt officers at court, and other influences "*behind the curtain*." A system of renting the crown lands being deemed the most expedient to advance prosperity, it was incumbent to find a remedy for this evil. The mere name of some of these petty tyrants inspired such terror, as to check all desire of return to the country; but the origin of the institution of the office and its abuses being ascertained, it was imperative, though difficult, to restore the one and banish the other. The original elective right in many townships was therefore returned to the ryot, who nominated

new Patels, his choice being confirmed by the Rana, in whose presence investiture was performed by binding a turban on the elected, for which he presented his *nuzzur*. Traces of the sale of these offices in past times were observable; and it was deemed of primary importance to avoid all such channels for corruption, in order that the ryot's election should meet with no obstacle. That the plan was beneficial there could be no doubt; that the benefit would be permanent, depended, unfortunately, on circumstances which those most anxious had not the means to control: for it must be recollected, that although "personal aid and advice might be given when asked," all internal interference was by treaty strictly, and most justly, prohibited.

After a few remarks on the mode of levying the crown-rents, we shall conclude the subject of village economy in Mewar, and proceed to close this too extended chapter with the results of four years of peace and the consequent improved prosperity.

There are two methods of levying the revenues of the crown on every description of corn—*kunkoot* and *bhuttaie*; for on sugar-cane, poppy, oil, hemp, tobacco, cotton, indigo, and garden stuffs, a money payment is fixed, varying from two to six rupees per beegah. The *kunkoot* is a conjectural assessment of the standing crop, by the united judgment of the officers of government, the Patel, the Patwarri, or registrar, and the owner of the field. The accuracy with which an accustomed eye will determine the quantity of grain on a given surface is surprising: but should the owner deem the estimate overrated, he can insist on *bhuttaie*