



## FAMILY OF HOLKAR.

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ing example of the practical benefit a mind may receive from performing worldly duties under a deep sense of responsibility to its Creator.

The life of Ahalya Bae has been given at greater length than was contemplated; but it forms too proud an epoch in the history of the house of Holkar to be slightly passed over. She left no heir to her fortune and power, and we now proceed to notice those destroyers, who came to ruin the fair prospects which her government had opened to the inhabitants of her dominions.

For nearly two years after the death of Ahalya Bae, the territories of the Holkar family continued prosperous; but the death of Tukajee was followed by contests which led to their desolation. This chief left two sons, Casee Row and Mulhar Row, by his wife; and two, Jeswunt Row and Etojee, by a mistress. The pretensions of Casee Row were prior from birth, but he was weak in intellect and deformed in body, and quite unequal to the active duties of the government. This made his father and Ahalya Bae desire that he should remain at Mhysir; while Mulhar Row, a brave and aspiring youth, commanded the armies: in other words, that the latter should perform the duties of Tukajee, and his brother those of Ahalya Bae. The belief of such a plan being practicable, is a proof how easily the judgment may be blinded by affection: a day's union was not to be expected from the opposite character of the brothers; and from the moment of their father's death, they plotted each other's destruction. Mulhar Row had pressed his father, on the ground of his superior fitness, to name him his sole successor; and, offended



at his non-compliance, had thrown himself on the protection of Nana Furnavese, who promised him assistance. The troops were also in his favour, and his prospect of attaining the sovereign power seemed certain; when Casee Row, then at Mhysir, entreated Dowlet Row Sindia, or rather his minister, the notorious Sirjee Row Ghatkia, to support his pretensions. This was promised, and on his arrival at Poona his cause was openly espoused. To prevent, however, the escape of his brother and a protracted warfare, a reconciliation was sought and concluded; but on the night of the day on which this was effected, and the ceremony of a sacred oath\* had passed between them, the camp of Mulhar Row was surrounded by the disciplined battalions of Sindia. The former was apprised, at daybreak, of his danger, and immediately mounted his horse; but before any defensive arrangements could be made, he was killed by a ball which pierced his forehead. The price of this infamous act of treachery was the restoration of the bonds† given by Madhajee Sindia to Ahalya Bae and Huirka Bae, and the payment of fifteen lacs of rupees,‡ ten of which were in ready money, while the revenue of Amber, in the Deckan, was mortgaged for the remainder.

\* The oath taken on this occasion was that of Bel-bundar, or "the pledge of the Bel," one of the most sacred a Hindu can take. The Bel-tree is rendered holy by its leaves being used in the worship of Mahadeva. When this oath is taken, some of its leaves are filled with turmeric, and interchanged with solemn pledges by the parties.

† I am assured of this fact by persons who, having been in the service of the Holkar family at the period, must have been informed of its correctness.

‡ This latter sum was demanded as payment for powder and shot expended on the occasion.





## FAMILY OF HOLKAR.

The whole\* of Holkar's troops, except a few followers of Casee Row, were dispersed, and their camp plundered. Among the fugitives was Jeswunt Row, who carried with him a few of the household horse, and, according to report, some of the family jewels. He sought protection at Nagpoor; but a belief of his possessing property, or a desire to conciliate the Poona Government and Sindia,† made Ragojee Bhonslah seize and confine him. He remained in prison six months, when he made his escape, but was again taken: he, however, a second time eluded his guard, and arrived in Candeish, a year and a half after Mulhar Row was slain. He was accompanied, in this second flight, by a Mahomedan‡ soldier, and an active intelligent Hindu of the name of Bhuwanee Shunkur.§ When they reached Candeish Jeswunt Row went to the village of Goorgaum to see his tutor Chimna Bhow, who gave him a mare|| and three hundred rupees, advising him not to remain there, but to proceed towards Malwa. He went first to the

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\* The army of Holkar with Mulhar Row at Poona only amounted to three or four thousand men.

† Both the ministers of the Paishwah and Dowlet Row Sindia addressed strong letters to Ragojee Bhonslah on this occasion.

‡ This man's name was Shah Mahomed; we hear no more of him, and he probably died soon, as Jeswunt Row was not ungrateful to the few friends who aided him in adversity.

§ Bhuwanee Shunkur was, when he attached himself to Jeswunt Row, a common writer to a party of ten horse, and rose to be Buckshee, or paymaster of his whole army. He will be noticed hereafter.

|| The name of his mare was Lunka; she was of a chesnut colour, and became, though old and not handsome, a great favourite, and was celebrated by Jeswunt Row making her, on the Dusserah feast, his chief object of Poojah, or worship, and calling her the origin of his fortunes.



small fort of Kookernada, within six coss of Nunderbar : and we may judge of his low and desperate condition at this period, from his having become for two or three months the associate of the Bheel chief who possessed the fastness to which he had fled.\* From Kookernada, Jeswunt Row went first to Burwanee, and afterwards to Dhurmpooree, a town on the Nerbudda, belonging to the family of Puar, the chief of which, Anund Row, when he received intelligence of his arrival, sent directions for his being forwarded by the route of Mandoo to Dhar ; he also sent a dress and a palanquin to meet him, and directed that all his wants should be liberally supplied. These extended, at this low ebb of his fortune, even to clothes to cover himself and his few followers.

Jeswunt Row remained two or three months at Dhar, where several of the old adherents of his family joined his standard : but they were, like himself, in a wretched state of poverty. Fortunately, at this period, Rung Row Ourekur, with a body of Patans and Pindarries, made an attack on Anund Row.† The Puar prince had actually commenced his retreat, and had abandoned two guns, when he was stopped by Jeswunt Row, who entreating him to stand his ground, promised that he would still win the victory for him. Taking a slip of paper, he wrote a short note addressed to the leaders of the Pindarries with Ourekur, stating that "Jeswunt Row Holkar was with the Puar, and desired them, as

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\* It was about this period that he must have learnt the fate of his brother Etojee ; who, flying from Poona at the same time, had become the associate of freebooters, and was taken and trampled to death by an elephant in that city.

† This attack was made at Kisowul, in a village sixteen miles South-east of Dhar.





## FAMILY OF HOLKAR.

“ adherents of his family, to withdraw.” The Pindaries at first doubted the fact, but, when convinced of the truth by the messenger who carried it, they fell back and created a confusion, during which the guns were recovered. Jeswunt Row, springing from his horse, seized a sponge staff, and aided by some men, who were animated by his example, fired two or three rounds with good aim at the Afghans, who were again advancing to the attack; the consequence was their retreat from the field, and the precipitate flight of Ourekur.

The gratitude of Anund Row was commensurate with the service that had been rendered him; but Jeswunt Row asked nothing but a promise to give him refuge when in extreme distress. His having fled to Dhar was no sooner known than Sindia threatened Anund Row with his highest displeasure, if he were not seized or expelled; and it is related, that the generosity of Jeswunt Row would not permit him to be the ruin of his protector, which seemed certain if he protracted his stay. He solicited, and obtained, a small aid in money; and having received, besides ten thousand rupees, a present of seven horses, he left Dhar with this number of mounted followers and seven more belonging to Shamrow Madik, a Mahratta who had attached himself to his fortunes. To this train he added about one hundred and twenty ragged half-armed foot, composed of his adherents, who had been plundered at Poona of their horses and property. The first enterprise he attempted with this party was against one hundred of Casee Row's household troops at Debalpoor,\*

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\* Debalpoor is a town belonging to the Holkar family, situated about four miles from the right bank of the Chumbul. The Chevalier Duderneic, who had been encamped at it with the brigade he command-



which by a rapid movement he completely surprised, and not only obtained some good horses by this success, but also a seasonable supply of money, which he extorted from the helpless inhabitants of the town. This enterprise may be deemed the commencement of the predatory career, which he appears, from the moment he returned to Malwa, to have considered the only means of preserving his own power, or rescuing the possessions of his family from Dowlet Row Sindia, in whose hands Casee Row was at this time a mere instrument. Jeswunt Row was not, however, inattentive to the feelings and pride of that family, of which he was an illegitimate branch, and he knew too well the strength he might gain or lose by consulting or neglecting the prejudices of the adherents and subjects of the house of Holkar, to venture on a direct usurpation of the chief authority; but, under the pretext of Casee Row's complete incapacity, from natural defects, mental and corporeal, he proclaimed his allegiance to Kundee Row, the infant son of Mulhar Row,\* by having a Persian seal engraved, before he left Dhar, with the inscription "Jeswunt Row,† the subordinate of Sevae Kundee Row," and under this designation he began to collect an army, into which all classes, Pindarries, Bheels, Afghans, Mahrattas, and Rajpoots, were indiscriminately admitted. He had gone from Debalpoor to Jowrah, and thence to Mahidpoor;

ed in the service of Casee Row, marched for Indore, leaving the Pagah horse for the protection of Debalpoor.

\* This child was born some months after the death of his father.

† This Persian seal was "Jeswunt Row Fedwee Sevae Kundee Row." On his Mahratta one was engraved—"At the feet of the husband of Mahalia, (i. e. Kundee Row, the deity of Jejoory,) the son of Mulhar Row Kundee Row."





## FAMILY OF HOLKAR.

but the manager of the former\* desired to seize him, and the officer in charge of the latter refused him the slightest assistance. He then marched East towards Sarungpoor; and Vizier Hussein, a Seid of that town, who had been before in the service of the Holkar family, was the first man of respectability in Malwa who joined him. This leader added to the weight of his name, and the services of forty or fifty horse and two or three hundred foot, a present of five thousand rupees; and it was by his advice that Jeswunt Row made an overture to Ameer Khan, then encamped at Bhopal with fifteen hundred foot. The Mahomedan leader, having accepted the invitation, marched immediately to Shujahalpoor; and the first meeting of those two chiefs, since so celebrated in the annals of predatory warfare, took place at Ranagunje. The terms of their union were soon settled. Ameer Khan gave an engagement never to desert the fortunes of Jeswunt Row, and received a written promise to share equally in all future plunder and conquest. There could be little trouble in making an agreement between men whose fortunes were at the moment alike desperate, and neither of whom were restrained by any scruples, as to its future performance, likely to obstruct the promotion of their personal interests. Their joint career commenced by a demand of contribution from the Aumil of Shujahalpoor; and that officer, who had a few

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\* Gungaram Kottaree, a Banyan, was at this time manager of Jowrah. He was an able man; and Jeswunt Row, when he came to power, after making his conduct on this occasion a pretence for exacting money, employed him in high situations. He was for nine or ten years manager of Rampoor and Bampoor, and several other districts. Mugnee Ram, the son of Gungaram Kottaree, is still in the service of the Holkar family.



days before insulted Jeswunt Row with an offer of two hundred rupees, was now compelled to pay seven thousand to purchase his absence, and that of his new ally. After marching from Shujahalpoor, Jeswunt Row plundered some merchants, whose property, consisting of clothes to the amount of forty thousand rupees, furnished his new levies with pay, and brought thousands of recruits to his standard.

His next exploit was to pillage some towns and districts belonging to Dowlet Row Sindia, on the Nerbudda. From Hindia, which he sacked, he marched to the village of Kusrawud, opposite Mundleysir, where he had an action with a strong detachment of the Campoo, or brigade, of the Chevalier Dudernaic (then in the service of Casee Row), which had been sent from that officer's head-quarters at Indore to attack him. Jeswunt Row was victorious, after a severe contest; the detachment was destroyed, and eight standards and four guns, which fell into the hands of the conqueror, greatly increased both his means and reputation. He marched immediately to Mhysir; but he was soon driven thence, and fled to Sutwass, where he took seven guns, which he repaired and carried along with him to Burgondah,\* with the intention of inviting to his standard the troops of Casee Row, then assembled at Indore. The latter, who were disgusted with acting for a prince whose power was merely nominal, saw, in the enterprising and daring spirit of Jeswunt Row, a chief better calculated to preserve the family they adhered to, from the unprincipled ambition

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\* The village of Burgondah is six miles South-west of the cantonment at Mhow, and nineteen, in nearly the same direction, from Indore. It is in the road from the latter to Mhysir by the Jaum Ghaut.



of Sindia. The consequence of this feeling was, that the Chevalier Dudernaic with his battalions, and Nujeeb Khan, who was attached to them with eight hundred horse, joined Jeswunt Row, and before the year was completed, the fugitive, who had fled from Poona unattended, was at the head of a considerable army, and obeyed as the guardian of the interests of their young prince by the inhabitants of all the Holkar territories in Central India.

Jeswunt Row, after settling with the disciplined brigades, proceeded to Mhysir, where great pains were taken to discover the treasures of Ahalya Bacc, and a considerable amount both of money and jewels is reported to have come into his hands. Thus far is certain : he immediately commenced issues of pay, and published his intention of establishing order and regularity in his army\* and government. After remaining about three

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\* Jeswunt Row Holkar, on this occasion, divided his horse into three classes. To the first-sized horses he gave five hundred rupees per annum ; to the second, three hundred ; and to the third, two hundred and fifty. Officers had higher allowances ; twenty days' pay only was given each month, and the arrears settled every year. In all these arrangements there was a remarkable distinction between the Mahomedans and Hindus. The former had the pay above stated, while the latter had only for first horses four hundred, for the second two hundred, and for the third one hundred and fifty. I have asked the reason of this distinction ; some referred it to the influence of Ameer Khan and the Mahomedan Sirdars ; others to the Patans and their horses being stronger and requiring more food ; others to the Mahrattas having more latitude for plunder. But the real cause appears to have been a desire to accommodate the loose habits of his Mahratta followers, who had a greater number of ponies, upon which their women, children, and servants rode, registered in their parties, and whose Sherah, or average pay, though nominally lower, became, from the indulgence that was extended to them on all such points, actually higher.



months at Mhysir, Jeswunt Row returned to his cantonment at Burgondah, where he was detained longer than he had proposed, by the bursting of a musquet, which he was firing at a mark: from which accident he lost the sight of one of his eyes. He bestowed at this time the title of Nabob upon his associate Ameer Khan, to whom he gave a magnificent present\* on the occasion; and the Patan chief flattered his vanity by styling himself on his seal "Fedwee, or the devoted servant, of Jeswunt "Row Holkar." The new Nabob was detached with a strong corps, in an Eastern direction, to plunder and levy contributions. The Rajas of Dewass were compelled to pay one lac of rupees, and a large sum was also exacted from Aggur, which was afterwards plundered. Ameer Khan next marched to Bersiah, Seronje, and Saugor, laying waste the country as he went, particularly at the latter place, where his army acquired an enormous booty. Saugor, which then belonged to the Paishwah, after being defended for several days by Venaick Row, was at last taken by storm; and it is stated, in an account given by one† who was then in the service of Ameer Khan, that a scene of promiscuous and unrestrained pillage continued for the whole period (almost a month) that the army remained near this unfortunate city. We learn from the same authority, that Saugor had been set on fire the day of the storm, and the flames continued to rage in one quarter or another of the town throughout the whole period. Only about four or five hundred of the garrison and inhabitants

\* An elephant, horse, rich dress, and jewels.

† Khealee Ram, the nephew of Himmut Raee, who was with his father and brothers in the service of Ameer Khan.



FAMILY OF HOLKAR.

were killed, but all were ruined; for no property was spared, and the last days were employed in dragging the tanks and wells, to obtain what had been cast into them for the purpose of temporary concealment. Ameer Khan is represented to have made repeated efforts to stop the excesses of his troops, which were attended with great loss of reputation as well as of property to himself; but he was the mere leader of a rabble who despised his orders, and nothing could exceed the insubordination and insolence of the Patans, of whom the army almost wholly consisted. When their commander attempted to stop them, they derided him with his former low condition, asking him if he had forgotten who made him a great man, and warning him to beware how he provoked a resentment which would reduce him in a moment to his original insignificance. He supported their insolence, according to the narrator of these facts, with a patience little honourable to his character, using no means but the ineffectual one of soothing entreaties to recall them to their duty. Every species of insult and torture was inflicted upon the male and female inhabitants of Saugor. The Afghan soldiers, when they caught a Brahmin or Hindu of high caste, used to feel his head, and examine the skin with great care, to discover by its softness and delicacy, whether he had been leading a luxurious life or one of labour, and, according to the result of this inspection, they liberated their prisoner, or proceeded to extremities with him.

The consequences of the transactions at Saugor were such as might have been expected. The army of Ameer Khan, which was before disorderly, became wholly unmanageable. Those who had acquired booty, had no



thoughts but how to preserve it; while others, who had been less fortunate, were clamorous and discontented. Venaick Row had applied to the Raja of Nagpoor; and Beni Singh,\* one of the favourite leaders of that prince, being sent to his aid, made such rapid marches, that Ameer Khan did not hear of his approach till he was within a few miles of Saugor. He instantly mounted his horse, and directed his army to attend him. Two or three thousand men listened to his orders, but the remainder either openly disobeyed them, on the plea of not having received pay, or evaded immediate compliance by promising to follow as soon as they were ready; and several of the principal Afghans† who had enriched themselves with plunder, the moment their chief was out of camp, actually marched in an opposite direction to Rathgurrh, a fort about twenty-five miles distant, belonging to the Nabob of Bhopal. Their base example was followed by many. Ameer Khan, not aware of this defection, continued to advance with a small body of troops, relying on the support of the remainder. He made an attack upon the Nagpoor force, in which he was thrown from his horse, and, though he was soon remounted, one of his officers, who saw him fall, giving up all for lost, galloped back to the lines near Saugor. All hurried to enquire what had occurred, and what Ameer Khan was doing. He was too much alarmed to answer, and could only motion with both his

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\* This chief was afterwards slain at Gawilgurrh, when that fortress was taken by the present Duke of Wellington in 1803. He fell during the storm, and left the character of a brave soldier.

† The names of the leaders who acted in this disgraceful manner were, Akber Khan, Himmut Khan, Dorab Shah, and Nadir Khan.



hands,\* to pack up and be off. This signal was well obeyed: in a few minutes the camp was standing (Bazars and all) without one inhabitant, in which state Ameer Khan found it when he returned, half an hour before dark, after an indecisive action, which it was his intention to have renewed next day. His astonishment cannot be described; but, unacquainted with any thing except the direction in which his army had fled, he could not venture, with the few that remained, to pass the night so near an enemy, who must soon have information of what had occurred. He therefore directed his camp, with all it contained, to be set on fire, and proceeded towards Rathguruh, where he not only found the fugitives, but also his brother Kurreeem u Deen, who had been sent by Jeswunt Row with a strong reinforcement to his support. The mutual reproaches of the different parties were silenced for three or four days by their deplorable condition: Ameer Khan himself had neither a tent to shelter him, nor a suit of clothes besides those he wore. A small present from the governor† of Rathguruh, and the plunder of its principal banker,‡ relieved their wants for

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\* Khealee Ram states in his account, that he was the first person who interrogated this alarmed fugitive, but could only obtain in answer the described signal for flight.

† Mahomed Khan, son of Mooreed Mahomed Khan, was at this time governor of Rathguruh. He made his unwelcome guests a present of five thousand rupees.

‡ Mohun Lal, the nephew of Dal Chund, a Soucar of reputation, concealed at Rathguruh, was discovered by Ameer Khan, and demanded of the governor, who gave him up. He promised to pay five thousand rupees, and was given over to Khealee Ram to realize the money. After paying about one thousand he begged to go into his house to bring the rest, and contrived to make his escape by a window in the roof. This produced rage and alarm in the person who had charge of



the moment; and Kurreem u Deen, after upbraiding his brother for mismanaging the expedition which Jeswunt Row Holkar had confided to him, proposed that he should in part indemnify his late losses, by forcing the commanders who had deserted him to refund part of the booty which had occasioned their misconduct. Ameer Khan agreed to make the demand; but the Afghan chiefs, enraged at the proposal, forsook the camp on the following day. Kurreem u Deen having resolved that they should not so easily escape, pursued them with his own detachment, and, coming up with them at the village of Kuroaee, completely surrounded them. For three days nothing decisive occurred. On the fourth morning, their camp was attacked, and after a short contest they were defeated, and fled in every direction. Akber Khan, the principal of the malcontents, was slain, and his head, together with the whole plunder retaken, was sent to Ameer Khan. Kurreem u Deen gave, in the manner in which he performed this service with a corps almost entirely composed of Pindarries, a very useful lesson to his elder brother, of the advantage of enforcing obedience;—but this young chief was every way superior to Ameer Khan, and the favour and confidence with which Jeswunt Row treated him, are proofs of the latter's sagacity. He did not, however, live long to enjoy the high character he had acquired. He was killed in attacking Shujahalpoor, and by his death, and the pillage of that place, which was completely sacked, Jeswunt Row was enraged even more than he had been

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him, who, not finding him, proceeded to his Doocan, or shop, which (I use his own expression) was swept, and by this means Ameer Khan obtained full forty thousand rupees.



FAMILY OF HOLKAR.

with the conduct of Ameer Khan at Saugor; and, receiving information that he cherished intentions hostile to his government, he sent Shamrow Madik with a strong corps to seize him. Ameer Khan, alarmed at this proceeding, sent one of his most confidential officers\* to Indore, charged with professions of obedience and attachment; but Jeswunt Row demanded, as a proof of his sincerity, that he should come alone to his camp. Ameer Khan, in whose character art predominated, and who always strove to gain his ends by pliancy rather than firmness, did not hesitate to comply with the request. He went with only one hundred horse to the camp of Shamrow, whom he accompanied to Indore, and immediately waited on Jeswunt Row, before whom he laid his sword and shield, with this observation, "You have listened to calumniators: I present you with my arms, which never can be used but in your service." These concessions did not immediately appease the anger, or allay the jealousy, of the Mahratta chief; but Ameer Khan, resolving to obtain his confidence, went one morning to see him without a single attendant, and presenting his dagger said, "You had better, if your doubts still continue, end them by taking my life. I shall be satisfied, if you are convinced it is for the good of your state." Jeswunt Row immediately embraced him, declaring he was ashamed of ever having suspected for a moment so good and so attached a friend.

All these events succeeded each other so quickly, that before Dowlet Row Sindia could collect an army to protect his possessions in Malwa, they were half-ruined.

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\* Himmut Row.



The repose that province had enjoyed for more than thirty years, had left its inhabitants ill prepared for the storm which now burst over them; the spirit of rapine was let loose, and acts of treachery and violence generated each other so rapidly, that within a few months every district was a prey to anarchy and oppression. The approach of Sindia obliged Holkar to collect his troops, now amounting to between sixty and seventy thousand.\* The first small detachments sent by Sindia into Malwa were defeated, but Jeswunt Row sustained a serious reverse at Sutwass, whence he retired upon Indore. After halting there a few days, he marched to Sarungpoor, where he was joined by Ameer Khan. Although it was the height of the rains, they determined to attack a division of Sindia's army, consisting of a corps of eight battalions, and above twenty guns, at Oojein. Skirmishing commenced the day they arrived near that city, but it was eight days before a decisive action took place. This was hard fought, and only won by the courage and talent of Jeswunt Row, who, while he gave orders for a desperate charge on the enemy's front, directed Ameer Khan with a large body of horse, to turn their flank unseen under cover of a deep water-course; and these troops coming from the circuit they had made in the direction of Oojein, which protected the rear of Sindia's brigades, were at first view hailed as friends, and had charged before the mistake was dis-

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\* The details already given will shew how Jeswunt Row's army was composed: among others many Pindarries had joined his standard: but with the exception of the parties of Kandur Buksh, Tukoo, and Sahib Khan, almost all the chiefs of that class of plunderers attached themselves to Sindia when he moved towards Malwa.





covered. Never was defeat more complete; the battalions are represented to have been completely annihilated. We receive a strong impression of the order Jeswunt Row had established, and the vigour of his character, from the fact that Oojein was not plundered after this success; but he reserved it from his troops to exact a heavy contribution himself from its wealthy inhabitants, who were fined in proportion to their real or supposed wealth. It is a curious coincidence, that, on this occasion, nearly the same mode of extortion was pursued by Jeswunt Row as had been adopted by that great prototype of plunderers, Nadir Shah, at Delhi; and, in both cases, many of the base and sordid citizens rented from the conqueror the right of exacting, from the different wards\* of the city, whatever they could obtain in money or goods.

This defeat of Sindia's battalions and capture of his capital were soon cruelly revenged. After the rains were over, Sindia detached Sirjee Row Ghatkia with a strong corps to attack Indore. Holkar hastened from Oojein to its relief. He appears on this occasion to have underrated his enemy; for, though there is reason to believe the Chevalier Dudernaie would not have obeyed his orders, there can be no doubt that the officer who had conquered for him at Oojein, and was then at Jowrah with all his brigade, would have attended his summons; but Jeswunt Row, thinking his light troops sufficient for the service, carried only a division of infantry, in which there was not one European officer. He, however,

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\* Mahal, or ward of an Indian town, is regulated, with a view to its police, in a manner very similar to what it is in Europe.



brought with him all the guns he had taken at Oojein, which amounted to nearly three hundred.

Jeswunt Row reached Indore some days before Ghatkia. The latter encamped near Beejulpoor, a village three miles South of the city, close to which Jeswunt Row had taken post. For nine or ten days there was a continued skirmishing and cannonading between the armies, when Jeswunt Row determined on an attack, and for this purpose directed Ameer Khan and Bhuwanee Shunkur (already Buckshee, or paymaster of the army) to move at night, and instructed them to make a circuit with ten or twelve thousand men, so as to gain, in the early part of the ensuing day, the high ground in the enemy's rear, when a gun was to be the signal for a simultaneous charge. This arrangement had the fate of many similar ones in better-ordered armies. Before the troops detached to fall upon the rear arrived, the insolence of Ghatkia's Pindarries provoked a retaliation on the part of Jeswunt Row's Mahomedan horse; the Pindarries fled, and Ghatkia's Mahrattas, who came to their support, followed their example; the panic spread, and part of Sindia's infantry had actually abandoned their guns, and thrown down their arms, when Jeswunt Row, whose efforts to restrain this attack were not effectual, lost a victory by not prosecuting his success. He remained for a moment undecided; and before he saw his error, the infantry of Sindia recovering from its alarm, and observing only two or three hundred horse, rallied and repulsed them. Jeswunt Row made repeated attempts, but in vain, to throw them again into confusion. About this period Ameer Khan and Bhuwanee Shunkur reached their des-



tion; but, instead of a signal gun and a combined attack, they found Jeswunt half defeated, and the day far advanced. The action was in favour of Sindia's troops, and many parties of Holkar's took shelter in the town; while, at the same critical moment, some leaders\* gave orders to load their cattle. This completed the impression of defeat among the followers of Jeswunt Row, who, before it was dark, commenced their flight. The Pindarries, who always watch this part of an army, were instantly among the baggage, and the confusion soon became irretrievable. Jeswunt Row, seeing that all was lost, fled with his horse and a few infantry to Jaum, leaving his guns, camp, and capital to the enemy.

The loss of the battle of Indore has been variously ascribed—to the bad conduct of the infantry; to the treachery of the artillery, which had been recruited from Sindia's broken corps at Oojein; and to Ameer Khan, who, after his horse was killed, is accused of having set a bad example, by seeking the shelter of some trees; but though enough has been said to account for defeat, it may be added, that the confusion was, from the first, greatly increased by the vicinity of the capital, and Jeswunt Row was blamed by all for selecting so disadvantageous a military position.

The atrocities of Sirjee Row Ghatkia at Indore have been before noticed: they far exceed those perpetrated by the army of Ameer Khan at Saugor. There was also this difference:—the Mahomedan chief, although defi-

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\* Dherma Kower and Hurnath Dada, two favourites of Jeswunt Row, are accused of having first given this imprudent order for marching.



cient in authority, and perhaps energy, at least evinced an inclination to put a stop to the outrages of his lawless adherents; while Sirjee Row is stated by all to have enjoyed the scene, and to have encouraged the Pindarries to acts of atrocity novel even to that barbarous race. There is no reason to suspect exaggeration in the statements, which represent the wells within the limits of Indore as filled by bodies of unfortunate females, who by a voluntary death escaped the disgrace and cruelty to which they were for more than fifteen days exposed. The slaughter or flight of almost every inhabitant, and the demolition of every house, alone terminated this scene of plunder, massacre, and destruction. Between four and five thousand persons are said to have perished, and the remainder who fled saved no property.

While his enemies glutted themselves with the plunder of his capital, Jeswunt Row remained shut up at Jaum, a strong position on the verge of the Vindhya range, defended by a fortress; but as the Pindarries came every day to within a mile or two of his camp, his supplies began to fail, and the army, without food or pay, were with difficulty kept together from day to day by the earnest exhortations of their leader, who promised that means should be early devised to improve their condition. The extremity to which he was at this moment reduced, may be conjectured from the measure to which he resorted. He obtained from his chiefs a promise of stilling the clamours of their followers for eight days (the time he required), on his giving to each horseman a piece of gold bullion to the value of five rupees, which was obtained from breaking up all the ornaments, even to the female trinkets, found in the



# FAMILY OF HOLKAR.

treasury of Ahalya Bae. After this he sent the little baggage he possessed to Mhysir; and with only men and horses, making a rapid march of seventy-eight miles in one day to the wealthy town of Rutlam, he completely plundered it. He told his followers when he reached Rutlam, that he had fulfilled his promise, and that they were at liberty to help themselves. This feast (for it was literally such to his hungry soldiers) lasted thirteen days, during which man and animal fed to surfeit. He marched back to Mhysir with an army loaded as heavily with booty as their horses could bear; and on his arrival there, he plainly informed his adherents, that his means of giving them regular pay were at an end, but that he was ready to lead those who were willing to follow his fortunes to plunder.\* This promise, we are assured, was received by all ranks with delight.

Dowlet Row Sindia, finding that he could not promote his interests by associating them with the cause of Casee Row, desired that prince to leave his camp and proceed to Mhysir, where he arrived two days after Jeswunt Row's return, by whom he was kindly and honourably treated, but admitted to no participation, either nominal or real, in the administration of affairs. When Casee Row was one day boasting† of his influence in the coun-

\* This fact proves that he had expended whatever supply of money (which is said not to have exceeded twenty or thirty lacs of rupees) he found in the treasury of Ahalya Bae; for he gave up at this period all those arrangements he had made for giving his army regular pay, when that first came into his possession, and now publicly proclaimed himself without any resource but plunder.

† I heard this anecdote from a very respectable person, who was present when the conversation occurred; and have since had it confirmed by others.



cils of Dowlet Row Sindia, he proposed to Jeswunt Row to effect a reconciliation between him and that prince. "Hold your tongue," said the former with impatience: "Had God, in mercy to the house of Holkar, ordained you to be a female, you would have benefited another family by bearing children; but you have the name of a man, and have been, in consequence, the ruin of your own."

Sindia had done more than desire Casee Row to go to Mhysir. He had some time before offered to release the son of Mulhar Row, and with him all the Holkar possessions, if Jeswunt Row would cease from farther devastation of his provinces; but the latter, although he had originally made no other demand than what Dowlet Row was now willing to concede, had already gone too far as a freebooter to be able to stop with safety. We must refer to this feeling his insisting upon cessions of some territories which had not been in possession of the Holkar family since the days of the first Mulhar Row. On this being refused, he prepared to carry on the war on a more extended scale. He sent Futtih Singh Mania, accompanied by two chiefs of the Patan tribe of Bungush, to plunder the territories of Sindia and the Paishwah in the Deckan; while he himself marched to the Northward, levying heavy fines as he went along on all the principal towns.\* He also, at the commencement of this expedition, obliged Zalim Singh of Kotah (to which city he marched) to pay him seven lacs of rupees to save his country from desolation. Jeswunt Row was joined at this period by all his infantry brigades, in

\* Nolye, Katchrode, and Mundissor, with all their dependent villages, had to pay large sums for exemption from destruction.



## FAMILY OF HOLKAR.

which, however, a considerable change had taken place. The Chevalier Dudernaic, who had either taken alarm for his personal safety, or entered into a correspondence with his countrymen in the service of Sindia, kept aloof at Rampoor.\* Jeswunt Row sent Shamrow Madik, to give him assurance of good treatment. The latter, finding he could not persuade Dudernaic, prevailed upon his corps, by a promise of paying their arrears, to leave that officer,† and join his army which had now arrived at Jawud: whence all the infantry, except one battalion with its four guns, were detached to Mhysir, while the horse commenced plundering the districts of Rajpootana under Jeswunt Row, who had proceeded as far North as Tonk, when the arrival of a corps, which Sindia had detached in pursuit, made him move in a Westerly direction. He was likewise induced, by reports of the riches of Nath Dora in Mewar, to make rapid marches,

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\* Rampoor on the Chumbul, and the territory near it, had been granted to Dudernaic, as Jaidad, or temporary assignment for the payment of his troops.

† Dudernaic, though he resided himself at Rampoor, kept his family and property under the protection of Zalim Singh. When he found his men seduced from their obedience by Shamrow Madik, he went with two hundred horse to Kotah, and surrounding the house in which Shamrow dwelt, entered it himself, and threatened to put him to death. Zalim Singh, aware of the bad consequences to himself if a favourite chief of Jeswunt Row suffered injury within his territories, hastened to the house, where he found the parties in violent altercation. It terminated by his separating them and putting restraint on Dudernaic. Jeswunt Row demanded he should be given up, but this Zalim Singh refused to comply with; the act, he said, would stain his name with infamy. A small sum was paid to obtain Jeswunt Row's permission for his French commandant to depart; and the Chevalier proceeded to Hindustan with all his property, escorted by a party from the Regent of Kotah.



In hopes of relieving the wants of his army, by plundering the treasures and jewels with which the liberal piety of Hindus had ornamented its shrines. The Mah-ratta soldiers had sometimes shewn a regard to religious feelings, even when opposed to their interests; but Jeswunt Row derided the scruples of his countrymen on such points. The idol Nathjee had been carried away on his approach, with his jewels to the amount of four or five lacs of rupees; and it was probably from their having thus effected their escape, that he assumed a tone of moderation; for two years afterwards he plundered the same sacred shrine, and jestingly called the booty he seized, the holy present\* of a divine being, who condescended to favour him. Such sacrilegious wit endeared him to the Patans, who predominated in his army, and whom he always particularly courted: but the Hindus of his army were shocked, and some of them still believe that his insanity had commenced before he committed this crime—while others refer the miserable close of his life to the offence he gave by its perpetration to a principal divinity.

After ravaging a great part of Mewar, Jeswunt Row retired to Rampoorra on the Chumbul; and while his army remained in that quarter, he is believed to have discovered considerable treasures which had been concealed in the neighbouring fort of Hinglaisgurh. He proceeded from Rampoorra to Amjherra, which he plundered and burnt, being provoked by the spirited but ineffectual resistance of its Raja. He next passed the Nerbudda, and fell upon Sindia's districts in Nemaar,

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\* The term used is Purshad, which denotes food from a divinity.





## FAMILY OF HOLKAR.

CSL

which he laid completely waste. Cundwa, at that time an opulent town, was reduced to ashes, and heavy contributions were levied on Berhampoor, where he was joined by his infantry, with which and a few horse he proceeded to collect money in Candeish, while Ameer Khan and other chiefs were detached in various directions, to support their followers by plundering\* the dominions of the Paishwah and the Nizam.

It would be useless to dwell on the scenes of pillage and cruelty which marked the progress of Jeswunt Row's army to Poona. The alarm caused by his advance towards that capital led Dowlet Row Sindia to detach a force to the support of the Paishwah. A partial affair took place as this corps passed Jeswunt Row's army, in which Ameer Khan gained an advantage over two of Sindia's regular battalions; but the latter proceeded without farther molestation to their place of destination.

The battle which was fought near Poona on the twenty-

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\* Heavy contributions were levied on Malhigaum, Toka, Kygaum, Para, Sunjun, and Jaulnah; and many other towns near these were plundered. Amber, of which Sindia had held possession since the death of Mulhar Row, surrendered, after three days' opposition, to Ameer Khan, and that chief is stated to have been very anxious to save it from pillage; but his utmost efforts were unavailing. From thence, he moved to Vinchoor; with the Jahgeerdar of which he fought an action, that terminated in the complete rout of the latter, and the consequent plunder and destruction of the town by the Patans. Ameer Khan after these exploits joined Jeswunt Row at Fultimba, which he expressed an anxious desire to plunder; and though Jeswunt Row is stated to have shown some reluctance to allow this sacred place to be injured, he at last gave his consent to a contribution of fifteen thousand rupees being levied; and treble that sum was extorted from the inhabitants.



fifth of October, between the army of Jeswunt Row and the combined troops of Bajerow and Sindia, has already been noticed. Jeswunt Row, after drawing out his army opposite to his enemies, with the cavalry in the rear and flanks of the infantry, dismounted, and stood upon an eminence, that he might have a clear view of the whole action. According to the statement of some of his confidential officers, he cherished hopes, even at this moment, of bringing matters to an amicable adjustment with the Paishwah; but these, if really\* entertained, were soon dissipated. His enemies commenced the action, and were successful in forcing a body of his horse to retreat. Jeswunt Row, the instant he

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\* Whatever might have been the professions of Jeswunt Row, there were too strong feelings of hatred between them for him seriously to have anticipated Bajerow's consent to any union, except in the last extremity. Etojee, the brother of Jeswunt Row, had fled, at the same time he did, from Poona. His necessities had compelled him to adopt the life of a common plunderer. He was taken, and trampled to death by an elephant. It was true, he had committed a crime that merited death; but he was the son of Tukajee Holkar, and amongst the Mahrattas it was deemed an outrage to execute him like a common malefactor. This act of Bajerow, and the confinement of Kundee Row, were always pleaded by Jeswunt Row as his excuse for the life of violence and crime he subsequently led, and in which he had gone so far, that he could neither forgive, nor hope to be forgiven. Besides this, the horde of plunderers he had collected impelled him forward. He had no regular resources to pay them, and they were to be fed from day to day by the plunder of the country in which they acted. Jeswunt Row had, with no greater sincerity than he professed attachment to Bajerow, courted the amicable interposition of the British Government; but authentic documents prove that from the commencement of his career he was hostile to its policy, from a knowledge that it was directed to the suppression of that predatory system, upon which his existence and the attachment of his followers depended.





observed this retrograde movement, sprang upon his horse, and addressing a small party of his men, advised all who did not intend to die or conquer, to save themselves, and return to their wives and children. "As for me (he exclaimed), I have no intention of surviving this day; if I do not gain the victory, where can I fly?" This proclamation of his resolution was well seconded by his actions. He hastened to his regular infantry, which, commanded by an English\* officer, were continuing the fight, and, having met his flying horse, by his reproaches and example he succeeded in rallying them. The panic now ceased, and a complete victory was the reward of his efforts. A considerable number of the enemy was killed and wounded: their camp was plundered, and Poona was only saved from the same fate by the desire of the conqueror to reserve this prize for himself. The Patans of Ameer Khan, who had been the first to turn their backs at the commencement of the day, were now the most forward to plunder; they had reached the skirts of the city, and begun the work of pillage and massacre, when Jeswunt Row ordered some of his own guns to play upon them. It was the only order the Patans would have obeyed; but they did not wholly desist, till a party of them trying to force the safeguards that were sent to protect the place, Jeswunt Row, wounded as he was, galloped to the spot, and slew two or three of them with his spear. He on this occasion, as at Oojein, displayed a remarkable degree of personal energy. His associate, Ameer Khan, had not

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\* Captain Harding, a very gallant young adventurer, who had been a short time in his service. This officer was killed, and his loss was much regretted by Jeswunt Row.



been so distinguished; and when he came to congratulate Jeswunt Row (who was tying up his wounds) on the happy result of the action, the latter said smiling, "You have been lucky to escape, brother." "I have indeed," was the grave reply; "for see here, the top\* ornament of my bridle is broken with a cannon-ball." "Well, you are a most fortunate fellow," said the malicious Mahratta, bursting into a loud laugh, with marked incredulity as to the cause of the accident, "for I observe the shot has touched neither of your horse's ears, though the wounded ornament was betwixt them." The person who related this characteristic conversation added, that the Patan chief looked vexed and abashed by this coarse but severe piece of wit.

Jeswunt Row, after this victory, waited fifteen days, till the arrival of Amrit Row† (with whom he had before intrigued) enabled him to proceed, without violating national prejudices, in his efforts to give stability to his power. On the ground that Bajerow, by flying from his capital, had virtually abdicated, Amrit Row assumed the functions, without taking the name of Paishwah. The British Resident‡ at Poona was treated with great distinction, and every endeavour was made to reconcile him to the new government; but, finding that impossible, passports for his proceeding towards Bombay were reluctantly granted.

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\* The top ornament, or Khulgee, of the bridle of a man of rank is usually of silver with a feather, and stands on the headstall between the horse's ears.

† The adopted son of the Paishwah's father, and thence always styled his brother.

‡ The late Sir Barry Close.





CSL

## FAMILY OF HOLKAR.

For two months no violent outrage was committed on the inhabitants of Poona. The revenue collected during that period, was obtained in a manner which excited no serious alarm; but the preparations of the British Government accelerated a crisis unfavourable to the plans of Amrit Row, who, no doubt, had entered into the views of Jeswunt Row, in the hopes of being kept in the office of Dewan, or minister, of the Poona state, which, through life, had been the grand object of his ambition. But the flight of Bajerow, and his treaty with the British Government, disappointed all such expectations, and left Amrit Row without the power of fulfilling the promises he had made to his protector. The latter, however, insisted upon a large sum of money, to satisfy the immediate wants of his army. This could only be obtained by the plunder of Poona, and that act of rapacity was now determined on. Every house of decent appearance was entered, and guards placed over it. Every inhabitant who had the reputation of possessing property, was seized and tortured till he paid the sum demanded, and troops were placed in every direction to prevent their escape. The booty obtained was very considerable; and Jeswunt Row, after paying a great part of the arrears of his army, marched with a large sum in his treasury towards Central India.

Dowlet Row Sindia had remained, during the whole of these transactions, encamped near Berhampoor, occupied in preparations for the war, which, in conjunction with Ragojee Bhonslah, he now meditated against the British Government. It appeared to the confederates of the utmost importance to secure the aid of Jeswunt Row; and a treaty was signed, by which the promise of



his co-operation\* was obtained by a cession of all the countries that had formerly belonged to the Holkar family, and the release † of Kundee Row, and Beemah Bae, Jeswunt Row's daughter.

Dowlet Row Sindia, when he sent him his nephew and daughter, wrote to Jeswunt Row, then at Mhysir, that as the war would instantly commence, he hoped he would despatch a part of his army to the Deckan. Jeswunt Row's first resolution was to comply with his request, and the whole of Ameer Khan's troops actually crossed the Nerbudda, then swelled by the rains (it was the middle of the monsoon); but having himself embarked in one of the last boats with Ameer Khan, some conversation ensued between them, of which nothing farther has ever transpired, except that it was followed by a complete change of measures; for next day the Patan army began to re-cross. Jeswunt Row is understood to have written a long letter to Dowlet Row Sindia, in excuse for this conduct, which he attributed to the want of money to pay his followers; and he at the same time recommended him to send his infantry, guns, baggage, and family to Malwa, and carry on a predatory war against the British, observing, that if he attempted to fight like a sovereign, ‡ or, in other

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\* This promise of Jeswunt Row to join the confederacy against the British Government, was distinctly admitted by the officers of Dowlet Row Sindia, who negotiated the treaty of Sirjee Aujengaum.

† Both these children had been made prisoners by Dowlet Row Sindia when he slew Mulhar Row at Poona. They had been for some time confined in Asseergurh, whence they were now sent to Jeswunt Row's camp.

‡ All the papers of the Holkar family are lost. I state this fact on the authority of several persons who from their situation at the period were likely to be correctly informed of what passed.





## FAMILY OF HOLKAR.

words, with a regular army, he would be defeated,—if like a Mahratta, he would be successful. Sindia could not be expected to pay much attention to the advice of one whose first act exposed his perfidy, and who, the moment he observed his armies fully occupied in Hindustan and the Deckan, took advantage of the defenceless condition of his provinces in Central India, to ransack and destroy them,—while Ameer Khan was pillaging the more eastern districts of Ashta, Shujahalpoor, and Omutwarra. Jeswunt Row, after passing the rainy season at Indore, went to the vicinity of Bampoora, where he continued for a short time on the banks of the Chumbul, and then moved to the frontier of the Jeypoor countries, indiscriminately plundering and exacting from the districts his armies overran. Sindia soon after made peace with the British Government; but the great losses he had sustained, and the irritation which arose from some disputed articles of the treaty, led to his again entering into a negotiation with Jeswunt Row. This was conducted by Ambajee Inglia, through whom Sindia is represented to have stated that he had been betrayed by Ragojee Bhonslah, deceived by his ministers, deserted by his army, and that he saw no hope for the Mahratta cause, but in the energy and courage of Jeswunt Row. The latter answered, that he had foreseen the result of that description of war which Sindia attempted to carry on against the British, but his advice had been despised. He was, he said, nevertheless ready to make one effort more against that nation, provided Dowlet Row would send him such a supply of money as would enable him to put his troops in motion. He received an answer through Ambajee, that Sin-



dia had no treasure to send him, but he was at liberty to levy contributions from his principal towns. This latitude was gladly accepted; and while Ameer Khan was instructed to supply his wants (which he did most amply) from Bhilsa and the western parts of Bundelcund, Jeswunt Row marched to Mundissor. This city was not only the capital of a province, but also a great emporium of commerce between Guzerat, Rajpootana, Malwa, and Hindustan. Although not so large, it was almost as wealthy as Oojein. Contributions had before been levied on it three different times by Holkar; but as these exactions were in some degree made good to those from whom they were extorted, by a partial remission of revenue, the city was not ruined. The present visitation was more destructive. Jeswunt Row, to prevent the flight of inhabitants, agreed, when within twelve miles distance, to take a comparatively light fine of three lacks of rupees; but next day, when he had completely surrounded it, and brought two hundred guns to bear upon its weak defences, he summoned the governor to deliver up the town at discretion, or to abide the consequences of an immediate assault. Opposition was in vain; the surrender was agreed to; and the city was systematically plundered of all its wealth. Officers were appointed to every quarter, and furnished with

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\* It is to be regretted that the correspondence of this period was burnt, with all the papers of the Holkar family, by a dreadful fire which occurred nine years ago at the cantonment of Kotalah, near Bampoora. Hardly any thing was saved on this occasion from the flames. I write what is here stated on the verbal communications of two respectable persons, one of whom was at the court of Holkar, the other confidentially employed with Ameer Khan, to whom the progress and result of this negotiation were regularly transmitted.





troops, accountants, and workmen. The house of the governor alone was exempted from a search, which was elsewhere carried so far as to dig up the floor of every other mansion where there was the least appearance of comfort or wealth. The property found was directed to be seized, with the exception only of the clothes and ornaments which females had upon their persons. Though a few of the public officers who were supposed to have concealed money were tortured till they revealed it, no other excesses or cruelties were committed, nor any insult offered to individuals; but this regularity made the work more complete, and the loss greater, than could have been incurred by indiscriminate plunder. The lowest estimate of the public and private property taken on this occasion exceeds one million\* sterling. So far is certain, that Jeswunt Row received in money, jewels, goods, and grain, an amount equal to sixty lacs, with which he paid the arrears of his army, which was at this period called upon to engage in a war with the British Government.

A negotiation had been for some time carrying on between Jeswunt Row and Lord Lake; but, while the former proffered friendship, his demands were of a character that marked his insincerity, and several intercepted letters to Rajas in Hindustan brought his hostile designs to light, which were confirmed by his rejection of every overture towards a reasonable settlement. The barbarous murder of the British† officers proclaimed

\* The amount stated in the manuscript from which I write, is one crore of rupees, or one hundred lacs; which, at two shillings the rupee, is one million sterling.

† The names of these officers were Tod, Ryan, and Vickers; they were murdered at Nahar Mughanah, (or Tiger's Hill,) about fourteen



the nature of the war intended to be carried on. He had written to General Wellesley, who commanded in the Deckan, in terms of such boastful arrogance,\* that they could only be considered as a declaration of war; but the Governor-General desisted from proceeding to extremities, until all hopes of his adopting a course consistent with the general tranquillity or safety of the Company's possessions were at an end.

It is foreign to the object of this history to detail the events of the war that ensued between the British Government and Jeswunt Row Holkar. It commenced by his losing the fort and province of Tonk Rampoorā; but the imprudent advance of the detachment under Colonel Monson into Malwa, though attended at first with success,† enabled Holkar to bring his whole force upon a small corps, remote from all support, and its disastrous retreat enabled him to enter Hindustan at the head of a very numerous army as a conqueror. The anticipation of success with which this event inspired his followers was destroyed by a series of memorable reverses. The failure of the attack on Delhi, the complete rout of his cavalry at Furruckabad, and the defeat of his infantry and loss of his guns at Deig, were crowded into one short month; and although the British suffered severely in the subsequent disastrous

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miles from Odeypoor. This occurred in May, 1804; the reason assigned was their correspondence with the British Commander-in-chief.

\* This letter was written in February, 1804. "Countries of many hundred coss (Jeswunt Row observed) shall be overrun. He (meaning Lord Lake) shall not have leisure to breathe for a moment, and calamity will fall on lacs of human beings by a continued war, in which my army will overwhelm like the waves of the sea."

† The capture of the fort of Hinglaisgurgh.





attacks on Bhurtpoor, this event did not prevent the necessity of Holkar's retreating from Hindustan seven months after he entered it, with an army defeated and disgraced, and which had lost almost all its guns and equipments.

When he entered Hindustan, according to the most correct account that had been obtained of his army, it amounted to ninety-two thousand men, of whom sixty-six thousand were cavalry, seven thousand artillery, and nineteen thousand infantry, and one hundred and ninety pieces of ordnance; and he left it with his whole force diminished to thirty-five thousand horse, seven thousand infantry and artillery, and thirty-five guns. His principal loss of men was by desertions; and among those that left him were some of his oldest and best officers.\*

Dowlet Row Sindia, who had nearly involved himself in a second war with the British Government, by falling again under the influence of Sirjee Row Ghatkia, was recalled by the events of this campaign to a sense of his danger. He concluded a second treaty with the British Government; agreed to exclude for ever from his councils a flagitious minister, who was the avowed cause of his aberration from his faith; and abandoned

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\* Bhuwanee Shunkur, his oldest, and hitherto his most faithful friend, left him on this occasion. There is but one account of his defection. It was caused by the danger in which both his honour and life stood from the hostility of Hurnath Dada, the unworthy favourite of Jeswunt Row, who during this service had made several efforts to ruin a man whose character and conduct were continually contrasted with his own, by an army who respected Bhuwanee Shunkur as much as they detested him. I have every reason to believe, from what passed between me and Bhuwanee Shunkur when he came over, that the account given of his motives is correct.



altogether the cause of Jeswunt Row Holkar. The latter chief, however, had, before he separated from Sindia's army, been a principal instigator and actor in plundering Ambajee Inglia, an officer whom Sindia had long employed in the management of his richest provinces, and who was now compelled to surrender his wealth\* by means as violent and unjust as those by which it had been amassed.

Jeswunt Row remained with his diminished army, during the rainy season, in Mewar, and then, re-entering Upper Hindustan, proceeded by rapid marches to the Punjab, followed by the British army, where he was compelled to sue for peace, by the conditions of which, contenting himself with the recovery of the Holkar territories, such as they were in the time of Ahalya Bae (with the exception of all claims and possessions North of the Chumbul), he abandoned the wild pretensions he had for some time cherished, of restoring, through the means of predatory warfare, the former glory of the Mahratta name. It is difficult to discover what expectation Jeswunt Row could have indulged from his last enterprise. Several of his officers who have been interrogated, state, that he had hopes of aid from Runjeet Singh; and that he expected (if at all successful) Dowlet Row Sindia would again be disposed to adopt the cause of his nation; but the fact probably was, that having lost his possessions in the Deekan, and indeed in Central India (for almost all his territories in that quarter had been occupied by the British), and having no means of keeping his troops together but by

\* Fifty-six lacs were extorted from Ambajee, of which Jeswunt Row Holkar got half.





plunder, he desired to lead them into a country where they could subsist; and it is highly probable that Sindia encouraged a plan which served a temporary purpose, by carrying Jeswunt Row and his lawless followers to a distance.

When Jeswunt Row returned from the Punjab, he halted for about a month in the country of Jeypoor; and while his armies wasted its fields, he exacted eighteen lacs of rupees from the fears of the Raja and his ministers, who had (from causes unnecessary here to explain) been at that moment deprived of the friendship and protection of the British Government. From Jeypoor he marched into Marwar, where he commenced a complete reformation of his army, on the principle of reducing its numbers to a scale more proportioned to his receipts, and of adding to the efficiency of those he retained, by introducing subordination and discipline. He discharged most of the loose bands of horse he had hitherto maintained, advising them to return to their homes or seek other service, as he neither had power to continue a war against the British, nor revenues to afford them subsistence.

Maun Singh, Raja of Joudpoor, visited Jeswunt Row when in the province of Ajmeer, and brought with him that chief's family, of which he had taken charge when the latter marched to the Punjab. Maun Singh claimed his assistance against the Raja of Jeypoor in the contest which had arisen between these potentates for the beautiful and high-born Princess of Odeypoor, to whose hand both of them pretended; but the Jeypoor Raja having advanced eighteen lacs of rupees, on the express condition that this aid should be withheld, the reproaches of Maun Singh, for violated faith and neglected



friendship, were lost on the callous ear of a chief, whose life had been passed in sacrificing every tie to the necessities of the moment. A serious rebellion had broken out in his army; and with this excuse for the non-performance of his engagements, he dismissed his old friend, promising, however, that he would be neutral in the ensuing contest, and that he would hereafter send Ameer Khan to his assistance.

The chief mutineers in Jeswunt Row's army were the Deckany horse, and some others whom he proclaimed it his intention to discharge. He had, to calm their violence, given his nephew, Kundee Row, as an hostage for the payment of their arrears; but, provoked by his evasions and delays, they determined to raise this boy, in whose name the government was carried on, to a more substantial exercise of authority; and, taking advantage of Gunput Row, the Dewan of the family, being along with him, they hoisted his standard, and declared, that allegiance was due to him alone as the legitimate representative of the House of Holkar, and that Jeswunt Row, who was the offspring of a slave, could only be deemed an usurper. Gunput Row was a willing instrument on this occasion;\* but Kundee Row, though only ten years of age, is stated by all to have remonstrated against their proceedings with a spirit and sense above his years. "You will (he used to say) receive your arrears, which is your sole object, and then abandon me to destruction." The anticipations of the child were too prophetic. All that Jeswunt Row received

\* Gunput Row was made prisoner, but effected his escape, and first fled to Jeypoor, whence he went to Benares, and did not return till Jeswunt Row had ceased to act as the head of the Holkar state.



from Jeypoor was given to the mutineers, who, on receiving their pay, marched for their homes, and within the week the sudden death of Kundee Row was announced to the army. There is no doubt that he was poisoned by Jeswunt Row, acting, it is supposed, by the advice of his Gooroo, or religious guide, Chimna Bhow, a man of a dissipated and cruel character, to whose influence some of the worst actions of Jeswunt Row are attributed. The alarm which the conduct of the insurgents had caused in the mind of Jeswunt Row, was not allayed by the sacrifice of Kundee Row; while Casee Row survived, he was still in danger. His death was resolved upon, and Chimna Bhow is believed to have suggested this second act of atrocity: he certainly lent himself to its perpetration.\*

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\* Chimna Bhow went to Kergond in Nemaaur, of which district he had the management, and where Casee Row and his wife were under his charge. It has been said that he did not mean to put them to death, but that he was compelled to do so by an attempt made to release them, by a party of Bungush Khan's Patans, under Dadahn Khan. Bungush Khan has given a detailed account of the transaction, on the report of the persons he employed. Their object was to release Casee Row, whose fate their attempts may perhaps have accelerated. According to this chief's statement, founded on the report of his officer, the murder was committed in the jungle, at some distance from Kergond; but a more particular detail of the affair, given by a Sepoy then in the service of Chimna Bhow, and evidently an actor in the scene, states that Casee Row and his wife had been removed to Beejagurh, and were prisoners in a house near the lower fort of that place, when its being surrounded by Bungush Khan's Patans, led to an order for their immediate execution. The Sepoys, of whom the narrator was one, are represented by this man as having refused to obey the order; on which, agreeably to his evidence (which is very particular), a relation of Chimna Bhow's entered the room, and first struck off the head of Casee Row, and afterwards of his wife Anun-



A general feeling of horror was the result of these crimes; but all expression of it was repressed, from the dread of Jeswunt Row, whose increased violence at this period gave symptoms of that insanity which soon became outrageous, and the commencement of which his family and adherents (perhaps in kindness to his memory) date from the murder of his nephew Kunder Row.

When the mutiny of his troops took place, Jeswunt Row employed Ameer Khan to pacify the Mahomedans, who were the most clamorous and violent. That chief appears to have taken advantage of the opportunity to urge the fulfilment of their original engagement to divide equally the possessions they might obtain. Though Jeswunt Row evaded the full performance of this agreement, he granted, in addition to other lands, the districts of Perawoe\* and Tonk. He also made over the collection of the Kotah tribute to the Patan chief, from whom he now ostensibly separated; and the latter went to serve Juggut Singh, Raja of Jeypoor, who agreed to pay the whole of his followers, in the hope of obtaining through his aid, the Princess of Odeypoor, who has been noticed as the cause of his war with Maun Singh.

By making over this part of his army to the Raja of Jeypoor, Jeswunt Row gave the promised support to

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dee Baee. The latter was pregnant, and a report was circulated and believed by numbers, that the child was born and saved. This has since been proved to be without the least foundation; and Chimna Bhow is known to have reported at the time to his master, that there existed no human being to dispute with him, or his children, the power he had usurped as chief of the Holkar state.

\* This Pergunnah, which lies between Aggur and Kotah, is estimated at a revenue of fifty thousand rupees per annum.



that chief, while he evaded the performance of his engagement to the Joudpoor prince, by pretending that Ameer Khan was no longer in his service ; and the fact is, the latter assumed at this period independence of action, and continued thenceforward to subsist himself and army upon the country of Rajpootana.

After Holkar returned to Bampoora, he commenced casting cannon, and attempting changes and improvements in his army, with an ardour and violence which decidedly indicated that insanity, the crisis of which it, no doubt, accelerated. It was first observed that his memory failed, and that he became every day more impatient and outrageous in his temper. The effects of excessive drinking, to which he had been long addicted,\* were now aggravated by hard labour at the furnaces and founderies, in which he occupied himself night and day, often pouring himself the metal into the mould of his new cannon. By great efforts he cast† above two hundred pieces of brass ordnance in three or four months, many of which were mounted as gallopers. He had received the strongest impressions of the superiority of this branch of artillery, from having experienced, in his campaign in Hindustan, their utility against

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\* Jeswunt Row Holkar was from his youth dissipated. When he took Poona (A.D. 1801) he gave way to every excess. His favourite drink was cherry and raspberry brandy, and the shops of Bombay were drained of these and other strong liquors for his supply.

† A Hindu artificer, called Soobharam, was the chief director of his foundery. He was a slave and scholar of the famous Maun Singh Chowdry, who long directed the foundery at Oojein ; and is reported to have been a man of much science. The metal of the new cannon was purchased in every quarter and at any price for Jeswunt Row became furious at the least delay.



his light troops. His cavalry, with the exception of two thousand\* family adherents, he determined, should consist of men on monthly pay, riding the horses of the Government; and nearly ten thousand of this description were formed into regiments, and horses were ordered to be purchased in every direction to double their number. He broke up the remains of his old infantry, and formed twelve new battalions. Both men and horses in his new levies were measured with a standard; the latter were only bought when of a good size, but the battalions were divided into three classes†—the large, the middle, and the small. Every recruit was measured, and sent to the corps to which his stature was appropriate. Jeswunt Row carried on these improvements in a manner that shewed the wandering of his mind. What he ordered must be done in a moment, or his violence was excessive; he personally superintended every operation; he was out at daylight drilling his troops, making the cavalry charge the infantry, the latter move upon the guns, which in their turn galloped to the flank and rear of the lines, and were made to fire close to the men and horses, to accustom both (as he used laughingly to observe) to stand the hottest fire. These sham fights took place twice a-day, and he appeared directing every individual, as well as the whole, with a species of personal activity and energy that

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\* These two thousand were what is termed Sillahdar, that is, men who provide and keep their own horses, and receive an average pay in lieu of all charges for their support.

† The Mahratta names for these different-sized battalions were, Ootum, the best; Mudhyum, the middlemost; and Kunisht, the least. The corps were known by these names.



accelerated improvement in a degree almost incredible. But the career of this extraordinary man was drawing to a close: he had passed seven or eight months in scenes such as have been described, before his madness reached the height which led to his confinement. It had long been perceived by those around him; but the awe his character inspired, made all dread proceeding to extremities. Jeswunt Row was himself not insensible to the progress of his malady. His violent proceedings, and the severe account to which he called his principal officers after he returned from the Punjab, caused many of them to fly; and Balaram Seit, who had been the efficient agent employed in the negotiation with the British Government,\* had risen to be his Dewan, or minister. To him Jeswunt Row often communicated his alarm at the state of his reason. He was wont to exclaim with impatience, "What I say one moment, I forget the next; give me physic." Balaram used at the time to promise obedience to this request, and indeed to every other that Jeswunt Row made; and the latter, soothed by his compliance, thought no more of what had passed. Innumerable orders for putting different persons to death were given during his paroxysms; but one or two only suffered; the remainder were saved by the address and benevolence of the minister, who, while his natural timidity made him tremble† for his own life,

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\* This person, with an inferior agent called Shaick Hubeebullah, negotiated with me the treaty concluded in the Punjab in January, 1806.

† The description of Balaram's interviews with Jeswunt Row at this period is ludicrous. He generally wrapped himself up in a thin cloth, and sat trembling. Jeswunt Row used to say at times, "What



was always most anxious to prevent the destruction of others. But such scenes could not long continue. One night, when Gungaram Kottaree had the charge of the guard over the palace, all the females ran out, exclaiming that they were in danger from the fury of the Maharaja. Gungaram, after directing them to a place of safety, entered the inner apartment; he at the same time sent for the minister Balaram: they could not at first discover Jeswunt Row, but, having brought lights, he was at last found trying to conceal himself in a large bundle of loose clothes. It was resolved by those present, that his insanity had reached an extremity, when he could no longer be suffered to go at large. Men were directed to seize him, and they took, or rather dragged him to an outer room, that the females of the family might return to their apartments. Although Jeswunt Row appeared, when force was used, mentally insensible to what passed, his bodily exertions to emancipate himself were very great, and, being increased by the strength which insanity creates, it required twenty or thirty men to master him; but that was at last effected, and he who a few hours before had received a real or feigned obedience to the slightest order, was now bound fast with ropes like a wild beast. The night passed in anxiety, but a sensible resolution was taken to attempt no concealment. On the ensuing morning the whole of the civil officers of the State and the army were informed, either by verbal or written communications, of his actual condition. No trouble ensued; all appeared contented to

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is the matter with you, Balaram?" "A slight fever," was the usual reply.—Notwithstanding this alarm, he kept his post, when many, who had the character of more courage, deserted.





await the result. On the third day, Jeswunt Row had an interval of reason : he asked why he had been bound, and, when informed of what had passed, he merely said, " You acted right, I must have been very mad ; but release me from cords ; send for my brother Ameer Khan, and make me well." A superstitious belief existed that some evil spirit, who haunted the palace of Bampoora, had bereft him of reason ; and he was in consequence removed to Gurrote, a town at a short distance\* from that city. His malady, though it became every day more confirmed, ceased to be so outrageous as at first. He was, however, kept in a tent by himself, surrounded by guards, and some of his most confidential servants were entrusted with the immediate custody of his person. They became early familiar with his fits of insanity, which were frequent, and various in their character. Sometimes they were violent, but oftener marked by a strange mixture of entertaining folly and mischief. Ameer Khan, who had hastened to obey his summons, appears to have made every effort to effect his recovery. He brought a Mahomedan physician, who was at one time sanguine of success ; and we receive a good impression of his sense and skill, from his having at first ridiculed the idea of Jeswunt Row's malady having its origin in any supernatural cause, and his latterly refusing to give him medicine, because he could not control those who had the charge of his diet, and who gave him what his physician thought would counteract his remedies. A Brahmin† was sent by Dowlet Row Sindia to

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\* It lies fifteen miles South-west from Bampoora.

† The name of this man was Kunder Row Joshee.



attempt the cure; but, either from a contempt for this doctor, who practised much superstitious mummery in the administration of his medicines, or want of respect towards the prince who sent him, Jeswunt Row appeared to delight in making this person the object of his most malicious and indecent jests.\* But, to conclude, all attempts for his recovery failed. After remaining about a year in a state of madness, he sunk into one of complete fatuity. While in this last stage, he never spoke, and seemed quite insensible to every thing around him. He was carefully attended,† and fed like an infant with milk. By this treatment his existence was protracted for nearly three years, when he died‡ at the city of Bam-poorā; near which, a small but handsome and solid mausoleum§ has been erected over his ashes.

Jeswunt Row Holkar was of middling stature, and of very strong and active make; his complexion was dark, and his countenance had suffered much in appearance

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\* These jests were at times not confined to words, nor limited to this Brahmin physician; and it was with satisfaction that those around saw Chimna Bhow, who was less distinguished as his tutor than as his instigator to crime, suddenly assailed by his master, who had called him on pretext of consulting him, but gave him, before he could escape, a most severe beating.

† The female who attended him throughout his madness, and fed him while in this state, was Lukshmee Bae, a most respectable woman, who gained such extraordinary influence over him, that he did, like a child, every thing she wished.

‡ Jeswunt Row died on the 11th of the Hindu month Kartick, in the year of the Sumbut 1868, corresponding with the 20th October, A.D. 1811.

§ It is called a Chetteree. I was pleased to find, when I visited it, one of Jeswunt Row's favourite horses, enjoying rest and good food near the tomb of his master.



from the loss of an eye :\* but its expression was nevertheless agreeable, from the animation given by very high spirits, which he had constitutionally, and which not only attended him through danger and misfortune, but struggled for a period with the dreadful malady that terminated his life. This chief had been well educated ; he understood Persian, though he could neither read nor write it ; but in his own language, the Mahratta, he wrote with great correctness ; and he was a quick and able accountant. In horsemanship, and in all manly exercises, particularly the management of the spear, few excelled Jeswunt Row ; and his courage was fully equal to his skill. Of this he gave proofs on every occasion. At Poona he led the charge on Sindia's guns, and, being wounded and pulled from his horse by an artillery soldier of great strength, he wrestled with his enemy on foot, till one of his attendants came to his aid, and, after slaying his antagonist, remounted him. He gloried in such exploits, and, indeed, in all feats which displayed personal prowess. What has been said comprises all the qualities he possessed that are entitled to praise : they were such as were to be expected from his frame of body and early habits of life. The natural son of a Mahratta chief, born to no expectation beyond that of commanding a body of predatory horse, and initiated in infancy to all that belonged to that condition, Jeswunt Row would have been distinguished, had his father

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\* The loss of his eye was occasioned by the bursting of a matchlock at Burgonda, already noticed. It is a commonplace observation in India, that "one-eyed men are wicked." Jeswunt Row, when told the sight was gone from his eye, jestingly observed, "I was before bad enough, but I shall now be the Gooroo, or high-priest of rogues."



lived, as one of the boldest and most active freebooters in a Mahratta army. This was, from the first, the fame he aspired to; and it would have been happy for himself and others, had his sphere continued limited to subordinate action. But, compelled to flight by the murder of one brother,\* and warned of the danger in which his own life stood by the public execution of another,† when fortune placed him at the head of the Holkar State, he adopted a desperate course; and his mind, if ever it were alive to better sentiments, soon became callous to every feeling of virtue or morality. But had it been otherwise, he early arrived at a bad eminence, from which it was difficult, if not impossible, to retreat; for although his natural energy supported him in authority, Jeswunt Row was never more than the leader of an army of plunderers, to whom he lent the aid of his talents, his name, and his cause, and who, in return, adhered to him throughout the vicissitudes of his turbulent life. He directed, without controlling, their licentiousness; and they, awed by his vigour, and soothed by his ample indulgence to their worst excesses, served him with an obedience that made him terrible as a destroyer. It may be questioned by those who seek to palliate his crimes, whether he could have enjoyed power on any other terms. But it must be admitted that the part he acted was quite congenial to his character. He was, indeed, formed by nature to command a horde of plunderers. Master of the art of cajoling those who approached him—flattery, mirth, and wit, were alternately used to put his chiefs and troops

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\* By Dowlet Row Sindia.

† By the Paishwah Bajerow.





into good humour, when want of pay, or other causes, led to their being discontented or mutinous. But attempts at intimidation on their part never failed of rousing a spirit which made the boldest tremble. "Do not mistake me," he exclaimed to a Patan officer\* (who endeavoured to stop him, when the army was at Poona, to listen to a complaint about pay)—"do not mistake me for Ameer Khan. I will have you plundered, for your insolence, of what you have, instead of giving you more." The man fled, and thought himself fortunate to escape punishment. The anger of Jeswunt Row was, however, soon over, and his disposition is represented, by all who served him, to have been naturally kind and generous. But his ruling passion was power on any terms; and to attain and preserve that, all means were welcomed; nor could the most unworthy favourite, of whom he had several,† suggest a breach of faith or deed of atrocity, that he would not commit, to relieve the distress, or forward the object of the moment. Acting from such motives, he came like a demon of destruction to undo the fair fabric of the virtuous Ahalya Bae; and from the hour he commenced his career in Central India, the work of desolation began. His apologists (and there are many who advocate his cause) say, that he had from the first no country to protect; that the injustice of Sindia had plunged him so deeply in guilt,

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\* Jumshere Khan, late the manager of Nimbarra, where he died a few months ago.

† Chimna Bhow, his tutor, and Hurnath Dada (a barber by caste), whom he brought up and raised to great power, were his two principal favourites; and it is difficult to say which of the two was the worst man.



that to retreat became impossible, as he never obtained regular resources sufficient to pay an army, which he could not disband without danger, both to his power and to his life. All this is true to a certain extent; but, in reality, Jeswunt Row had no esteem for the principles of good and regular government, and never evinced the least desire to establish them. His object, often declared, was to restore the Mahratta supremacy over India by a revival of the ancient predatory system; but the times were different: for, instead of the falling empire of the Moghuls, he had to contend against the rising fortunes of the British: and in place of the national force employed by Sevajee, he had a motley band of desperate freebooters, who recognized no one common principle but the love of rapine. The failure of his campaign in Hindustan awakened this chief from his dreams of plunder and conquest. He tried to reform his army, and raved about improvements in his internal system of rule; but the end of his career approached. A life which had commenced in trouble, and which had been marked by all the extremes of poverty, of violence, of dissipation, of ambition, and of crime, was to terminate in insanity, and leave a lesson how inadequate courage and talent, when unaccompanied by moderation and virtue, were to the successful conduct of public affairs, or the happiness of those governed.

The actions and character of Jeswunt Row Holkar have been particularly dwelt upon, from a consideration of the influence which his short rule of only ten years had upon the country under his dominion. From the day that Tukajee died, the time of trouble, as it is emphatically called, commenced; for from that hour men





ceased to have even the consolation that belongs to those who are governed by a despot, whose power, though it oppresses them, at least keeps other tyrants aloof. Jeswunt Row not only left them at times exposed to his enemies, but often was either unwilling or unable to protect them from the excesses of his own army. Notwithstanding all these circumstances, so long as he exercised the functions of government, there was always some mixture of pride to his family and subjects, in the contemplation of an active and daring soldier struggling with fortune; and hopes of change and reform appear to have been cherished to the last; but when his power ceased, and his troops contemned the restraint which weak ministers and commanders attempted to impose on them, men's sufferings became more intolerable from the baseness of the instruments by whom they were oppressed. The fact is, the Holkar Government may be said to have been suspended from the date of Jeswunt Row's insanity, until restored in the person of his son Mulhar Row by the treaty of Mundissor. An account of the different ministers and leaders who exercised authority in the name of the family, during the eleven years of unparalleled anarchy which intervened, merits, and must receive, particular notice; for, independent of its importance as local history, it is singularly calculated to illustrate the habits, prejudices, and character of the natives of India.

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## CHAPTER VII.

*Events at the Court of Holkar, from the insanity of  
Jeswunt Row, A.D. 1808, till A.D. 1820.*

AFTER Jeswunt Row became insane, Balaram Seit came ostensibly into the principal management of affairs; but he acted on all points under the immediate direction of Toolsah Bae, who had some time before raised herself, by her beauty and talents, to a very commanding influence in the government, and was now considered as its head. The subsequent actions and death of this lady have an interest that will excuse a few words regarding her origin. A person called Adjeebah obtained local celebrity as a priest of the sect of Maun Bhow,\* and Hureka Bae, who was the favourite mistress of the first Mulhar Row, becoming his disciple, Meenah Bae, who was the favourite female servant of Hureka Bae, also elected him as her Gooroo, or holy father; and, from visiting at his house, became acquainted with Toolsah Bae, who was then in the family, and indeed, the sup-

\* This sect of Maun Bhow owes its origin to an impostor, called Krishna Bhut, well known in the Southern parts of India. The doctrines of this sect teach the sacredness of the Vedas, but deny the Purānas and Geetas.





posed daughter of the Maun Bhow priest.\* She was married prior to her acquaintance with Jeswunt Row, who from the moment he saw her,† became enamoured of her beauty; and in a few days Toolsah Bae was in his house, and her husband in a prison. The latter was afterwards, at the lady's intercession, released and sent to his home in the Deckan, having received, in compensation for the loss of his handsome wife, a horse, a dress, and a small sum of money. Toolsah Bae, from the day she became the mistress of Jeswunt Row, maintained her hold upon his affections; her authority was soon completely established over his household, and this gave her an influence and direction in all public affairs, that made her, as a matter of course, succeed to the regency during his insanity. The claims of females to such power are readily admitted by the Mahrattas: and the pretensions of Toolsah Bae do not appear to have ever been openly disputed. She used to hold daily Durbar, or court, but in a manner quite different from Ahalya Bae. She was always seated behind a curtain, and communicated with her ministers and officers through her confidant, Meenah Bae, who remained unveiled on the outside.

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\* Like popes and cardinals, this order of holy men (who are prohibited all intercourse with the female sex) can only acknowledge cousins and nieces.

† She was brought from Mandoo (where she had gone with Adjeebah) to Mhysir, by Shamrow Madik, who had seen and admired her beauty, and encouraged Jeswunt Row to form the connection, expecting, probably, his own interest would be improved by the influence of one whose advancement he had promoted. These particulars were related to me by the nephew and heir of Shamrow, the present manager of Hursorah.



Toolsah Bacc at first gave her entire confidence to Balaram Seit, and, as that minister had the support of Ameer Khan, his authority seemed well established. The army, however, soon became altogether insubordinate. The infantry seized upon the person of Jeswunt Row, and carried him to a tent in their own lines, declaring he had been rendered insane by witchcraft, and that they would effect his recovery. Ameer Khan, who succeeded in quelling\* this mutiny, was soon obliged to quit Malwa, to attend to his interests in Rajpootana; but he left Ghuffoor Khan, a Mahomedan, who had married a sister of his wife, at the court of Holkar as his representative. This chief received the title of Nabob, and an assignment† of twenty thousand rupees per mensem was fixed by Balaram Seit for the support of himself and of one thousand horse, which he agreed to maintain. These events occurred about seven or eight months after Jeswunt Row was confined.

The army, which had been during the last season on the Kalee Sind river, moved Southward when the rains approached, and established its cantonments at Mhow, where one of the first acts of Balaram nearly led to the overthrow of his own authority. The twelve new battalions of infantry, with their guns, were each under a separate officer. He formed them into one large Campoo, or legion, and gave the command to Dherma Kower (a favourite personal servant of Jeswunt Row), on whom

\* He possessed ample means to effect this object. Jeswunt Row left his finances in a good state, and ten lacs of rupees, which were in the treasury, were seized by Ameer Khan.

† This amount was the estimated net produce of a Jaidad, or assignment of land, granted to Ghuffoor Khan.



he bestowed the title of Colonel. This man, who was of a bold and restless mind, early listened to the suggestions of those who advised him to seize the reins of government. His first step was to plant guards over the tent of Jeswunt Row, that of Toolsah Bae, and the other ladies of the family; and his second, was the issue of a positive order to allow none to visit the insane prince, or Toolsah Bae, without his permission. He at the same time directed the ministers and other officers of Government to carry on business as usual; but warned them to take no measures that had not the sanction of his approbation and concurrence. Dherma was well known as a man of courage and resolution; but, though he succeeded in intimidating all for the moment, so violent a proceeding could not but excite opposition. The ladies of Holkar's family (particularly Toolsah Bae) made secret representations to Ghuffoor Khan, intreating him to liberate them from the restraint in which they were placed; and that chief united with Balaram Seit and some officers in a combination to destroy Dherma. They were joined by Raja Mohyput Ram,\* who had the year before fled from the Hyderabad territories and joined Jeswunt Row at Rampoora, by whom he was welcomed† and taken into service,

\* Mohyput Ram owed his first rise to the influence he acquired as Paishkar, or principal man of business, with Monsieur Raymond, when that officer commanded the French corps in the Nizam's service. In 1799, when that body was disarmed and re-formed, he made himself very useful, and rose to high favour and employ. On the death of Meer Alum, the minister at Hyderabad, he attempted to excite disturbances in the country, which terminated in his being compelled to fly the Nizam's territories.

† He is said to have proposed a plan, which Jeswunt Row entertained favourably, of proceeding to the Deckan, to aid the Nizam in an effort to emancipate himself from the British Government, with whose



with a thousand followers : considerable arrears were due to these mercenaries, and the demand of payment was to be the pretext for putting Jeswunt Row under restraint.\* This was accordingly done in the usual manner, and the customs of the Mahratta armies on such occasion prevented Dherma Kower from taking any violent measures to repel an insult, which, he saw from the first, was directed against himself. Balaram Seit and Gungaram Kottaree pretended to interpose, and persuade Mohyput Ram to take thirty thousand rupees and move away, to which overture he seemingly consented, and actually received twenty thousand. Dherma, however, at this stage of the transaction, discovered there was a serious combination against his power, if not his life. His measures were prompt and decided. He sent an order to Mohyput Ram to march forthwith from camp, and at the same time

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interference in his affairs Mohyput Ram represented that sovereign as dissatisfied. Such reports filled the Ackbars, or native papers of the day ; but the Nizam, acting no doubt at the suggestion of the British Resident, expressed his wish, in a letter to Jeswunt Row Holkar, under date the 3rd of February, 1809, that he should meet with no encouragement. Jeswunt Row, in reply, observed, that his honour forbade the surrender of a man who had sought his protection ; but he stated, that it was his intention to send Mohyput Ram to Calcutta to have his fate decided by "the Council "

\* The restraint termed Dherma, which troops in the irregular armies of India have from usage a right of inflicting on their chiefs, to compel payment of arrears, consists in preventing them from moving from the place, or eating, till the affair is adjusted. The party inflicting this restraint becomes equally subject to it ; and the privation suffered by both parties usually leads to a speedy compromise. The usage of the Dherma is perfectly understood, and, generally speaking, strictly observed. Other troops will not act against a party who are adopting this recognized mode of coercing their commander to the payment of their arrears.





went himself to the tent of Ghuffoor Khan, whom he addressed as the representative of Ameer Khan, in a short but resolute manner. "Ameer Khan," said he, "stands to me in the same relation as Jeswunt Row, and "I am but a slave of the latter. It is only a few days "since I shewed my respect for him, and my friendship "for you, by obtaining grants of Jowrah and other districts for the payment of your adherents. Why have "you plotted with a stranger, like Mohyput Ram, to "seize and destroy me?" Ghuffoor Khan, not a little alarmed at his manner, denied the fact. This conversation took place at night; and shortly after sunrise next day a battalion, with two guns, moved down upon the tents\* of Mohyput Ram, who had been warned again to march. He professed his willingness to obey this last order, but his people were all dispersed at the time, cooking their victuals, or otherwise employed. The delay was construed into a proof of disobedience, and an attack made upon his person, while he was remonstrating against such violent proceedings. He had only one attendant with him at the moment, and could offer no resistance. He was shot dead on the spot by one of Dherma's sepoys, his head cut off, and thrown, like that of a common malefactor, before Jeswunt Row's tent, to which Ghuffoor Khan had hastened in the beginning of the fray, in the hope of saving his friend; but, finding that too late, he contented himself with intreating Dherma to allow the head to be restored, that it

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\* The cantonments of Jeswunt Row near Mhow extended over nearly the same ground which the British lines now occupy, and Mohyput Ram's tents were a little in the rear of the present headquarters.



might be burnt along with the corpse. In this he succeeded, as well as in obtaining the restitution of some of the horses belonging to the followers of Mohyput Ram, all of which, with his property, said to have been very great,\* were in the first instance seized on account of the state.

Ameer Khan was engaged in operations against the Raja of Nagpoor, when he received Ghuffoor Khan's account of these transactions; he instructed that chief to remain at his post, and promised to hasten to his aid and that of the family of Holkar. The contents of his letter were communicated by a secret agent to Dherma, and he sent instant orders to Ghuffoor Khan to leave the camp, threatening him with extinction if he did not. The mandate was promptly obeyed; the Mahomedan chief marched to Jowrah, where he was joined by the nephew† of Mohyput Ram, and by one of Sindia's predatory leaders,‡ who brought with him five hundred men and two guns. Ghuffoor Khan, with this force, began not only to exact what he could from his own assigned lands,§ but also to plunder neighbouring districts. He was, however, soon obliged to retreat to Kotah by the advance of Dherma Kower, who, detaching a force to take possession of Jowrah, moved himself with the court and army, with the professed intention of taking Jeswunt Row Holkar to the shrine of Mahadeva, near Odeypoor, as from that pilgrimage some Brahmins

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\* He is said to have had very rich jewels, most of which were put into Jeswunt Row's treasury. It is, however, stated in the papers of that period, that he had been obliged, before his death, to part with the greatest part of his valuables to support himself and adherents.

† Zeeput Row.

‡ Dhonda Punt Tantia.

§ Jaidad.



had predicted the recovery of his reason. It is to the honour of this low-born usurper of authority, that he preserved a discipline rarely practised in Indian armies; for, though exactions were made from the revenue, hardly a field was destroyed, or a village plundered on the route. The march of Dherma was delayed by many events, and he had only reached Burra Sadree when Ameer Khan\* arrived with an army augmented by almost the whole of the Pindarries, who had at this period become followers of his standard. His superiority in horse enabled him to surround the troops of Holkar, and he demanded of their leader, that Jeswunt Row should instantly be delivered over to his charge. This Dherma refused; but the regular infantry alone were attached to him; all others desired his downfall. Hostilities commenced, and lasted for about fifteen days. The cavalry of Ameer Khan could make no impression on the battalions and guns of his opponent; but the latter, who were cut off from their supplies, could not hope to protract their resistance. The horse became bolder every day, and Ameer Khan shewed unusual courage on this occasion. He in person stimulated his men to make their best efforts to save the family of Holkar from the disgrace and danger to which they were exposed. The latter was not slight, for Dherma, finding he was hard pressed, and that it was difficult, if not impossible, to extricate himself, had recourse to a desperate expedient. The insane Jeswunt Row, Toolsah Bae, and the young

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\* Ameer Khan had at this period been compelled to leave the territories of Nagpoor by the advance of a British army under Sir Barry Close.



prince Mulhar Row,\* were taken (under guard of a small party), the day the army left Burra Sadree, into a thick part of the Jungle, or wild forest; and there can be little doubt his intention was to murder them, in the hope of escaping himself by destroying the causes of contention; but his design was frustrated.† One of Jeswunt Row's attendants conveyed information of these proceedings to Ruttoo Potail,‡ a Mahratta chief of the household troops.§ He instantly galloped to the spot, and sent orders for all the cavalry that could be collected to join him. Ruttoo Potail asked Dherma why he had brought the prince to such a place. Toolsah Bae, who was weeping aloud, exclaimed, "he has brought us here "to be murdered." The excuses offered by Dherma were of a character to confirm every impression of his guilt; and as the horse were now in sufficient strength to enable Ruttoo Potail to assume the tone of command, a halt of the whole army was ordered at the spot|| they had reached; and Dherma and his principal associate, Soobharam, were soon afterwards arrested by the officers of his own corps. These were gained by a promise of their arrears, to turn against their late commanders, who were brought next morning prisoners to the tent of Toolsah Bae. She directed their immediate execution,

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\* The present head of the Holkar family, who was then only four years of age.

† Several persons, acquainted with this intended crime, gave evidence against Dherma, after he was seized.

‡ I know this plain unassuming soldier well. He has still a principal command in the Pagah, and stands deservedly high in the court of the young prince, whose life he saved.

§ Pagah.

|| Near Sangurah, about four miles from Sadree.



and they were carried in a cart to a spot about a mile from the lines, where they were put to death.

Periods of trouble form remarkable men. Dherma Kower\* had probably become a favourite domestic of Jeswunt Row from his activity† and courage. He appears to have caught many of the qualities of his master.

He returned the confidence of Balaram Seit with ingratitude, using the military power that minister gave him, almost the day after it was conferred, for the purposes of his own ambition. Yet the manner in which he controlled the rabble, at whose head he was placed, shewed he was no common character. If the family of Jeswunt Row and the chief officers of the state acted under restraint, they had at least the consolation of seeing the army kept in subordination, and the country protected. This was the more extraordinary, as the habits of Dherma were very dissipated: he indulged to excess in the use of liquor, and on the last night of his life, when the preparations taken to prevent his escape must have led him to anticipate his fate, he sat till he was seized, looking at a dance and drinking with Soobharam. The latter, an artful wicked man, is blamed by all as the deluder of Dherma, whose crimes have not deprived him of that sympathy which remarkable courage and manly resolution always excite. These feelings have

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\* Dherma Kower was of the Aheer, or cowherd tribe, who are very numerous in Central India, and give its name to a province adjoining Malwa to the North-east.

† In 1805, when I negotiated the treaty with Jeswunt Row in the Punjab, Dherma Kower came several times with secret instructions to that chief's Vakeels, and must at that period have enjoyed his full confidence. He was strong and active, and appeared to me a man of both intelligence and energy.



been strengthened by his conduct in his last moments. Toolsah Bae, when ordering the execution, said, "Send them to Hinglais," which is the name of a fort where state prisoners are confined; and the weakness of Soobharam led him to indulge hopes of life. "We are going to be kept in confinement," said he to his companion. But Hinglais is also one of the names of Bhavane, the goddess of destruction, and Dherma, who better understood Toolsah Bae's meaning, quickly replied, "You are mistaken, brother. It is the celestial Hinglais, to whom we are consigned." The executioner made an ineffectual blow at his neck with one hand. He turned towards him with a stern look, and said, "Take both hands, you rascal; after all, it is the head of Dherma that is to be cut off."\*

The battalions of infantry demanded the prompt payment of those arrears for which they had given up their leaders; and Ameer Khan succeeded, by levying a fine upon every commander in his camp, not excepting the Pindarry chiefs, in raising two lacs of rupees, which satisfied their wants for the moment.

After remaining about two months with the army, Ameer Khan moved to Rajpootana, furnished with orders to collect the tribute due to the Holkar State by the Raja of Jeypoor and other princes. Before he quitted camp a serious intrigue was raised against Balaram. Tantia Alikur, an artful Brahmin, who had great influence with the ladies of the Holkar family, desired to displace the minister. Ameer Khan, who anticipated this

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\* I received the particulars of Dherma's end from a witness of the scene, and the last expressions of this remarkable man were confirmed by the executioner, who is now at Indore.





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attempt, had requested Toolsah Bae, if she wished at any time to get rid of Balaram, to send him to his camp, and he would, if necessary, put him to death. He at the same time desired the latter, if directed to join him, to do so with perfect confidence. A few days after he marched, Toolsah Bae sent for the minister, and ordered him to proceed and join Ameer Khan, whom she required to fulfil his promise, and rid her and the state of an enemy. The result was quite different from what she expected. Balaram was received with honour, and the Patan leader not only told him of the artifice he had used to save his life, but shewed him the letter desiring his death. These communications were followed with a proposition that Balaram should relieve Ameer Khan, who was in great distress from the heavy arrears due to his army, by accepting bills to a large amount in favour of the troops; and in return for this accommodation he was promised to be supported in his station. The minister assented to this arrangement, though he knew he had no power to fulfil it. He accordingly allowed Ameer Khan to give his chiefs and officers bills upon him, at different dates, to no less an amount than a crore\* and sixty-four lacs of rupees. These orders were known by those who received them to be little better than waste paper; but still there was a hope of obtaining something, however small, and they were taken by men who despaired of any other payment. Ameer Khan went in person to Holkar's court to reconcile Toolsah Bae to the minister, which, after much trouble, he effected, and he was again proclaimed sole manager of the affairs

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\* More than a million and a half sterling.



of the state. His first care, after his re-establishment, was to discount the bills he had accepted,\* that he might acquit himself, as far as he was able, of his obligations to Ameer Khan.

The most destructive expedients were at this period resorted to, in order to support the court and army of Holkar. Several of the principal officers were appointed Soobahdars, or Governors, and sent with military detachments, which they were directed to subsist, and to remit what they could collect beyond their expenditure to the government. These commands were given generally to persons who became answerable for the arrears of the soldiers, and paid a certain sum in advance to the treasury, besides bribes to Toolsah Bae's favourite ministers.

They received in return a latitude to plunder; nor do they appear to have been limited as to the territories on which they were to levy contributions. The districts of Sindia and the Puar suffered equally with those of Holkar. To be defenceless was a sufficient ground for the attack of these predatory Soobahdars, who, with the name of officers of a Mahratta state, were guilty of more cruel excesses than even the Pindarries. It would be a waste of time to follow the progress of these delegated

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\* We may judge the character of this transaction from the fact, that he paid the whole by a disbursement of two lacs and a half of ready money, and the distribution of cloth to the amount of two lacs more, the whole being a settlement below half an anna in the rupee. The rate of payment differed; some did not receive so much. A respectable man, Delsook Bae, informed me that he had an order for twelve thousand rupees in cash, for which he was glad to accept one hundred and nine rupees value in cloth.





robbers,\* all whose measures and operations had the same character of violence and atrocity.

\* The first of these high officers was Juggoo Bappoo; four battalions were sent with this person, of which two were commanded by Roshun Beg, a man who had risen from the rank of a common soldier by his activity and courage, and who afterwards acquired reputation among the leaders of Holkar's army. Bappoo Vishun, the present Buckshee, was the next Soobahdar that Balaram made. His corps were chiefly infantry; but another party, detached to subsist upon the country, were all horse. These, after plundering some villages of Sindia's, fell upon Mulhargurh, then held by Ghuffoor Khan (A D. 1810); and the whole of the influence of that chief, combined with the awe still inspired by the name of Ameer Khan, could hardly obtain the recall of this body of plunderers, who were living upon lands that had been assigned for his support.

In the same year a man who afterwards acted a very prominent part, was first brought forward. His rise and conduct when in command are the best comment upon the state of Holkar's court and the unhappy condition of Malwa. Ram Deen, a low-born Brahmin, inhabitant of the Company's territories in Hindustan, was employed as an orderly by Jeswunt Row Holkar, and became a favourite with his countryman Diah Ram Jemadar, a man of character and influence, who first brought him into notice by placing him in charge of Mhy-sir. Ram Deen plundered the inhabitants of this place to supply himself with the means of advancement; but his proceedings on this first occasion were so shameless and wicked, and the complaints against him so numerous, that Toolsah Bae was obliged to order him to be seized and put in irons. This occurred about the period that Balaram was restored to power, and he was released through the interference of Ameer Khan, whom he, no doubt, propitiated by a share of plunder. On the departure of this chief to Rajpootana, Ram Deen addressed himself to the venality of Meenah Bae, who at this time exercised an almost exclusive influence in the councils of Toolsah Bae; and through the effect of large bribes to this lady and others, and abundance of promises, this mean and wicked man was vested with a dress of honour, and had a seal of Prince, a standard, and all the insignia which constitute a Soobahdar, or Vicegerent, delivered to him. He took the Mahratta horse with him, on a promise of pro-



Although Jeswunt Row had commenced the work of desolation, while he retained his reason there was still a sovereign; one who, though prompt and powerful to inflict wrong, had the power of punishing it in others. In the short usurpation of Dherma there was terror, which maintained subordination among the most lawless: but on his death it suited the policy of Ameer Khan, while he ravaged from Nagpoor to Joudpoor, to leave the family, ministers, and commanders of the Government of Holkar, in such a state of anarchy as to preclude all possible combination to subvert his supremacy over a court, the name of which he continued to use as his pretext for exacting plunder.

Toolsah Bace, the pupil, if not the daughter, of an artful priest, who with pretended sanctity was the slave

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viding for their subsistence. He had at first only about a hundred infantry, with two guns; but with his success his views expanded, and he increased his corps by new levies. Four battalions were raised, and through the influence of Meenah Bace a supply of cannon was furnished for the petty army of this leader, which soon became the terror of the Western parts of Malwa.

The commission of Ram Deen was general, and was given and received as conferring a right to plunder all, without discrimination; whom he had the power to plunder. Never was a better instrument of desolation selected. His character is a compound of servility, falsehood, and baseness, an artful flatterer, and an arrogant boaster, unrestrained by either principles or feeling; abject when in distress, and insolent in prosperity. With no ties of family or country, he went forth to extort from all men, and from all communities, what he could obtain without immediate danger. He was, however, a cautious calculator on this point, and it formed the only check upon his proceedings.

This man's character has been more dwelt upon than it merits; but his employment furnishes a good example of those measures which brought such unparalleled miseries upon the province of Malwa.





of worldly ambition,\* had been tutored in more than the common arts of her sex, and she possessed sufficient learning to be considered an extraordinary person in a country where women are seldom at all instructed. She was handsome, and of winning manners, but violent in her disposition, and most dissolute in her morals. She appears to have had considerable talent, and sometimes displayed great resolution; but the leading feature of her character was a cruelty of disposition, which seems almost irreconcilable with that seclusion in which she had been brought up, and in which, contrary to the example of Ahalya Bae (whose exact opposite she appears to have been in every particular), she continued till her death.

The reason commonly assigned for Toolsah Bae keeping behind the curtain† was her youth and beauty; but it is perhaps as much to be referred to her immoral character. She was at first not so shameless as to brave the world, and she knew that if it were publicly known that she was a woman of abandoned character, it would have injured, if not destroyed, her influence as a ruler. The example of Ahalya Bae had created a prejudice in favour of power being vested in a female, and was at first an advantage to Toolsah Bae; but the delusion soon

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\* Adjeebah, the Maun Bhow priest, is generally supposed to be the real father of Toolsah Bae. This professed mendicant, who was made rich by the favour of his disciple Hureka Bae, resided at Mhysir; he was allowed a palankeen, horses, and numerous attendants.

† The word *Purdah*, which means curtain or veil, is often metaphorically used, and implies that seclusion in which many females in India live; but in this and similar cases where ladies transact business, the expression must be taken literally, as they are seated behind a curtain, where they hear and are heard, and through the openings of which they see without being seen.



passed. Every act of the latter shewed that she had all the frailties and vices of her sex without any redeeming virtues; above all, she wanted that noble confidence which purity of mind bestowed upon her predecessor.

Meenah Bae has already been noticed. She had been the servant of Mulhar Row's mistress, Hureka Bae, and, like her, the disciple of the Maun Bhow priest Adjeebah. She was now the confidant of Toolsah Bae, and maintained a complete influence over her young mistress, chiefly by flattery, and by ministering to her pleasures. The chief passion of this woman, who was above sixty years of age, was avarice; and she amassed very large sums, for all were obliged to bribe her who desired her assistance. She was also a devotee, but her devotions were rigidly limited to the practices of her sect; and this made her more an object of aversion to orthodox Hindus, with whom that sect are considered impious; but these were compelled to conceal their feelings, as Meenah Bae was prompt to revenge either insult or injury.

Balaram Seit, the minister of this court, was by tribe a Bunniah, or merchant;\* he had belonged, in a subordinate capacity, to the office charged with superintending the weighing and supplying of grain for Jeswunt Row's cattle. When that chief proceeded to the Punjab, Balaram was raised to a higher station, and the confidence in him was such that he was employed as a negotiator of the peace† with the British Government. His success on this occasion recommended him so much to his

\* The tribe to which he belonged is denominated Aggerwalah. His family came from Jagoor in Hurriana; but he was born, or at least brought up, at Malligaum in Candeish.

† In A. D. 1805, this minister negotiated with me the peace between Holkar and the British Government.





master, that he became, from causes which have been stated, chief minister. There was a mixture of pliancy, of falsehood, of good nature, and ambition, in this man's character, that singularly suited him to the times, and to the part he had to act. He never possessed property, and had, from the first, nothing to lose. He promised every thing that was asked; and though he hardly ever performed what he promised, there was a kindness of manner and apparent goodness of heart about him, that prevented men being outraged even when they were duped. He always appeared better, and really was so, than any other on the scene; and while his easy disposition made him obedient and attentive to Toolsah Bae, and her favourite Meenah Bae, he was considered by others as the only check on their profligacy. Though living in the midst of mutinies, and his person generally under restraint, he was still regarded kindly by the troops, to whom he gave what money he could raise, usually adding a promise that all he could obtain for the future should be theirs. He consented, in fact, to be their agent, and probably was often satisfied to have the plea of their turbulent violence as a pretext for exacting contributions to supply their demands. With such a regency and such a minister, commanders like Ram Deen,\* and a rebellious and disorganized army, the condition of the country may be imagined. Neither the rights of the sovereign nor the subject were respected; every where the same scene of oppression presented itself; open villages and towns were sacked, and walled towns battered, till they paid contributions. Leaders who had been successful, were, in their turn, attacked and plun-

\* For this man's character, vide note, page 224.



dered by those that were more powerful; constant engagements took place between the troops of Sindia, Holkar, the Puar, and the Pindarries, while the Rajpoot princes and the predatory chiefs joined, or deserted, the different parties, as it suited their interest at the moment. The Bheels, a tribe who are born plunderers, encouraged by the absence of all regular rule, left their usual mountain fastnesses to seek booty in the open plains; and the villagers, driven to despair, became freebooters, to indemnify themselves for their losses by the pillage of their neighbours. Such a state of affairs could not long continue: hordes were soon forced from the scene of desolation to seek subsistence in distant lands. None of Holkar's territories escaped the general ruin of this period, which also involved those of the Puars of Dhar and Dewass, of the Nabob of Bhopal, and partially those of Sindia, and of all the Rajpoot States, except Kotah, which, from causes that will be hereafter noticed, rose amid the general wreck to increased wealth and prosperity.

During the very height of this distraction, Jeswunt Row died at Bampoora. Before his death Toolsah Bae, who had no child, adopted, and brought up as her own offspring, Mulhar Row Holkar, the son of Jeswunt Row by Kessairah Bae,\* a woman of low tribe, who had been introduced into his family. This boy was placed upon the Musnud immediately after his father's death, and his title was universally acknowledged. Zalim Singh, the able Regent of Kotah, came to Bampoora to present in person his offering to the young prince.

\* Kessairah Bae, the mother of the reigning Prince, is of the Koomar, or pot-maker tribe of Hindus.



Two months after the death of Jeswunt Row, an attempt was made against the authority of Toolsah Bae, of which Dowlet Row Sindia was supposed the author. A relation of this prince, named Juteebah Mania, entered the service of young Mulhar Row, and through him three battalions, commanded by Juggoo Bappoo, were detached from their allegiance, and on the pretext of demanding arrears, marched to Bampoora to support a plot, of which Emah Bae and Lara Bae, two ladies of the Holkar family, were proclaimed the ostensible leaders. It had been settled that Lara Bae\* was to adopt Mohyput Row,† the son of Anund Row Holkar, the Jahgeerdar of Jallein, whose claims from descent, it was argued, were preferable to the illegitimate son of an illegitimate father, who had been placed upon the Musnud by a combination of wicked persons, anxious only about their own interests. This plot was defeated as soon as discovered. Ghuffoor Khan acted on this occasion a very conspicuous part: he proclaimed himself, in the name of Ameer Khan, the defender of the young Mulhar Row, and was not only joined by all the ministers, but by Zalim Singh, who was still at Bampoora. The battalions of Juggoo Bappoo were first compelled to retreat, and afterwards disarmed and plun-

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\* Emah Bae was the widow of Mulhar Row, who was killed at Poona; and Lara Bae, the wife of Jeswunt Row.

† Mohyput Row was a youth of about seventeen years of age. He fled, on the failure of the plot, to Candeish, where he afterwards attempted to make a party; but the small body of followers which he had collected were attacked and defeated by Ramdoas, the brother of Balaram Seit. No subsequent account is given of this pretender to the Musnud of the Holkar family; he is believed however to be living somewhere in the Deekan, in an obscure condition.



dered. The unfortunate Emah Bae and Lara Bae, who had little, if any, concern in the plot, were put to death. Juteebah Mania fled, but his property was seized and pillaged. Some lesser criminals were executed, while Juggoo Bappoo escaped (probably as being a Brahmin) from farther punishment than a long and rigorous confinement.

The repeated mutinies of the troops, and the danger that ensued, led to the deputation of Dewan Gunput Row with propositions to Sindia, which included the offer of a mortgage of a portion of the Holkar territory in return for a pecuniary aid. Dowlet Row is stated to have listened with pleasure to this, as he did to every proposal that gave him a prospect of attaining a supremacy in the Holkar Government. An engagement was accordingly entered into, and the Dewan returned accompanied by agents from the principal bankers in Sindia's camp, who had instructions to make arrangements for satisfying the claims of the troops, whenever the deeds for the countries specified were made over to Sindia. But Ghuffoor Khan, who saw in the completion of this plan the destruction of his own and his master's influence, after consulting with his friends (particularly with Tantia Jogh),\* summoned Ameer Khan from Joud-

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\* Tantia Jogh, the present minister of the Holkar family, is a Brahmin of the Kuradee† sect, was born in Candeish, but came young to Mhysir, where his elder brother, Balajee Naick, was Gomashta or agent in the house of Hurry Punt Jogh, then one of the principal Soucars in Malwa. The affairs of this Soucar (whose name the young Brahmin had taken as a distinguished appellation) went to

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† For an account of this sect and their usages, vide Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society, vol. iii, page 86.





## EVENTS AT THE

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poor to defend his own interests and those of the Holkar state. The Patan chief hastened to court, and effectually succeeded in frustrating the negotiation.

Toolsah Bae was greatly irritated at hearing from Ameer Khan that she had been represented to him as an abandoned woman; and the enemies\* of Tantia Jogh persuaded her that he was the author of the calumny. Her immediate resolution was to put him to death, and nothing but the vigilance and decision of his friends† enabled him to escape her vengeance. He went to Kotah, where he remained for some months. After Ameer Khan left camp, the plan of obtaining Sindia's aid was revived, and by the advice of Balaram Seit and Meenah Bae, Tantia Alikur was despatched to Gualior. He concluded an engagement, by which it was

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ruin after the death of Ahalya Bae; but Tantia having been attached to an European commander of one of the Campoos or legions, became his confidential man of business, and joined to the management of the countries assigned for the support of this body of troops, the sole charge of providing funds for their payment. He continued attached to the infantry of Holkar's army till the murder of the English officers, before Jeswunt Row invaded Hindustan. On the occurrence of this event he left the army, and retired to Oojein. He rejoined it when it returned to Malwa, and remained in the exercise of his business as a Soucar (which he has always continued) under the protection and friendship of Balaram Seit. The violence of Dherma prevented Tantia Jogh from having any concern with the Campoos, while that person commanded; but on his death he was appointed to the general charge of the battalions, whose organization was changed, and from this station he gradually rose to influence and power.

\* Tantia Alikur was the person who chiefly excited the Bae against Tantia Jogh upon this occasion, and it naturally caused an irreconcilable hatred between them.

† Ghuffoor Khan gave Tantia Jogh the first intimation of his danger, and aided his escape.



agreed, that an annual sum of twenty-four lacs of rupees should be paid by Sindia, on countries equal in revenue being made over to that prince. This second negotiation was defeated by a variety of events, but more especially by a general mutiny of the whole army, which first compelled Toolsah Bae to fly with the young Mulhar Row to the tent of Ghuffoor Khan, and afterwards to seek shelter from the excesses of the troops in the fort of Gungraur, a possession of the Holkar family, which had been temporarily assigned to Zalim Singh, Regent of Kotah.

Tantia Jogh, who had returned from Kotah supported by all the influence of Zalim Singh, began at this period to take a very considerable lead in the affairs of Government. He was, however, nearly being ruined by a plan which Meenah Bae had concerted, to seize him and others in order to pay the troops with the plunder of their property, and place the administration in the hands of Ram Deen. The latter had just arrived at Gungraur with his corps, and was accompanied by his brother,\* who was not only possessed of property, but from being the renter of several large districts, had connected himself with some of the richest bankers at Oojein, one† of whom had accompanied him to Gungraur for the purpose of giving the troops who supported the projected change an adequate security for their arrears and future pay.

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\* This man, whose name is Mukhum Lâl, commonly called Joshee, is well educated, and a man of business. He has long been a prominent actor in scenes of rapine, and by that and other means has acquired considerable property. He is at Oojein, and was offered by Dowlet Row Sindia the management of several countries, if he could obtain my consent to the measure. This he has tried every effort to effect: but it was always refused on account of his bad character.

† Bhugwunt Doss, a man of wealth and respectability.



Every court has its secret history, and that of several in India, if disclosed, would exhibit strange scenes of intrigue and licentiousness. Nothing could be more wicked and shameless than the daily occurrences which that of Holkar\* exhibited at this period. The profligacy of Toolsah Bae was notorious, but the criminal intercourse established between her and the Dewan Gunput Row, which now became quite public, was attended with the most serious consequences. Tantia Jogh has been accused of having secretly advised the Dewan to consult his own safety, and that of the party to which he was attached, by encouraging the passion which Toolsah Bae had conceived for him; and though he, no doubt, endeavoured to impress the parties with a sense of the necessity of circumspection, he could not have desired the decrease of an influence through which he and his friends enjoyed power. Their first object was the ruin of Meenah Bae, which Toolsah Bae, who was the slave of her passions, and who had now become extravagantly fond of her lover, appears to have agreed to without any scruple. In compliance with the suggestions of Gunput Row, her former favourite was made prisoner.

Tantia Alikur was at this period on his return with agents of Sindia's Government, attended by the bankers, who were to make the necessary advances, and give security for the annual payment of the pecuniary aid

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\* The licentious passions of Jeswant Row Holkar brooked no control; and the sacrifice of the honour of the females of their family was no unusual road with courtiers to his favour. The handsome wife of Gunput Row was considered as the principal link between that minister and his prince. The same lady, at the period of which I am writing, openly intrigued with Tantia Jogh, and was the chief means of preserving the good understanding between him and her husband.



that Sindia had agreed to grant. His progress, however, was arrested at Kotah, by the intelligence that not only his principal friend and supporter Meenah Bae was in confinement, but that Ram Deen, the military commander on whom they reposed most confidence, was also a prisoner, and had not only been compelled to deliver up to his enemies the money he had brought to promote his own aggrandisement, but was made over to the most clamorous of the horse in the service of Holkar, as security for their arrears.

Toolsah Bae after these occurrences moved from Gungraur to camp; some money was given to the troops; and in a few days the whole proceeded to canton for the rains near Mucksee, a town on the river Kalee Sind. Ram Deen and Meenah Bae were carried prisoners with the army; a discussion about the release of the former, caused a dispute between Tantia Jogh and Ghuffoor Khan, which was increased by the latter having given his protection to Tantia Alikur, who now ventured from Kotah, and endeavoured to form a party to remove Toolsah Bae, and advance her prisoner, Meenah Bae, to the head of the Government. Balaram entered into this intrigue, influenced, as his friends pretend, by the disgrace brought on the family of Holkar, from the open and shameless intimacy between Gunput Row and Toolsah Bae. But the latter and her paramour (a man of no talent)\* now acted under the able direction of Tantia

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\* In a conversation regarding the Dewan that Major Agnew had with Tantia Jogh, the latter observed, "Gunput Row personally is and always was, a weak despicable man." This speech of Tantia Jogh would appear tolerable evidence, that while he shared the counsels of this man and Toolsah Bae, he ruled them; but the friends of



Jogh, who advised the immediate removal of Meenah Bae. This lady, who, though confined, had been hitherto treated with indulgence and respect, was now the victim demanded by Gunput Row, and his mistress could not refuse. The female she had so long cherished was dragged away at night, in the midst of a violent storm of rain, to be carried to Gungraur. She entreated to see her mistress for the last time; and her importunities were so violent that they took her to the door of the latter's tent, where she implored admittance if it was only for a few moments; but the unfeeling Toolsah Bae, instigated by Gunput Row, who was standing near her, exclaimed aloud so as to be heard by all, "Do not let her come in, take her away." She was carried first to Gungraur, and from thence to Beejulpoor,\* where she enjoyed but a few days' repose, when a bill upon her for a considerable sum was given to some officers of the household troops, with instructions to exact payment. Tor-

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the minister do not admit this to be the case. I asked Rowjee Trim-buck, Tantia's most confidential man of business, if Gunput Row was not a weak man, and consequently a mere tool in the hands of such a person as Tantia Jogh. He answered quickly, "Gunput Row is "one of those half fools that are most difficult to be managed; they "do what they are told in most things, but every now and then put "in a piece of work of their own, which spoils all; besides (he continued) the Dewan often acted to please Toolsah Bae, who, though "full of sweet and persuasive language, and at times witty, had no "sense in affairs of state, and no control over her temper, which was "very violent, and led her often to very cruel acts."

\* Beejulpoor, which is within three miles of Indore, had been granted to Meenah Bae, who made it over to Hurrabah, her spiritual father, who is still in possession of this village, and lives in some state, though his receipts from its revenue have been diminished. This priest accompanied Meenah Bae in her last journey.



ture of every species was inflicted, and though she refused from the first to give one rupee, she did not deny having amassed wealth. "Take me to Toolsah Bae," she often exclaimed, "and if she personally requires ten lacs, I will give them." This meeting, however, was exactly what her enemies desired to avoid; and their tortures were continued till the object they sought was accomplished. Meenah Bae, distracted with hunger and pain, finished the scene by taking poison; but her resolution not to benefit those who wrought her destruction, was persevered in to the last.\* Soon after this occurrence, the general mutiny of the troops, and their threatened violence, compelled Toolsah Bae to make her escape from camp, which she did with difficulty; and she again took shelter in Gungraur, which Zalim Singh had a short time before made over to her possession.†

Toolsah Bae, the instant she reached Gungraur, took very decided steps. The artillery and some corps of infantry were still attached to her. By the terror of the former, she compelled the Mahomedans of the army, with the exception of a small corps, and that of Ghuffoor Khan, to move to a distance, and she proclaimed that Hindus alone should be hereafter admitted into the service of Holkar. This was done on the pretext that the Mahomedans had been the most turbulent; but the fact

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\* None of Meenah Bae's treasure was found. She had, for better security, removed it beyond the Holkar territories; and a great proportion of it is believed to be still in the hands of a banker at Kishengur near Ajmeer. Tantia Jogh is quite satisfied this man possesses a large amount, and has made many efforts to recover it, though hitherto in vain.

† Zalim Singh had rented the district, but, on a larger rent being demanded than he chose to pay, had given it up.



was, these mercenaries were attached to the standard of Ameer Khan, and she now accounted that chief as her principal enemy. These proceedings gave rise to a violent attack upon her authority. A plot was formed to take from her the custody of the young prince, in the possession of whose person all her strength consisted. The infantry corps, as well as the artillery, gave their support, and detachments surrounded the houses of both Tantia Jogh and Gunput Row before they were aware of any danger. The Dewan was made prisoner; but Tantia escaped, with about forty followers, into the citadel, where Toolsah Bae resided. He immediately made arrangements for its defence; and Juttybah Naick, a Mahratta commander of the household troops, who was a favourite of Toolsah Bae, made an effort on this critical occasion to aid her, that reflects honour on his character. The instant he learned her situation, he hastened from the camp to the town with two hundred men, scaled the wall at a place where it was low, and succeeded in reaching without opposition the outer gates of the citadel. This was guarded by a company of the mutineers, who were surprised and attacked with such fury, that they were all either killed or wounded. He was warmly welcomed by Tantia and Toolsah Bae: the latter was, when he entered, sitting with a dagger in her hand, holding the child Mulhar Row, whom she said she was resolved to stab to the heart, rather than allow him, in whose name she governed, to be taken from her. But the danger was past; the rapid success of Juttybah struck such a panic into the infantry, that they instantly moved off to their lines, leaving the town to be occupied by the Mahratta horse; who, hearing of



the affray, came galloping from their encampment to the aid of Toolsah Bae. Ghuffoor Khan also repaired to one of the gates; but he was justly suspected of being one of those who had excited the revolt, and was in consequence warned to keep at a distance; he attended to the counsel given him, and retired to his tents.

Although this plot was for the moment defeated, the motives which induced the artillery and infantry to become the instruments of its execution, still remained. They continued clamorous for their arrears, and as one mode of hastening the payment, they increased the rigour of Gunput Row's confinement; nor were they mistaken in the effect which they expected this would produce. Toolsah Bae, when she heard of his situation, became inconsolable, and implored Tantia Jogh to make his utmost efforts to release the Dewan; she did more, she gave jewels to a considerable amount to effect this object. Tantia managed to raise some more funds, and a compromise was effected. The men engaged in this mutiny, who amounted to about three thousand, after releasing their prisoner, and giving over their guns and arms, and taking hostages for the security of their lives and property, took their discharge, and withdrew from this scene of never-ending trouble to their respective places of abode in Hindustan.

The success of the corps above-mentioned, in extorting their arrears by the violent measures they pursued, brought almost all the infantry\* of Holkar's army to

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\* Thakoore Doss says, that in the space of ten days after these mutinous Sepoys returned to their homes, three battalions, commanded by Roshun Beg, Roshun Khan, and Hussein Allee, arrived at Gungraur.



Gungraur. Plots and mutinies were revived, and Balam Seit was suspected not only of having instigated past proceedings, but of giving encouragement to the commanders to persist in their clamorous demands. Whether this was the case, or that it was determined to destroy him, cannot be well ascertained; the latter is most probable. The support he received from Ameer Khan, his connexion with Tantia Alikur, (who, though he had again fled, was still dreaded,) and his intrigues with Ghuffoor Khan, gave reason to believe his holding any office was incompatible with the firm establishment of the party now in power; but his life might still have been spared, had he not excited the resentment\* of Toolsah Bae by some serious and repeated remonstrances against the continuance of an open and criminal intercourse with the Dewan, which had become, as he stated, the scandal of all India, and brought shame and disgrace upon the family of Holkar. How much she had been inflamed by his reproaches may be inferred from the circumstances that attended his murder; for it can hardly be called an execution. He had been watched, and not allowed to leave the town of Gungraur, from the moment the mutiny commenced; but he had only been in strict confinement three days, when he was sent for at midnight by Toolsah Bae, who received him, attended by Gunput Row and some servants.

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\* Thakoor Doss, when questioned on this subject, ascribes Toolsah Bae's inveterate hatred to Balam, first, to the danger her favourite had incurred through his seditious practices; secondly, to his intrigues with the late Hindustanny horse, by which he gained and kept them in his interest; and, lastly, to his advice and animadversions on her most licentious conduct.



Balaram was asleep when the order was brought for him to attend. What had passed before, the hour of the night, and the language of the messengers, combined to make him suspect what was contemplated. His family took the alarm, and his wife endeavoured by her tears to prevent his obeying the mandate. He put her aside, telling her to cease her lamentations, and not to endeavour to make him guilty of disobedience. He nevertheless, when he came before Toolsah Bae, pleaded hard for his life; representing the inutility of killing a man who had no property to be plundered, and who had yet the power, from the credit he had acquired, of satisfying a mutinous soldiery. He entreated to be spared, if but for a few days, till it was seen whether he could not allay the violent ferment that then existed among the troops. This representation was answered by accusations and invectives from Toolsah Bae, who abused him as the chief author of the calamities to which she had been recently exposed. It was in vain he denied the facts alleged.\* She exclaimed, "Strike off his head." Two Sepoy orderlies† who were present, when asked by Gunput Row, "if they did not hear the orders of their mistress," had the resolution and virtue to answer, "They were soldiers, and not executioners." On receiving this answer, Gunput Row drew his sword, and made the first blow at Balaram: two attendants‡ aided him to com-

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\* Among other crimes, she accused him of having sent a dress to Roshun Beg, as a mark of approbation of his proceedings.

† The names of these men are Deen Singh and Lal Singh; they are still in the service.

‡ Hussoobah Huzooriah struck the second blow, and the body, after being hacked, was dragged away by Bheem Singh Bondelah. The



plete this act of atrocity; the body was dragged into a dark room, and a report spread next morning that the minister had absconded, but no one was deceived.

The chief actors in this scene were Toolsah Bae and Gunput Row. Public opinion ascribed a share of their guilt to Tantia Jogh; and the leading influence he had at this period, and continued to exercise, gave currency to this belief.\* He was not, however, present at the murder, and from the first denied participation in its execution. The deed produced a sensation of great horror. Balaram's character has already been given.

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murderers stripped it of some ornaments, and the Dewan is said to have been base enough to take a jewel necklace as his share of the spoil.

\* Rowjee Trimbeck, Tantia's most confidential adherent, asserts, that his master was throughout averse to the murder of Balaram Seit; and though he admits that a serious breach between Tantia and the two guilty individuals, Gunput Row and Toolsah Bae, did not take place till a year afterwards, when it was effected by the intrigues of Sreeput Row, during Tantia's absence in Zalim Singh's cantonment, he says that a great coolness occurred while the court was at Gungraur, owing to Tantia Jogh having exacted an oath from Toolsah Bae, before he aided her in effecting Gunput Row's release, by which she solemnly pledged herself to abstain from an intercourse which brought scandal on the family, and disgrace on all who supported her. Rowjee Trimbeck adds, that Zorrawurmull Soucar first informed Tantia of Balaram's danger, owing to Toolsah Bae's resentment at his communications with Roshun Beg, and from believing him the real author of Gunput Row's imprisonment; that Tantia spoke to the Dewan, and, while he recommended Balaram being kept in confinement, he entreated his life should not be touched. He says, that no person could be more surprised than Tantia was, at Balaram's being put to death in so sudden a manner; but that he could not express his feelings, having no place of safety but the post he occupied. Rowjee Trimbeck says, he was at Mundissor, raising money, when these events occurred, but is positive of the facts being as he states.



He possessed such a cheerfulness of mind, so great a desire to do good, and so forgiving a spirit, that, in spite of his faithless promises and erring ambition, he was a favourite with all ranks; he is to this day regretted, and his assassination spoken of as an act of barbarous atrocity.

Ghuffoor Khan, on hearing what had passed in Gun-graur, sent a confidential person\* to Tantia Jogh, to ask

\* This statement was taken from an actor in the scene; but I afterwards obtained the relation from Mootie Ram, the person employed by Ghuffoor Khan on this occasion. The following is his evidence: Ghuffoor Khan, three days after Balaram was confined, sent me to Toolsah Bae to enquire after him. She said, "I have no idea of injuring Balaram, but wished to get his accounts settled and then release him." On that night Balaram was slain.—Next day Ameer Singh came and told Ghuffoor Khan of the event. I was sent to Tantia to know what had occurred. Tantia said the Bae had told him that Balaram had fled. On my urging the question and professing incredulity, the minister went to the Bae, and soon after sent for me; but before I arrived, a Huzooriah, or confidential officer, had been called, and asked by the Bae how he came to allow Balaram to escape. He made an excuse of having fallen asleep. Orders were given to flog the man, and he had received several stripes, when I asked Tantia Jogh, "what was the use of such a proceeding, when he well knew Balaram was murdered." We were now close to the Bae, to whom the minister repeated my observations, and my obstinate disbelief of their assertions. On this the Bae lost all patience. "Is Ghuffoor Khan," she said, addressing us, "my master, or my servant? If he is so desirous of seeing Balaram, let him come, and I will engage a meeting shall take place at the battery where Balaram is now sitting." His body had been just conveyed to a casement in the battery to which she alluded. "I instantly," Mootie Ram said, "took leave, with no slight fear for myself; for she was in a very great rage."

When a reconciliation took place between Ghuffoor Khan and Tantia Jogh, the former, to conciliate the latter, denied having given Mootie Ram (the above evidence) any authority to be so importunate,





him how he could, after their promises to each other, be concerned in such a proceeding, and desired to know what he was to say to Ameer Khan. Tantia denied all knowledge of the event he alluded to, and stated his belief that Balaram was still alive, though in confinement. On the messenger requiring a more satisfactory explanation, Tantia informed Gunput Row and Toolsah Bae of what had passed; and a farther attempt was made to convince him that the minister was still alive, but not succeeding, Toolsah Bae, who appeared now to have cast off all fear as well as shame, said aloud, "Is "Ghuffoor Khan my servant, or my master?" and, without waiting for a reply, added, "Go, tell him from me, "if he continues so very anxious about Balaram, to come here, and they shall meet." Ghuffoor Khan was not a little alarmed at this message; and two days afterwards, hearing a report that an attack upon him was meditated, he marched to some distance. Toolsah Bae immediately sent to know the reason of this movement, and to give him every assurance of her cherishing no unfriendly intentions. He agreed to return; but, instead of taking up his old ground, he encamped near Roshun Beg's battalions. Three days afterwards, Toolsah Bae, observing some agitation in the camp, which indicated an intention to surround Gungraur, moved out of that town with all the Mahratta horse. The impatience of Juttybah\* Naick

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and he was dismissed as a man who had disobeyed his orders. He went into other service, and for some time lived with Captain Briggs; but the moment the guarantee of his jagheer made Ghuffoor Khan independent of the minister, he recalled Mootee Ram, who is now his principal Moonshee, or writer. Such facts are conclusive.

\* The Mahratta chief who had behaved so gallantly in her defence at Gungraur.



brought on an affair with the infantry, in which Roshun Beg, supported by Ghuffoor Khan, took a leading part. A cannonade was opened, and Toolsah Bae is said to have displayed courage, till a shot struck the howdah of the elephant on which the child Mulhar Row was seated. This spread a general alarm, and Toolsah Bae instantly mounted a horse, and placing the prince on another with Gunput Row, commenced (accompanied by the household and Mahratta horse) a flight which was continued to Allote.\* The battalions under Roshun Beg moved on Gungraur, of which they took possession. Their first object was to discover the corpse of Balaram, which, though in a putrid state, was burnt by persons of his caste, according to the ceremonies prescribed by his religion. Gungraur was on this occasion completely plundered; the troops were paid part of their arrears, and their commanders (particularly Roshun Beg) enriched.

There can be little doubt that throughout the whole of the events which took place at Gungraur, the mutinies of the troops were made subservient to the intrigues of Ameer Khan and his agents, who desired to deprive Toolsah Bae of power; the consequence was a complete separation of her interests from those of the Patan chief and his partisans. Tantia Jogh now became the head† of one party, and Ghuffoor Khan of another. The former had only the Mahratta, and the household troops, but the possession of the person of the young Mulhar

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\* A town in Sondwarra belonging to the Puars of Dewas. It is sixteen miles South-west of Gungraur.

† Gunput Row was too inferior in talent to be his rival; and Toolsah Bae, except when acting from the impulse of passion, was always under tutelage.





Row gave it a predominance; for so strong was the feeling on this point, that those who had charge of him were deemed (even by their opponents) to be the Government. The party of Ghuffoor Khan consisted of his own adherents, the discharged Mahomedan horse, whom he had recalled, and nine battalions of infantry, with their guns.

One of the earliest measures of Tantia Jogh was to contract an engagement with Sindia's manager at Mundissor, by which he obtained the aid of Ambajee's Campoo, or legion, (one of Sindia's corps employed in Malwa,) which consisted of five battalions and thirty pieces of cannon. A monthly sum was agreed to be paid for the subsistence of this force; but Ambajee's operations were too cautious, and his object was so obviously directed to avoid hostility, that Holkar's court soon became disgusted with its new allies.

Sindia and Ameer Khan were alike anxious to turn the distractions of the Holkar State to their own advantage. The former sent an agent to Ameer Khan, entreating him to desist from measures that would ruin and disgrace the Holkar family, and requesting him to comply with the desire of Toolsah Bae for the removal of Ghuffoor Khan. The Patan chief was too averse to the interference of Dowlet Row to acquiesce; but he was nevertheless solicitous to bring affairs to an amicable termination. He in consequence gave orders to Ghuffoor Khan to suspend hostilities, and assured Toolsah Bae, that if she would consent to his repairing to court, and cease flying about the country, he would compel the infantry to be satisfied with one-half of their arrears, and would recall a representative who was so