



should not outlive Dulleel Khan." Mehrab Khan was the commander of the infantry, which he maintained in a state of admirable discipline and efficiency; * they received

* Mehrab Khan was the commandant of one division of Zalim's contingent, placed at my disposal, which in eight days took possession of every district of Holcar's adjacent to Haroti, and which afterwards gained so

their *bees roza*, or twenty days' pay, each month, with their arrears at the end of every second year.

much credit by the brilliant escalade of the 'Soudi' fortress, when co-operating with General Sir John Malcolm. The *Royals (Raj-Paltan)* were led by Syf Ali, a gallant soldier, but who could not resist joining the cause of the Maharao and legitimacy in the civil war of 1821.

CHAPTER X.

The Rajpoot State invited to an alliance with the British Government.—Zalim Sing the first to accept it.—Marquis Hastings sends an agent to his court.—Confederation against the Pindarris.—The Regent's conduct during the war.—Approbation and reward of his services.—Peace throughout India.—Death of Maharao Omed Sing.—Treaty and supplemental articles.—Sons of Maharao Omed Sing.—Their characters.—Sons of the Regent.—State of parties.—The Regent leaves the Chaoni for Kotah.—proclaims Kishore Sing as successor of the late prince.—His letter to the British agent, who repairs to Kotah.—Dangerous illness of the Regent.—Plots to overturn the order of succession.—The Regent's ignorance thereof.—Intricate position of the British Government.—Arguments in defence of the supplemental articles.—Recognition of all rulers de facto the basis of our treaties.—Kishore Sing refuses to acknowledge the supplemental articles.—Consequences.—The Regent blockades the Prince, and demands the surrender of his son Gordhundas.—The Maharao breaks through the blockade.—The British agent interposes.—Surrender and exile of Gordhundas.—Reconciliation of the Maharao and the Regent.—Coronation of the Maharao.—Mutual covenants executed.—The Regent prohibits dind throughout Kotah.—Reflections.

WE now enter upon that period of the Regent's history, when the march of events linked him with the policy of Britain. When, in A. D. 1817, the Marquis of Hastings proclaimed war against the Pindarris, who were the very leas of the predatory hordes;

which the discomfiture of the greater powers had thrown off, neutrality was not to be endured ; and it was announced that all those who were not for us in this grand enterprize, which involved the welfare of all, would be considered against us. The Rajpoot states, alike interested with ourselves in the establishment of settled government, were invited to an alliance offensive and defensive with us, which was to free them for ever from the thralldom of the predatory armies ; in return for which, we demanded homage to our power, and a portion of their revenues as the price of protection. The eagle-eye of Zalim saw at once the virtue of compliance and the grace attendant on its being quickly yielded. Accordingly, his envoy was the first to connect Kotah in the bonds of alliance, which soon united all Rajwarra to Britain. Meanwhile, all India was in arms ; two hundred thousand men were embodied, and moving on various points to destroy the germ of rapine for ever. As the first scene of action was expected to be in the countries bordering upon Harouti, the presence of an agent with Zalim Sing appeared indispensable. His instructions were to make available the resources of Kotah to the armies moving round him, and to lesson the field of the enemy's manœuvres, by shutting him out of that country. So efficient were these resources, that in five days after the agent reached the Regent's camp,* every

pass was a post ; and a corps of fifteen hundred men, infantry and cavalry, with four guns, was marched to co-operate with General Sir John Malcolm, who had just crossed the Nerbudda with a weak division of the army of the Dekhan, and was marching northward surrounded by numerous foes and doubtful friends. Throughout that brilliant and eventful period in the history of British India, when every province from the Ganges to the ocean was agitated by warlike demonstrations, the camp of the Regent was the pivot of operations and the focus of intelligence. The part he acted was decided, manly, and consistent ; and if there were moments of vacillation, it was inspired by our own conduct, which created doubts in his mind as to the wisdom of his course. He had seen and felt that the grand principle of politics, expediency, guided all courts and councils, whether Moghul, Mahratta, or British : the disavowal of the alliances formed by Lord Lake, under Marquis Wellesley's administration, proved this to demonstration, and he was too familiar with the history of our power to give more credit than mere politeness required to our boasted renunciation of the rights of anticipated conquest. A smile would play over the features of the orbless politician when the envoy disclaimed all idea of its being a war of aggrandisement. To all such protestations he would say, "Maharaja, I cannot doubt you believe what you say ; but remember what old Zalim tells you ; the day is not distant when only one emblem of power (*eki sicca*) will be recognized throughout India." This was in A.D. 1817-18 ; and the ten years

* The author of these annals, then assistant Resident at Sindia's court, was, deputed by Lord Hastings to the Raj Rana Zalim Sing. He left the residency at Gwalior on the 12th November 1817, and reached the Regent's camp at Rowtah, about twenty-five miles S. S E. of Kotah, on the 23d.

of life since granted to him must have well illustrated the truth of this remark ; for although no absolute conquest or incorporation of Rajpoot territory has taken place, our system of control, and the establishment of our monopoly within these limits (not then dreamed of by ourselves), has already verified in part his prediction. It were indeed idle to suppose that any protestations could have vanquished the arguments present to a mind which had pondered on every page of the history of our power ; which had witnessed its developments, from the battle of Plassy under Clive, to Lake's exploits at the altars of Alexander. He had seen throughout, that the fundamental rule which guides the Rajpoot prince, "obtain land," was one both practically and theoretically understood by viceroys from the west, who appeared to act upon the four grand political principles of the Rajpoot, *sham, dan, bed, dind* ; or, persuasion, gifts, stratagem, force ; by which, according to their great lawgiver, kingdoms are obtained and maintained, and all mundane affairs conducted. When, therefore, in order to attain our ends, we expatiated upon the disinterestedness of our views, his co-operation was granted less from a belief in our professions, than upon a dispassionate consideration of the benefits which such alliance would confer upon Kotah, and of its utility in maintaining his family in the position it had so long held in that state. He must have balanced the difficulties he had mastered to maintain that power, against the enemies, internal and external, which had threatened it, and he justly feared both would speedily be sacri-

ficed to the incapacity of his successors. To provide a stay to their feebleness was the motive which induced him to throw himself heart and hand into the alliance we sought ; and of signal benefit did he prove to the cause he espoused. But if we read aright the workings of a mind, which never betrayed its purpose either to friend or foe, we should find that there was a moment wherein, though he did not swerve from the path he had chalked out, or shew any equivocation in respect to the pledge he had given, the same spirit which had guided him to the eminence he had acquired, suggested what he might have done at a conjuncture when all India, save Rajpootana, was in arms to overthrow the legions of Britain. All had reason to dread her colossal power, and hatred and revenge actuated our numerous allies to emancipate themselves from a yoke, to which, whether they were bound by friendship or by fear, was alike galling. If there was one master-mind that could have combined and wielded their resources for our overthrow, it was that of Zalim Sing alone. Whether the aspirations of his ambition, far too vast for its little field of action, soared to this height, or were checked by the trammels of nearly eighty winters, we can only conjecture. Once, and once only, the dubious oracle came forth. It was in the very crisis of operations, when three English divisions were gradually closing upon the grand Pindarri horde, under Kureem Khan, in the very heart of his dominions, and his troops, his stores, were all placed at our disposal, he heard that one of these divisions had insulted his town of Barah :

then, the ideas which appeared to occupy him burst forth in the ejaculation, "that if twenty years could be taken from his life, Delhi and Dekhan should be one;" and appeared to point to the hidden thoughts of a man, whose tongue never spoke but in parables.

There is also no doubt that his most confidential friends and ministers, who were Mahrattas, were adverse to his leaguings with the English, and for a moment he felt a repugnance to breaking the bond which had so long united him with their policy. He could not but enumerate amongst the arguments for its maintenance, his ability to preserve that independence which fifty years had strengthened, and he saw that, with the power to which he was about to be allied, he had no course but unlimited obedience; in short, that his part must now be subordinate. He preferred it, however, for the security it afforded; and as in the course of nature he must soon resign his trust, there was more hope of his power descending to his posterity than if left to discord and faction. But when hostilities advanced against the freebooters, and the more settled governments of the Peshwa, Bhoonsla, Holcar, and Sindia, determined to shake off our yoke, we could urge to him irresistible arguments for a perfect identity of interests. The envoy had only to hint that the right of conquest would leave the districts he rented from Holcar at our disposal; and that as we wanted no territory in Central India for ourselves, we should not forget our friends at the conclusion of hostilities. If ever there were doubts, they were dissipated by this sug-

gestion; and on the grand horde being broken up, it was discovered that the families of its leaders were concealed in his territory. Through his indirect aid we were enabled to secure them, and at once annihilated the strength of the marauders. For all these important services, the sovereignty of the four districts he rented from Holcar was guaranteed to the Regent. The circumstances attending the conveyance of this gift afforded an estimate of Zalin's determination never to relinquish his authority; for, when the *sumud* was tendered in his own name, he declined it, desiring the insertion of that of "his master, the Maharao." At the time, it appeared an act of disinterested magnanimity, but subsequent acts allowed us to form a more correct appreciation of his motives. The campaign concluded, and the noble commander and his enlightened coadjutor* left the seat of war impressed with the conviction of the great services, and the highest respect for the talents, of the veteran politician, while the envoy, who had acted with him during the campaign, was declared the medium of his future political relations.

In March A.D. 1818, profound repose reigned from the Sutlej to the ocean, of which Rajpoot history presented no example. The magic Runes, by which the north-man could—"hush the stormy wave," could not be more efficacious than the rod of our power in tranquilizing this wide space, which for ages had been the seat of conflict. The *satya yuga*, the golden age of the Hindu, alone afforded a parallel to the calm which had

* I allude to Mr. Adam, who divided with the noble Marquis the entire merits of that ever memorable period.



succeeded eras of tumultuous effervescence.

Thus matters proceeded till November 1819, when the death of the Maharao Omed Sing engendered new feelings in the claimants to the succession, and placed the Regent in a position from which not even his genius might have extricated him, unaided by the power whose alliance he had so timely obtained. And here it becomes requisite to advert to the terms of this alliance. The treaty* was concluded at Dehli, on the 26th of December 1817, by the envoys of the Regent, in the name of his lawful sovereign, the Maharao Omed Sing, ratified by the contracting parties and the deeds were interchanged at the Regent's court early in January. To this treaty his sovereign's seal and his own were appended; but no guarantee of the Regent's power was demanded pending the negotiation, nor is he mentioned except in the preamble, and then only as the ministerial agent of the Maharao Omed Sing, in whose behalf alone the treaty was virtually executed. This excited the surprise of the British representative,† who, in his official despatch detailing the progress and conclusion of the negotiations, intimated that he not only expected such stipulation, but was prepared for admitting it. There was no inadvertence in this omission; the Regent saw no occasion for any guarantee, for the plenary exercise of the powers of sovereign during more than half a century had constituted him, *de facto*, prince of Kotah. More-

over, we may suppose, had he left a desire for such stipulation, that a feeling of pride might have stifled its expression, which by making the choice of ministers dependent on a foreign power would have virtually annulled the independent sovereignty of Kotah. Whatever was the reason of the omission, at a season when his recognition might have had the same formal sanction of all the parties as the other articles of the treaty, it furnished the future opponents of the Regent's power with a strong argument against its maintenance in perpetuity on the death of the Maharao Omed Sing.

It has been already said, that the treaty was concluded at Dehli in December 1817, and interchanged in January 1818. In March of the same year, two supplemental articles were agreed to at Dehli, and transmitted direct to the Regent, guaranteeing the administration of affairs to his sons and successors for ever.

Having premised to such, let us give a brief notice of the parties, whose future fate was involved in this policy.

The Maharao Omed Singh had three sons, Kishore Sing, Bishen Sing, and Pirthi Sing. The heir-apparent, who bore a name dear to the recollection of the Haras, was then forty years of age. He was mild in his temper and demeanour; but being brought up in habits of seclusion, he was more conversant with the formulas of his religion, and the sacred epics, than with affairs of mankind. He was no stranger to the annals of his family, and had sufficient pride and feeling to kindle at the recollection of their glory; but the natural bent

* Copy of this is inserted in Appendix No. 6.

C. T. Metcalfe, Esq., then resident at Dehli, now Sir C. T. Metcalfe, Bart. member of council in Bengal

of his mind, reinforced by education, had well fitted him to follow the path of his father, and to leave himself and his country to be governed as best pleased the *nanah saheb*,* the Regent.

Bishen Sing was about three years younger ; equally placid in disposition, sensible and sedate, and much attached to the Regent.

Prithi Sing was under thirty ; a noble specimen of a Hara, eager for action in the only career of a Rajpoot—arms. To him the existing state of things was one of opprobrium and dishonour, and his mind was made up to enfranchise himself and family from the thralldom in which his father had left them, or perish in the attempt. The brothers were attached to each other, and lived in perfect harmony, though suspicions did exist that Bishen Sing's greater docility and forbearance towards the Regent's son and successor, arose from interested, perhaps traitorous, views. Each of them had estates of twenty-five thousand rupees' annual rent, which they managed through their agents.

The Regent had two sons, the elder, Madhu Sing, legitimate ; the younger, Gordhun Das, illegitimate ; but he was regarded with more affection, and endowed with almost equal authority with the declared successor to the regency. Madhu Sing was about forty-six at the period we speak of. A physiognomist would discover in his aspect no feature indicative of genius, though he might detect amidst traits which

denoted indolence, a supercilious tone of character, the effect of indulgence. This was fostered in a great degree by the late Maharao, who supported the Regent's son against his own in all their dissensions, even from their infancy, which had increased the natural arrogance developed by power being too early entrusted to him : for when the regent, as before related, quitted the capital for the camp, Madhu Sing was nominated to the office of Foujdar, the hereditary post of his father, and left as his *locum tenens* at Kotah. This office, which included the command and pay of all the troops, left unlimited funds at his disposal ; and as the checks which restrained every other officer in the state, were inoperative upon his sons, who dared to inform against the future regent ? Accordingly, he indulged his taste in a manner which engendered dislike to him : his gardens, his horses, his boats were in a style of extravagance calculated to provoke the envy of the sons of his sovereign ; while his suite eclipsed that of the prince himself. In short, he little regarded the prudent counsel of his father, who, in their metaphorical language, used to express his fears "that when he was a hundred years old," (*i.e.* dead,) the fabric which cost a life in rearing would fall to pieces.

Gordhun-das,* the natural son of the Regent, was then about twenty-seven,† quick, lively, intelligent, and daring. His conduct to his sovereign's family has been

* This was the parental epithet always applied to the Regent by Omed Sing and his sons, who it will be remembered mingled some of the Jhala blood in their veins. *Nanah-saheb*, 'sir grandsire.'

* *Anglice*, 'the slave of Gordhun, one of the names of Crishna, the tutelary divinity of the Regent.

† Let me again remind the reader, that this was written in 1820-21 ; for many reasons, the phraseology and chronology of the original MS. are retained.

precisely the reverse of his brother's, and in consequence he lived on terms of confidential friendship with them, especially with the heir-apparent and prince, Pirthi Singh, whose disposition corresponded with his own. His father who viewed this child of his old age with perhaps more affection than his elder brother, bestowed upon him the important office of *Purdhan*, which comprehends the grain-department of the state. It gave him the command of funds, the amount of which endangered the declared succession. The brothers cordially detested each other, and many indignities were cast upon Gordhun-das by Madhu Sing, such as putting him in the guard, which kindled an irreconcilable rancour between them. Almost the only frailty in the character of the Regent was the defective education of his sons: both were left to the indulgence of arrogant pretensions, which ill-accommodated with the tenor of his own behaviour through life, or the conduct that was demanded of them. Dearly, bitterly, has the Regent repented this error, which in its consequences has thrown the merits, of an active and difficult career into the shade, and made him regret that his power was not to die with him.

Such was the state of parties and politics at Kotah in November 1819, when the death of the Maharao developed views that had long been concealed, and that produced the most deplorable results. The Regent was at the *Chaoni*, his standing camp at Gagrown, when this event occurred, and he immediately repaired to the capital, to see that the last offices were properly performed, and to proclaim the *an*, or oath of allegiance, and

the accession of the Maharao Kishore Singh.

The political agent received the intelligence* on his march from Marwar to Mewar, and immediately addressed his government on the subject, requesting instructions. Meanwhile, after a few days' halt at Oodipur, he repaired to Kotah to observe the state of parties, whose animosities and expectations were forebodings of a change which menaced the guaranteed order of things. On his arrival, he found the aged Regent, still a stranger to the luxury of a house, encamped a mile beyond the city, with his devoted bands around him; while his son, the heir to his power, continued in his palace in the town. The prince and brothers, as heretofore, resided at the palace in the castle, where they held their *coteries*, of which Gordhun-das and Pirthi Singh were the principals, moulding the new Maharao to their will, and from which the second brother, Bishen Singh, was excluded. Although the late prince had hardly ceased to breathe, before the animosities so long existing between the sons

* The following is a translation of the letter written by the Regent, announcing the decease of his master, dated 1st Suffur, A.H. 1235, or November 21st, 1819:—

“Until Sunday, the eve of the 1st Suffur, the health of the Maharao Omed Sing was perfectly good. About an hour after sunset, he went to worship *Sri-Byjnathji*. Having made six prostrations, and while performing the seventh, he fainted and remained totally insensible. In this state he was removed to his bed-chamber, when every medical aid was given, but unavailingly; at two in the morning he departed for heaven.

“Such affliction is not reserved even for a foe; but what refuge is there against the decree? You are our friend, and the honour and welfare of those whom the Maharao has left behind are now in your hands. The Maharao Kishore Sing, eldest son of the Maharao deceased, has been placed upon the throne. This is written for the information of friendship.”

of the Regent burst forth, and threatened "war within the gates;" and although nothing short of the recovery of rights so long in abeyance was determined upon by the prince; yet,—and it will hardly be believed,—these schemes escaped the vigilance of the Regent.

The death of his friend and sovereign, added to care and infirmity, brought on a fit of illness, the result of which was expected to crown the hopes of the parties who were interested in the event; and when to their surprise and regret, he recovered, the plans of his prince and natural son were matured, and as notorious as the sun at noon to every person of note but the Regent himself. He was not, indeed, the first aged ruler, however renowned for wisdom, who had been kept in ignorance of the cabals of his family. It required a prophet to announce to David the usurpation of Adonijah;* and the same cause, which kept David ignorant that his son had supplanted him, concealed from the penetrating eye of Zalim Singh the plot which had for its object that his power should perish with him, and that his son Gordhun should supersede the heir to his hereditary staff of office. Strange as it must appear, the British Agent acted the part of Nathan on this occasion, and had to break the intelligence to the man who had swayed for sixty years, with despotic authority, the destinies of Kotah, that his sons were arming against each other, and that his prince was determined that his wand (*Churri*) of power should (to speak in their metaphorical

style) be consumed in the same pyre with himself whenever the "decree of Bhagwan" went forth.

It was then that the supplemental articles, guaranteeing Madhu Singh in the succession to the regency, proved a stumbling-block in the path of our mediation between parties, the one called on to renounce that dear-bought power, the other determined to regain what time and accident had wrested from him. Had the emergency occurred while the predatory system was predominant, not a whisper would have been raised; the point in all probability would never have been mooted: it would have been considered as a matter of course, where

"Amurath to Amurath succeeds."

that the Maharao Kishore should continue the same puppet in the hands of Madhu Sing that his father had been in Zalim's. This would have excited no surprise, nor would such a proceeding have afforded speculation for one hour. Nay, the usurper might have advanced to the ulterior step; and, like the Frank *maire du palais*, have demanded of the pontiff of Nathadwarra, as did Pepin of Pope Zacharius, "whether he who had the power, should not also have the title of king;"* and the same plenary indulgence would have awaited the first Jhala Raja of Kotah as was granted to the first of the Carlovingian kings! It, therefore, became a matter of astonishment, especially to the unreflecting, whence arose the general sympathy amounting to enthusiasm, towards this hitherto disregarded

* "Nathan spake unto Bathsheba, 'hast thou not heard that Adonijah, the son of Hagitha, does reign and David our Lord knoweth it not?'"

* Such was the question propounded, and answered as Pepin expected, regarding the disposal of Childeric, the last of the Merovingian race.

family, not only from chief and peasant, within the bounds of Harouti, and the foreign mercenary army raised and maintained by the Regent, but from the neighbouring princes and nobles, who had hitherto looked upon the usurpation in silence.

A short explanation will solve what was then enigmatical, even to those most interested in forming a just opinion. The practice of the moral virtues amongst any portion of civilized society may be uncertain, but there is one invariable estimate or standard of them in theory. The policy of 1817 changed the moral with the political aspect of Rajasthan. If, previous thereto, no voice was raised against usurpation and crime, it was because all hope that their condition could be ameliorated was extinct. But this was to them a *nya samvat*, a 'new era,' a day of universal regeneration. Was the sovereign not to look for the restoration of that power which had been guaranteed by treaty,—nor the chiefs to claim the restitution of their estates,—nor the peasant to hope for the lands added to the crown domain;—and were not all foreign potentates interested in calling for an example of retributive justice for ministerial usurpation, however mildly exercised towards the prince? With more rational than political argument, they appealed to our high notions of public justice to accomplish these objects. Unhappy position, in which circumstances,—nay, paradoxical as it may appear, political gratitude and justice,—dictated a contrary course, and marshalled British battalions in line with the retainers of usurpation to combat the lawful sovereign of the country! The case was

one of the most difficult that ever beset our policy in the East, which must always to a certain extent be adapted to the condition of those with whom we come in contact; and perhaps, on this occasion, no caution or foresight could have averted the effects of his alliance.

There is not a shadow of doubt that the supplemental articles of the treaty of Kotah, which pledge our faith to two parties in a manner which rendered its maintenance towards both an impossibility, produced consequences that shook the confidence of the people of Rajwarra in our political rectitude. They established two pageants instead of one, whose co-existence would have been miraculous: still as a measure ought not to be judged entirely by its results, we shall endeavour to assign the true motive and character of the act.

If these articles were not dictated by good policy; if they cannot be defended on the plea of expediency; if the omission in the original treaty of December could not be supplied in March, without questioning the want of foresight of the farmer; he might justify them on the ground that they were a concession to feelings of gratitude for important services, rendered at a moment when the fate of our power in India was involved to an extent unprecedented since its origin. To effect a treaty with the Nestor of Rajwarra, to ensure alliance with the rest of the estates, which object was the very essence of Lord Hastings' policy. Thus, on general views, as well as for particular reasons (for the resources of Kotah were absolutely indispensable), the co-operation of the Regent was a

measure vitally important. Still it may be urged that as the Regent himself, from whatever motive, had allowed the time to go by when necessity might have compelled us to incorporate such an article in the original treaty, was there no other mode of reimbursing these services besides a guarantee which was an apple of discord? The war was at an end; and we might with justice have urged that 'the state of Kotah,' with which we had treated, had, in the destruction of all the powers of anarchy and sharing in its spoils, fully reaped the reward of her services. Such an argument would doubtless have been diplomatically just; but we were still revelling in the excitement of unparalleled success, to which Zalim had been no mean contributor, and the future evil was overlooked in the feverish joy of the hour. But if cold expediency may not deem this a sufficient justification, we may find other reasons. When the author of the policy of 1817 had maturely adjusted his plans for the union of all the settled governments in a league against the predatory system, it became necessary to adopt a broad principle with respect to those with whom we had to treat. At such a moment he could not institute a patient investigation into the moral discipline of each state, or demand of those who wielded the power by what tenure they held their authority. It became, therefore, a matter of necessity to recognize those who were the rulers *de facto*, a principle which was publicly promulgated and universally acted upon. Whether we should have been justified in March, when all our wishes had been consummated, in declining a proposal

which we would most gladly have submitted to in December, is a question which we shall leave diplomatists to settle,* and proceed to relate the result of the measure.

The counsellors of the new Maharao soon expounded to him the terms of the treaty, and urged him to demand its fulfilment according to its literal interpretation. The politic deference, which the Regent had invariably shewn to the late prince, was turned skilfully into an offensive weapon against him. They triumphantly appealed to the tenth article of the treaty, "the Maharao, his heirs and successors, shall remain absolute rulers of their country;" and demanded how we could reconcile our subsequent determination to guarantee Madhu Sing and his heirs in the enjoyment of power, which made him *de facto* the prince, and "reduced the *gadi* of Kotah to a simple heap of cotton?"—with the fact before our eyes, that the seals of all the contracting parties were to the original treaty, but that of the supplemental articles the late Maharao died in absolute ignorance.

All friendly intercourse between the prince and the Regent, and consequently with Madhu Sing, was soon at an end, and every effort was used whereby the political enfranchisement of the former could be

* The overture for these supplementary articles, in all probability, originated not with the Regent, but with the son. Had the author (who was then the medium of the political relations with Kotah) been consulted regarding their tendency, he was as well aware *then as now* what *he ought* to have advised. Whether his feelings, alike excited by the grand work in which he bore no mean part, would have also clouded his judgment, it were useless to discuss. It is sufficient, in all the spirit of candour, to suggest such reasons as may have led to a measure, the consequences of which have been so deeply lamented.

accomplished. The eloquence of angels must have failed to check such hopes, still more to give a contrary interpretation to the simple language of the treaty, to which, with a judicious pertinacity, they confined themselves. It would be useless to detail the various occurrences pending the reference to our Government. The prince would not credit, or affected not to credit, its determination, and founded abundant and not easily-refutable arguments upon its honour and justice. When told that its instructions were, "that no pretensions of the titular Raja can be entertained by us in opposition to our positive engagement with the Regent; that he alone was considered as the head of the Kotah state, and the titular Raja no more deemed the ruler of Kotah, than the Raja of Satarra the leader of the Maharattas, or the Great Mogul the emperor of Hindustan," the Maharao shut his ears against the representation of the Agent, and professed to regard the person who could compare his case to other so little parallel to it, as his enemy. While his brother, Pirthi Sing, and Gordhun-das formed part of the council of Kishore Sing, it was impossible to expect that he would be brought to resign himself to his destiny; and he was speedily given to understand that the removal of both from his council was indispensable.

But it was impossible to effect this without escalading the castle, in which operation the prince, in all human probability, might have perished, it was deemed advisable to blockade it and starve them into surrender. When reduced to extremity, the Maharao took the determination of trust-

ing his cause to the country, and placing himself at the head of a band of five hundred horse, chiefly Haras, with the tutelary deity at his saddle-bow, with drums beating and colours flying, he broke through the blockade. Fortunately, no instructions had been given for resistance, and his cavalcade passed on to the southward unmolested. As soon as the movement was reported, the Agent hastened to the Regent's camp, which he found in confusion; and demanded of the veteran what steps he had taken, or meant to take, to prevent the infection spreading. His conduct, at such a crisis, was most embarrassing. Beset by scruples, real or affected, the Agent could only obtain ill-timed if not spurious declarations of loyalty; "that he would cling to his sovereign's skirts, and *chakri kar* (serve him); that he would rather retire to Nathdwarra, than *blacken his face* by any treason towards his master." Rejoiced at the mere hint of a sentiment which afforded the least presage of the only mode of cutting the Gordain knot of our policy, the Agent eagerly replied, "there was no earthly bar to his determination, which he had only to signify;" but abhorring duplicity and cant at such a moment, when action of the most decisive kind was required, and apprehensive of the consequences of five hundred unquiet spirits being thrown loose on a society so lately disorganized, he hastily bid the veteran adieu, and galloped to overtake the prince's cavalcade. He found it bivouacked at the *Rungbari*, a country-seat six miles south of the capital. His followers and their horses, intermingled, were scattered in groups outside the garden-wall; and the

prince, his chiefs, and advisers, were in the palace, deliberating on their future operation. There was no time for ceremony ; and he reached the assembly before he could be announced. The rules of etiquette and courtesy were not lost even amidst impending strife ; though the greeting was short, a warm expostulation with the prince and the chiefs was delivered with rapidity ; and the latter were warned that their position placed them in direct enmity to the British government, and that, without being enable to benefit their sovereign, they involved themselves in destruction. The courtesy which these brave men had a right to was changed into bitter reproof, as the Agent turned to Gordhun-Das, whom he styled a traitor to his father, and from whom his prince could expect no good, guided as he was solely by interested motives, and warned him that punishment of no common kind awaited him. His hand was on his sword in an instant ; but the action being met by a smile of contempt, and his insolent replies passing unheeded, the Agent, turning to the prince, implored him to reflect before the door would be closed to accommodation ; pledging himself, at the same time, to every thing that reason and his position could demand, except the surrender of the power of the Regent, with our public faith compelled us to maintain ; and that the prince's dignity, comforts, and happiness, should be sedulously consulted. While he was wavering, the Agent called aloud, " the prince's horse !" and taking his arm, Kishore Sing suffered himself to be led to it, observing as he mounted, " I rely implicitly on your friendship." His brother, Pirthi Sing,

spoke ; the chiefs maintained silence ; and the impetuosity of Gordhun and one or two of the *coterie* was unheeded. The Agent rode side by side with the prince, surrounded by his bands, in perfect silence, and in this way they re-entered the castle, nor did the Agent quit him till he replaced him on his *gadi*, when he reiterated his expressions of desire for his welfare, but urged the necessity of his adapting his conduct to the imperious circumstances of his position ; and intimated that both his brother and Gordhun-das must be removed from his person, the latter altogether from Harouti. This was in the middle of May ; and in June, after the public deportation of Gordhun-das as a state-criminal to Delhi, and ample provision being made for the prince and every member of his family, a public reconciliation took place between him and the Regent.

The meeting partook of the nature of a festival, and produced a spontaneous rejoicing, the populace, with the loudest acclamations, crowding every avenue to the palace by which the Regent and his son were to pass. The venerable Zalim appeared like their patriarch ; the princes as disobedient children suing for forgiveness. They advanced bending to embrace his knees, whilst he, vainly attempting to restrain this reverential salutation to his age and to habit, endeavoured by the same lowly action to shew his respect to his sovereign. Expressions, in keeping with such forms of affection and respect, from the Maharao, of honour and fidelity from the ' guardian of his father ' and himself, were exchanged with all the fervour of apparent sincerity. Anomalous condition

of human affairs ! strange perversity, which prevented this momentary illusion from becoming a permanent reality !

This much-desired reconciliation was followed on the 8th of Sawun, or 17th August A. D. 1820, by the solemnities of a public installation of the Maharao on the *gadi* of his ancestors : a pageantry which smoothed all asperities for the time, and, in giving scope to the munificence of the Regent, afforded to the mass, who judge only by the surface of things, a theme for approbation. We leave for another place * the details of this spectacle ; merely observing that the representative of the British government was the first (following the priest) to make the *tika*, or unction of sovereignty † on the forehead of the prince ; and having tied on the jewels, consisting of aigrette, necklace, and bracelets, he girded on, amidst salutes of ordnance, the sword of investiture. The Maharao, with an appropriate speech, presented one hundred and one gold mohurs, as the *muzzur* or fine of relief, professing his homage to the British government. At the same time, a *khelat*, or dress of honour, was presented, in the name of the Governor-general of India, to the Regent, for which he made a suitable acknowledgment, and a *muzzur* of twenty-five gold mohurs.

Madhu Sing then fulfilled the functions of hereditary Foudjar, making the *tika* girding on the sword, and presenting the gift of accession, which was returned by the

Maharao presenting to Madhu Sing the *khelat* of ultimate succession to the regency : the grand difficulty to overcome, and which originated all these differences. The Agent remained an entire month after the ceremony, to strengthen the good feeling thus begun ; to adapt the Maharao's mind to the position in which an imperious destiny had placed him ; and also to impress on the successor to the regency the dangerous responsibility of the trust which a solemn treaty had guaranteed, if by his supineness, want of feeling, or misconduct, it were violated. On the 4th September, previous to leaving Kotah, the Agent was present at another meeting of all the parties, when there was as much appearance of cordiality manifested as could be expected in so difficult a predicament. The old Regent, the Maharao, and Madhu Sing, joined hands in reciprocal forgiveness of the past, each uttering a solemn asseveration that he would cultivate harmony for the future.

It was on this occasion that the Regent performed two deliberate acts, which appear suitable accompaniments to the close of his political life, both as respects his prince and his subjects. He had prepared a covenant of surety for his old and faithful servants after his death, demanding the Maharao's, his son Madhu Sing's and the Agent's signatures thereto, stipulating that "if his successor did not choose to employ their services, they should be free agents, be called to no account for the past, but be permitted to reside wherever they pleased." The Maharao and Madhu Sing having signed the deed, the British agent, at the desire of the Regent, placed his signature

* The details of ceremony will be given in the Personal Narrative.

† "Anointing" appears to have been, in all ages, the mode of installation. The unguent on this occasion is of sandal-wood and *utr* of roses made into a paste, or very thick ointment, of which a little is placed upon the forehead with the middle finger of the right hand.

as a guarantee for its execution. In this act, we not only have proof that to the last the Regent maintained the supremacy of his master, but evidence of the fears he entertained respecting the conduct of his successor.

The other act was a brilliant victory over the most inveterate habits of his age and country,—the revocation of *dind*, or forced contributions, throughout the dominion of Kotah. This spontaneous abolition of a practice so deeply rooted in Rajasthan, is another proof of the keen penetration of the Regent, and of his desire to conciliate the opinions of the protecting power, as to the duties of princes towards their subjects; duties regarding which, as he said, “theoretically, we are not ignorant;” and on which he has often forcibly descanted before his son whilst laying down rules of conduct when he should be no more. At such moments, he entered fully and with energy into his own conduct; condemning it; pointing out its inevitable results, and the benefits he had observed to attend an op-

posite course of action. “My word, son, was not worth a copper,” he would say; “but now nobody would refuse any thing to old Zalim.” It was, therefore, as much from a conviction of the benefit to himself and the state which would attend the renunciation of his tax, as with a view of courting golden opinion, that he commanded a stone to be raised in the chief town of every district of his country, on which was inscribed the edict of perpetual abolition of *dind*, with the denunciation of eternal vengeance on whoever should revoke it. The effigies of the sun, the moon, the cow, and the hog, animals revered or execrated by all classes, were carved in relief, to attest the imprecation.

Such was the pacific termination of a contest for authority, which threatened to deluge Kotah with blood. Whether we had a right to hope that such high and natural pretensions could rest satisfied with the measures of conciliation and concession that were pursued, the sequel will disclose to those who judge only by results.

CHAPTER XI.

Banishment of Gordhun-das, the natural son of the Regent.—His re-appearance in Malwa.—Consequent renewal of dissensions at Kotah.—The troops mutiny and join the Maharao.—The Regent assaults the castle.—Flight of the Maharao and party.—Reception at Boondi.—The Maharao's second brother joins the Regent.—Gordhun-das' attempt to join the Maharao frustrated.—The Maharao leaves Boondi.—General sympathy for him.—He arrives at Bindrabun.—Intrigues of Gordhun-das and superior native officers of the British Government, who deceive the Maharao.—Returns to Kotah at the head of a force.—Summons the Haras to his standard.—His demands.—Supplemental article of the treaty considered.—Embarrassing conduct of the Regent.—The Maharao refuses all mediation.—His ultimatum.—British troops march.—Junction with the Regent.—Attack the Maharao.—His defeat and flight.—Death of his brother Pirthi Sing.—Singular combat.—Amnesty proclaimed.—The Hara chiefs return to their families.—The Maharao retires to the temple of Crishna in Mewar.—Negociation for his return.—Satisfactory termination.—Reflections on the civil wars.—Character and death of Zalim Sing.

THE sole measure of severity which arose out of these commotions was exercised on the natural son of the Regent, who was banished in the face of open day from the scene of his turbulent intrigue. Gordhund-das, or, as his father styled him, "Gordun-ji," was the 'child of love' and of his old age, and to his mother the Regent, it is said, felt the most ardent attachment. The perpetual banishment of this firebrand was essential to tranquillity ; yet, notwithstanding his misdeeds, political and filial, it was feared that the sentiments of the Jewish monarch, rather than the sternness of the Roman father, would have influenced the Rajpoot regent, whose bearing, when the sentence of condemnation was enforced,

was to be regarded as the test of a suspicion that the Maharao had been goaded to his course through this channel by ulterior views which he dared not openly promulgate. But Zalim's fiat was worthy of a Roman, and sufficed to annihilate suspicion—"Let the air of Harouti never more be tainted by his presence." Delhi and Allahabad were the cities fixed upon, from which he was to select his future residence, and unfortunately the first was chosen. Here he resided with his family upon a pension sufficiently liberal, and had a range abundantly extensive for exercise, attended by some horsemen furnished by the British local authority.

About the close of 1821, permission was imprudently granted to the exile to visit

Malwa, to fulfil a marriage-contract with an illegitimate daughter of the chieftain of Jabboa. Scarcely had he set his foot in that town, when symptoms of impatience, in lieu of perfect tranquillity, began to be visible at Kotah, and a correspondence both there and at Boondi was hardly detected, before a spirit revolt was reported to have infected the tried veterans of the Regent. Syef Alli, the commander of the 'royals' (*Raj Pultun*), an officer of thirty years' standing, distinguished for his zeal, fidelity, and gallantry, was named as having been gained over to the cause of his nominal sovereign. This was looked upon as slandar; but too wise entirely to disregard it, the Regent interposed a force between the disaffected battalion and the castle, which brought the matter to issue. The Maharao immediately proceeded by water, and conveyed Syef Alli and part of his battalion to the place; which was no sooner reported, that the blind Regent put himself into his litter, and headed a force with which he attacked the remainder, while two twenty-four pounders, mounted on a cavalier, which commanded not only every portion of the city, but the country on both sides the Chumbul, played upon the castle. In the midst of this firing (probably unexpected), the Maharao, his brother Pirthi Sing, and their adherents, took to boat, crossed the river, and retired to Boondi, while the remainder of the mutinous 'royals' laid down their arms. By this energetic conduct, the new attempt upon his power was dissolved as soon as formed, and the *gadi* of the Haras was abandoned. Bishen Sing escaped from his brothers in the midst

of the fray, and joined the Regent, whose views regarding him, in this crisis, however indirectly manifested, could not be mistaken; but our system of making and unmaking kings in these distant regions, though it may have enlarged our power, had not added to our reputation; and the Agent had the most rooted repugnance to sanction the system in the new range of our alliances, however it might have tended to allay the discord which prevailed, or to free the paramount power from the embarrassment in which its diplomatic relations had placed it, and from whence there was no escape without incurring the too just reproach of violating the conditions we had imposed. Common decency forbade our urging the only plea we could in forming the treaty, our considering the prince as a mere phantom; and if we had been bold enough to do so, the reply would have been the same: "why did you treat with a phantom?" while he would have persisted in the literal interpretation of the bond.

There was but one way to deal with the perplexity—to fulfil the spirit of the treaty, by which public peace would be ensured. Instructions were sent to the prince of Boondi, that there was no restraint upon his performing the rites of hospitality and kindred to the fugitive princes, but that he would be personally responsible if he permitted them to congregate troops for the purpose of hostility against the Regent; while, at the same time, the commander of the British troops at Neemuch was desired to interpose a light corps on the line of Jabboa and Boondi, and to capture Gordhun-das, dead or alive, if he attempted to

join the Maharao. He, however, contrived, through the intricacies of the pleteau, to elude the well-arranged plan; but finding that the prince of Boondi had the same determination, he made direct for Marwar, where being also denied an asylum, he had no alternative but to return to Delhi, and to a more strict *surveillance*. This, however, may have been concerted; for soon after the Maharao broke ground from Boondi, giving out a pilgrimage to Bindrabun; and it was hoped that the tranquillity and repose he would find amidst the fanes of his tutelary deity, Brijnath-ji, might tempt a mind prone to religious seclusion, to pass his days there. While he remained at Boondi, public opinion was not at all manifested; the distance was trifling to Kotah, and being with the head of his race, the act was deemed only one of those hasty ebullitions so common in those countries, and which would be followed by reconciliation. But as soon as the prince moved northward, expectation being excited that his cause would meet attention elsewhere, he had letters of sympathy and condolence from every chief of the country, and the customary attentions to sovereignty were paid by those through whose states he passed, with the sole exception of that most contiguous to our provinces, Bhurtpore. The prince of this celebrated place sent a deputation to the frontier, excusing himself on account of his age and blindness; but the Hara prince, knowing what was due from a Jat zemindar, however favoured by the accessions of fortune, repelled with disdain both his gifts and his mission. For the haughty, though not unbecoming maintenance of precedent, the

Maharao was warned off the bounds of Bhurtpore. Having remained some time among the "groves of Vrija," there was reason to believe that the canticles of Jydeva had rendered an earthly crown a mere bauble in the eyes of the abdicated Hara, and that the mystical effusions of Kaniya and Radha had eradicated all remembrance of the rhapsodies of Chund, and the glories of the Chohan: he was accordingly left at discretion to wander where he listed. As it was predicted, he soon felt the difference between his past and present mode of life, surrounded by a needy crew in a strange land; and towards the middle of April he had reached Muttra, on his return from Bindrabun to Kotah. But his evil genius, in the shape of Gordhun-das, had destined this should not be; and notwithstanding the rigorous *surveillance*, or, in fact, imprisonment, which had been enjoined, this person found an opportunity to carry on cabals with natives of high rank and office.

Intrigues multiplied, and false hopes were inspired through these impure channels, which were converted by his corrupt emissaries into fountain-heads of political control, superseding the only authorized medium of communication between the misguided prince and the paramount power. Accordingly, having collected additional troops about him, he commenced his march to Harouti, giving out to the chiefs through whose dominions he passed, that he was returning by the consent of the paramount power for the resumption of all his sovereign rights, so long in abeyance. Men with badges in his train, belonging to the persons alluded to, and an agent from

the native treasurer of Delhi, who supplied the prince with funds, give a colour of truth which deceived the country and produced ardent expressions of desire for his success. As he proceeded, this force increased, and he reached the Chumbul, towards the close of the monsoon 1821, with about three thousand men. Having crossed the river, he issued his summons in a language neither to be misunderstood nor disobeyed by a Rajpoot; he conjured them by their allegiance to join his cause, "that of seeking justice according to the treaty:" and the call was obeyed by every Hara of the country. His conduct afforded the most powerful illustration of the Rajpoot's theory of fidelity, for even those closely connected by ties of blood and by every species of benefit, withdrew from the Regent, to whom they owed every thing, in order to join their hereditary and lawful prince, whom some had never seen, and of whom they knew nothing. Negotiation, and expostulation the most solemn and earnest on the personal dangers he was incurring, were carried on, and even public tranquillity was hazarded, rather than have recourse to the last argument, which was the less necessary, as universal peace reigned around us, and the means of quelling revolt were at hand. An entire month was thus consumed: but the ultimatum * left no

means of putting a stop to increasing disorders but that appeal which from various considerations had been so long delayed.

The tired troops of the Regent could not be depended on; he confessed it; and in this confession, what an evidence is afforded of the nature of his rule, and of the

Do me justice as the representative of the British Government, and let the master be as master, and the servant as servant; this is the case every where else, and is not hidden from you.

Articles, the fulfilment of which was demanded by Maharao Kishore Sing, and accompanying his letter of 16th September.

1. According to the treaty executed at Delhi, in the time of Maharao Omed Sing, I will abide.

2. I have every confidence in Nana-ji Zalim Sing; in like manner as he served Maharao Omed Sing, so he will serve me. I agree to his administration of affairs; but between Madhu Sing, and myself suspicions and doubts exist; we can never agree; therefore, I will give him a jagher; there let him remain. His son, Bappa Lal, shall remain with me, and in the same way as other ministers conduct state business before their princes, so shall he before me. I, the master, he, the servant; and if as the servant he acts, it will abide from generation to generation.

3. To the English Government, and other principalities, whatever letters are addressed shall be with my concurrence and advice.

4. Surety for his life, and also for mine, must be guaranteed by the English Government.

5. I shall allot a jagher for Pirthi Sing (the Maharao's brother), at which he will reside. The establishments to reside with him and my brother Bishen Sing shall be of my nomination. Besides, to my kinsmen and clansmen, according to their rank, I shall give jaghers, and they shall, according to ancient usage, be in attendance upon me.

6. My personal or *khar* guards, to the amount of three thousand, with Bappa Lal (the Regent's grandson) shall remain in attendance.

7. The amount of the collections of the country shall all be deposited in the *Kishen Bindar* (general treasury), and thence expenditure made.

8. The killedars (commandants) of all the forts shall be appointed by me, and the army shall be under my orders. He (the Regent) may desire the officers of Government to execute his commands, but it shall be with my advice and sanction.

These are the Articles I desire; they are according to the rules for government (*raj-rect*)—Mithi Asod Panchmee, S. 878 (1822).

* Letter of Maharao Kishore Sing, accompanying counter-articles, presented to Capt. Tod, dated Asoj bud Panchmee, or 16th September, "Camp Meanoh."

(After complements.)

Chand Khan has often expressed a desire to know what were my expectations. These had been already sent to you by my vakeels, Mirza Mohumud Alee Beg, and Lalla Salik Ram. I again send you the Schedule of articles. According to their purport you will act.

homage to immutable justice in all parts of the world! Every corps, foreign or indigenous, was ready to range on the side of legitimate authority against the hand which had fed and cherished them. So completely did this feeling pervade every part of the political fabric, that the Regent himself said, in his forcible manner, on his escape from the danger, "even the clothes on his back smelt of treason to him." It was hoped that "the wisdom which called aloud (even) in the streets" would not be disregarded by the veteran; that disgust at such marks of perfidy would make him spurn from him the odium of usurpation, and thus free the paramount power from a situation the most painful and embarrassing. Abundant opportunities were afforded, and hints were given that he alone could cut the knot, which otherwise must be severed by the sword. But all was fruitless: "he stood upon his bond," and the execution of the treaty. The Maharao, his nominal sovereign, took the same ground, and even sent a copy of the treaty to the Agent, tauntingly asking whether it was to be recognized or not? All this embarrassment would have been avoided, had the supplemental articles been embodied in the original treaty; then the literal interpretation and its spirit would not have been at variance, nor have afforded a pretext to reproach the paramount power with a breach of faith and justice: charges which cannot in fact be supported, inasmuch as the same contracting parties, who executed the original document, amended it by this supplemental deed. The dispute then resolves itself into a question of expediency, already touched on, *viz.* whether we might

not have provided better for the future, and sought out other modes of reward for services we had acknowledged, than the maintenance of two pageants of sovereignty, both acknowledged, the one *de facto*, the other *de jure*. It was fortunate, however, that the magnitude of the titular prince's pretensions placed him completely in opposition to the other contracting parties, inasmuch as he would not abide by either the spirit or the letter of the treaty or its supplement, in the most modified sense. His demand for "a personal guard of three thousand of his kinsmen, that he might allot estates at pleasure to his chiefs, appoint the governors of fortresses, and be head of the army," was a virtual repudiation of every principle of the alliance; while the succession to the administrative powers of the state, secured to the issue of the Regent, was made to depend on his pleasure: rather a frail tenure whether in Europe or Rajpootana.

Every thing that could be done to withdraw the infatuated prince from the knot of evil advisers and fiery spirits who daily flocked to his standard, carrying with them their own and their ancestors' wrongs, being ineffectual and hopeless, the troops which had been called upon to maintain the treaty moved forward in combination with the army of the Regent. As the force reached the Caly Sind, which alone divided the rivals for power, torrents of rain, which during several days swelled it to an impassable flood, afforded more time to try all that friendship or prudence could urge to save the Maharao from the impending ruin. But all was vain; he saw the storm, and invited its approach with mingled resolution and

despair, proclaiming the most submissive obedience to the paramount power and avowing a conviction of the good intentions and friendship of its representative ; but to every remonstrance he replied, " what was life without honour ; what was a sovereign without authority ? Death, or the full sovereignty of his ancestors ! "

The conduct of the Regent was not less perplexing than that of the prince ; for while he affected still to talk of fealty, " to preserve his white beard from stain, " he placed before him the ample shield of the treaty, although he expected that his power should be maintained without any active measures on his own part for its defence : a degree of irresponsibility not for a moment to be tolerated. It was in vain he hinted at the spirit, more than doubtful of his army ; that in the moment of conflict they might turn their guns against us ; even this he was told we would hazard : and, it was added, if he desired, at whatever cost, to preserve the power guaranteed to his family, he must act offensively as well as defensively ; for it would shortly be too late to talk of reconciling fealty with the preservation of his power. The wily Regent desired to have his work done for him ; to have all the benefit which the alliance compelled us to afford, with none of the obloquy it entailed. The Agent had some hope, even at the twelfth hour, that rather than incur the opprobrium of the world, and the penalty denounced against the violation of *swamdherma*, in committing to the chance of battle the lives of all those to whom he was protector, he would draw back and compromise his

power ; but the betrayal of his half-formed designs in hypocritical cant adapted only for the multitude, soon dispelled the illusion ; and though there was a strong internal struggle, the love of dominion overcame every scruple.

The combination of the troops was discussed in his presence and that of his officers ; and in order that unity of action might be insured, a British officer was at his request attached to his force.*

At daybreak on the 1st of October, the troops moved down to the attack. The Regent's army consisted of eight battalions of infantry, with thirty-two pieces of cannon and fourteen strong *paegas*, or squadrons of horse. Of these, five battalions, with fourteen pieces and ten squadrons, composed the advance ; while the rest formed a reserve with the Regent in person, five hundred yards in the rear. The British troops, consisting of two weak battalions and six squadrons of cavalry, with a light battery of house-artillery, formed on the right of the Regent's force as it approximated to the Maharao's position. The ground over which the troops moved was an extensive plain, gradually shelving to a small shallow stream, whence it again rose rather abruptly. The Maharao's camp was placed upon a rising ground, a short distance beyond the stream : he left his tents standing, and had disposed his force on the margin of the revulet. The " Royals," who had deserted their old master, with their leader,

* Lieutenant M 'Millan, of the 5th regt. Native Infantry, volunteered for this duty, and performed it as might have been expected from an officer of his gallantry and conduct.



Syef Alli, were posted on the left; the Maharao with the *elite*, a band of full five hundred Hara cavaliers, upon the right, and the interval was filled by a tumultuous rabble. The combined force was permitted to choose its position, within two hundred yards of the foe, without the slightest demonstration of resistance or retreat. The Agent took advantage of the pause to request the British commander to halt the whole line, in order that he might make a last attempt to withdraw the infatuated prince and his devoted followers from the perils that confronted them. He advanced midway between the lines, and offered the same conditions and an amnesty to all; to conduct and replace the prince on the *gadi* of his ancestors with honour. Yet, notwithstanding ruin stared him in the face, he receded from none of his demands; he insisted on the *sine qua non*, and would only re-enter Kotah surrounded by three thousand of his Hara kinsmen. During the quarter of an hour allowed him to deliberate ere the sword should be drawn, movements in position on both sides took place; the Maharao's chosen band, condensing all their force on the right, opposed the Regent's advance, while the British troops formed so in *echelon* as to enfilade their dense masses.

The time having expired, and not an iota of the pretensions being abated, the signal, as agreed upon, was given, and the action commenced by a discharge of cannon and fire-arms from the Regent's whole line, immediately followed by the horse-artillery on the right. With all the gallantry that has ever distinguished the Haras, they acted as

at Futtiabad and Dholpoor, and charged the Regent's line when several were killed at the very muzzle of the guns, and but for the advance of three squadrons of British cavalry, would have turned his left flank, and probably penetrated to the reserve, where the Regent was in person.* Defeated in this design, they had no resource but a precipitate retreat from the unequal conflict, and the Maharao, surrounded by a *gole* of about four hundred horse, all Haras, his kinsmen, retired across the stream, and halted on the rising ground about half a mile distant, while his auxiliary foot broke and dispersed in all directions. The British troops rapidly crossed the stream, and while the infantry made a movement to cut off retreat from the south, two squadrons were commanded to charge the Maharao. Determined not to act offensively, even in this emergency he adhered to his resolution, and his band awaited in a dense mass and immoveable attitude the troops advancing with rapidity against them, disdaining to fly and yet too proud to yield. A British officer headed each troop; they and those they led had been accustomed to see the foe fly from the shock; but they were Pindaris, not Rajpoots. The band stood like a wall of adamant; our squadrons rebounded from the shock, leaving two brave youths† dead on the spot, and their gallant com-

* The author, who placed himself on the extreme left of the Regent's line, to be a check upon the dubious conduct of his troops, particularly noted this intended movement, which was frustrated only by Major Kennedy's advance.

† Lieutenants Clarke and Read, of the Fourth Regt. Light Cavalry.

mander* was saved by a miracle, being stunned by a blow which drove in his casque, his reins cut, and the arm raised to give the *coup de grace*, when a pistol-shot from his orderly levelled his assailant. The whole was the work of an instant. True to the determination he expressed, the Maharao, satisfied with repelling the charge, slowly moved off; nor was it till the horse-artillery again closed, and poured round and grape into the dense body, that they quickened their retreat; while, as three fresh squadrons had formed for the charge, they reached the *mukhi* fields, amongst the dense crops of which they were lost.

Pirthi Sing, younger brother of the prince, impelled by that heroic spirit which is the birthright of a Hara, and aware that Harouti could no longer be a home for him while living, determined at least to find a grave in her soil. He returned, with about five and twenty followers, to certain destruction, and was found in a field of Indian corn as the line advanced, alive, but grievously wounded. He was placed in a litter, and, escorted by some of Skinner's horse, was conveyed to the camp. Here he was sedulously attended; but medical skill was of no avail, and he died the next day. His demeanour was dignified and manly; he laid the blame upon destiny, expressed no wish for life, and said, looking to the tree near the tent, that "his ghost would be satisfied in contemplating therefrom the fields of his forefathers." His sword and ring had been taken from him by a trooper, but his dagger, pearl necklace, and other valuables,

he gave in charge to the Agent, to whom he bequeathed the care of his son, the sole heir to the empty honours of the sovereignty of Kotah.

It was not from any auxiliary soldier that the prince received his death-wound; it was inflicted by a lance, propelled with unerring force from behind, penetrating the lungs, the point appearing through the chest. He said it was a revengeful blow from some determined hand, as he felt the steeled point twisted in the wound to ensure its being mortal. Although the squadrons of the Regent joined in the pursuit, yet not a man of them dared to come to close quarters with thier enemy; it was therefore supposed that some treacherous arm had mingled with his men, and inflicted the blow which relieved the Regent from the chief enemy to his son and successor.

The Maharao and his band were indebted for safety to the forest of corn, so thick, lofty, and luxuriant, that even his elephant was lost sight of. This shelter extended to the rivulet, only five miles in advance, which forms the boundary of Harouti; but it was deemed sufficient to drive him out of the Kotah territory, where alone his presence could be dangerous. The infantry and foreign levies, who had no moral courage to sustain them, fled for their lives, and many were cut to pieces by detached troops of our cavalry.

The calm undaunted valour of the Maharao and his kin could not fail to extort applause from those gallant minds which can admire the bravery of a foe, though few of those who had that day to confront them were aware of the moral courage

* Major now Lt. Col. J. Ridge, C. B.



which sustained their opponents, and which converted their *vis inertiae* into an almost impassable barrier.

But although the gallant conduct of the prince and his kin was in keeping with the valour so often recorded in these annals, and now, alas! almost the sole inheritance of the Haras, there was one specimen of devotion which we dare not pass over, comparable with whatever is recorded with the fabled traits of heroism of Greece or Rome. The physiognomy of the country has been already described; the plans, along which the combined force advanced, gradually shelved to the brink of a rivulet whose opposite bank rose perpendicularly, forming as it were the buttress to a table-land of gentle acclivity. The Regent's battalions were advancing in columns along this precipitous bank, when their attention was arrested by several shots fired from an isolated hillock rising out of the plain across the stream. Without any order, but as by a simultaneous impulse, the whole line halted, to gaze at two audacious individuals, who appeared determined to make their mound a fortress. A minute or two passed in mute surprise, when the word was given to move on; but scarcely was it uttered, ere several wounded from the head of the column were passing to the rear, and shots began to be exchanged very briskly, at least twenty in return for one. But the long matchlocks of the two heroes told every time in our lengthened line, while they seemed to have "a charmed life," and the shot fell like hail around them innocuous, one containing to load behind the mound, while the other fired with deadly aim. At

length, two twelve-pounders were unlimbered; and as the shot whistled round their ears, both rose on the very pinnacle of the mound, and made a profound *salaam* for this complement to their valour; which done, they continued to load and fire, whilst entire platoons blazed upon them. Although more men had suffered, an irresistible impulse was felt to save these gallant men; orders were given to cease firing, and the force was directed to move on, unless any two individuals chose to attack them manfully hand to hand. The words were scarcely uttered when two young Rohillas drew their swords, sprung down the bank, and soon cleared the space between them and the foemen. All was deep anxiety as they mounted to the assault; but whether their physical frame was less vigorous, or their energies were exhausted by wounds or by their peculiar situation, these brave defenders fell on the mount, whence they disputed the march of ten battalions of infantry and twenty pieces of cannon.* They were Haras! But Zalim was the cloud which interposed between them and their fortunes; and to remove it they courted the destruction which at length overtook them.

The entire devotion which the vassalage of Harouti manifested for the cause of the Maharao, exemplified, as before observed, the nature and extent of *swamdherma* or fealty, which has been described as the essential quality of the Rajpoot character; while, at the same time, it illustrates the

* Lieut. (now Captain) M'Millan and the Author were the only officers, I believe, who witnessed this singular scene.



severity of the Regent's yoke. Even the chief who negotiated the treaty could not raise the defection (one of his sons was badly wounded), although he enjoyed estates under the Regent which his hereditary rank did not sanction, besides being connected with him by marriage.

The Maharao gained the Parbutty, which, it is said, he swam over. He had scarcely reached the shore when his horse dropped dead from a grape-shot wound. With about three hundred horse he retired upon Baroda. We had no vengeance to execute; we could not, therefore, consider the brave men, who abandoned their homes and their families from a principle of honour, in the light of the old enemies of our power, to be pursued and exterminated. They had, it is true, confronted us in the field; yet only defensively, in a course at least morally just and seemingly sanctioned by authorities which they could not distrust.

The pretensions so long opposed to the treaty were thus signally and efficiently subdued. The chief instigators of the revolt were for ever removed, one by death, the other by exile; and the punishment which overtook the deserters from the regular forces of the Regent would check its repetition. Little prepared for the reverse of that day, the chiefs had made no provision against it, and at our word every door in Rajwarra would have been closed against them. But it was not deemed a case for confiscation, or one which should involve in proscription a whole community, impelled to the commission of crime by a variety of circumstances which they could neither resist nor control, and to which

the most crafty views had contributed.* The Maharao's camp being left standing, all his correspondence and records fell into our hands, and developed such complicated intrigues, such consummate knavery, that he, and the brave men who suffered from espousing his pretensions, were regarded as entitled to every commiseration.† As soon, therefore, as the futility of their pretensions was disclosed, by the veil being thus rudely torn from their eyes, they manifested a determination to submit. The Regent was instructed to grant a complete amnesty, and to announce to the chiefs that they might repair to their homes without a question being put to them. In a few weeks all was tranquillity and peace; the chiefs and vassals returned to their families, who blessed the power which tempered punishment with clemency.‡

* In a letter, addressed by some of the principal chiefs to the Regent, through the Agent, they did not hesitate to say they had been guided in the course they adopted of obeying the summons to the Maharao by instructions of his confidential minister.

† The native treasurer at Delhi, who conducted these intrigues, after a strict investigation was dismissed from his office; and the same fate was awarded to the chief *moonshi* of the Persian secretary's office at the seat of government. Regular treaties and bonds were found in the camp of the Maharao, which afforded abundant condemnatory evidence against these confidential officers, who mainly produced the catastrophe we have to record, and rendered nugatory the most strenuous efforts to save the misguided prince and his brave brethren.

‡ The Author, who had to perform the painful duty related in this detailed transaction, was alternately aided and embarrassed by his knowledge of the past history of the Haras, and the mutual relation of all its discordant elements. Perhaps, entire ignorance would have been better—a bare knowledge of the treaty, and the expediency of a rigid adherence thereto, unbiassed by sympathy, or notions of abstract justice, which has too little in common with diplomacy. But without overlooking the colder dictates of duty, he determined that the ægis of Britain should not be a shield of oppression,

The Maharao continued his course to Nathdwarra in Mewar, proving that the sentiment of religious abstraction alone can take the place of ambition. The individuals who, for their own base purposes, had by misrepresentation and guile guided him to ruin, now deserted him; the film fell from his eyes, and he saw, though too late, the only position in which he could exist. In a very short time, every pretension inimical to the spirit and letter of the treaty, original and supplemental, was relinquished; when, with the Regent's concurrence, a note was transmitted to him, containing the basis on which his return to Kotah was practicable. A transcript with his acceptance being received, a formal

deed was drawn up, executed by the Agent and attested by the Regent, not only defining the precise position of both parties, but establishing a barrier between the titular and executive authorities, which must for ever prevent all collision of interests: nothing was left to chance or cavil. The grand object was to provide for the safety, comfort, and dignity of the prince, and this was done on a scale of profuse liberality; far beyond what his father, or indeed any prince of Kotah had enjoyed, and incommensurate with the revenue of the state, of which it is about the twentieth portion. The amount equals the household expenditure of the Rana of Oodipoor, the avowed head of the whole Rajpoot

and that the remains of Hara independence, which either policy or fear had compelled the Regent to respect, should not thereby be destroyed; and he assumed the responsibility, a few days after the action, of proclaiming a general amnesty to the chiefs, and an invitation to each to return to his dwelling. He told the Regent that any proceeding which might render this clemency nugatory, would not fail to dissatisfy the Government. All instantly availed themselves of the permission; and in every point of view, morally and physically, the result was most satisfactory, and it acted as a panacea for the wounds our public faith compelled us to inflict. Even in the midst of their compulsory infliction, he had many sources of gratulation: and of these he will give an anecdote illustrative of Rajpoot character. In 1807, when the author, then commencing his career, was wandering alone through their country, surveying their geography, and collecting scraps of their statistics, he left Sindia battering Rathgurb, and with a slender guard proceeded through the wilds of Chanderi, and thence direct westwards, to trace the course of all the rivers lying between the Betwa and the Chumbul. In passing through Haronti, leaving his tent standing at Barah, he had advanced with the perambulator as far as the Caly-Sind, a distance of seventeen miles; and, leaving his people to follow at leisure, was returning home unattended at a brisk canter, when, as he passed through the town of Bamolia, a party rushed out and made him captive, saying that he must visit the chief. Although much fatigued, it would have been folly to refuse. He obeyed, and was conveyed to a square, in

the centre of which was an elevated *chabootra* or platform, shaded by the sacred tree. Here, sitting on carpets, was the chief with his little court. The Author was received most courteously. The first act was to disembarrass him of his boots; but this, heated as he was, they could not effect; refreshments were then put before him and a Brahmin brought water, with a ewer and basin, for his ablutions. Although he was then but an indifferent linguist, and their *patois* scarcely intelligible to him, he passed a very happy hour, in which conversation never flagged. The square was soon filled, and many a pair of fine black eyes smiled courteously upon the stranger—for the females, to his surprise, looked abroad without any fear of censure; though he was ignorant of their sphere in life. The author's horse was lame, which the chief had noticed; and on rising to go, he found one ready caparisoned for him, which, however, he would not accept. On reaching his tent the Author sent several little articles as tokens of regard. Fourteen years after this, the day following the action at Mangrole, he received a letter by a messenger from the mother of the chief of Bamolia, who sent her blessing, and invoked him, by past friendship and recollections, to protect her son, whose honour had made him join the standard of his sovereign. The author had the satisfaction of replying that her son would be with her nearly as soon as the bearer of the letter. The Bamolia chief, it will be recollected, was the descendant of the chief of Athoon, one of the great opponents of the Regent at the opening of his career.

race, but which can be better afforded from the flourishing revenues of Kotah than the slowly improving finances of Mewar.

The preliminaries being satisfactorily adjusted, it became important to inspire this misguided prince with a confidence that his welfare would be as anxiously watched as the stipulations of the treaty whose infringement had cost him so much misery. He had too much reason to plead personal alarm as one of the causes of his past conduct, and which tended greatly to neutralize all the endeavours to serve him. Even on the very day that he was to leave Nathdwarra, on his return, when after great efforts his mind had been emancipated from distrust, a final and diabolical attempt was made to thwart the measures for his restoration. A mutilated wretch was made to personate his brother Bishen Sing, and to give out that he had been maimed by command of the Regent's son, and the impostor had the audacity to come with a couple of miles of the Maharao; a slight resemblance to Bishen Sing aided the deceit, which, though promptly exposed, had made the impression for which it was contrived, and it required some skill to remove it. The Rana of Oodipoor no sooner heard of this last effort to defeat all the good intentions in which he co-operated towards the Maharao, to whose sister he was married, than he had the impostor seized and brought to the city, where his story had caused a powerful sensation. His indiscreet indignation for ever destroyed the clue by which the plot might have been unravelled; for he was led immediately to execution, and all that transpired was, that

he was a native of the Jeipoor state, and had been mutilated for some crime. Could the question have been solved, it might have afforded the means of a different termination of these unhappy quarrels, to which they formed a characteristic sequel: intrigue and mistrust combined to inveigle Kishore Sing into attempts which placed him far beyond the reach of reason, and the most zealous exertions to extricate him.

This last scene being over, the Maharao left his retreat at the fane of Kaniya, and marched across the plateau to his paternal domains. On the last day of the year, the Regent, accompanied by the Agent, advanced to reconduct the prince to the capital. The universal demonstration of satisfaction at his return was the most convincing testimony that any other course would have been erroneous. On that day, he once more took possession of the *gadi* which he had twice abandoned, with a resignation free from all asperity, or even embarrassment. Feelings arising out of a mind accustomed to religious meditation, aided while they softened the bitter monitor, adversity, and together they afforded the best security that any deviation from the new order of things would never proceed from him.

Besides the schedule of the personal expenditure, over which he was supreme, much of the state expenses was to be managed under the eye of the sovereign: such as the charities, and gifts on festivals and military ceremonies. The royal insignia used on all great occasions was to remain as heretofore at his residence in the castle, as was the band at the old guard-room over the chief portal of entrance. He was to

preside at all the military or other annual festivals, attended by the whole retinue of the state; and the gifts on such occasions were to be distributed in his name. All the places, in and about the city, were at his sole disposal, and funds were set apart for their repairs: the gardens, *rumnas*, or game-preserves, and his personal guards, were also to be entertained and paid by himself. To maintain this arrangement inviolate, an officer of the paramount power was henceforth to reside at Kotah. A handsome stipend was settled on the minor son of the deceased Pirthi Singh; while, in order to prevent any umbrage to the Maharao, his brother Bishen Sing, whose trimming policy had been offensive to the Maharao, was removed to the family estate at Antah, twenty miles east of the capital, on which occasion an increase was spontaneously made to his jagheer.

The Agent remained an entire month after this, to strengthen the good understanding now introduced. He even effected a reconciliation between the prince and Madhu Singh, when the former, with great tact and candour, took upon himself the blame of all these disturbances: each gave his hand in token of future amity, and the Prince spontaneously embraced the man (the Regent's son) to whom he attributed all his misery. But the Maharao's comforts and dignity are now independent of control, and watched over by a guardian who will demand a rigid exaction of every stipulation in his favor. The patriarchal Zalim was, or affected to be, overjoyed at this result, which had threatened to involve them all in the abyss of misery. Bitter

was his self-condemnation at the moral blindness of his conduct, which had not foreseen and guarded against the storm; and severe, as well as merited, was the castigation he inflicted on his successor. "It is for your sins, son, that I am punished," was the conclusion of every such exhortation.

It will be deemed a singular fatality, that this last conspicuous act in the political life of the Regent should have been on the spot which exactly sixty years before witnessed the opening scene of his career: for the field of Butwarro* adjoined that of Mangrole. What visions must have chased each other on this last memorable day, when he recalled the remembrance of the former! when the same sword, which redeemed the independence of Kotah from tributary degradation to Amber, was now drawn against the grandson of that sovereign who rewarded his services with the first office of the state! Had some prophetic *Bardai* withdrawn the mantle of *Bhavani*, and disclosed through the vista of threescore years the Regent in the foreground, in all the panoply of ingenuous youth "spreading his carpet" at Butwarro, to review the charge of the Cuchwaha chivalry, and in the distant perspective that same being palsied, blind, and decrepit, leading a mingled host, in character and costume altogether strange, against the grandchildren of his prince, and the descendants of those Haras who nobly seconded him to gain this reputation, what effect would such a prospect have produced

* The battle of Butwarro was fought in S. 1817, or A. D. 1761; the action at Mangrole, Oct. 1, A.D. 1821.

on one whom the mere hooting of an owl on the house-top had "scared from his propriety?"

Soon after the satisfactory conclusion of these painful scenes, the Regent returned to the *Chaoni*, his fixed camp, and projected a tour of the state, to allay the disorders which had crept in, and to regulate afresh the action of the state-machine, the construction of which had occupied a long life, but which could not fail to be deranged by the complicated views which had arisen amongst those whose business was to work it. Often, amidst these conflicts, did he exclaim, with his great prototype both in prosperity and sorrow, "my kinsfolk have failed, and my familiar friends have forgotten me." But Zalim had not the same resources in his griefs that Job had; nor could he with him exclaim, "if my land cry against me, if I have eaten the fruits thereof without money, or caused the owners thereof to lose their lives, let thistles grow instead of wheat, and cockles instead of barley."* His yet vigorous mind, however, soon restored every thing to its wonted prosperity; and in a few weeks, not a trace was left of the commotions which for a while had totally unhinged society, and threatened to deluge the land with proscription and blood. The prince was re-seated on the throne with far greater comforts about him and more certainty of stability than previous to the treaty; the nobles took possession of their estates with not a blade of grass removed, and the *gurh-khetie*, the home-farms of the Regent, lost none of their productiveness: commerce was unscathed, and public opinion, which

had dared loudly to question the moral justice of these proceedings, was conciliated by their conclusion. The Regent survived these events five years: his attenuated frame was worn out by a spirit, vigorous to the last pulsation of life, and too strong for the feeble cage which imprisoned it.

If history attempt to sum up, or institute a scrutiny into, the character of this extraordinary man, by what standard must we judge him? The actions of his life, which have furnished matter for the sketch we have attempted, may satisfy curiosity; but the materials for a finished portrait he never supplied: the latent springs of those actions remained invisible save to the eye of Omniscience. No human being ever shared the confidence of the *Machiavelli* of Rajasthan, who, from the first dawn of his political existence to its close, when "four-score years and upwards," could always say "my secret is my own." This single trait, throughout a troubled career of more than ordinary length, would alone stamp his character with originality. No effervescence of felicity, of success, of sympathy, which occasionally bursts from the most rugged nature, no sudden transition of passion,—joy, grief, hope, even revenge,—could tempt him to betray his purpose. That it was often fathomed, that his "vaulting ambition has overleapt itself," and made him lose his object, is no more than may be said of all who have indulged in "that sin by which angels fell;" yet he never failed through a blind confidence in the instruments of his designs. Though originally sanguine in expectation and fiery in temperament, he subdued these natural defects, and could await

* Job, chap. xxxi.

with composure the due ripening of his plans : even in the hey-day of youth he had attained this mastery over himself. To this early discipline of his mind he owed the many escapes from plots against his life, and the difficulties which were perpetually besetting it increased his natural resources. There was no artifice, not absolutely degrading, which he would not condescend to employ : his natural simplicity made humility, when necessary, a plausible disguise ; while his scrupulous attention to all religious observances caused his mere affirmation to be respected. The sobriety of his demeanor gave weight to his opinions and influenced the judgment ; while his invariable urbanity gained the good will of his inferiors, and his superiors were won by the delicacy of his flattery, in the application of which he was an adept. To crown the whole, there was a mysterious brevity, an oracular sententiousness, in his conversation, which always left something to the imagination of his auditor, who gave him credit for what he did not, as well as what he did utter. None could better appreciate, or studied more to obtain, the meed of good opinion ; and throughout his lengthened life, until the occurrences just described, he threw over his acts of despotism and vengeance a veil of such consummate art, as to make them lose more than half their deformity. With him it must have been an axiom, that mankind judge superficially ; and in accordance therewith, his first study was to preserve appearances, and never to offend prejudice if avoidable. When he sequestered the estates of the Hara feudality, he covered the fields, by them neglected, with crops of corn,

and thereby drew a contrast favourable to himself between the effects of sloth and activity. When he usurped the functions of royalty, he threw a bright halo around the orb of its glory, overloading the *gadi* with the trappings of grandeur, aware that

“the world is e’er deceived by ornament ;”

nor did the princes of Kotah ever appear with such magnificence as when he possessed all the attributes of royalty but the name. Every act evinced his deep skill in the knowledge of the human mind and of the elements by which he was surrounded ; he could circumvent the crafty Mahrattas, calm or quell the arrogant Rajpoot, and extort the applause even of the Briton, who is little prone to allow merit in an Asiatic. He was a depository of the prejudices and the pride of his countrymen, both in religious and social life ; yet enigmatical as it must appear, he frequently violated them, though the infraction was so gradual as to be imperceptible except to the few who watched the slow progress of his plans. To such, he appeared a compound of the most contradictory elements : lavish and parsimonious, oppressing and protecting ; with one hand bestowing diamond nigrattes, with the other taking the tythe of the anchorite’s wallet ; only day sequestering estates and driving into exile the ancient chiefs of the land ; the next receiving with open arms some expatriated noble, and supporting him in dignity and affluence, till the receding tide of human affairs rendered such support no longer requisite.

We have already mentioned his antipathy to the professors of “the tuneful art ;” and he was as inveterate as Diocletian to

the alchemist, regarding the trade of both as alike useless to society : neither were, therefore, tolerated in Kotah. But the enemies of the Regent assert that it was from no dislike of their merit, but from his having been the dupe of the one, and the object of the other's satire (*vis*). His persecution of witches (*dhakun*) was in strict conformity with the injunction in the Pentateuch : "Thou shall not suffer a witch to live" (Exod. chap. xxii. ver. 18). But his ordeal was worse than even death itself : handling balls of hot iron was deemed too slight for such sinners ; for it was well known they had substances which enabled them to do this with impunity. Throwing them into a pond of water was another trial : if they sunk, they were innocent, if they unhappily rose to the surface, the league with the powers of darkness was apparent. A gram-bag of cayenne pepper tied over the head, if it failed to suffocate, afforded another proof of guilt ; though the most humane method, of rubbing the eyes with a well-dried capsicum, was perhaps the most common, and certainly if they could furnish this demonstration of their innocence, by withholding tears, they might justly be deemed witches. These *dhakuns*, like the vampires of the German *bardais*, are supposed to operate upon the *viscera* of their victims, which they destroy by slow degrees with charms and incantations, and hence they are called in Sinde (where, as Abulfazil says, they abound) *Jigger-khor*, or 'liver-devourers.' One look of a *dhakun* suffices to destroy ; but there were few who court the title, at least in Kotah, though old age and eccentricity are sufficient, in

conjunction with superstition or bad luck, to fix the stigma upon individuals.

Aware of the danger of relaxing, "to have done," even when eighty-five winters had passed over his head, was never in his thoughts. He knew that a Rajpoot's throne should be the back of his steed ; and when blindness overtook him, and he could no longer lead the chase on horseback, he was carried in his litter to his grand hunts, which consisted sometimes of several thousand armed men. Besides dissipating the *ennui* of his vassals, he obtained many other objects by an amusement so analogous to their character ; in the unmasked joyousness of the sport, he heard the unreserved opinions of his companions, and gained their affection by thus administering to the favourite pastime of the Rajpoot, whose life is otherwise monotonous. When in the forest, he would sit down, surrounded by thousands, to regale on game of the day. Camels followed his train, laden with flour, sugar, spices, and huge cauldrons for the use of his sylvan *cuisine* ; and amidst the hilarity of the moment, he would go through the varied routine of government, attend to foreign and commercial policy, the details of his farms or his army, the reports of his police ; nay, in the very heat of the operations, shot flying in all directions, the ancient Regent might be discovered, like our immortal Alfred or St. Louis of the Franks, administering justice under the shade of some spreading peepul tree ; while the day so passed would be closed with religious rites, and the recital of a mythological epic : he found time for all, never appeared hurried, nor could he



be taken by surprise. When he could no longer see to sign his own name, he had an autograph fac-simile engraved, which was placed in the special care of a confidential officer, to apply when commanded. Even this loss of one sense was with him compensated by another, for long after, he was stone-blind, it would have been vain to attempt to impose upon him in the choice of shawls or clothes of any kind, whose fabrics and prices he could determine by the touch ; and it is even asserted that he could in like manner distinguish colours.

If, as has been truly remarked, "that man deserves well of his country who makes a blade of grass grow where none grew before," what merit is due to him who made the choicest of nature's products flourish where grass *could not* grow ; who covered the bare rock around his capital with soil, and cultivated the exotics of Arabia, Ceylon, and the western Archipelago ; who translated from the Indian Apennines (the mountains of Malabar) the coco-nut and palmyra ; and thus refuted the assertion that these trees could not flourish remote from the influence of a marine atmosphere ? In his gardens were to be found the apples and quinces of Cabul, pomegranates from the famed stock of *Kagla ca bagh* in the desert, oranges of every kind, scions of Agra and Sylhet, the *amba* of Mazagon, and the *chumpa-kela*, or golden plantain, of the Dekhan, besides the indigenous productions of Rajpootana. Some of the wells for irrigating these gardens cost in blasting the rock thirty thousand rupees each ; he hinted to his friends that they could not do better than follow his example, and a hint always

sufficed. He would have obtained a prize from any horticultural society for his improvement of the wild *ber* (*jujube*), which by grafting he increased to the size of a small apple. In chemical science he had gained notoriety ; his *uttrs*, or essential oils of roses, jessamine, *ketki*, and *keura*, were far superior to any that could be purchased. There was no occasion to repair to the valley of Cashmere to witness the fabrication of its shawls ; for the looms and the wool of that fairy region were transferred to Kotah, and the Cashmerian weaver plied the shuttle under Zalim's own eye. But, as in the case of his lead-mines, he found that this branch of industry did not return even sixteen anas and a half of the rupee,* the minimum profit at which he fixed his remuneration ; so that after satisfying his curiosity, he abandoned the manufacture. His forges for swords and fire-arms had a high reputation, and his matchlocks rival those of Boondi, both in excellence and elaborate workmanship.

His corps of gladiators, if we may thus designate the *Jaetis*, obtained for him equal credit and disgrace. The funds set apart for this recreation amounted at one time to fifty thousand rupees per annum ; but his wrestlers surpassed in skill and strength those of every other court in Rajwarra, and the most renowned champions of other states were made "to view the heavens,"† if they came to Kotah. But, in his younger days, Zalim was not satisfied with the use

* There are sixteen anas to the Rupee or half-crown.

† "*Asman deelaona*," is the phrase of the '*Fancy*' in these regions, for victory ; when the vanquished is thrown upon his back and kept in that attitude.

of mere natural weapons, for occasionally he made his *jaetis* fight with the *bagnuk*,* or tiger-claw, when they tore off the flesh from each other. The chivalrous Omed Singh of Boondi put a stop to this barbarity. Returning from one of his pilgrimages from Dwarica, he passed through Kotah while Zalim and his court were assembled in the *akhara* (arena) where two of these stall-fed prize-fighters were about to contend. The presence of this brave Hara checked the bloody exhibition, and he boldly censured the Regent for squandering on such a warthless crew resources which ought to cherish his Rajpoots. This might have been lost upon the Protector, had not the royal pilgrim, in the fervour of his indignation, thrown down the gauntlet to the entire assembly of *Jaetis*. Putting his shield on the ground, he placed therein, one by one, the entire panoply of armour which he habitually wore in his peregrinations, namely, his matchlock and its ponderous accompaniments, sword, daggers, staff, and battle-axe, and challenged any individual to raise it from the ground with a single arm. All tried and failed; when Sriji, though full sixty years of age, held it out at arm's length during several seconds. The Haras were delighted at the feat of their patriarchal chief; while the crest-fallen *Jaetis* hung their heads, and from that day lost ground in the favor of the Regent. But these were the follies of his earlier days, not of the later period of his life; he was then like an aged oak, which, though shattered and decayed, had survived the

tempest and the desolation which had raged around it.

To conclude: had he imitated Diocletian, and surrendered the *purple*, he would have afforded another instance of the anomalies of the human understanding; that he did not do so, for the sake of his own fame and that of the controlling power, as well as for the welfare of his prince, must be deeply lamented; the more especially as his *churri* (rod) has descended to feeble hands. He had enjoyed the essentials of sovereignty during threescore years, a period equal in duration to that of Darius the Mede; and had overcome difficulties which would have appalled no ordinary minds. He had vanquished all his enemies, external and internal, and all his views as regarded Harouti were accomplished.

Almost the motives which might have urged the surrender of his power, stronger perhaps than his desire of reparation with heaven and his prince, was the fear of his successor's inefficiency: but this consideration unhappily was counterbalanced by the precocious talents of his grandson, whom he affectionately loved, and in whom he thought he saw himself renewed. Pride also, that chief ingredient in his character, checked such surrender; he feared the world would suppose he had relinquished what he could no longer retain; and ruin would have been preferred to the idea that he had been "driven from his stool." Able and artful ministers flattered the feeling so deeply rooted, and to crown the whole, he was supported by obligations of public faith contracted by a power without a rival. Still, old age, declining health, the desire of

* See an account of this instrument by Colonel Briggs, Transactions of Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. ii.



repose and of religious retirement, prompted wishes which often escaped his lips; but counteracting feelings intruded, and the struggle between the good and evil principle lasted until the moment had passed when abdication would have been honourable. Had he, however, obeyed the impulse, his retreat would have more resembled that of the fifth Charles than of the Roman king.

In the shades of Nathdwarra he would have enjoyed that repose, which Diocletian could not find at Salona; and imbued with a better philosophy and more knowledge of the human heart, he would have practised what was taught, that "there ought to be no intermediate change between the command of men and the service of God."

PERSONAL NARRATIVE.

CHAPTER I.

Departure from the valley of Oodipoor.—Lake of Khyroda.—Ancient temple of Mandeswar.—Bhartewar.—Its Jain temples.—Khyroda.—Connected with the history of the feuds of Mewar.—Exploits of Singram Sing.—He obtains Khyroda.—Curious predicament of Jey Sing, the adopted heir of Singram.—Calmness with which political negotiations are managed in the east.—The agricultural economy of Khyroda.—Precarious nature of sugar-cultivation.—Heentah.—Large proportion of land alienated as religious.—Heentah and Doondia established on church-lands.—Mandhata Raja.—Traditions of him.—Performed the Aswamedha.—His grant of Mynar to the Rishis.—Grant inscribed on a pillar.—Exploit of Raj Sing against the Mahrattas.—Moroun, boundary of the Mewar territory. Reflections on that state.—The author's policy during his official residence there.

Oodipoor, January 29, 1820.—THE Personal Narrative attached to the first volume of this work terminated with author's return to Oodipoor, after a complete circuit of Marwar and Ajmer. He remained at his head-quarters at Oodipoor until the 29th January 1820, when circumstances rendering it expedient that he should visit the principalities of Boondi and Kotah (which were placed under his political superintendence), he determined not to neglect the opportunity it afforded of adding to his portfolio remarks on men and manners, in a country hitherto untrodden by Europeans.

Although we had not been a month in

the valley of Oodipoor, we were all desirous to avail ourselves of the lovely weather which the cold season of India invariably brings, and which exhilarates the European who has languished through the hot winds, and the still more oppressive monsoon. The thermometer at this time, within the valley, was at the freezing point at break of day, ranging afterwards as high as 90°, whilst the sky was without a cloud, and its splendour at night was dazzling.

Khyroda.—On the 29th, we broke ground from the heights of Toos, marched fifteen English miles (though estimated at only six and a half coss), and encamped under



the embankment of the spacious lake of Khyroda. Our route was over a rich and well-watered plain, but which had long been a stranger to the plough. Three miles from Duboke we crossed our own stream, the Bairis, and at the village of Dorowlee is a small outlet from this river, which runs into a hollow and forms a *jheel*, or lake. There is a highly interesting temple, dedicated to Mandeswar (Siva), on the banks of this stream, the architecture of which attests its antiquity. It is the counterpart in miniature of a celebrated temple at Chandravati, near Aboo, and verifies the traditional axiom, that the architectural rules of past ages were fixed on immutable principles.

We passed the *serai* of Soornjpoora, a mile to the right, and got entangled in the swampy ground of Bhartewar. This town, which belongs to the chief of Kanorh, one of the sixteen great barons of Mewar, boasts a high antiquity, and Bhartiri, the elder brother of Vicrama, is its reputed founder. If we place any faith in local tradition, the bells of seven hundred and fifty temples, chiefly of the Jain faith, once sounded within its walls, which were six miles in length; but few vestiges of them now remain, although there are ruins of some of these shrines which show they were of considerable importance. Within a mile and a half of Khyroda we passed through Khyrsana, a large charity-village belonging to the Brahmins.

Khyroda is a respectable place, having a fortress with double ditches, which can be filled at pleasure from the river. Being situated on the high road between the an-

cient and modern capitals, it was always a bone of contention in the civil wars. It was in the hands of Rawut Jey Sing of Lawah, the adopted heir of Singram Suktawut, one of the great leaders in the struggles of the year 1748, an epoch as well known in Mewar as the 1746 of Scotland. Being originally a fiscal possession, and from its position not to be trusted to the hands of any of the feudal chiefs, it was restored to the sovereign; though it was not without difficulty that the riever of Lawah agreed to sign the constitution of the 4th May,* and relinquish to his sovereign a stronghold which had been purchased with the blood of his kindred.

The history of Khyroda would afford an excellent illustration of the feuds of Mewar. In that between Singram Sing the Suktawut, and Bhiroo Sing Chondawut, both of these chief clans of Mewar lost the best of their defenders. In 1733, Singram, then but a youth (his father Lalji, Rawut of Seogurh, being yet alive), took Khyroda from his sovereign, and retained it six years. In 1740, the rival clans of Deogurh, Amait, Korabur, &c., under their common head, the chief of Saloombra, and having their acts legalized by the presence of the Depra minister, united to expel the Suktawut. Singram held out four months; when he hoisted a flag of truce and agreed to capitulate, on condition that he should be permitted to retreat unmolested, with all his followers and effects to Bheendir, the capital of the Suktawuts. This condition was granted and the heir of Seogurh was received into

* See treaty between the Rana and his chiefs, Vol. I. page 160.

Bheendir. Here he commenced his depredations, the adventures attending which are still the topics of numerous tales. In one of his expeditions to the estate of Korabur, he carried off both the cattle and the inhabitants of Goorli. Zalim Sing, the heir of Korabur, came to the rescue, but was laid low by the lance of Singram. To revenge his death, every Chondawut of the country assembled round the banner of Saloombra; the sovereign himself espoused their cause, and with his mercenary bands of Sindies succeeded in investing Bheendir. During the siege, Urjoon of Korabur, bent on revenge for the loss of his heir, determined to surprise Seogurh, which he effected, and spared neither age or sex.* Khyroda remained attached to the fise during several years, when the Rana, with a thoughtlessness which has nourished these feuds, granted it to Sirdar Singh, the Chondawut chief of Bhadaisir. In S. 1746, the Chondawuts were in rebellion and disgrace, and their rivals, under the chief of Bheendir, assembled their kindred to drive out the Sindie garrison, who held Khyroda for their foe. Urjoon of Korabur, with the Sindie Koli, came to aid the garrison, and an action ensued under the walls, in which Singram slew with his own hand two of the principal subordinates of Korabur, viz. Goman the Sikerwal, and Bheemji Ranawut. Nevertheless, the Chondawuts gained the day, and the Suktawuts again retired on Bheendir. There they received a reinforcement sent by Zalim Sing of Kotah (who fostered all these disputes, trusting that eventually he should be able to snatch the bone of contention from both),

and a band of Arabs, and with this aid they returned to the attack. The Chondawuts who, with the auxiliaries of Sinde, were encamped in the plains of Akolah, willingly accepted the challenge, but were defeated; Sindie Koli, leader of the auxiliaries, was slain, and the force was entirely dispersed. Singram, who headed this and every assault against the rival clan, was wounded in three places; but this he accounted nothing, having thereby obtained the regard of his sovereign, and the expulsion of his rival from Khyroda, which remained attached to the fise until the year 1758, when, on the payment of a fine of ten thousand rupees, the estate was assigned to him under the royal signature. This was in the year A.D. 1802, from which period until 1818, when we had to mediate between the Rana and his chiefs, Khyroda remained a trophy of the superior courage and tact of the Suktawuts. No wonder that the Rawut Jey Singh of Lawah, the adopted heir of Singram, was averse to renounce Khyroda. He went so far as to man its walls, and forbid any communication with the servants of his sovereign: the slightest provocation would have compelled a siege and assault, in which all the Chondawuts of the country would gladly have joined, and the old feuds might have been revived on the very dawn of disfranchisement from the yoke of the Mahrattas. But what will be thought of this transaction which it is stated, that the lord of Khyroda was at this time at court, the daily companion of his sovereign! Although the dependents of Jey Sing would have fired on any one of his master's servants who ventured to its walls, and, according to our

* The sequel of this feud has been related.

notions, he was that moment a rebel both to his prince and the paramount protector, not an uncourtly phrase was ever heard, nor could it be discovered that the Rana and the Rawut stood in any other relation than as the gracious sovereign and the loyal subject. These matters are conveniently managed : all the odium of discussion is left to the *kamdars*, or delegates of the prince and the chief, between whom not the least diminution of courteous etiquette would be observable, whilst there remained a hope of adjustment. Asiatics do not count the moments which intervene between the conception and consummation of an undertaking as do those of colder climes. In all their transactions, they preserve more composure, which, whatever be its cause, lends an air of dignity to their proceedings. I have risen from discussion with the respective ministers of the sovereign and chieftains regarding acts involving treason, in order to join the principals in an excursion on the lake, or in the tilt-yard at the palace, where they would be passing their opinions on the points of a horse, with mutual courtesy and affability. This is no unamiable feature in the manners of the East, and tends to strengthen the tie of fraternity which binds together the fabric of Rajpoot policy.

The agricultural economy of Khyroda, which discovers distinct traces of the patriarchal system, is not without interest. Khyroda is a *tuppa*, or subdivision of one of the greater *khalisa* or fiscal districts of Mewar, and consists of fourteen townships, besides their hamlets. It is rated at 14,500 rupees of yearly rent, of which itself furnishes

3,500. The land, though generally of a good quality, is of three classes, viz. *peewul*, or watered from wells ; *gorma*, also irrigated land, extending three or four *khaitis* or fields, around the village ; and *mar* or *mal*, depending on the heavens alone for moisture. As has been already stated, there are two harvests, viz. the *oonaloo* (from *oon*, 'heat'), or summer-harvest ; and the *sealoo* (from *see*, 'cold'), the winter or autumnal. The share of the crown, as in all the ancient Hindu governments, is taken in kind, and divided as follows. Of the first or *oonaloo* crop, consisting of wheat, barley, and gram, the produce is formed into *kullas* (piles or heaps) of one hundred maunds each ; these are subdivided into four parts, of twenty-five maunds each. The first operation is to provide from one of these the *seerano*, or one seer on each maund, to each individual of the village-establishment : viz. the *patel*, or head-man ; the *patwari*, register or accountant ; the *shanah*, or watchman ; the *bullae*, or messenger and also general herdsman ;* the *kathi* (alias *sootar*) or carpenter ; the *lohar*, or blacksmith ; the *khomar*, or potter ; the *dhobi* or washerman ; the *chamar*, who is shoemaker, carrier, and scavenger ; the *nae*, or barber-surgeon. These ten *seeranos*, or one seer on each kulla, or two maunds and a half to each individual, swallow up one of the subdivisions. Of the three remaining parts, one share, or twenty-five maunds, goes to the *raj*, or sovereign, and two to the *ryot*, or cultivator, after

* The *bullae* or *bullaiti* is the shepherd of the community, who drives the village-flock to the common pasturage ; and, besides his *seerano*, has some trifling reward from every individual. It is his especial duty to prevent cattle-trespasses.

deducting, a *seerano* of two maunds for the heir-apparent, which is termed *Kowur-mutka*, or 'pot for the prince.' An innovation of late years has been practised on the portion belonging to the village, from which no less than three *seeranos* of one maund each are deducted, previous to subdivision amongst the ten village officers; viz. one 'pot for the prince,' another for the Rana's chief groom, and a third for his *moodi*, or steward of the grain department. These all go to the government, which thus realizes thirty maunds out of each hundred, or *three-tenths*, instead of *one-fourth*, according to ancient usage. But the village-establishment has an additional advantage before the grain is thrashed out; this is the *kirpah* or sheaf from every *beega* (a third of an acre) of land cultivated, to each individual; and each sheaf is reckoned to yield from five to seven *seers* of grain. The reapers are also allowed small *kirpas* or sheafs, yielding two or three *seers* each; and there were various little larcenies permitted, under the terms of *dantuni* and *chabuni*, indicating they were allowed the use of their teeth (*dant*) while reaping: so that in fact they fed ('*chabna*, to bite or masticate') upon roasted heads of Indian corn and maize.

Of the *sialloo* crop, which consists of *mukhi*, or Indian corn, and *jooar* and *bajra*, or maize, with the different pulses, the process of distribution is as follows. From every *kulla*, or heap of one hundred maunds, forty are set apart for the *raj* or government, and the rest, after deducting the *seeranos* of the village-establishment, goes to the cultivator.

On the culture of sugar-cane, cotton, indigo, opium, tobacco, *til* or sesamum, and the various dyes, there has always been a fixed money-rent, varying from two to ten rupees per *beega*.

There is nothing so uncertain in its results as the cultivation of sugar-cane, which holds out a powerful lure for dishonesty to the collector for the crown. But it is asserted here that the ryot had no option, being compelled to cultivate, in due proportion, cane, opium, and grain, from the same *chursa* or well. A rough estimate of the expense attending the culture of a *chursa*, or what may be irrigated by one well, may not be uninteresting. Let us take, first, one *beega* of cane, and no more can be watered with one pair of oxen, premising that the cane is planted in the month of Aggun, and reaped in the same month next year; that is, after a whole twelvemonth of labour:—

Hasil, or rent	Rupees 10
Seed of one beega	20
Gor, or stirring up the earth with spuds, eight times before reaping, sixteen men each time, at two <i>anas</i> to each	16
Two men at the well, at four rupees each per month, for twelve months	96*
Two oxen, feeding, &c.	18
Paring and cutting forty thousand canes, at four <i>anas</i> per thousand ...	10
Placing canes in the mill, clothes to the men, besides one seer of sugar out of every maund	20

Carried Over Rs. 190

* This goes to feed the cultivator, if he works himself.



Brought forward Rs.	190
Shares of all the village-establishment ; say if the beega yields fifty maunds, of which they are entitled to one-fifth	40
Wood	2
Hire of boiler	6

Rupees 238

A beega will yield as much as } eighty maunds of sugar, though } fifty is esteemed a good crop ; it } sells at about four rupees per } maund, or	200
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Leaving the cultivator minus
Rupees 38

It will be observed that the grower's whole expenses are charged ; besides, to make up, we must calculate from the labour of the same two men and cattle, the produce profit of one *beega* of opium and four *beegas* of wheat and barley, as follows :

Surplus profit on the opium, seven seers of opium, at four rupees per seer,	Rs. 28
One hundred and fifty maunds of grain, of both harvests, of which one-third to the <i>raj</i> , leaves one hundred maunds, at one rupee each maund.....	100

Rupees 128

Deduct deficiency on cane 38

Profit left, after feeding, men and cattle, &c. &c..... Rupees 90

Sometimes, though rarely, the cane is sold standing, at four to five rupees the thousand ; but, occasionally, the whole crop is lost, if the cane should unfortunately flower, when it is rooted up and burnt, or given to the cattle, being unfit for the use of man. This may be superstition ; though the cultivators of the cane in the West-Indies may perhaps say that the deterioration of the plant would render it not worth the trouble of extracting the juice. I shall here conclude this rough sketch of the agricultural economy of Khyroda, which may be taken as a fair specimen of the old system throughout Mewar, with remarking that, notwithstanding the laws of Menu, inscriptions on stone, and tradition, which constitute in fact the customary law of Rajpootana, make the rent in kind far lighter than what we have just recorded, yet the cultivator could not fail to thrive if even this system were maintained. But constant warfare, the necessities of the prince, with the cupidity and poverty of the revenue officers, have superadded vexatious petty demands, as *khur-lakur* (wood and forage), and *ghur-ginti* (house-tax) ; the first of which was a tax of one rupee annually on every beega of land in cultivation, and the other the same on each house or hut inhabited. Even the *kaed sali*, or triennial fine on the headman and the register, was levied by these again on the cultivators. But besides these regular taxes, there was no end to irregular exactions of *burrar* and *dind*, or forced contributions, until, at length, the country became the scene of desolation from which it is only now emerging.

HEENTAH, January 30th.—This was a

short march of three and a half coss, or nine miles, over the same extensive plain of rich black loam, or *mal*, whence the province of Malwa has its name. We were on horseback long before sunrise; the air was pure and invigorating; the peasantry were smiling at the sight of the luxuriant young crops of wheat, barley, and gram, aware that no ruthless hand could now step between them and the bounties of Heaven. Fresh thatch, or rising walls, gave signs of the exiles' return, who greeted us, at each step of our journey, with blessing and looks of joy mingled with sadness. Passed the hamlet, or *poorwa*, of Amerpoora, attached to Khyroda, and to our left the township of Mynar, held in *sasun* (religious grant) by a community of Brahmins. This place affords a fine specimen of 'the wisdom of ancestors' in Mewar, where fifty thousand *beegas*, or about sixteen thousand acres of the richest crown-land, have been given in perpetuity to these drones of society; and although there are only twenty families left of this holy colony, said to have been planted by Raja Mandhata in the *treta-yug*, or silver age of India, yet superstition and indolence conspire to prevent the resumption even of those portions which have none to cultivate them. A "sixty thousand years' residence in hell" is undoubtedly no comfortable prospect, and to those who subscribe to the doctrine of transmigration, it must be rather mortifying to pass from the purple of royalty into "a worm in ordure," one of the delicate purgatories which the Rajpoot soul has to undergo before it can expiate the offence of resuming the lands of the church! I was rejoiced, however, to find that some of 'the

sons of Sukta,' as they increased in numbers, in the inverse ratio of their possessions, deemed it better to incur all risks than emigrate to foreign lands in search of *bhom*; and both Heentah and Doondia have been established on the lands of the church. Desirous of preserving every right of every class, I imprecated on my head all the anathemas of the order, if the Rana should resume all beyond what the remnant of this family could require. I proposed that a thousand *beegas* of the best land should be retained by them; that they should not only be furnished with cattle, seed, and implements of agriculture, but that there should be wells cleared out, or fresh ones dug for them. At this time, however, the astrologer was a member of the cabinet, and being also physician in ordinary, he, as one of the order, protected his brethren of Mynar, who as may be supposed, were in vain called upon to produce the *tamba-patra*, or copper-plate warrant, for these lands.

Mandhata Raja, a name immortalized in the topography of the regions, was of the Prammar tribe, and sovereign of Central India, whose capitals were Dhar and Oojein; and although his period is uncertain, tradition uniformly assigns him priority to Vicramaditya, whose era (fifty-six years anterior to the Christian) prevails throughout India. There are various spots on the Nerbudda which perpetuate his name, especially where that grand stream forms one of its most considerable rapids. Chestore, with all its dependencies, was but an appanage of the sovereignty of Dhar in these early times, nor can we move a step without discovering traces of their paramount sway in all



these regions : and in the spot over which I am now moving, the antiquary might without any difficulty fill his portfolio. Both Heentah and Doondia, the dependencies of Mynar, are brought in connexion with the name of Mandhata, who performed the grand rite of *aswamedha*, or sacrifice of the horse, at Doondia, where they still point out the *coond*, or 'pit of sacrifice.' Two *Rishis*, or 'holy men,' of Heentah attended Mandhata, who, on the conclusion of the ceremony, presented them the customary *poon*, or 'offering,' which they rejected ; but on taking leave, the Raja delicately contrived to introduce into the *beera of pan*, a grant for the lands of Mynar. The gift, though unsolicited, was fatal to their sanctity, and the miracles which they had hitherto been permitted to form, ceased with the possession of Mammon. Would the reader wish to have an instance of these miracles ? After their usual manifold ablutions, and wringing the moisture of their *dhoti*, or garment, they would fling it into the air, where it remained suspended over their head, as a protection against the sun's rays. On the loss of their power, these saints became tillers of the ground. Their descendants hold the lands of Mynar, and are spread over this tract, named *Burra Choubessa*, 'the great twenty-four !'

We also passed in this morning's march the village of Bamuneo, having a noble piece of water maintained by a strong embankment of masonry. No less than four thousand *beegas* are attached. It was fiscal land, but had been usurped during the troubles, and being nearly depopulated, had escaped observation. At this moment it is

in the hands of Mooti Pasban, the favourite handmaid of "the Sun of the Hindus." This 'pearl' (*mooti*) pretends to have obtained it as a mortgage, but it would be difficult to shew a lawful mortgager. Near the village of Bhansaira, on the estate of Futteh Sing, brother of Bheendir, we passed a *seura* or *sula*, a pillar or land-mark, having a grant of land inscribed thereon with the usual denunciations, attested by an image of the sacred cow, engraved in slight relief, as witness to the intention of the donor.

Heentah was a place of some consequence in the civil wars, and in S. 1808 (A.D. 1752) formed the appanage of one of the *babas* or infants of the court, of the Maharaja Sawunt Sing. It now belongs to a subordinate Suktawut, and was the subject of considerable discussion in the treaty of resumption of the 4th of May 1818, between the Rana and his chiefs.

It was the scene of a gallant exploit in S. 1812, when ten thousand Mahrattas, led by Sutwa, invaded Mewar. Raj Sing, of the Jhala tribe, the chief of Sadri, and descendant of the hero who rescued that first of Rajpoot princes, Rana Pertap, had reached the town of Heentah in his passage from court to Sadri, when he received intelligence that the enemy was at Salairo, only three miles distant. He was recommended to make a slight detour and go by Bheendir ; but having no reason for apprehension, he rejected the advice, and proceeded on his way. He had not travelled half a mile, when they fell in with the marauders, who looked upon his small but well-mounted band as legitimate prey. But, in spite of the odds, they preferred death to the sur-

render of their equipments, and an action ensued, in which the Raj, after performing miracles of valour, regained the fort, with eighty only of his three hundred and fifty retainers. The news reaching Khosial Sing, the chief of Bheendir, who, besides the sufficient motive of *Rajpooti*, or 'chivalry,' was impelled by friendship and matrimonial connexion, he assembled a trusty band, and marched to rescue his friend from captivity and his estate from mortgage for his ransom. This little phalanx amounted only to five hundred men, all Suktawuts, and of whom three-fourths were on foot. They advanced in a compact mass, with lighted matches, cavaliers on either flank, with Khoshial at their head, denouncing death to the man who quitted his ranks, or fired a shot without orders. They were soon surrounded by the cloud of Mahratta horse; but resolve was too manifest in the intrepid band even for numbers to provoke the strife. They thus passed over the immense plain between Bheendir and Heentah, the gates of which they had almost reached, when, as if ashamed at seeing their prey thus snatched from their grasp, the word was given, "*birchee de!*" and a forest of Mahratta lances, each twelve feet long, bristled against the Suktawuts. Khoshial called a halt, wheeled his cavaliers to the rear, and allowed the foe to come within pistol-shot, when a well-directed volley checked their impetuosity, and threw them into disorder. The little band of cavalry seized the moment and charged in their turn, gave time to load again, and returned to their post to allow a second volley. The gate was gained, and the Sadri chief received into the

ranks of deliverers. Elated with success, the Mahraja promptly determined rather to fight his way back than coop himself up in Heentah, and be starved into surrender; all seconded the resolution of their chief, and with little comparative loss they regained Bheendir. This exploit is universally known, and related with exultation, as one of the many brilliant deeds of "the sons of Sukta," of whom the Mahraja Khoshial Sing was conspicuous for worth, as well as gallantry.

Morwar, 31st January.—The last day of January (with the thermometer 50° at day-break), brought us to the limits of Mewar. I could not look on its rich alienated lands without the deepest regret, or see the birthright of its chieftains devolve on the mean Mahratta or ruthless Pathan, without a kindling of the spirit towards the heroes of past days, in spite of the vexations their less worthy descendants occasion me; less worthy, yet not worthless, for having left my cares behind me with the court, where the stubbornness of some, the vices and intrigues of others and the apathy of all, have been deeply injured my health. There is something magical in absence; it throws a deceitful medium between us and the objects we have quitted, which exaggerates their amiable qualities, and curtails the proportions of their vices. I look upon Mewar as the land of my adoption, and linked with all the associations of my early hopes and their actual realization, I feel inclined to exclaim with reference to her and her unmanageable children,

"Mewar, with all thy faults, I love thee still."

The virtues owe an immense debt to the