

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH
OF
THE NATIVE STATES OF INDIA

IN SUBSIDIARY ALLIANCE WITH THE
BRITISH GOVERNMENT

WITH A NOTICE OF THE MEDIATIZED AND MINOR STATES

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'HISTORY OF THE FRENCH IN INDIA' ETC.

'It is only by attracting attention to the prominent figures in Indian history, by casting light upon the salient features of their career and making them stand out boldly from the canvas, that it will ever be possible to interest the general reader in Indian affairs'

THE TIMES, Feb. 20, 1872

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TO
THE MOST HONOURABLE
THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY

This Work,

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BY THE INITIATIVE TAKEN IN THE YEAR 1866 HE MAY BE
REGARDED AS THE SECOND FOUNDER,

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PREFACE.

THE WANT of a condensed historical sketch of the Native dynasties now reigning in India has been felt alike in that country and in England. Proposals to supply the want have from time to time been mooted. Had any of these been carried to their legitimate conclusion, the present publication would never have seen the light.

It happened, however, that information reached me in the course of last year that the labours in the same direction of a gentleman most competent to do justice to the subject had been indefinitely postponed. I had just then completed a literary work on which I had for some time been engaged, and the desire to supply a great public want induced me to take up the dropped thread.

Indian subjects had long been familiar to me, and the history of several important Native States had previously engaged my study and attention. I should, nevertheless, have felt myself unequal to the task of conducting to completion a work so extensive, had I not possessed in my library all the authorities necessary for the purpose. I made a diligent use of the materials thus at my disposal, and gave my undivided time and attention to the subject. The work is now completed. If it should fail

to fulfil the expectations of those who have felt the want of such a book of reference, I can assure them that I have grudged no toil, and, dependent entirely as I was on my own exertions, have spared no pains to bring it as nearly as possible to the required standard.

Such a work must necessarily be of the nature of a compilation. This aspires to be nothing more. I have gone to the best authorities and have deliberately robbed them. In the widest sense of the term, I have been 'the burglar of others' intellects.' Of Colonel Tod's 'Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan;' of Captain Grant Duff's 'History of the Mahrattas;' of Sir John Malcolm's 'Central India,' I have availed myself largely. Chiefly, however, certainly more generally, are my obligations due to Mr. Aitchison's invaluable collection of 'Treaties, Engagements, and Sunnuds,' a work which contains within it all the modern part of the information I have condensed, and which must always constitute a material basis for such a compilation as the present. I owe much likewise to Elphinstone's 'History of India;' to Ferishta's 'History of the Dekkan;' to a work published anonymously in 1833, entitled 'An Historical Sketch of the Princes of India;' to an admirable summary, evidently officially inspired, of the history of the several states of India attached to the 'Agra Gazetteer' for 1841 or 1842; to the Gazetteers of Hamilton and Thornton; and to a printed summary compiled in the Foreign Department in 1869, by Mr. Talboys Wheeler. I have made passing references to various articles in the 'Calcutta Review' and in 'Asiatic Researches;' to the works of Mill, Thorn, Stewart, and others; but those specially mentioned

constituted my main sources of supply. Nor, when mentioning my obligations, can I omit the name of my valued friend Mr. Runga Charlú, Controller to the household of the Máharájá of Mysore, a gentleman whose vast range of learning, great acquaintance with affairs, sound comprehensive views, and lofty character render him an invaluable ally to anyone engaged in literary work.

Of the Native States treated of in the first six parts of this volume, all, I think, may fairly be classed amongst those which are in subsidiary alliance with the British Government. The seventh part gives a brief account of the states and estates, classed as 'Mediatized and Minor,' which though under the suzerainty of, are not in direct alliance with, the British Government. There remain then the countries in Asia which have entered into treaties with the Government of British India. These are practically independent. They may be said broadly to comprise Persia, Belúchistán, Afghánistán and the frontier tribes, Nipál, Gúrkhá, Sikkim, Bhútan, Burma, and Siam; and their history may perhaps form a separate volume.

One word as to the mode of division I have adopted. I have thought it convenient, instead of grouping states according to their individual size, to follow the natural order of the divisions in which they lie. Thus beginning with Rájputáná—the division containing the oldest monarchies in India, probably in the world—and taking after it its neighbours in Central India and Bundelkhand, I have followed in succession with Western, Southern, and North-Western India. I have indicated the history of the principal states in these six divisions with such detail as a mere sketch of them seemed to authorise, and

with as much precision as the authorities to which I had access would permit. If I may not have succeeded in accomplishing all that has been desired, I shall at least have opened a pathway to others alike more competent and commanding more secret sources of information.

With respect to the spelling of the cities and provinces of India, I have followed the system laid down by Professor Blochmann in his 'Geography of India and Burma.'

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HISTORICAL SKETCH

OF THE

NATIVE STATES OF INDIA.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

THE affairs of India command at present an interest far greater than was bestowed upon them at any previous time. This is as true of that not inconsiderable portion of the country which still remains under native rulers as of the larger portion which has come under the direct sway of the British Government. The country has passed through various stages of its political history, and these afford useful subjects of study to the historian and to the statesman. The first stage comprised the long and comparatively peaceful period when, prior to the invasion of Mahmud of Ghizni, the nation owned the sway of sovereigns of its own race and faith. This would undoubtedly be the most interesting portion of its history for the study of the character and the institutions of the people in their native integrity. But though there are abundant traces of the country having then attained a high degree of prosperity and civilisation, so little is known in regard to the details of the principles of the government, or the condition of the people during this time, and so completely have all traditions connected with them been effaced by the long period of foreign rule which followed, that a study of the history of this epoch

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seems of value to the investigator of antiquarian researches rather than to the practical statesman. That the energies belonging to this purely native progress long ago exhausted themselves, was seen conspicuously in the manner in which all the once powerful Native States succumbed to the inroads of the Mahomedan invader.

The invasion of India by Mahmud of Ghizni, in the early part of the eleventh century, introduces us to the second, or Mahomedan, period of Indian history. The Mahomedan Empire properly commences from the establishment of the seat of government at Delhi, by Kutb-ud-din, in the year 1206; and from that date to the decline of the empire in 1707 is one of the longest periods of foreign rule which any country has ever witnessed. This fact is in itself a most instructive subject for study, as bearing on the character of the conquered and conquering races and their institutions. The Mahomedan rule soon attained the status of a great empire; and during a considerable portion of the Mogul period, from Akbar to Aurangzib, as well as in some of the preceding reigns, the Courts of Agra and Delhi, alike in their magnificence and in the largeness of their public measures, did not merely rival, but surpass, the best European Governments of the day. The institutions of Akbar in particular, the very advanced principles of toleration and justice to the conquered race which he introduced into his government—the influence of which was felt in several succeeding reigns—are worthy of imitation by the most enlightened Governments of any period. This great warrior, though belonging to an age which had but scarcely emerged from barbarism, recognised the sound principle that a Government must rest on the affections of the people. The measures which he adopted with this view for breaking down the barriers between the conquering and the conquered races are worthy of all praise. With the noble race of Rájputs, in particular, he entered into intimate relations. He so far

overcame their prejudices that their principal families gave their daughters in marriage to himself, and to his children; while their sons led his armies to the field, achieved his conquests, and filled the principal offices in his administration. The Hindú States of Rájputáná were under his rule more powerful, more prosperous and more influential, than they are at the present day; and when we are further told that this enlightened ruler authorised Hindú widows to marry, mitigated the horrors of Satí, and forbade marriages before the age of puberty—measures the re-introduction of some of which have been laurels to the ablest administrators of our own day—it is impossible not to admire the wisdom and large-heartedness of his policy.

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But the Mahomedan rule, like all other despotisms, contained within itself the seeds of decay. A Government which owes its success entirely to the personal character of the ruler affords no guarantee for continued progress. Akbar was a great ruler, but it was impossible even for Akbar to provide that he should be succeeded by another Akbar. To this defect, inherent in all personal governments, was added another of even greater magnitude in the unsettled rules of succession among children by several wives. The bloody contests and the unfeeling murders resulting from this cause distracted, and still continue to distract, the best of Mahomedan rules, as is painfully witnessed even at the present day, in the troubles which surround our ally of Afghánistán. The latter part of almost every reign of the successors of Akbar was clouded and unsettled by these contests, and when finally the bigoted Aurangzib departed from the wise principles of toleration introduced by his great ancestor, and by cruelties, persecutions, and repeated acts of faithlessness alienated the affections of his allies and subjects, the Mogul empire began rapidly to decline. After a long and brilliant reign, during which he extended the limits of his empire farther than any of his prede-

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cessors, lived to see the death of Sivají, the founder of the power that was to supplant his own; even to wreak vengeance on his successor—this great potentate, amidst all his triumphs, felt and felt keenly, before he descended into his grave, that the sceptre was departing from the Mogul. ‘His last letters,’ says Elphinstone, ‘showed the failure of his hopes in this world, his dread of that to come.’

Upon the ruin of the Mogul rose the power of the Márhátás, whose predatory career forms the third stage in Indian history. For more than a century these active, restless, lawless warriors undoubtedly exercised a predominant sway over Indian affairs, holding a considerable extent of territory under their own direct rule, and extorting contributions from most of the other Governments in the country. But their career, which was one of rapine and plunder, has scarcely any claim to the attributes of a settled government, much less to those of a great empire.

From the final breaking down of the Márhátá confederacy, in 1817, commences the absolute sovereignty of the great power which is yet destined to play an important part in the future history of this ancient nation. The territorial acquisitions and the influence of the English Government commenced from the middle of the eighteenth century, but its undisputed supremacy and claim to empire can properly reckon only from the complete crippling of the Márhátás in 1817. The time which has elapsed from that event to the present day is indeed but short, but the rapid changes which have taken place, even in this short interval, and the great strides in material and mental progress which have been made, cannot fail to convince the thoughtful native that his country has now entered upon a career which has no parallel in its previous history, whilst the stable character of the government, and the settled principles of its action, give the guarantee that the career thus com-

menced is destined to progress without material interruption. Comparisons have often been challenged and made between the Mogul and the British rule in India, but such comparisons between a power which was still enveloped to a certain degree in barbarism, and one which is wielding all the resources, the knowledge, and the enlightened principles of a civilisation entirely modern and very recent, can only be regarded as ostentatious. There are, however, as already noticed, favourable features in the Mahomedan rule which the English Government cannot lay claim to, and which it would be profitable for the English statesman to lay to heart. The Mahomedan Government was one which in every sense of the term lived in the country, acting upon the people and reacted upon by them in the most direct manner. The splendour of their Courts and the wealth of their aristocracy redounded to the benefit of the people, amongst whom all their acquisitions were spent in a manner calculated to stimulate and encourage native art, whilst the administration of public affairs was to a great extent, if not entirely, in the hands of the natives who held the principal offices in the civil administration, and enjoyed no small share in the command of the armies. These advantages, which touch the mainspring of national life and prosperity, are necessarily wanting in the British system, and it must be admitted that, in the opinion of the natives, this detracts somewhat from the benefits which that system otherwise confers. The superior science and resources of the British nation have annihilated whatever native arts or manufactures had been in existence, and have introduced nothing in their stead, whilst the exclusiveness of their national character and the still more exclusive nature of the administrative machinery adopted in India, have shut out the people from all share in the political administration of their affairs. The British Government, in fact, professes to administer the vast vital interests of an extensive nation by

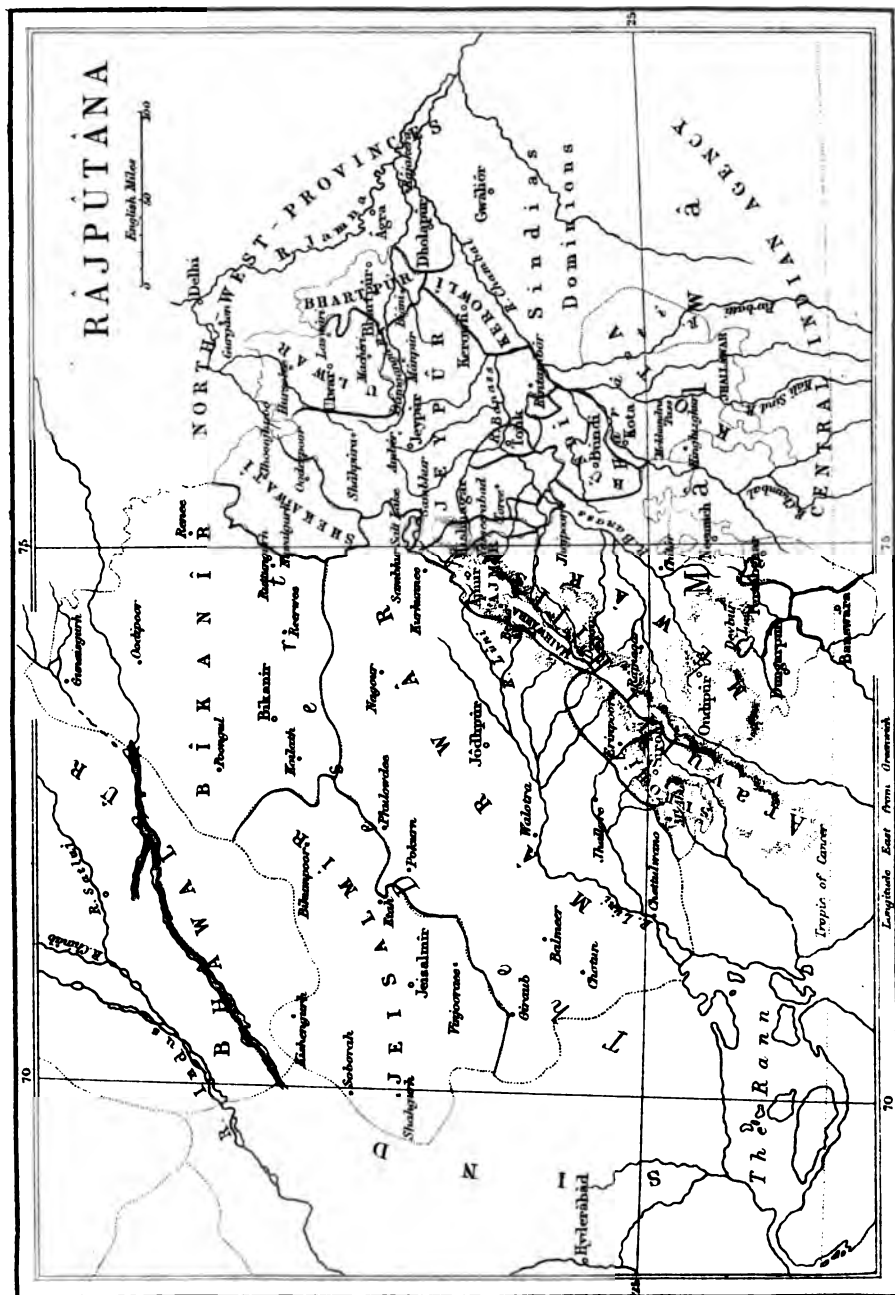
INTROD. means of a foreign agency fluctuating and uncertain in
CHAP. its character, and without availing itself to any considerable extent of the aid and counsels of the people whose interests are mainly affected by its legislation.

In making these remarks I am simply asserting a fact to which it is necessary to allude in marking the striking differences between the system of the British rule and of that which preceded it : they are advanced for that purpose only. Sure I am that the distinguished statesmen by whom the government of British India has been, and continues to be administered, had and have no object more at heart than the improvement of the country and the advancement of its people. If there should be any doubt upon that subject, the noble despatch of the Duke of Argyll, transmitted to India in 1871, would be sufficient to dissipate it. That despatch contained within it the germs of a system by which the natives of India will be gradually brought more largely into the administrative machinery.

Meanwhile it is a satisfaction to reflect that, owing to the more recent policy of the British Government, there still survive many native States independent as to their internal action, which afford now, and for years to come will continue to afford, some opening for native talent and native ambition, some opportunities for solving the great question of native advancement. These States, containing nearly 600,000 square miles, and inhabited by forty-eight millions of people, are scattered over the different parts of India. They are peopled by almost all the nationalities into which the country is divided. They thus form so many centres where the Sikh, the Mahomedan, the Rájput, the Márhátá, and the Dravidian can each bring out to the best advantage whatever may be peculiar and excellent in his national character and national institutions, under the generalising influence of English principles and English civilisation. Their opportunities for this lie essentially in the future. Deprived centuries ago

of their independence, ground down by the Márhátás, restored to ease and safety by the British in 1817, they had not till within the last sixteen years shaken off the mistrust engendered partly by a retrospect of the past, but more even by the sight of the absorbing process occasionally put into action around them. But the Royal Proclamation transmitted to India by the present Earl of Derby in 1859, and the unmistakable manner in which the spirit of that proclamation has been carried out, have dissipated all alarms. Never were loyalty and good feeling more widely spread amongst the native princes of India than at the present moment. The moral influence thus gained gives the paramount power opportunities for urging the feudatory chiefs to adopt measures of progress and liberality. It is to be hoped that in the course of time there will be cemented between that power and its feudatories a confidence and affection such as can be born only of a complete comprehension of the native modes of thought on the one side, and an appreciation of the great moral ends aimed at by modern civilisation on the other. An understanding of that description would be the certain prelude to the grounding of a system compared to which that even of Akbar was 'the baseless fabric of a vision.' When not only the higher governing classes—who already appreciate the truth—but the great mass of Englishmen employed in India shall have schooled themselves to believe that real predominance consists alone, not in belonging to a mis-called dominant race, but in predominance in learning, in ability, in the higher mental qualities and moral powers of a man, irrespective of his colour, his nationality, and his creed; when, too, the native shall have completely learned, as he is fast learning, that to take part in the affairs of the present age it will be necessary to abandon prejudices which restrict his progress, then only may we feel confident that India is entering upon a path which will tend to her advancement in greatness, and open out careers for her sons.

INTROD. Judging from the increasing numbers of thoughtful minds who now-a-days devote themselves to the consideration of these important questions, the subject will, it is certain, sooner or later attract earnest attention, and be treated in a manner which its importance demands. Meanwhile it is possible that the task may be facilitated by a sketch giving an insight into the past career and history of the Native States. That career, it must be owned, displays little of the action of the people, but, like the history of all Governments of the past, consists simply in the wars, the exploits, and the successions of their rulers. But the story is by no means wanting in events of interest, or in indications of life and vitality calculated in many instances to excite the pride of the rulers and the ruled of these States in their past. And pride in the past, I need hardly say, affords the best guarantee for development and improvement in the future.



PART I.—RÁJPÚTÁNA.

CHAPTER I.

ÚDAIPÚR OR MEWÁR.

AREA—11,614 sq. miles.

POPULATION—1,161,400.

REVENUE—About 4,000,000 rupees.

‘WITH the exception of Jaisalmír,’ writes the learned author of the ‘Annals and Antiquities of Rájásthán,’ ‘Mewár is the only dynasty of these races which has outlived eight centuries of foreign domination in the same lands where conquest placed them. The Ráná still possesses nearly the same extent of territory which his ancestors held when the conqueror from Ghizní first crossed the “blue waters” of the Indus to invade India; while the other families now ruling in the north-west of Rájásthán are the relics of ancient dynasties driven from their pristine seats of power, or other minor branches who have erected their own fortunes. This circumstance adds to the dignity of the Ránás, and is the cause of the general homage they receive, notwithstanding the diminution of their power. Though we cannot give the princes of Mewár an ancestor in the Persian Noshírvan, nor assert so confidently as Sir Thomas Roe his claims to descent from the celebrated Porus, the opponent of Alexander, we can carry him into regions of antiquity more remote than the Persian, and which would satisfy the most fastidious in respect to ancestry.’

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I.

The origin of the family of the present Ráná of

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I.

Údaipúr is lost in antiquity. According to the best authenticated tradition, the sovereign of that part of the country had been treacherously murdered in the second century of the Christian era. His favourite wife, who was absent at the time, alone escaped the general slaughter. She was then pregnant, and in due course gave birth to a son. As soon after his birth as was practicable she made over the boy to a Brahman woman, with directions that he should be brought up as a Brahman. She then mounted the pile to rejoin her lost lord. The boy was Bappú Ráwul, the ancestor of the Ránás of Údaipúr.

Brought up as a Bhíl, amongst the Bhíls, the child soon became known as the most daring son of the forest. He killed birds, chased wild beasts, and was the leader of his comrades in all their exploits. One day, after a deed of more than ordinary daring, the youths who accompanied him declared they would elect him as their King. One of them, to note their choice, cut his finger, and with the blood issuing from the wound made the royal mark on his forehead.¹ They then repaired to the chief of the tribe, who confirmed all that they had done.

On attaining manhood Bappú Ráwul sought a wider field for his operations. He established a great reputation, connected himself by marriage with the royal house of Málwá, expelled the 'barbarians' who had usurped his family domains, and finally fixed the seat of his government at Chítór, where he ruled the whole of Rájputáná. He died at the patriarchal age of a hundred years.²

¹ This remarkable ceremonial is still kept up, a Bhíl being still the principal actor in the investiture, and the material used for marking being his own blood. It is stated also, and there can be no doubt of the fact, that the custom was adhered to forty years ago, that whenever the Ráná of Údaipúr crossed the Mahí river, an individual, of a tribe descended

from a Chohan Rájput by a Bhíl mother, was sacrificed, his throat being cut, and his body thrown into the river. — *Vide An Historical Sketch of the Princes of India.* 1833.

² The legend adds that, 'advanced in years, he abandoned his children and his country, carried his arms west to Khorassan, and there

I have stated that the legend records the birth of Bappú Ráwul as having taken place in the second century of the Christian era ; but later investigations have proved beyond a doubt that he reigned in the eighth century, his capture of Chítor having taken place about 728 A.D. Between him and Samársi, the twenty-third king of his race, occurs a break of nearly five hundred years. Of the events of these years the industry of Colonel Tod has obtained a trace, but it would be foreign to my present purpose to enter upon a subject so vast and so remote. Samársi, who flourished in the twelfth century, was a great warrior. The bard of the period describes him as being the 'Ulysses of the host ; brave, cool, and skilful in the fight ; prudent, wise, and eloquent in council ; pious on all occasions ; beloved by his own chiefs, and revered by the vassals of the Chohan.' In alliance with his brother-in-law Prithwi-Raj, the Hindú King of Delhi, Samársi went forth to meet the Tartar invaders of India. The battle which ensued lasted three days (1193) and terminated in the defeat of the Hindús, and the death of Samársi and all his chiefs.

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Samársi was succeeded by his son Kárna, and he, a few years later, by his cousin Ráhap, son of Samársi's brother. This prince first changed the title of the Sovereign of Údaipúr from Ráwul to Ráná, by which it has ever since been known.

From Ráhap to Lákamsi, a space of half a century, nine princes of Chítor were crowned. Of these nine, six fell in battle. This period is described by contemporary annalists as a period of 'confusion and strife within and without.' I therefore pass it over.

Ráná Lákamsi succeeded to his father's throne in 1275. It was during his reign that Chítor had the first experience of Mahomedan invasion. Whilst he was yet a lad, his uncle, the Regent Bhímsi, beat off an attack

established himself and married new wives among the barbarians, by whom he had a numerous offspring.'
—Tod.

THE NATIVE STATES OF INDIA.

PART I

of Alla-ú-dín, King of Delhi, upon Chítor. But in 1303 the attack was renewed. The Ráná, surrounded by all his sons but one—and that one he had sent away to preserve the duration of his race—after defending the place to the utmost, met the assailants in the breach and carried death into, or met it in, the ranks of the enemy. Yet the surviving son did not despair. He had, too, with him the son of his eldest brother, the renowned Hámir, destined to be the saviour of his country. Noticing the capacity of the latter, the Ráná resigned in a short time the kingdom in his favour. Left untrammelled, Ráná Hámir soon made the country so unpleasant to Alla-ú-dín that that prince was glad to make over Chítor to Mal-déo, the Rájput chief of Jálór, whom he had enrolled amongst his vassals, and to return to Delhi. In a few years (1313) Hámir recovered the capital of his ancestors, and, it is asserted by the Hindú writers, defeated and took prisoner the successor of Alla-ú-dín, who was marching to recover Chítor; nor did he release his captive until he had surrendered four conquered districts and paid a lakh of rupees and a hundred elephants for his ransom. Under the rule of this great prince, the glories of Rájputáná revived. He was the sole Hindú prince of power left in India. All the ancient dynasties had been crushed; and the ancestors of the present princes of Jodhpúr and Jaipúr, and many others, brought their levies, paid homage, and obeyed the summons of the great ruler who had asserted the valour of the Hindús, and established their rule in the part of India most congenial to them.

The administration of Hámir is stated to have been mild and paternal, and to have brought great prosperity to his subjects. He died, full of years, in 1365, 'leaving a name, still honoured in Mewár, as one of the wisest and most gallant of her princes, and bequeathing a well-established and extensive power to his son.'¹

The son, Khaitsi Ráná, was a worthy successor of his

¹ Tod's *Rájastán*.

great father. He added to his dominions by several conquests, and even obtained a victory over the Emperor Humayún at Bakról. Unhappily he was slain in a family broil with his vassal, the chief of Bunaoda, whose daughter he was about to espouse.¹

He was succeeded (1383) by Lakha Ráná, an able man, a capable warrior, and a great patron of the arts. He, too, increased his dominions; but, more than that, he settled his frontier, and discovered and worked silver mines in Jaoara. He was, likewise, victorious against the Mahomedan King of Delhi, Mahomed Shah Lódi, but in driving that monarch's army from Gya was slain. His name still lives as of the ruler who was at once the patron of arts and the benefactor of his country.

The death of Lakha Ráná left the throne to a minor, Mókalji. His rights were zealously guarded in his early youth by his elder brother Chonda, self-excluded from the inheritance.² On his coming of age, he evinced all the high qualities of his race, and he achieved no inconsiderable renown in the field; but in the midst of his triumphs he was assassinated at Madaria by his uncles,

¹ Tod's *Rájásthán*.

² The history of the self-exclusion of Chonda is curious. It is thus told by Colonel Tod:—"Lakha Ráná was advanced in years, his sons and grandsons established in suitable domains, when "the cocoa nut came" from Rinmul, Prince of Márwár, to affiancé his daughter with Chonda, heir of Méwar. When the embassy was announced, Chonda was absent, and the old chief was seated in his chair of state, surrounded by his court. The messenger of Hymen was courteously received by Lakha, who observed that Chonda would soon return and take the gage; "for," added he, drawing his fingers over his moustachios, "I don't suppose you send such playthings to an old greybeard like me." This sally was of course applauded and repeated: but Chonda, offended

at delicacy being sacrificed to wit, declined accepting the symbol which his father had even in jest supposed might be intended for him; and as it could not be returned without insult to Rinmul, the old Ráná, incensed at his son's obstinacy, agreed to accept it himself, provided Chonda would swear to renounce his birth-right in the event of his having a son, and be to the child but the first of his "Rájpúts." He swore to fulfil his father's wishes.

Right loyally he observed them. But it was an unfortunate policy that required the sacrifice. The right of primogeniture was compromised, and the making the elder branch of the family a powerful vassal clan with claims to the throne proved more disastrous in its consequences than the arms of the Moguls and the Márhátás.

PART
I.

the natural brothers of his father, for an unintentional offence.¹

The successor of Mókalji was Kúmbho Ráná (1419). He is reported to have been one of the ablest princes who ever sat upon a throne. He possessed, it is said, the energy of Hámir, the artistic tastes of Lakha, and a genius as comprehensive as either, and he was more fortunate. As a warrior he was unsurpassed amongst Hindú sovereigns. He inflicted, in 1440, a terrible defeat upon the allied Mahomedan sovereigns of Málwá and Gujráť, taking the former prisoner, and 'setting him at liberty not only without ransom, but with gifts.' Subsequently he defeated the forces of the King of Delhi, erected thirty-two fortresses for the defence of his dominions, and fortified the passes. He was a man of literary tastes, and a poet himself. Nor, considering that he married the most beautiful Hindú princess of the age, can he be regarded as insensible to female beauty.

Kúmbho Ráná had enjoyed a prosperous reign of fifty years when (1523) he was assassinated by his son! The cause of the parricidal act was simply lust to reign.

The parricide, by name Ūdá, but known in the annals as Hatiáro or the Murderer, did indeed succeed, but he ruled but a short time. In the four years of his administration he lowered the character of his race and diminished the glory of his country. He was driven from the country by his brother Raemal, and, fleeing to Delhi, was struck dead by lightning.

Raemal succeeded in 1474. His first act was to defeat the King of Delhi, who had espoused the cause of his nephews, in a pitched battle. He then pardoned the nephews, who became faithful and valiant subjects. He was very successful likewise in the wars he carried on with the Mahomedan King of Málwá. Unfortunately his domestic happiness was marred by the disunion amongst his sons. The episode recounting their feuds is one of

¹ Tod.

the most interesting and instructive in the annals of Ráj-pútáná, but it would be out of place in this volume.¹

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Raemal Ráná died, after a prosperous reign, in 1509. He was succeeded by his son, Sága Ráná. 'With this prince,' writes Colonel Tod, 'Mewár reached the summit of her prosperity. To use their own metaphor, "he was the urn on the pinnacle of her glory." From him we shall witness this glory on the wane; and, though many rays of splendour illuminated her declining career, they served but to gild the ruin.'²

Some idea of the glory of Sága Ráná may be gathered from the enumeration of the retinue by which he was followed when he marched to the battle-field. 'Eighty thousand horses,' writes the authority already quoted, 'seven Rájás of the highest rank, nine Ráos, and one hundred and four chieftains bearing the title of Ráwul and Ráwut, with five hundred war elephants, followed him to the field. The Princes of Márwár and Ambar did him homage, and the Ráos of Gwáliár, Ajmír, Sikri, Raésen, Kalpi, Chandéri, Búndi, Gagraon, Rampúra, and Abú served him as tributaries or held of him as chief.'

Sága Ráná was a great ruler. His first act was to allay the disorders occasioned by the intestine feuds of his family. He then organised his forces to repulse the invasion of the Mahomedans from Delhi and Málwá. These he defeated in eighteen pitched battles, in two of which—those of Bakról and Ghatolli—he was opposed by Ibrahim Lodi in person. But the invasion of the famous Báber came then to decide whether Hindostan was to be the spoil of the Mussulman or appanage of the Hindú. Victory seemed at first to smile on the latter. When the vanguards of the two armies met at Kanúa, near Sikri, on February 11, 1527, the Tartar invaders, though reinforced from their main body, were repulsed with heavy loss. 'If,' writes Elphinstone, 'the Ráná had pressed on during the first panic it is probable he would have ob-

¹ *Vide Tod's Rájastán.*

² *Ibid.*

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tained an easy victory; he chose to withdraw to his encampment after his success, and thus allowed Báber ample time to take up a position and to fortify his camp, so as to make it a difficult matter to assail him.'

On March 16 following, the decisive battle took place. Báber sallied from his entrenchments, at the head of all his army, and attacked the Hindús at Biána. For several hours the battle raged fiercely, but, when the result was most doubtful, the chief of Raysín, by name Sillaidi, who commanded the van of the Hindú host, deserted to the enemy, and Sága Rána was forced to retire from the field, himself wounded and the choicest of his chieftains slain. He retreated towards the hills of Mewár, having announced his fixed determination never to re-enter Chítor but with victory. Had his life been spared he might have redeemed the pledge, but the year of his defeat was the last of his existence. He died at Baswa, on the frontier of Mewár, not without suspicion of poison.

It is, perhaps, not unfitting to record in this place the account given of the personal form and qualities of one who was not only the most famous representative of the most ancient existing dynasty in the world, but also the most famous Hindú sovereign in India. 'Sága Rána'—writes the author of the 'Rájásthán'—'was of the middle stature, but of great muscular strength; fair in complexion, with unusually large eyes, which appear to be peculiar to his descendants. He exhibited at his death but the fragments of a warrior. One eye was lost in the broil with his brother, an arm in the action with the Lódi King of Delhi, and he was a cripple owing to a limb being broken by a cannon ball in another, while he counted eighty wounds from the sword or lance on various parts of his body. He was celebrated for energetic enterprise, of which his capture of Mózaffer, King of Málwá, is a celebrated instance; and his successful storm of the almost impregnable Rinthambór, though defended by the imperial General, Ali, gained him great renown. He erected

a small palace at Kanúa, on the line which he determined should be the northern limit of Mewár, and, had he been succeeded by a prince possessed of his foresight and judgment, Báber's descendants might not have retained the sovereignty of India.'

Sánga Ráná was succeeded, in 1530, by his eldest surviving son, Ratna Ráná. He reigned only five years, but before he died had the satisfaction of seeing Báber depart, leaving the territories of his father undiminished. He was succeeded, in 1535, by his brother Bikramajít. This prince was daring and foolhardy, but without talent. Defeated in the field by Bahádúr, King of Gujrát, he was besieged by that monarch in Chítor. This famous capital, after a desperate and bloody defence, was taken and sacked. But Bahádúr, summoned to move against Humáyun, soon left his conquest, and Bikramajít Ráná recovered his capital. But he had learned nothing and forgotten nothing. His insolence to his nobles caused a rebellion. He was deposed and put to death, and Banbír, natural son of the brother of Sánga Ráná, appointed to reign in his stead. Banbír Ráná reigned, however, only until such time as the posthumous son of Sánga Ráná was able to assert his rights. The name of this prince was Údai Singh. He ascended the throne in 1541-2. He was a weak, yielding character, born to be ruled by others. Such characters are usually governed by the daring and the unscrupulous. Údai Singh Ráná was no exception to the rule. Attacked in 1568 by the great Akbar, his capital, after another desperate defence, again succumbed. Údai Singh fled to the forests of Rajpiplí, and died there four years later, after an unhappy and inglorious reign.

His son, Pertáp Ráná, 'succeeded to the titles and honours of an illustrious house, but without a capital, without resources—his kindred and clans dispirited by reverses.' He possessed, however, many of the noble qualities of his grandfather. Never despairing, nobly supported by his adherents, the princes and clansmen of

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the family, he established himself at Komulmír, and reorganised the country for a prolonged struggle with the invader. Alone of all the sovereign princes of Rájputáná he refused to ally his house with the Mogul. He refused this 'degradation,' as he considered it, whilst yet struggling for existence; even when he saw the sovereign of Jodhpúr enriched by four provinces, bringing with them a revenue of nearly 16,00,000 rupees, for merely making the concession. But virtue did not remain always unrewarded. It is true that in the plain of Huldighát (1576) he met with a crushing defeat from the son of Akbar, afterwards his successor; and, after a series of encounters with adverse fortune, determined, with his family and trusting friends, to abandon Mewár, and found another kingdom on the Indus. He had already set out, when the unexampled devotion of his minister placed in his hands the means of continuing the contest. Turning upon his adversaries, he smote them in the hinder part, and in one short campaign (1586) recovered all Mewár—Chítor, Ajmír, and Mándelgarh alone excepted. Cut off from Chítor, he established a new capital at Údaipúr, a place which subsequently gave its name to the kingdom. He died in 1597, leaving behind him a reputation for 'undaunted heroism, inflexible fortitude, that which "keeps heroism bright," and perseverance.'

Amra Ráná, the eldest son, succeeded to the throne of Údaipúr. He was too fond of ease and dignity to be a great warrior, but he did, nevertheless, achieve some great things. In 1608 he defeated the Imperial army at Déweir. Jehángír, to revenge himself, made over Chítor to Súgra, uncle of Amra, but who had deserted his family. But the experiment failed. Súgra reigned in solitary grandeur for eight years, without conciliating a single Rájput noble. Then his conscience smote him, and he restored Chítor to its rightful owner. With that fortress the Ráná acquired no less than eighty of the chief towns or fortresses of Mewár.

But a great trial was awaiting him. The Prince

Khúrm, afterwards the Emperor Shah Jehán, was about to invade his dominions. Again did the Ráná collect all his disposable forces, 'the might of their hills.' But all was in vain. He could not resist the overwhelming force of the Moguls, and after seeing his cities captured and his lands laid waste, sued for peace. What followed is thus recorded by the Emperor Jehángír himself: 'On Sunday, the 26th, the Ráná, with respect and due attention to etiquette, as other vassals of the empire, paid his respects to my son, and presented a celebrated ruby, well known in possession of this house, and various arms inlaid with gold; with seven elephants of great price, which alone remained after those formerly captured, and also nine horses as tribute. My son received him with princely generosity and courtesy, when the Ráná, taking my son by the knee, begged to be forgiven. He raised his head, and gave him every kind of assurance and protection, and presented him with suitable khiluts, an elephant, horses, and a sword.'

In other respects Shah Jehán treated the Ráná with great generosity. He restored to him all the country conquered since the time of Akbar, and raised his son, Karran, to a high rank amongst the military chiefs of the empire.

But the disgrace had crushed the heart of Amra Ráná. He abdicated shortly afterwards in favour of Karran, and shut himself up in a palace a mile outside the city of Údaipúr, nor did he once again cross its threshold.

Karran Ráná ascended the throne of his ancestors in 1621. In the rebellion of Khúrm (Shah Jehán) against his father, Jehángír, he took the part of Khúrm, and afforded him an asylum at Údaipúr. This act of gratitude to one who had been kind to his father did not affect the feelings of Jehángír towards him. He died after a peaceful reign in 1628.

His son, Juggut Singh, succeeded him. Regarding this prince, the Emperor Jehángír recorded in his

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memoirs, when the prince visited him at the age of twelve years, that 'his countenance carried the impression of his illustrious extraction.' He reigned twenty-six years—years of uninterrupted tranquillity. To him Ūdaipūr is indebted for those magnificent works which bear his name. A full description of these is given by Tod in his 'Annals of Rájásthán.' I, who have seen them, can bear witness to the accuracy of his description.

Ráj Singh Rána, his son, succeeded him in 1654. This prince showed his high blood by bearing off as his bride a Rájput lady of the house of Márwár, who, solicited in alliance by the bigoted Mahomedan Aurangzib, had appealed to the chivalry of the Rána, sending him this message : 'Is the swan to be the mate of the stork?—a Rájputní, pure in blood, to be wife to the monkey-faced barbarian?' Ráj Singh attacked and cut up the imperial guards sent for the lady, and carried her off as his bride to Ūdaipūr.

But he was to come to issue with Aurangzib on grounds upon which he was even more absolutely in the right. About the year 1676 it pleased that fanatical prince to re-impose a tax called the *jezia*, *i.e.*, a poll-tax on unbelievers in Mahomedan orthodoxy. This act of bigotry roused a very bitter feeling amongst the Hindús generally, but especially so in the heart of their representative sovereign, the Rána of Ūdaipūr. He wrote the noblest letter which a man under such circumstances could pen, and sent it to Aurangzib.¹ But this letter lashed Aurangzib to fury. He summoned his sons and his vassals from all parts of India, and dashed upon Ūdaipūr. But Ráj Singh was more than a match even for his hardened warriors. Retreating before his advanced troops, he drew them into the recesses of the country, and then overwhelmed them. Finally, after more than one great victory, he forced Aurangzib to quit his country, and carried the war into regions ruled by

¹ Vide Appendix A.

the Mahomedans. He died in 1681, when a projected peace, signed by his successor, had afforded him the certainty that his labours had not been in vain. He is described as having possessed, in war, in chivalrous feeling, and in love of art, the qualities which most adorn a man.

Jai Singh Ráná succeeded his father, and signed the peace alluded to with Aurangzib—a peace by which the right of imposing the jezia was renounced. Jai Singh had shown capacity in early youth, but he became indolent and uxorious. His reign is almost entirely a reign of domestic broils. He died in 1700, and was succeeded by his son Amra, who had been in revolt against him.

Amra II. reigned sixteen years. His rule is chiefly remarkable for the formation of a league amongst the Rájput powers to defend themselves against the Mahomedans. But this league was unfortunately accompanied by conditions certain to breed, and which did breed,¹ internecine quarrels. These quarrels led in their turn to appeals to a stronger power, and it naturally happened that the stronger power took advantage of the quarrels and the appeals to help itself. It will be seen how Údaipúr suffered from this cause. Such sufferings, however, occurred subsequently to the demise of Ráná Amra II., which event took place in the year 1716.

Ráná Sangráam Singh succeeded his father and reigned till 1734. Under his rule Mewár was respected, and the greater part of her lost territory was regained. He was

¹ This triple alliance was formed between the Rájás of Jaipúr and Jodhpúr on the one side, and the Ráná of Údaipúr on the other. By it all connection with the Mogul empire, domestic or political, was renounced. Nuptial engagements between the contracting parties, renounced by Údaipúr since the time of Akbar, were to be renewed. It was stipulated that the sons of such marriages should be heirs, or if the

issue were females, they should never be dishonoured by being married to a Mogul.

But the remedy was worse than the disease. It was a sacrifice of the rights of primogeniture, introducing domestic strife, and alternately giving ingress to the Márhátás as partisans and umpires in family disputes—a position of which these knew well how to take full advantage.

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a patriarchal ruler, wise, just, and inflexible, steady in his application to business, and an excellent financier. He had the good fortune to be served by an excellent minister, Behari Dás Panchóli.

Ráná Juggut Singh II., his son and successor, revived the defensive alliance with the Rájput States, previously negotiated by Ráná Amra. He was too fond of pleasure to govern. He preferred, it is said, an elephant fight to warfare. Hence, under his rule, the kingdom passed through a rapid stage of decline. He was embarrassed in the first place by the want of cohesion amongst the Rájputs engendered by the rivalry of their princes, then by the growing power and increasing audacity of the Márhátás. Then, instead of trusting, as his ancestors had done, to the valour of the Rájputs, he must needs call in the aid of Múlhar Ráo Holkar to fight his battles. These causes contributed to give the Márhátás a firm hold on Rájásthán, and when Ráná Juggut Singh died, in 1752, the abasement of his country was sealed.

Ráná Pertá Singh II. lived three inglorious years. During the whole period Údaipúr was subject to invasions from the Márhátás, conducted in succession by Sutwaji, Jankoji, and Ragonáth Ráo. Ráná Ráj Singh II. succeeded his father in 1755. He reigned seven years, during which the country became so impoverished by invasions of, and war contributions imposed by, the Márhátás, that the Ráná was compelled to ask pecuniary aid from the Brahman collector of the tribute, to enable him to marry the Rahtór chieftain's daughter! To such a low ebb had the country fallen!

His uncle, Ráná Arsi, succeeded him in 1762. The ungovernable temper of this prince and his insolent behaviour to the highest nobles of his country caused the greatest misfortunes. Not only did the nobles rebel and support the claims of a pretender to the throne, but Sindhia, Holkar, and the Rájá of Jodhpúr, taking advantage of the distractions of the country, made the

most of their opportunity. In the ten years of his reign Ráná Arsi lost in war six of his most important districts, besides having to pay large sums in contributions. Although, thanks to the fidelity and daring spirit evinced by a leading merchant, Amra Chand, he triumphed over the pretender, he did not escape the vengeance his cruelty and insolence had provoked from the spear of the assassin. He was murdered in 1772.

His son and successor, Ráná Hámir, was as unfortunate as his father. Throughout his reign 'the demoralisation of Mewár was complete: her fields were deluged with blood, and her soil was the prey of every paltry invader.'¹ Rebellion and invasion went hand in hand, and though these were repressed and subdued during the lifetime of the noble minister, Amra Chand—a man of whom it can be recorded that, though many years virtual ruler of Údaipúr, he did not leave behind him 'funds sufficient to cover the funeral expenses,' and whose splendid reputation still lives—yet, after his death, confusion became worse confounded, and six more districts were wrenched from the falling kingdom.

His brother, Ráná Bhím Singh, succeeded in 1778. He enjoyed a long reign of fifty years. It has been said of him that in the course of this period he witnessed greater changes and reverses of fortune than any prince of his illustrious house. And it is true. From his accession to the period of the Márhátá war with the English his country experienced a treatment not dissimilar to that which had been meted out to it under his immediate predecessors. It is true that reverses were tinged by occasional gleams of good fortune, but these were few and far between. It might have been hoped that the humiliation of the two leading Márhátá powers by Lake and Wellesley, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, would have procured some respite for Údaipúr. But the contrary happened. The introduction by Lord Corn-

¹ Tod.

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wallis of the non-intervention system left that and other Rájput countries a prey to the raids of Sindhia, Holkar, Amír Khan, and subsequently of the Pindáris. To such a state of dependency and distress was the Ráná eventually reduced, that he—the head of all the Hindú dynasties—was forced to owe to Zálím Singh, regent of Kotá, the receipt of an allowance, for his support, of a thousand rupees a month. This state of degradation exposed him to the insults of his nobles and feudatories, the more powerful of whom retired to their forts, and directed all their efforts, not to save the kingdom, but to maintain their own domains.¹

This state of things lasted till the end of the Pindárí war in 1817. The consequence was that when the British army, in the course of that campaign, entered Mewár, they found its fields laid waste and its cities ruined, the authority of the Ráná set at naught, all the elements of social order dissolved, or in the course of rapid dissolution.

A remedy was at once applied. The British Government took the country of Údaipúr under its protection, convened the nobles, and prevailed upon them to restore the territories they had usurped from the Ráná, whilst he, on his part, promised to protect their rights. With respect to the British, the Ráná engaged to acknowledge their supremacy, to abstain from political correspondence, to submit disputes to their arbitration, and to pay one-fourth of the revenue as tribute for five years, thereafter three-eighths in perpetuity. The treaty embodying these conditions was signed on January 13, 1817, and the following month the several bands of plunderers and Márhátá horse were expelled the Ráná's territories.

The disorganisation in the administration had, however, become so rooted that necessity forced upon the officer first nominated as British Agent—the Colonel Tod from

¹ For the fate of the Ráná's beautiful daughter, Kishna Komari, the struggle for whose hand ruined Rájputáná, *vide* Appendix C.

whose exhaustive work I have so largely quoted—the whole conduct of affairs. The reforms he introduced were so beneficial, that in the course of three years, whilst greatly ameliorating the condition of the children of the soil, they almost doubled the revenue. Having thus practically demonstrated the mode in which it was possible to administer affairs, Colonel Tod, by direction of his Government, transferred the reins to the native authorities of Údaipúr. The experiment was not satisfactory. In the two succeeding years large debts were incurred, the revenues were anticipated, the tribute to the British Government left unpaid. Again were the officers of the State put into leading strings, and good management re-introduced. Again, too, in 1826, was the administration re-transferred to the native authorities. Once more, unfortunately, failure supervened. In the course of a few months disorder reigned rampant, and the revenue fell almost to the same low figure from which it had been raised by the decided measures taken in 1818. ‘Within a few months the extravagance and oppression became as great as they had ever been before, and the roads became almost impassable to single travellers.’¹

Bhím Singh died in 1828, and was succeeded by his son Jowan Singh. The new ruler was, unfortunately, a man of no character, addicted to vicious habits and low pursuits. It can be easily imagined that under such a rule State affairs did not prosper. Within a few years of his accession the tribute again fell heavily into arrear, the State became overwhelmed with debt, and there accrued an annual deficit of two lakhs of rupees. To such an extent was maladministration carried that the Ráná had to be warned that unless he could keep his engagements with the British Government a territorial or other sufficient security would be required.

The same year that Jowan Singh received this warning,

¹ Aitchison's *Treaties*.

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1838, he died without natural issue. His adopted son, Ráná Sirdar Singh, succeeded him. He was a harsh, overbearing man, very unpopular with his chiefs. He died in 1842, before the financial embarrassments bequeathed to him by his successors had been cleared off.

His younger brother, Ráná Surúp Singh, succeeded to the throne. To relieve his government, the British reduced the tribute to two lakhs of rupees annually (June 1846). His reign of nine years is chiefly noticeable for the continual contests in which he was engaged with his feudatory chiefs, most of whom, descendants of former Ránás, possessed exclusive privileges, on which the Ráná attempted to infringe. These disputes were finally settled in 1861.

In that year Surúp Singh died, and was succeeded by his nephew Sambhú Singh, who was a minor. The administration was first entrusted to a council of regency, aided by the advice of the Political Agent. But the members of the council soon exhibited signs of turbulent opposition and misconduct. Acts of cruelty were allowed to go unpunished, and every kind of opposition was thrown in the way of the Political Agent. At length it became necessary either to form a new council, or to appoint some one chief to act as regent. As no chief to whom this duty could be entrusted was available, it was determined to nominate a council of three, consisting of a president and two members. As the nobleman nominated as president insisted, however, on absolute and uncontrolled powers, the proposition fell to the ground, and the British Resident was directed to retain charge of the administration, assisted by two members; he was also ordered to associate the young Ráná with himself in the business of the State, so as to fit him as far as possible for the direct management of affairs. Under this arrangement the financial condition of the country improved greatly.

Máharána Sambhú Singh attained his majority and as-

sumed the direct government of the country on November 17, 1865. Though not without capacity, he was not a successful ruler. CHAP.
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Since the foregoing sketch was written, intelligence has been received of the death of the Máháráná Sambhú Singh. This event took place at Údaipúr, on October 7, 1874.

Sambhú Singh, who at the period of his demise had lived only twenty-seven years, was childless. His nearest of kin were his two uncles, brothers of his father, Sakat Singh and Sohan Singh ; but the Máháráná had the right of excluding both of them by adoption. This right he exercised when his recovery was regarded as impossible, in favour of Surjun Singh, son of the elder uncle, a boy about sixteen years old. This prince has been installed as Máháráná.

The Máháráná has received the right of adoption. He is entitled to a salute of seventeen guns.

CHAPTER II.

JAIPÚR.

AREA—15,000 sq. miles.

POPULATION—1,900,000.

REVENUE—36,00,000 rupees.¹

THE kingdom of Jaipúr, better known amongst the Ráj-púts as the kingdom of Amber or Dhúdar, was founded by Dhola Raë in the year 957. Dhola Raë was thirty-fourth in descent from Rájá Nál, traditional founder of the kingdom and city of Nárwár. Rájá Nál is said to have been lineally descended from Kush, the second son of Ráma, King of Kóshula, whose capital was Ayódhia, the modern Oudh. Hence the reigning family in Jaipúr

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II.

¹ A large portion of the revenues of the State is alienated in jaghirs and religious grants. I record here

the available receipts.—Aitchison's *Treaties*.

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has been known from time immemorial as the Kutchwa family or rule.

The exploits of Dhola Raë can only be traced in the fabulous legends of the period. This much is clear—that he conquered the country inherited by his descendants. That part of Rájputáná was then divided amongst petty Rájputs and Mina chiefs, all owing allegiance to the Hindú Kings of Delhi. These he conquered in succession, and marrying the daughter of the Prince of Ajmír, he laid the foundations of a kingdom destined to be permanent.

Killed in battle, Dhola Raë was succeeded by his posthumous son by the daughter of the princess of Ajmír, named Kankal; he, again, by his son Maidul Ráo, a warrior and conquerer; and he, in his turn, by Húndéo. Kúntal followed him, and he it was who completed the subjugation of the other aboriginal race of the Mínas.

His successor, Pujún, was one of the most famous of the earlier monarchs of the dynasty. He married the sister of Pírhí Raj, King of Delhi, and commanded a division of that monarch's armies in many of his most important battles. He twice signalised himself in repelling invasions from the north, and, commanding at the time on the frontier, he defeated Sháb-ú-dín in the Khyber pass, and pursued him towards Ghizní. His valour mainly contributed to the conquest of Mahóba, the country of the Chundails, of which he was left governor; and he was one of the sixty-four chiefs who, with a chosen body of retainers, enabled the King of Delhi to carry off the Princess of Kanouj. But in this service Pujún lost his life.

From Pujún to Pírhí Raj there is nothing to record. The names of the intermediate sovereigns were Malèsi, Bijul, Rajdeo, Kítun, Kontul, Júnsi, Udaikurn, Nursing Bunbir, Udharun and Khundrasèn.

The ascent to the throne of Pírhí Raj marks an era in the dynasty. He had seventeen sons, of whom twelve

reached man's estate.. To these twelve and to their successors he assigned twelve chambers in the house of Kutchwa ; and he limited the future right of his succession in his dominions to the descendants of those twelve chambers. Of Píρθί himself little is known but that he made a pilgrimage to the Indus, and that he was assassinated by his own son, Bhím, 'whose countenance,' says the chronicle, 'was like the mouth of a demon.'

From Píρθί Raj we come down to Bahárma, the first prince of the dynasty who paid homage to the Mahomedan power. He followed the fortunes of Báber, and received from Humáyun, prior to his expulsion by the Pathán dynasty, a high imperial title as ruler of Amber.

His son, Bhagwán Dass, became still more intimately allied with the Mogul dynasty. He was the friend of Akbar, and gave his daughter in marriage to Prince Selim, afterwards Jehángír—one of the first instances on record of a prince who 'sullied Rajpút purity by matrimonial alliance with the Islamite.'¹

Bhagwán Dass had no children, but was succeeded by his nephew Maun Singh, son of his youngest brother. This prince was the most brilliant character at Akbar's court. As the emperor's lieutenant he was entrusted with the most arduous duties, and added conquests to the empire from Khóten to the ocean. Orisá was subjugated by him, Ásám humbled and made tributary, and Kábul maintained in her allegiance. He held in succession the governments of Bengal and Behár, of the Dekhan and of Kábul. He had the weakness, however, to interfere in the succession to the throne of Akbar in favour of Khúsrú, eldest son of Jehángír, and his own cousin. Though too powerful to be openly chastised, Maun Singh was never forgiven. He died governor of Bengal in 1615.

Ráo Bháo Singh succeeded him—a man of no mark. Nor was Máhá, who followed him, of more note. Upon

¹ Tod. Elphinstone relates (p. 439) that Bahármal 'had, at an early period, given his daughter in marriage to Akbar.'

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his death, Jehángír, on the advice, it is said, of Jódá Bai, his Rájputní wife, gave the kingdom of Amber to Jai Singh, nephew to Maun Singh, a young man of great promise.

It was a fortunate selection. Jai Singh, known in history as the Mirza Rájá, restored by his conduct the glories of the family name. He performed great services during the reign of Aurangzíb, who bestowed on him one of the highest dignities of the empire. He made prisoner the celebrated Sivají, but afterwards, finding that his pledge of safety was likely to be broken, was accessory to his escape. But this instance of good faith was more than counterbalanced by his previous desertion of Prince Dára, in the war of succession, a desertion which crushed the hopes of that brave prince, and caused the death of his son Solimán. His conduct with respect to Sivají, combined with the haughtiness of demeanour which he assumed in later years, alienated Aurangzíb, who from that moment determined to destroy him. A foolish vaunt which the Rájá was in the habit of making in his durbar, and which reached the Emperor's ears, only intensified this resolve.¹ He found it difficult for some time to meet anyone who would or could execute his wishes. He had recourse, therefore, to the diabolical expedient of appealing to the ambition of the Rájá's son. He promised the throne of Jaipúr to Kírut Singh, younger son of Jai Singh, to the prejudice of his elder brother, Rám Singh, if he would assassinate his father. Kírut Singh consented, mixed poison with his father's opium, then returned to claim the investiture. Aurangzíb, however, only gave him a district. From this period, says the chronicle, Amber declined.

Rám Singh, who succeeded Jai Singh, and his son and

¹ It was the custom of the Rájá, sitting with his twenty-four chiefs in durbar, to hold up two glasses, one of which he called Satára (Sivají), the other Delhi (Aurangzíb). Then, dashing one to the

ground, he would exclaim: 'There goes Satára; the fate of Delhi is in my right hand, and this, with like facility, I can cast away!'—'Tod, whom I have followed almost textually.

successor, Bishen Singh, were men of little mark. The third in order, Jai Singh II. better known as Sowaè Jai Singh, deserves more notice. This prince came to the throne in 1699, eight years prior to the demise of Aurangzib. He served with distinction in the Dekhan, but on the emperor's death he sided with Prince Bedar Bukt, son of Prince Azim, who had at once declared himself emperor. With these he fought the battle of Dholpúr (June 1707) which ended in their death and the elevation of Bahádúr Shah. For his opposition Jaipúr was sequestered and an imperial governor sent to take possession; but Jai Singh entered his estates, sword in hand, drove out the imperial garrisons, and formed a league with the Ráná of Údaipúr and the Rájá of Jodhpúr for their mutual defence against Mahomedan aggression.¹

CHAP.
II.

Jai Singh II. was, perhaps, the most cultivated sovereign that ever reigned in India. He was fond of art, of mathematics, and of science. In astronomical knowledge he was not inferior to the best of his European contemporaries. He drew up a set of tables from which astronomical computations are yet made and almanacs constructed; he caused Euclid's Elements, the best treatises on plain and spherical trigonometry, and Napier's Logarithms, to be translated into Sanscrit.

He built a new city for his capital, the marble city of Jaipúr, the only one in India erected on a regular plan. He built observatories, with instruments of his own invention, at Delhi, Jaipúr, Banáras, and Mathurá, upon a scale of Asiatic grandeur, and their results were so correct as to astonish the most learned.

But besides the construction of a capital and objects of science—of which I have enumerated only a part—Jai

¹ By one of the clauses of this agreement, the Rájás of Jaipúr and Jodhpúr, with the view to recover the privilege of marrying with the Údaipúr family, forfeited by their matrimonial connection with the Moguls, agreed that, on the occasion

of such alliances, the issue of the Údaipúr princess should succeed to the throne in preference to elder sons by other wives. It was an unfortunate arrangement, and brought great disasters both on Jaipúr and Údaipúr.

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I

Singh erected, at his own expense, *caravanserais* or public inns, for the free use of travellers in many of the provinces. He carried on these works in the midst of perpetual wars and court intrigues. And although he did not entirely escape the debasing influence of the latter, he not only steered his country through its dangers, but raised it above the principalities around it. He sustained the Mogul empire as long as the representative of the Mogul rights would exert himself to support them, but when he found himself unable to inspire the wretched Farokhsir even 'with the energy of despair,' he gave up the task and devoted himself with renewed energy to his favourite pursuits, astronomy and history. On the accession of Mahomed Shah in December 1720, Jai Singh was called from his philosophical studies and appointed the emperor's lieutenant for the provinces of Agra and Málwá in succession, and it was during this interval of comparative repose that he erected those monuments which irradiate this dark epoch of the history of India.¹ He procured at this time also the repeal of the *jezia* or polltax on infidels, imposed by the bigotry of Aurangzib, and he repressed the incursions of the Jâts. Re-appointed in 1732 lieutenant for the Mogul in Málwá, he saw that it was vain, in the disorganised state of the empire, to attempt to repel the aggressions of the Márhátás. With the full consent, then, of Mahomed Shah, he formed an intimacy with the famous Báji Rao, and induced the emperor in 1734 to transfer to his keeping the province of Málwá. The influence he thus obtained was usefully employed in checking the excesses of the Márhátás, and in delaying their advance on the capital. During the invasion of Nádir Shah he wisely held aloof from participating in a contest in which there was no hope of success. Jai Singh II. died in 1743, after a prosperous reign of forty-

¹ From his observations of seven years at the various observatories he constructed a set of astronomical

tables—these were completed in 1728.

four years. They had been years of prosperity for Jaipúr in the midst of the general declension of the other states and kingdoms of Hindostan. He had added to it the districts of Deóti and Rajúr, and he had governed it wisely and well. He is said to have been vain, and fond of strong drink. Yet he will ever be remembered as one of the most remarkable men of his age and nation. 'Science,' says Colonel Tod, 'expired with him.' His eldest son, Isuri Singh, succeeded him. Yet, according to the convention made with Údaipúr, the right of succession lay with his younger brother, Madhú Singh, son of a princess of Mewár. And Madhú Singh not only preferred his claims, but at a great cost¹ obtained the aid of Holkar to support them. He succeeded, and probably would have proved a successful ruler but for the troubles brought on him by the rising power of the Jâts. The long quarrels with that people were brought to an issue by a battle, which, though the Jâts were defeated in it, proved destructive to Jaipúr in the loss of all her chieftains of note. Madhú Singh himself died four days later. Had he lived, it is thought that he might have prevented the decline of the State of Jaipúr. He inherited no small share of his father's learning, and cultivated the society of men of science. He built several cities, of which that called after him, Madhúpúr, near the celebrated fortress of Rinthunbór, the most secure of the commercial cities of Rájwára, is the most remarkable.

Pírthi Singh II., a minor, succeeded, under the guardianship of the mother of his younger brother Pertáp. She was an ambitious and unscrupulous woman, under the evil influence of her paramour, a low-born elephant-driver. After nine years of her dissolute sway, Pírthi Singh II. died from a fall from his horse, not however without suspicion of having been poisoned. Before he died he had married two wives, from one of whom was

¹ The districts of Rampúra Bhau- 840,000L., were assigned to Holkar as
púra and Tonk Rampúra, with payment for his support.

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begotten a son, Maun Singh. The youth, however, was spirited away by his mother's relatives, and taken, first to his maternal roof, subsequently to Gwáliár, there to grow up under the protection of Sindhia. The half-brother, Pertáp Singh, son of the dissolute Rání, succeeded Pírthi Singh II. He ruled the country twenty-five years. During his minority Jaipúr was a prey to constant feuds, in the course of which, while she had the good fortune to be rid by poison of the Rání and her elephant-driver, she suffered greatly from Márhátá depredations and Márhátá insolence. On attaining his majority Rájá Pertáp was determined to rid himself of those locusts. He formed accordingly that league with Rájá Bījé Singh, of Jodhpúr, which commenced so happily with the defeat of the Márhátás at Tonga (1787). But this triumph was short-lived. The defeats sustained at Patun and Mairta (1791), and the disruption of the alliance with Jodhpúr brought back the enemy. Holkar imposed a heavy annual tribute on the State, which he afterwards transferred to Amír Khan. From that period to the year 1803 the country was alternately desolated by Sindhia's armies and hordes of other robbers, who frequently contested with each other the possession of the spoils.

Pertáp Singh was a gallant prince and not deficient in judgment; but neither his gallantry nor his prudence could contend successfully against so many obstacles. He died in 1803.

His son and successor, Rájá Juggut Singh, ruled for nearly sixteen years with the disgraceful distinction of being the most dissolute prince of his race or of his age. His life did not disclose one redeeming virtue amidst a cluster of effeminate vices, including even cowardice. He was a debauchee, a spendthrift, and a libertine, without a spark of honour or virtue in his composition. It was the lust excited in him by the fame of Kishna Komári, the beautiful daughter of the Ráná of Údaipúr, which provoked that contest which, with the aid of the faithless

marauder, Amír Khan, brought ruin to Rájputáná.¹ To dwell upon the life of such a man would be to record actions from which an honourable mind recoils. He died unpitied, unlamented, even by his creatures, December 21, 1818.

Yet during his reign an event occurred which was to connect Jaipúr with the British. In 1803 a treaty was signed uniting that country in a subsidiary alliance with the alien nation. The Rájá, however, fulfilled his obligations very imperfectly, and Lord Cornwallis, who had resolved to abandon the system of subsidiary alliance, declared the connection with Jaipúr to be dissolved, and withdrew that State from the protection of the British Government. This policy was pursued by Sir George Barlow, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Lord Lake, made both on the grounds of general policy and good faith.²

The expediency of the dissolution of this alliance was considered to be very questionable by the Home Government, who in 1813 directed that Jaipúr should again be taken under protection whenever an opportunity might offer. But owing to the outbreak of the war with Nepál it was considered better to postpone any such measure until it could be adopted as part of the general scheme for the suppression of the Pindáris. In 1817, when negotiations were opened, it was found that the cancelment of the previous treaty had rendered the Jaipúr State reluctant to enter into a fresh alliance. In time, however, the increasing necessities of the State, the example of its neighbours, and the apprehension of being excluded from British protection, the continued exactions of Amír Khan's troops, and the arrangements in progress for forming separate engagements with the small states dependent on Jaipúr, led at length to her accepting a treaty. By this (April 2, 1818) the protection of the British Government was extended to Jaipúr; the Máhá-

¹ *Vide* Appendix C.

² Aitchison's *Treaties*.

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rájá agreed to furnish troops on the requisition of the British Government, and to pay an annual tribute of eight lakhs of rupees until the revenue should exceed forty lakhs, after which five-sixteenths were to be paid in addition to the eight lakhs. The fresh duty urged on the Máharájá after the conclusion of the treaty was the resumption of the lands usurped by the nobles, and the reduction of the nobles to their proper relation of subordination to the Máharájá. Through the mediation of Sir David Ochterlony agreements were entered into similar to those formed at Údaipúr. The usurped lands were restored to the Máharájá, and the nobles were guaranteed in their legitimate rights and possessions.¹

Rájá Juggut Singh left no issue, legitimate or illegitimate, and no provision had been made for a successor during his life. But as it was necessary to inaugurate a successor 'to light the funeral pile,' it became incumbent to nominate some one. The choice fell upon a distant relative, Móhun Singh, son of the ex-prince of Nárwár, the fourteenth in descent from Pirthi Raj I., Rájá of Jaipúr. But as the election was void, in consequence of its having been made without the due forms and in favour of one not nearest in order of succession, it is probable that a civil war would have ensued but for the timely discovery that one of the widowed queens of Juggut Singh was *enceinte*.

At three o'clock on April 1, a council of sixteen queens, widows of the late prince, and the wives of all the great vassals of the State, assembled to ascertain the fact of pregnancy, whilst all the great barons awaited in the ante-chambers of the *zenána* the important response of the council of matrons. When it was declared that the Bhattiáni queen was pregnant beyond a doubt, they consulted until seven, and then they sent in a declaration,

¹ Aitchison's *Treaties*, from which the account in the text is almost literally taken.

acknowledging their unanimous belief of the fact ; adding that, 'should a son be born, they would acknowledge him as their lord, and to none else pledge allegiance.'¹

CHAP.
II.

On April 25, 1819, four months and four days after Juggut Singh's death, a son was ushered into the world with the usual demonstrations of joy, and received as autocrat of the Kutchwas ; whilst the youthful interloper was removed from the throne, and thrust back into his native obscurity.²

The young child was named Jai Singh. The Government was assumed in his name by his mother. But during the minority of the young prince, Jaipúr was a scene of corruption and misgovernment, and the British Government found it necessary to appoint an officer to reside at the capital, and to authorise him to interfere in the internal administration of the State, with a view of guarding the interests of the British Government, and securing the payment of the tribute.³

In 1834-35 the British Government having found it necessary to march a force into Shaikháwatí for the purpose of settling that province, took possession of the Jaipúr share of the Sambhur salt lake as a security for the repayment of the expenses of the campaign. Whilst these, and arrangements connected with Shaikháwatí were being matured, Rájá Jai Singh died at Jaipúr under circumstances which could not fail to raise the strongest suspicions that his premature demise had been compassed by the minister, Sanghí Jotharám, and Rúpa Budárun, a female attendant in the palace. Jotharám had been the paramour of the late Rání, and under her influence had acquired great power in the State, supplanting in the office of minister the nominee of the British Government. The agent to the Governor-General proceeded therefore to Jaipúr to make inquiries, reform the administration, and assume the guardianship of the infant left by the Rájá. The strong measures he adopted led

¹ Tod.

² *Ibid.*

³ Aitchison.

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to the formation of a conspiracy by Jotharám. The life of the agent, Colonel Alves, was attempted, and his assistant, Mr. Blake, was murdered. The murderers were seized and executed by order of the minister, and Jotharám and his fellow conspirators were imprisoned for life in the fort of Chanár.¹ The young Rájá, Rám Singh, was placed under the guardianship of the British political agent. Under his superintendence, a council of regency, consisting of five of the principal nobles, was formed, and to their decision all measures of importance were submitted. The army was reduced, every branch of the administration was reformed, and sati, slavery, and infanticide were prohibited. The tribute was found to be far in excess of a due proportion of the revenue; a remission was therefore made in 1842 of forty-six lakhs of rupees, and the annual amount was reduced to four lakhs.²

Máharájá Rám Singh did good service during the mutinies. For this he received a grant of the district of Kôte-kassim, under a promise to respect the revenue settlements made whilst the district had been under British management. He also received the privilege of adoption.³

Rám Singh is an intelligent prince, and devotes his best energies to the development of the resources of his country. With this object he has opened out roads, constructed railways, and given a great impulse to education. During the scarcity of 1868 he abolished transit duties on the importation of grain into his domains; and in the affairs of government generally he has shown an intelligent appreciation of the requirements of the age.

Máharájá Rám Singh is extremely fond of the society of cultivated Englishmen and women. He has twice been a member of the Legislative Council of the Viceroy of India.

The Máharájá is entitled to a salute of seventeen guns.

¹ Aitchison.

² Aitchison's *Treaties*.

³ *Ibid*.

CHAPTER III.

JODHPŪR OR MÁRWÁR.

AREA—35,672 sq. miles.

POPULATION—1,788,600.

REVENUE—about 17,50,000 rupees.

CHAP.
III.

THE great kingdom of Kanouj, one of the four great Hindú sovereignties which existed in Hindostan for centuries previous to the invasions of Mahmud of Ghizní, came to an untimely end in the year 1193. Her last monarch, Jaichund, the representative of the race of the Rahtórs, proceeding, according to the Hindú legend, 'from the spine of Indra,' succumbed in that year to the invasion of Shab-ú-dín, King of Ghór, and was drowned in the Ganges whilst attempting to escape. With his death Kanouj ceased to be a Hindú city, and the name of Rahtór ceased to be heard on the banks of the 'sacred stream.'

Eighteen years subsequently to this event, two grandsons of Rájá Jaichund, by name Séoji and Saitram, abandoned the land of their birth, and, followed by two hundred retainers, and journeying westward towards the great desert, arrived at Kolúmund, twenty miles from the present site of Bikánír, not then in existence.

The two brothers offered their services to the chief of the tribe of which Kolúmund was the place of abode, then at war with a neighbouring clan. The offer was accepted, and it was mainly due to the efforts of the two Rahtórs that victory inclined to Kolúmund. In the fight, however, Saitram was slain. The chief, to repay the debt he owed to the surviving brother, gave to Séoji his sister in marriage with an ample dowry. Séoji then prosecuted his journey, and, after many adventures, alternately valiantly fighting and treacherously murdering, he planted his

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standard in 'the land of Khér' amidst the sand-hills of the river Lúni.

Séoji left three sons, the eldest of whom, Asot'háma, succeeded him. He established his second brother at Idar, on the frontiers of Gujrát, and the youngest at Okamundálá. He died, leaving eight sons, all of whom became heads of tribes, of which four still survive. He was succeeded at Khérdhur by his son Dúhur. Dúhur connected his reign with the past and the future. He endeavoured to recover Kanouj and to conquer Mundúr, destined to be the capital of his race. He failed in both attempts.

It will suffice to give the names of his successors, always the eldest sons in order of birth, till I come to the real conqueror of Mundúr. They were Raepal, Kanhul, Jalhun, Chado, Thído, Silko and Bírundéo, all men of renown in local warfare, under whom the family possessions were increased. Bírundéo was succeeded by his son Chonda, who conquered Mundúr, the ancient capital of Marú or Márwár, and made of it the chief city of the Rahtórs. He conquered likewise Nagore and the province of Godwar, and finally made firm his fortunes by marrying a daughter of the family he had expelled from Mundúr. He was blessed with fourteen sons, the descendants of four of whom still exist.

Chonda was killed at Nagore in the year 1402. He was succeeded by his son Ráo Rinmul.

Ráo Rinmul, during the lifetime of Ráná Lakha of Mewár, assisted that prince in his wars, and behaved as the first of his vassals. Upon the death of Ráná Lakha, however, he interfered in the affairs of Márwár in a manner which brought death to himself, and threatened his dominions with ruin.

In a note to the sketch of Údaipúr (page 13) I have given the reason why Chonda, the eldest son of Ráná Lakha, was content to resign his rights of succession to the

throne of that kingdom in favour of Mókalji, the youngest son of his father by Hansa,¹ daughter of Ráo Rinmul.

CHAP.
III

On the death of Ráná Lakha, Chonda acted as guardian to his infant brother. But his administration was thwarted and interfered with by Ráo Rinmul, whose relatives fastened like locusts on the pleasant pasturages of Mewár. Indeed Rinmul seems to have cherished the idea of transferring the rule over the country to the Rahtór family.

As a prelude to the carrying out of this idea a brother of Chonda's was assassinated, and the life of the young Ráná was threatened. But, at this crisis, Chonda suddenly swept down upon the Rahtórs, killed Ráo Rinmul, and scattered his followers. The eldest son of Ráo Rinmul, Joda, succeeded in escaping, but so utterly demoralised that he was forced to leave even Mundúr to its fate. All seemed lost to the Rahtórs. But Joda was a man of vigour and capacity. Carefully concealing his movements, he enlisted partisans, surprised two of the sons of Chonda at Mundúr, slew one there; the other, in his flight, on the boundary of the Godwar province. Then, wisely deeming the renunciation of a portion of his territory to be the most efficacious means of saving the remainder, he sued for peace, offering to restrict the boundary of his dominions to a line passing the spot on which the younger son of Chonda had fallen, 'as the price of blood and to quench the feud.' That is, he offered to cede the province of Godwar. The cession was accepted, and peace was made.

Joda, I have said, was a man of vigour and capacity. He had already displayed the first quality; it now devolved upon him to show what he possessed of the second. Instead of wasting his reign in fruitless wars, he devoted himself to the settlement of his country. He reinstated in their

¹ Hansa is variously stated to be daughter and sister of Ráo Rinmul. Even Colonel Tod writes of her

under Mewár as the daughter, under Márwár as the sister.

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hereditary estates the ancient proprietors of the soil. Then, not satisfied with the ancient capital, he laid in 1459 the foundations of a new city, which he named after himself, Jodpúr or Jodhpúr, and which, in its turn, has given its name to the entire territory. He died in 1489 at the age of sixty-one. He had had fourteen sons, of whom the eldest surviving, second in order of birth, Súrajmul, succeeded him.

Of this prince the only record is that he reigned twenty-seven years, and had at least the merit of adding to the stock of Séoji. He had five sons, the eldest surviving of whom, Ganga, succeeded him. He died almost immediately, leaving a son of the same name, who established himself notwithstanding the armed opposition of his uncle Sága. In his reign, too, the Rahtórs had first to encounter in their own land Mahomedan invasion. Serving under the command of Sánga, Ráná of Mewár, they gained some successes, but had finally to succumb to the prowess of the Emperor Báber at the fatal field of Biána.¹

Ganga died in 1532, and was succeeded by his son, Maldéo. This prince gained a great and lasting renown as a warrior and statesman. He regained Ajmír and Nagore, and made numerous conquests in the countries bordering on his dominions. Not content with this, he enclosed the city of Jodhpúr with a strong wall, built many forts and fortresses, and caused fortifications to be erected in the more salient parts of the country. Invaded by Shir Shah, he raised an army of 50,000 men, and reduced that monarch to great extremities. Shir Shah indeed was able to extricate himself solely by the device of instilling suspicion of some of his adherents into the mind of Maldéo. This caused the prince to countermand an assault which could scarcely have failed. The suspected leaders then vindicated their fidelity by an attack with their own followers on the camp of Shir Shah.

¹ *Vide* Údaipúr, p. 16.

Though they nearly penetrated to the quarters of the emperor, they were overwhelmed by numbers and almost annihilated. Maldéo had then no resource but to submit.

An incident, slight in itself, served subsequently to increase the misfortunes of Maldéo. He had refused an asylum to the Emperor Humáyún, when Humáyún was a fugitive. Yet he lived to see the son of Humáyún sitting on the throne of Delhi. Nay more, he lived to see that son, the great Akbar, enter, as an enemy, at the head of an army, the country from which he had repelled his father as a fugitive.

It was in 1561 that Akbar invaded Márwár. He captured Malakôt and Nagore, and transferred them to another Hindú family. Eight years later Maldéo saw himself compelled to sue for peace. He refused indeed to sue in person, but sent his son, the second in rank, Chundersén, to act for him. But Akbar was so incensed at this slight, as he conceived it, that he consigned Jodhpúr itself to the same Hindú prince, Raë Singh, upon whom he had conferred Malakôt and Nagore. Then ensued war to the knife. The old Rahtór chief had to stand a siege in his own capital, and finally on succumbing, to pay in the person of his recognised heir, Údai Singh, the homage he had refused before. The brother, Chundersén, held out for seventeen years, remaining all the time irreconcilable alike with his family and the Mahomedan invader. He was finally killed in battle.

The old Rájá, Maldéo, broken in spirit, died about 1573.¹ He left twelve sons,² of whom the third, Údai Singh, succeeded him.

Under this prince, the independence of Márwár ceased to exist. Údai Singh acknowledged the suzerainty of the

¹ Tod says in one place 1615 A.D. in two others, 1569 A.D. Both are manifestly incorrect. Akbar resented the non-appearance of Maldéo at his durbar in 1570, and assigned his dominions to Raë Singh in 1572.

Maldéo was then alive, but he did not survive the last event more than one or two years.

² Of the two elder, the eldest had been banished, the second killed at Biana.

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Mogul. He was the first prince, moreover, of Rájput race who gave his sanction to a matrimonial union between the race of the Rahtórs and the Mahomedan conqueror. He allowed his sister, Jod Bai, to marry the Emperor Akbar, not giving indeed, but receiving a dower, in the shape of all the districts wrested from Márwár by the bridegroom, Ajmír excepted, and likewise several rich districts in Málwá, whose revenues doubled the resources of his own domains. With the aid of his brother-in-law, Údai Singh diminished the power of his nobles, and curtailed the overgrown estates of the land-owners for the benefit of the smaller peasantry. In the new settlement which he made he added fourteen hundred new villages to the fisc. In return for the aid thus given to him by Akbar, he supplied him plentifully with troops, of a quality inferior to none others in his army, for his expeditions.

Údai Singh survived his father, Maldéo, thirty-three years. He left thirty-four legitimate children; of these the eldest, Súr Singh, succeeded him.

Súr Singh was a great warrior. He was serving with the emperor's army at Lahore, where he had commanded since 1591-2, when intelligence reached him of his father's death. Much esteemed by Akbar for his military talents and brilliant services, he was commanded by that prince to attack, on his return to his dominions, Sirohí, a town in Rájputáná, and capital of the hilly districts by which it was surrounded, the chief of which refused to acknowledge the emperor as his liege lord. Having completed this service he carried his arms against the King of Gujrát, completely defeated him at the battle of Dhúndoca, and brought about the submission of the country. On the death of Akbar, Súr Singh attended at the court of his successor, Jehángír, accompanied by his son and heir, Guj Singh, who was invested by the monarch on that occasion with a sword, to mark the distinguished valour he had displayed at the escalade of Jhalúr.

This Rájá added greatly to the beauty of his capital, and left several works, some of them of no small utility, which bear his name. He greatly lamented the necessity under which he found himself to accompany the Mogul emperor in all his expeditions, and shortly before his death caused a column to be erected on which were engraven words cursing any of his race who should ever in the future even once cross the Narbadá. Rájá Súr died in 1620, leaving six sons and seven daughters.

His eldest son, Guj Singh, succeeded him. He was in the imperial camp at Búrhanpúr, on the river Táptí, when he heard that he had been called to the throne. He, too, grew high in favour at the imperial court, received many favours from Jehángír, and was nominated his viceroy of the Dekhan. Like his father, too, he was a great warrior, and for his skill and daring obtained the title of 'Barrier of the Host.' He embroiled himself, however, with Prince Khúrm, afterwards Emperor Shah Jehán, for refusing to espouse his cause against his elder brother Khúsrú,¹ and when, in consequence, his confidential adviser was murdered by order of Prince Khúrm, he threw up his post in the army and returned to his native land. When, shortly afterwards, Prince Khúsrú died suddenly, and Khúrm seemed to threaten his father's throne, Jehángír appealed to the Rájput chiefs to support him against filial ingratitude and domestic treason. The appeal was nobly responded to by Rájá Guj and by the Rájás of Jaipúr, Kotá, and Búndí; and by their efforts the rebellion was put down. When, prior to the decisive battle near Banáras, the Emperor met his Rájput allies, he showed so much pleasure at the zeal displayed by Rájá Guj, that he not only took him by the hand, but, what was more unusual, kissed it.

Rájá Guj was killed in an engagement with some free-

¹ Tod says Prince Purvez; but Shah Jehán never feared Purvez. It was the murder of his eldest brother

Khúsrú that cleared his way to the throne.

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booters in Gujrát in 1638. He had excluded his eldest son Amra from the succession in consequence of his violent disposition and turbulent conduct. The throne, therefore, descended to the second son, the renowned Jeswant Singh. The subsequent career of Prince Amra is one of the most striking and sensational stories in the history of Hindostan. It will be found at the end of this volume.¹

The prince who now ascended the throne has left a name in the annals of Hindostan which will never die. More than once the destinies of India lay in his hands. The fate of Dára and the fortunes of Aurangzib were alike at his disposal. He was not a great man in the true sense of that term, for he acted from interest, not from principle; was ready to change his side and to employ treachery. It is true that all his treacheries were directed against the Mahomedan enemies of his race and country, his one object being, by exciting divisions amongst them, to rid the country of the hated invaders. He was a scholar, a patron of the arts, a great general, utterly fearless, an active politician, and taken altogether, regard being had to the prevailing *morale* of the period, a man of whom the Rájput race has reason to be proud. His reign embraces forty-three years of the history of Hindostan. I regret that the scope of this work will only allow me to give an outline of it. He ascended the throne in 1638, and from that time to 1658, a period of twenty years, was engaged mainly in the Dekhan under Prince Aurangzib. In this and various other services he greatly distinguished himself. In 1638, the emperor became seriously ill. His eldest son, Dára Shekó, assumed the office of Regent. One of his first acts was to nominate Rájá Jeswant Singh his viceroy in Málwá. When, shortly afterwards, the ambitious designs of Aurangzib began to develop themselves, Jeswant Singh was appointed generalissimo to oppose that prince. In the battle that followed, at a place fifteen miles south

¹ *Vide Appendix B.*

of Ujjén, since named Futtehabad, Jeswant Singh was defeated. He owed his defeat to his too great daring. He wished to crush the two brothers, Aurangzib and Morad, at one blow, and delayed till their junction had been effected. This gave time to the wily Aurangzib to corrupt the Mahomedans in his army, and their desertion on the field of battle brought about a defeat. Both armies remained, however, where they had fought, and Jeswant Singh was allowed to retreat unmolested the next morning.

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The result of the battle, however, and of another equally successful, fought against Dára, was that Aurangzib drove his brother from the regency, and assumed it himself. One of his first acts after his usurpation was to send a pardon to Jeswant Singh and a summons to his presence to join him in opposing his brother Shúja. Jeswant Singh obeyed the summons. But he did so only to be revenged. When the armies of the rival brothers were about to join battle at Kujwa, midway between Allahabad and Etawah, Jeswant Singh, in pursuance of an agreement made with Shúja, suddenly attacked the rear of Aurangzib's army. Had Shúja then attacked, the fate of Aurangzib had been sealed. But he delayed till the sun had risen. Jeswant Singh, then, finding himself unsupported, loaded his camels with the plunder of the camp and set off for Agra, leaving the two brothers to fight it out. In the battle which ensued between them Shúja was defeated. Meanwhile, Jeswant Singh lay in close vicinity to Agra, expecting Prince Dára Shekó, whose claims he was resolved to support. That prince had fled, after his defeat by Aurangzib, to the banks of the Indus. But levying some troops, he entered Gujrá, raised an army there, and set out to effect a junction with Jeswant Singh at Agra. He delayed, however, unhappily, so long that the latter could no longer maintain his position, but was forced to retire upon Jodhpúr. He reached his capital in safety, deposited there his spoils, and then had an in-

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terview with Dára at Mairta. The moment for effective movement had, however, been lost. Aurangzib, having crushed Shúja, was advancing in great force. Still this prince had seen so much of Rájput valour in the Dekhan, that he did not feel very confident of the issue of a contest. He sent, with this view, a message to Jeswant Singh, not only assuring him of forgiveness, but offering him the viceroyalty of Gujrát, if he would withdraw from the contest and remain neutral. Jeswant Singh agreed, and accepted a commission to serve under Prince Moazzim against the rising power of Sivaji.

Dára, thus deserted, was compelled to succumb to Aurangzib, but Jeswant Singh had no idea of keeping faith with his Mogul lord. Hardly had he reached the Dekhan than he opened a correspondence with Sivaji and planned the death of the imperial general, Shaista Khan, and the proclamation of the young prince as emperor. Information of the transaction reached Aurangzib, but he concealed his knowledge of it till he had disposed of all his rivals; he then replaced Jeswant Singh by Jai Singh, Rájá of Jaipúr.

From that time, neither party trusting the other, it seemed as though he would succeed who showed himself the greater master in wile. Sent again with supreme powers to the Dekhan, Jeswant Singh again so incited the ambition of Prince Moazzim as to necessitate his removal from so dangerous a post. He received an order to proceed at once to take up the post of viceroy of Gujrát, but on arriving at Ahmedabád he found it had been a trick to draw him from the Dekhan. He proceeded then to his own dominions.

But even there, Aurangzib did not consider himself as secure from the machinations of so powerful a vassal. He had tried secret means to rid himself of him, but these had all failed. He resolved, therefore, to send him to a distance. A rebellion had opportunely broken out in Kábul; he accordingly sent Jeswant Singh to quell it.

Jeswant set out, leaving his son, Pírthí Singh, in charge of his ancestral domains.

But hardly had he reached Kábul than Aurangzib commenced his measures for the destruction of his family. He invited Pírthí Singh to court, treated him with marked affability, and as a sign of his favour, gave him a robe of honour. But the robe was poisoned. Pírthí Singh put it on in the royal presence, and expired a few hours later in great agony.

When the news of his son's death reached Jeswant Singh he broke down utterly. He saw that his great enemy had gone beyond him in revenge, and felt his heart pierced by a poisoned sword. Two other sons, Juggut Singh and Dulthumun, fell victims about the same time to the climate of Kábul. Their deaths caused the overflowing of his cup; he died of a broken heart (1678).

At the time of his death his wife was in the seventh month of her pregnancy. In due time she was confined of a boy, who was called Ajít Singh. As soon as she was able to travel she set out on her return home. But the vengeance of Aurangzib had not been satiated. As soon as the party reached Delhi, he demanded from the escort the person of the young prince. It was impossible to oppose force to such an order; but the address of the leader of the party, Dúrga Dás, supplied its place. Having obtained leave to send off the women of the party to their homes, he first retained one of the attendants to personate the Rání, substituted a child for the young prince, and then sent off the mother and son with the women. But no long time elapsed before the suspicions of Aurangzib were aroused, and he demanded that the Rání and her child should be brought into the citadel. The Rájputés played their parts to perfection by refusing to surrender the widow and son of their Rájá. This for some time blinded the suspicions of Aurangzib, but at length they were renewed, and he again insisted, and the escort still refusing, sent troops to enforce his de-

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mands. The Rájputís, after a desperate resistance, were cut to pieces and dispersed. Then, for the first time, did the emperor discover the trick that been played upon him. But it was too late. The Rání and her child had had time to reach Jodhpúr.¹ Aurangzíb, however, with his usual acuteness, feigned to disbelieve the story of the escape, and for many years treated the child he had captured as the undoubted heir of Jodhpúr.

The faithful Dúrga Dás reached Jodhpúr soon after these events, and took the lead in preparing the country for the impending invasion of Aurangzíb. Of the war which followed, it is not necessary to give a detailed account. It will suffice to say that for a long time the Mogul arms were irresistible. The country was laid waste, the villages burned, the women and children carried off. This was one result. There was another, even of greater importance. The tie which had till then bound the Rájputís to the Moguls was severed, never to be renewed.

At length the craft of Aurangzíb was turned against himself. Dúrga Dás gained over his son Akbar, who proclaimed himself emperor. He was indeed foiled, but the contest continued with increasing advantage to the Rájputís. They began, in their turn, a war of reprisals, and with greater or less mitigation, hostilities continued till the death of Aurangzíb in 1707. ✓

Before this event occurred, Ajít Singh had obtained his majority, and had begun to rule, though not as yet in Jodhpúr. But after Aurangzíb's death he recovered his capital, and though he lost it once again, it was again re-

¹ Colonel Tod gives a different version of the escape of the boy. He states that, rather than surrender their prince, the Rájputís caused the women to be blown up by gunpowder; that they then went to meet death at the hands of the Moslems in the streets of Delhi, whilst the boy was conveyed away

in a basket of sweetmeats. Such is the Hindú legend, but it is neither so probable nor so well authenticated as the account given by Elphinstone, which I have mainly followed. He credits the Rání, however, with having two sons; but I think it clear there was but one.

covered, and the kingdom re-established in almost its former state of prosperity. It was this prince who entered into the triple alliance with Ráná Amra of Ūdaipúr and the Rájá of Jaipúr, to resist Mahomedan aggression and to undertake no matrimonial engagements with princes of that religion.

Ajít Singh was a prince of great vigour of mind and body. Born amid the snows of Kábul, exposed from his earliest youth to the frowns of fortune, he set himself to work to redeem his country from bondage to the invader. This was the one aim—the one object, of his life. He inherited an invincible hatred to the very name of Moslem, and was never scrupulous as to the means he employed against the members of that hated race. He succeeded. Never could the imperial forces overcome him. He gave deliverance to his country.

His death was most tragical. Unable to rid themselves in any other way of one so much dreaded, the court of Delhi bribed his son, Abhi Singh, then on the spot, by the offer of the viceroyalty of Gujrát, to have his father murdered. Abhi accepted the bribe, and carried out the project by means of his brother, Bukht Singh.

Abhi Singh succeeded to the throne of Jodhpúr in 1731, but his whole reign was passed in a contest with his fellow-assassin and brother, Bukht Singh. He was indolent, cruel, and fond of ease and opium. He repaid the gift of the viceroyalty of Gujrát by aiding in its partition, and annexing to Márwár the rich provinces of Bínmahl, Sambúr, and others. Colonel Tod truly adds: ‘This additional reward of parricide has been the cause of all the civil wars of Márwár.’ Abhi Singh died in 1750, and was succeeded by his son, Rám Singh, a youth of nineteen, of an impetuous and overbearing disposition. An insult offered to him at his installation by his uncle, Bukht Singh, the murderer of his grandfather, so enraged the young Rájá that he deprived his uncle of his fief of Jhalúr, and moved with an army to

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enforce his order. But he was defeated and driven from the throne, which his uncle at once occupied.

Rájá Bukht Singh was a man of noble presence, of herculean frame, generous, intrepid, well versed in the literature of his country, and but for his one great crime, would have ranked with the heroes of Márwár. He raised the *morale* of his country, and inspired his countrymen with a determination to resist foreign aggression. He reigned only three years, but in that time he completed the fortifications of Jodhpúr, and developed in many ways the resources of the country. He was poisoned by his relative, the aunt of the expelled Rám Singh. Bijey Singh, his son, succeeded him; but hardly had he received the homage of his people than he was called upon to meet his cousin, Rám Singh, who was advancing with an army to assert his claims, assisted by the Márhátás. In the battle which ensued, Bijey Singh was defeated, and sought refuge in flight. But the most unfortunate result of the battle for Márwár was that the Márhátás now took root in the land. The murder of their chief, Jyapa, gave them a pretext to change their *rôle* of auxiliaries to that of principals, and they speedily availed themselves of it, expelling Rám Singh.

This prince died in exile at Jaipúr, in 1773. He was succeeded as titular sovereign by his former rival, Bijey Singh, but the Márhátás had for a time real possession of the land. The reign of Bijey was full of vicissitudes and warfare, internal and external. He first planned the diminution of the power of the nobles, already encroaching upon his own. But he was forced, in the course of the contest which ensued, to yield more of his already diminished authority. Seemingly acquiescent, he planned revenge, and inviting the principal chiefs of Márwár to the funeral of his family chaplain, or gúrú, he had them assassinated. This great blow was decisive. Although the son of one chieftain rose in revolt, he was speedily subdued; and Bijey Singh, to divert the

attention of the others from the past, led them all against the robbers of the desert. They conquered Amerkôt, the key to the valley of the Indus from Sinde; curtailed the territories of Jaisalmír, on their north-west frontier; then sweeping back, recovered the rich province of Godwar from Méwar. Returning from these conquests, Bījey Singh allied himself with Pertáp Singh, king of Jaipúr, for the expulsion of the Márhátás. The two armies met at Tonga, in 1787, and engaged in a battle in which the Márhátás, though aided by the infantry under the Chevalier de Boigne, were defeated. By this victory the Rájá recovered Ajmír. But De Boigne wiped out this defeat on June 20, 1791, at Patan, and on September 12 following at Mairta, in both of which actions the Rájpúts were completely vanquished. By them Ajmír was lost for ever to Márwár, and a contribution was imposed on the country of sixty lakhs of rupees.

Bījey Singh did not long survive these losses. His last years saw him the slave of a beautiful concubine, whose insolence estranged the nobles, and procured her own assassination; not, however, before she had persuaded the Rájá to adopt one of his grandsons as her son and his successor.

Bījey Singh died in 1793. He had had seven sons, six of whom survived him. Their names, in order of birth, were Zálím Singh, Sawant Singh, Shir Singh, Bhím Singh, Goman Singh, and Sirdar Singh. Of these, Zálím Singh was the rightful heir; but Bījey Singh, to please his concubine, had adopted Maun Singh, his grandson, the son of Shir Singh. But on his death, the fourth son, Bhím Singh, seized the throne, defeated Zálím Singh, then by poison or the sword killed his four remaining brothers and their sons, the adopted son of the concubine, his own nephew, Maun Singh, alone excepted. This young prince had taken refuge in Jhalúr. Thither Bhím Singh pursued him, and despairing of taking the place by assault, subjected it to a rigorous blockade. But whilst

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the blockade continued, he managed to disgust his nobles to such an extent that they withdrew from him, and retired to their estates. Nevertheless the blockade was persisted in. It was made more and more rigorous; the besieged were reduced to something approaching starvation, when suddenly, November 1803, Bhím Singh died. The besieged prince naturally succeeded him.

Proclaimed at once Rájá, Maun Singh would appear to have retained the follies of heedless youth untempered by the adversities which should have strengthened his character. Just about the time of his accession, the English had triumphed over Sindhia, and were following Holkar in his headlong flight. With a view to effect a permanent settlement in Rájputána, they offered to Maun Singh the alliance which would have secured to him his territories. He concluded the treaty, but did not ratify it, proposing another. With a fatuity quite incomprehensible, he at the same time gave aid to the one enemy who could injure him, viz. Jeswant Ráo Holkar. The British Government therefore cancelled the treaty, and left Márwár to its own resources. It was this folly on the part of Maun Singh that caused his country to fall, a few years later, a prey to the depredations of Amír Khan.

Meanwhile the widow of Bhím Singh had given birth to a posthumous son, Dhókul Singh, to whose cause several of the nobles rallied. Under the charge of the chief of Pokurwa, he was presented to several chiefs as their lord, and then, to preserve him from any attempt on his life, he was sent to the desert, to be cared for by the chiefs of Shaikháwáti.

The reign of Maun Singh was one of continued warfare brought about by his own folly. He engaged in a disastrous war with Jaipúr for the hand of the daughter of the Rána of Údaipúr. For the details of this tragical story I must refer the reader to the appendix to this

volume.¹ In the war which followed he was alternately opposed and supported by the adventurer, Amír Khan, whose freebooters devastated the lands of Jaipúr, of Mewár, and Márwár, committing atrocities not to be counted. The appearance on the field, too, of the lad Dhókul Singh, as a pretender to the crown, supported by a large party of nobles, added to the troubles and perplexities of the Rájá. To escape these, he at last feigned madness, and abdicated in favour of his son, Chutter Singh.

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It was whilst this young prince was holding the reins of sovereignty that the British Government offered, and Amír Khan accepted, the terms which freed Rájputáná from the depredations of that marauder. This was followed by a treaty between the British Government and Jodhpúr (January 1818), by which the British protection was extended to that country, and certain conditions were made assuring the suzerainty to the British. But just at this crisis Chutter Singh died.

Within a short interval after his son's death, Rájá Maun Singh threw off his feigned insanity and re-assumed the Government. Secure now against external enemies, his native character disclosed itself, and he gave loose to all his smothered passions. He put to death or imprisoned almost all the chiefs who, during his feigned insanity, had shown any unfriendly feeling towards him. He confiscated property to the value of one million sterling. The name of justice became unknown—treachery and cold-blooded cruelty were the inspiring deities at Jodhpúr.

At length a crisis arrived. Many of the nobles, 'the flower of their country,' found asylums in the neighbouring states of Kotá, Mewár, Bikanír, and Jaipúr. Thence they addressed remonstrances to the British authorities. The British authorities induced the Rájá to listen to terms of accommodation, and he promised to reinstate

¹ *I*de Appendix C.

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the self-exiled chiefs in their possessions (February 1824). But he did not alter his line of conduct. Consequently, in 1827, the recusant nobles levied their adherents, and calling on the posthumous son of the late Rájá, Dhókul Singh, to lead them, prepared to invade Jodhpúr from the Jaipúr territory. Upon this, Rájá Maun Singh urged upon the British Government that the time had arrived when he was entitled to the aid of British troops to support him on the throne; that the attack by which he was threatened was not an internal insurrection but a foreign invasion emanating from, and supported by, Jaipúr. The answer of the British Government was clear and decided. 'If,' they said, 'insurrection should be so general as to indicate the desire of chiefs and subjects for the downfall of the prince, there does not exist any reason for our forcing on the state of Jodhpúr a sovereign whose conduct has totally deprived him of the support and allegiance of his people against unjust usurpation, or against wanton but too powerful rebellion. The princes of protected states may fairly perhaps call upon us for assistance, but not against universal disaffection and insurrection, caused by their own injustice, incapacity, and misrule. Princes are expected to have the power of controlling their own subjects, and if they drive them into rebellion they must take the consequences.'

At the same time that the British Government laid down the sound and salutary principles enunciated in this despatch, it administered a sharp remonstrance to the Máharájá of Jaipúr, and called upon Dhókul Singh to retire from the confederacy.

But the evil day was only adjourned. It is noticeable in the history of sovereigns, European and Asiatic, that those whose youth and middle age have been fiery, tempestuous, passionate, treacherous, and cruel, almost invariably succumb, in the third division of their existence, to the influence of priests. Maun Singh was no

exception to this rule. But the priestly influence which swayed him made him neither less cruel nor less tyrannical than before. On the contrary, his evil passions became intensified to such an extent that the British Government was forced to interfere.

At the close of the rainy season of 1839, a force under Colonel Sutherland was marched to Jodhpúr, to restore tranquillity and, if possible, good government to the country. Jodhpúr was occupied five months. Maun Singh then executed an engagement by which he bound himself to respect the ancient usages of the country in determining the rights of the nobles. He agreed that a British political agent should reside at his court to assist the Rájá, the council of nobles, and the ministers in carrying on the government. Two of his evil advisers were dismissed, sequestrated lands were restored upon terms agreed to by the parties interested; an arrangement was concluded for the payment of arrears due on account of tribute and legion expenses, and for the punctual payment of such claims for the future; an amnesty for the past was granted by the Rájá to his nobles who had been in rebellion; and the British Government consented to extend a pardon to those who had been instrumental in subverting the true interests of Márwár.

Rájá Maun Singh died in less than four years after this event, leaving no son, natural or adopted. Dhókul Singh, the posthumous son of Rájá Bhím Singh, then preferred his claims; but they were rejected. The nearest representative families were those of Ídar and Ahmednagar, and it was left to the widows, nobles, and chief officials to select the future ruler. Their choice fell upon Tukht Singh, chief of Ahmednagar, whom, with his son, Jeswant Singh, they invited to Jodhpúr. Some negotiation ensued regarding the retention of Ahmednagar by the family of Tukht Singh, but it was decided that the right of succession lapsed by the acceptance of power in

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Jodhpúr, and that Ahmednagar should revert to Ídar, from which state it had been separated in 1784.

Máharájá Tukht Singh ascended the throne of Jodhpúr in 1843. He traces a lineal descent back to Rájá Ajít Singh, of whom he is the great-grandson. But the hopes that had been entertained regarding his capacity for ruling were destined to be blighted. Soon after his accession the country fell into a state of disorder, little inferior to that which had prevailed under his predecessor. The Rájá showed himself avaricious, careless of affairs, and difficult of access. The management of the country fell then into the hands of subordinates, whose only desire it seemed to be to minister to the ruling passion of their master.

To such an extent did misgovernment proceed, that in 1867 the nobles would have organised an insurrection but for their fear of the paramount power. An act of cupidity perpetrated in that year intensified their feeling of dissatisfaction. The case was this. The thákur, or feudal lord, of Ghánerao died, leaving a brother, his rightful heir. Instead, however, of allowing the fief to devolve upon the brother in natural course, the Rájá despatched a force to seize it for one of his numerous sons. This emboldened the thákurs to represent their well-founded grievances to the British Government. They showed how they had been tyrannised over and oppressed, excluded from the royal council, and prohibited from leaving their property to adopted sons. Specific acts of gross misgovernment were dwelt upon, and especially the confiscation of Ghánerao.

In reply, the Máharájá was 'called to order,' and it was hoped that the remonstrance of the British Government might not be without its effect; but the insolent behaviour of His Highness during the durbars in Rájputáná in 1869-70 would seem to indicate that, like his immediate predecessor, Maun Singh, he is incorrigible.¹

¹ When the late Viceroy, the Earl of Mayo, visited Rájputáná in 1871, he held a durbar at Ajmír, to which the Ráná of Udaipúr and the

The State of Jodhpúr did good service during the mutinies, and the right of adoption was duly bestowed upon the Máharájá. CHAP.
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CHAPTER IV.

BÚNDÍ.

AREA—2,291 sq. miles.

POPULATION—220,000.

REVENUE—5,00,000 rupees.

THE city of Búndí, which, like all the cities in Ráj-pútáná, has given its name to the principality, was founded, in the year 1342, by Ráo Déva. Ráo Déva, in the Hindú legend, is said to have been lineally descended from Anhul or Agnipala, the first Chohan,¹ the date of whose birth loses itself in the mists of time. His later predecessors had felt the Moslem's sword, and had fled from Asér to Mewár. Sallying thence, Ráo Déva, in 1342, occupied the Bandú valley, built the city of Búndí, exterminated, or almost exterminated, the indigenous CHAP.
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Rájá of Jodhpúr were invited. It had been officially decided some time previously, in strict accordance with custom, that on all state occasions when they might meet, the Ráná of Údaipúr should take precedence of the Rájá of Jodhpúr. But when this decision was communicated to Jodhpúr he refused to attend the durbar. It was explained to him that the question had long previously been settled and could not be reopened or discussed. But he remained obstinate. In vain did the political agent, in vain did his own son remonstrate with him. He refused to sit below Údaipúr. After waiting for him about an hour the Viceroy held the durbar with Jodhpúr's seat vacant.

After the durbar was over it was determined that so great a want of respect to the Viceroy of Her Majesty must be noticed. The Rájá then was directed to leave the camp at Ajmír at daybreak the following morning with the whole of his retinue. The friendly ceremony usual on such occasions was omitted, no salute was fired, and ultimately, after due consideration, it was decided that his salute should be diminished by two guns. Lord Mayo showed his sense of the loyal feeling of the Rájá's son by receiving him in private audience after the durbar.

¹ The Chohan was the last creation of the Brahmans to fight their battles against infidelity, and their only successful creation.

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Minás, and called the country Harawati (Harouti), or the country of the Haras.¹

From Ráo Déva to Ráo Súrjun, a period of nearly two hundred years intervenes. Throughout this period the Haras had, whilst possessing independence, been quasi-vassals of the Ránás of Údaipúr, that is, their services had been indented upon in times of emergencies, and they had been given as much on account of the relationship engendered by marriages between the two houses as from any feeling of dependence. But with the accession of Ráo Súrjun in 1533 a new era began.

Ráo Súrjun had obtained, by means of Sawant Singh, a junior branch of his family, possession of the famous fortress of Rinthunbór. This fortress was greatly coveted by the Emperor Akbar. His arms had been victorious in Rájpútáná, Chítor had fallen, but he had ineffectually besieged Rinthunbór. According to the Hindú story he then effected by stratagem and courtesy that which he had failed to procure by force of arms. Rájá Maun, of Jaipúr, had a right of ingress to Rinthunbór. He proceeded there, accompanied by Akbar in the disguise of a mace bearer. The Emperor was recognised; due homage was paid to him, and he then made known his wishes. He offered, if Rinthunbór were yielded to him, to excuse the chiefs of Búndí from affiancing a princess to the Mogul sovereign; to exempt them from the poll-tax, from crossing the Indus, and from customs they considered degrading. He promised to grant them the privilege of entering the hall of audience completely armed; to respect their sacred edifices; never to place them under the command of another Hindú leader; not to brand their horses with the imperial mark (a flower on the forehead); to allow their bands to play in the

¹ So called from Ishtpal, ancestor of Ráo Déva, who lived in 1025. Ishtpal lay wounded to death, when the goddess of his race appeared,

and sprinkling his dissevered limbs with the water of life, cured him. Hence the name Hara, from *Har*, signifying bones, thus collected.

streets of the capital, as far as the Red gate ; and that Búndí should be to the Rájá what the capital of the Moguls was to Akbar. He promised also, a residence and right of sanctuary to the Ráo, in the sacred city of Banáras.

Above all these, the Emperor offered Súrjun Hara the government of fifty-two districts, whose revenues were to be appropriated without inquiry, on furnishing the customary contingent.

The offer was accepted ; a treaty was drawn up on the spot ; Ráo Súrjun renounced the suzerainty of Údaipúr, and was greeted as Ráo Rájá of Búndí. His kinsman, Sawant Singh, who was less pliant, sacrificed his life rather than allow the ownership of the fortress to pass to Akbar, and sacrificed it in vain.

Súrjun Singh did good service to his Mogul lord, and, as a reward, had two districts, Banáras and Chunar, added to his government. At the former of these he resided, and his administration greatly benefited not only that city, but the provinces over which he ruled. He established perfect security to life and property in these. He beautified and ornamented the city of Banáras, and constructed eighty-four edifices for various public purposes, and twenty baths. There he died, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Ráo Bhój. This Ráo and his second brother accompanied Akbar in his Gujrát campaign, and rendered splendid service, Ráo Bhój, on one occasion, killing with his own hand the leader of the enemy. He remained in the imperial camp till the death of Akbar in 1605, when he returned to his hereditary dominions. He died shortly afterwards at Búndí, leaving three sons, Ráo Ruttun, Hurda Nurayun, and Kesú Dás, the eldest of whom succeeded.

Faithful to the example of his father, Ráo Ruttun, with his two sons, Madhú Singh and Heri, joined the imperial army at Burhanpúr, at the time when Shah Jehán was threatening rebellion against his father. In the

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operations which followed, and which terminated in the discomfiture and flight of Shah Jehán, the two sons of Ráo Ruttun were severely wounded. To testify his sense of their and their father's services, and to show his acknowledgment of their fidelity, the emperor bestowed upon Ráo Ruttun the government of Burhanpúr. The reward bestowed upon the second son, Madhú Singh, though possibly equally well intended, dealt in reality a severe blow to the country of the race of Hara. For the emperor bestowed upon Madhú Singh, to be held by him and his heirs direct of the crown, the city of Kotá and its dependencies. Now Kotá was a city of Harawáti, and its dependencies were lands of Harawáti. The act of the emperor thus divided Harawáti into two parts, under separate rulers, who, though originally allied to each other by the bond of brotherhood, were to diverge more and more widely with the march of time.¹

Ráo Ruttun was a man of a fine and noble character. He was universally respected. In his time no Moslem dared pollute the quarters where Hindús were stationed with the blood of the sacred kine; he established tranquillity throughout his government; founded the township of Ruttunpúr, and, by an act of vigour and neighbourly conduct, conciliated the esteem of the ancient suzerain of his house, the Rána of Údaipúr. He was succeeded by his grandson, Chutter Sál.

This Ráo was nominated by the Emperor Shah Jehán governor of the imperial capital, a post which he held nearly throughout his reign. He served also under Aurangzíb in the Dekhan, and led the escalade in the storming of Kalberga. When at the time of the illness of Shah Jehán, his four sons each struck for empire, Chutter Sál, though serving in the camp of Aurangzíb, was faithful to the summons of his master, and baffling the

¹ Colonel Tod is of opinion that in this division the emperor acted designedly, 'as he dreaded the union of so much power in the hands of

this brave race, and well knew that by dividing he could always rule both, the one by the other.'

preventive measures taken by Aurangzib, succeeded in leaving his camp and reporting himself to the emperor. Subsequently, the Ráo of Búndí, with his Haras clad in their saffron robes, the ensigns of death or victory, formed the vanguard of the army of Dára Shekó at the battle of Dholpúr. Here, fighting valiantly, he was slain, struck in the forehead by a ball. His son, Bharut Singh, nobly continued the contest, but he and the choicest of his clan were slain. This battle, which gave the empire to Aurangzib, was fought in June 1658. The sins of Chutter Sál were visited by the conqueror on his son and successor, Ráo Bháo. Aurangzib gave a commission to Rájá Atmarám, Prince of Sheopúr, to reduce 'that turbulent and disaffected race, the Haras,' and to annex Búndí to the government of Rinthunbór. Atmarám attempted the task, and was successful in his first raids; but the Hara clans assembling, attacked, defeated, and drove him out, and not content with that, went on to blockade Sheopúr. The courage thus displayed by the Haras caused Aurangzib to extend his forgiveness to the Ráo Bháo. He summoned him to court, and made him governor of Aurangábád. Here he erected many public edifices, and acquired much fame by his valour, his charity, and his piety. He died in 1682, and having no children, was succeeded by Anurád Ráo, grandson of his brother Bhím. The accession of Anurád was confirmed by the emperor, who, in order to testify the esteem in which he held his predecessor, sent his own elephant with the robe of investiture. Anurád accompanied Aurangzib in his wars in the Dekhan, and on one occasion performed the important service of rescuing the ladies of the harem from the hands of the enemy. The emperor, in testimony of his gallantry, told him to name his reward. His reply was worthy of a Rájput chief. He requested he might be allowed to command the van, instead of the rearguard, of the army. He distinguished himself at the siege and storm of Bijapúr, and subse-

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quently in the Punjáb, when engaged in settling the northern countries of the empire. He died whilst engaged in that service.

Búdh Singh, his son, succeeded him. In the contest for empire which followed the death of Aurangzib, this prince adhered to the cause of the legitimate heir, Bahádúr Shah; and it was in a great measure owing to his exertions that the terrible battle of Jajao (June 1707) gave victory to that monarch. For the signal services rendered on that day, Búdh Singh received the title of Ráo Rájá, was admitted to the intimate friendship of the emperor, and continued to enjoy it till his death. In the civil contentions which followed the death of Mahomed Shah, the prince of Hara, faithful to the traditions of his family, supported the royal house against the faction of the Seiads, often by demonstrations of force accompanied by loss of life. On the triumph of the Seiads, the Ráo Rájá returned to Búndí.

He returned, however, only to meet a new enemy in his brother-in-law, Jai Singh, Rájá of Jaipúr. This prince, in revenge for a private insult, and to gain for himself the suzerainty over the smaller states of Rájputúná, conferred the title of Ráo Rájá of Búndí upon Dulál Singh, Lord of Kurwar, and placed him in possession. His attempt to entrap Búdh Singh failed, owing to the courage of that prince and his Haras. Búdh Singh escaped to Beygú, whence he made many attempts, but all fruitless, to recover his patrimony. The Kotá Hara, Rájá Bhím, took advantage of his distress to seize upon and annex to Kotá the fiscal lands of Búndí east of the river Chambal.

Búdh Singh died in exile at Beygú. His sons were driven by Rájá Jai Singh even from that place of refuge. But on the death of that prince, in 1744, the eldest son, Oméda, then only thirteen years old, levied troops and attacked and carried some important posts in Búndí. He was aided by the new Rájá of Kotá, Dúrjun Sal, who, in his turn, had been threatened by the Rájá of Jaipúr,

successor of Jai Singh. It would take too long to recount all the details of the struggle that followed. It must suffice to state that after fourteen years of exile Búndí was regained by Omèda, and he was recognised as its Ráo (1749).

Omèda lived a chequered life fifty-one years longer, for he survived till 1804. Still harassed by the tribute due to Jaipúr, his energies cramped and contracted by the exactions of the insatiable Márhátás, and his spirit haunted by the memory of a treacherous though well-deserved vengeance on a vassal who had betrayed him, he abdicated in 1771, and became a wandering pilgrim. In this guise, and under the name of Sri-ji, he visited every place of holy resort, of curiosity, or of learning, in Hindostan. He was greeted everywhere as a saint, regarded as an oracle, whilst the knowledge which his observation had accumulated caused his conversation to be courted and every word to be recorded.

Whilst on his travels, Omèda was recalled to Búndí by the death of his son, to superintend the education of his grandson. He was received with honour; and the suspicions with which interested sycophants had filled the mind of his grandson were dispelled. He carefully looked after the young Ráo's education for eight years, and died, as I have said, in 1804.

Before he died he had an opportunity to prove that the feeling of fidelity to the paramount power which had ever marked this branch of the Haras still burned brightly within his breast. On April 17, 1804, Lord Lake, commanding the British forces in India, had despatched a detachment under Colonel Monson to observe the movements of Jeswant Ráo Holkar. Monson advanced as far as Gúrí, whence, deeming further progress impossible, he retreated (July 8, 1804). The events of that retreat are historical. The course of the humiliating flight of our army led it through the territories of Búndí. Omèda cared not for the fact that it was a beaten force, followed

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by a revengeful enemy, which was passing through. In his mind it was the army of the paramount power, and he aided it to the utmost of his country's means, and with an absolute disregard of the almost certain consequences.

The young grandson, Bishen Singh, succeeded him. He was an honest man, possessed of an excellent heart, and an energetic soul. He cared not for unessential enjoyments, but loved the chase. He would bivouac for days in the lion's lair and would not quit the scene until he had slain the king of the forest, the only prey he deemed worthy of his skill. He had killed with his own hand upwards of a hundred lions, and tigers and boars innumerable.

He, too, was true to the paramount power. It happened that the territory of Búndí is so situated as to have been of great importance in 1817 in cutting off the flight of the Pindáris. In this work he co-operated heartily with the British Government, and rendered signal service. As a reward for these efforts, many districts, seized by Holkar half a century before, were restored without qualification, and others taken by Sindhia under conditions. Still, however, the districts seized unjustly by Kotá remained attached to that branch of the family.

By the treaty of 1818 Búndí was taken under the protection of the British Government. Bishen Singh died on May 14, 1821, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Rám Singh, then eleven years old.

He had scarcely reigned nine years before an event occurred, which, but for the supervising power of the British Government, would have caused hostilities between his country and Jodhpúr. The Ráo had married a daughter of the latter State. Report appears to have spoken censoriously of his treatment of his wife, for, in May 1830, a deputation, accompanied by three hundred men, arrived outside the city with the alleged object of securing some modification of the treatment experienced

by the Princess of Jodhpúr. On the third day after its arrival, the minister of Búndí, Kishen Rám, a man of great talents and unblemished character,¹ was murdered by one of the Jodhpúr party. The young Ráo Rájá was determined not to permit such an offence to pass unpunished. Batteries were opened for three days against the place in which the Jodhpúr party had fortified themselves, and the water of the besieged was cut off. The two leaders of the party and the supposed instigators of the assassination were apprehended in an attempt to escape, and were publicly executed by the Ráo Rájá's orders. Persons of inferior note gradually surrendered themselves, and were sent beyond the Búndí frontier. On the sixth day, Batut Singh, a Jodhpúr nobleman, who had sworn to kill the Búndí minister, was himself killed. Taking his death, and the death of the two leaders before referred to, into consideration, the Búndí Government considered the assassination of the minister to be sufficiently avenged.

War with Jodhpúr would probably have followed, but the British Government, by its agent on the spot, put in its veto, and pacified matters.

During the mutiny of 1857, it would appear that the Máhá Ráo, Rám Singh, deviated from the traditions of his family, and showed himself indifferent to his allegiance to the paramount power. On this account, friendly intercourse was broken off with him and was not resumed till 1860. He received, however, a sunnud, conferring upon him the right of adoption. The Máhá Ráo is entitled to a salute of seventeen guns.

¹ During the administration of Kishen Rám, extending over six years and a half, the entire debt of Búndí had been paid off. He had maintained a regular system of finance; had caused the revenue, to the last rupee, to be paid into the

treasury; had increased it from three to five lakhs; had accumulated a surplus of two lakhs; had placed all the establishments on an efficient footing, and paid the army with regularity. He was succeeded by his son.

CHAPTER V.

KOTÁ.

AREA—5,000 sq. miles.

POPULATION—433,000.

REVENUE—2,500,000 rupees.

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I.

WE have seen in the preceding chapter that Kotá was an offshoot from Búndí; that in the year 1625, Kotá and its dependencies were bestowed by the Emperor Jehángír upon Madhú Singh, second son of Ráo Ruttun, for his services in the campaign which forced Prince Shah Jehán to flee, almost unattended, from Burhanpúr. The dependencies alluded to consisted of three hundred and sixty townships, yielding an annual revenue of two lakhs of rupees.

Madhú Ráo, who assumed the rank and title of Rájá, ruled for several years. He added several outlying districts to his country, until it touched Málwá on the one side, and Búndí on the other. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Mókund Singh. Rájá Mókund Singh came to the throne in the year 1657. The illness of Shah Jehán that year brought about the struggle for empire amongst his sons to which I have alluded in the previous chapter. Mókund Singh, true to the traditions of his family, fought for the legitimate monarch and the son nominated to be his heir. At the battle of Ujjén, 1658; he and his four brothers led their vassals, clad in their saffron-coloured garments, with the bridal coronet, denoting death or victory, on their heads. The rashness of Jeswant Singh denied them the latter, but a glorious death it was almost impossible to prevent, and all five fell on the field. It happened, however, that the youngest, Kishór Singh, was afterwards dragged from amongst the slain, and though pierced with wounds, recovered. He lived to ascend the throne, and to be one of the most

conspicuous commanders for the Mogul in the south of India.

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Juggut Singh, son of Mókund Singh, succeeded to the dignity of Rájá. He reigned twelve years, passed principally with the imperial armies in the Dekhan.

His cousin, Paim Singh, followed. But he was so invincibly stupid, that the council of chiefs put him aside after a trial of six months, and sent him back to his family fief. He was replaced by Kishór Singh, the same who had so miraculously escaped at Ujjén. He displayed great military talents in the service of the Mogul. At the siege of Bájapúr, he specially distinguished himself. He was slain at the escalade of Arcot.

His second son, Rám Singh, followed—the eldest son having been disinherited for refusing to accompany his father to the Dekhan. In the contest for empire which succeeded the death of Aurangzib, Rám Singh sided with Prince Azím, and was slain at the battle of Jajao (June 1707).

Bhím Singh succeeded him. He espoused the cause of the Seiads in their struggles with their masters, the representatives of the Mogul, and was rewarded by these with high dignities. He seconded, also, the efforts of Jai Singh, of Jaipúr, to expel the elder branch of his family from the throne and country of Búndí. He annexed several districts, and expelling the Bhíls from their fastnesses, took possession of their lands. He was slain in an attempt to intercept and capture the famous Chin Kilich Khan, better known as Azof Jáh, Nizám-úl-Múlík, Subadar of the Dekhan. He did not die, however, before he had despoiled Búndí of the regal insignia of the Haras. Raja Bhím was the first prince of Kotá who had the dignity of 'Leader of Five Thousand' conferred upon him. He was likewise the first of his dynasty who bore the title of Máhá Ráo, or Great Prince—a title conferred by the head of all the Rájput tribes, the Ráná of Údaipúr, and confirmed by the paramount

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power. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Arjún Singh. This prince died without issue after a reign of four years. Then ensued a civil war for the succession, in the course of which Kotá lost three important districts, Rampúra, Bhanpúra, and Kalapét. The civil war was terminated by the death of one of the claimants, Siam Singh, the brother next in succession to his predecessor.

The third brother, Dúrjun Sál, had then no rival, and occupied the royal seat (1724). His accession was acknowledged by the Emperor Mahomed Shah, at whose court Dúrjun Sál received the robe of investiture, and obtained the right to prevent the slaughter of kine in every part of the territories frequented by his nation. Dúrjun Sál was a successful ruler. He conciliated the leader of the Márhátás, the famous Bájí Ráo, and was presented by him, as an acknowledgment of services rendered, with the castle of Nahrgurh. And though his father had done something more than look on with complacency whilst the Rájá of Jaipúr was engaged in driving the elder branch of the family from their ancestral possessions, Dúrjun Sál not only aided the heir of that house, but finding Kotá threatened with the fate of Búndí, he defended his capital with so much vigour and skill that the aggressors were completely foiled. He could not, however, prevent his State from acknowledging the supremacy of the Márhátás, nor from paying tribute to Holkar.

Dúrjun Sál died without issue. He was succeeded by Ajít Singh, a lineal descendant of the Bishen Singh, who had been disinherited by his father, Rájá Rám Singh, for refusing to accompany him to the wars. He reigned only two years and a half, and was succeeded by his son, Chutter Sál. The prime minister of this prince was the talented Zálím Singh, then quite a young man. Chutter Sál was destined to have to witness, and fortunately to repel, another attack of Jaipúr on his principality. This

took place in 1761. The legions of Jaipúr came on in overwhelming numbers, surprised the party left to guard the ford of the Chambal, and swept on triumphantly till they reached Butwarro. Here they found 5,000 Haras drawn up to receive them. Despising so small a number, they dashed upon them as upon an assured prey. But the Haras received them firmly. Not once, but twice, and thrice, the attack was repulsed. A fourth time came on the warriors of Jaipúr, and the battle was engaged in with redoubled fury. Whilst it was still doubtful, the cleverness of Zálím Singh decided in favour of Kotá. It happened that Mulhar Ráo Holkar, retreating from the disastrous field of Pánipat, was in close vicinity to the contending armies. He had refused to side with either, though pressed by both. But, at the crisis of the conflict, an idea struck Zálím Singh, which he instantly carried out. He rode to Mulhar Ráo, and said: 'The Jaipúreans have left their camp unguarded; you can plunder it!' No second hint was needed. The news conveyed to the Jaipúr host confounded it. They fled in dismay, and the claims of Jaipúr were never renewed.

Chutter Sál survived this elevation but a few years. He was succeeded by his brother, Goman Singh. This prince is described as having been at the time in the prime of manhood, full of vigour and intellect, and well calculated to contend with the storms gathering to burst on the devoted lands of Rájputáná. But fortune smiled not on him. It happened that his minister, Zálím Singh, crossed him in love, and, it would seem, successfully. The Rájá did not possess sufficient generosity to forgive a success which was perhaps the highest testimony to his minister's merit, but dismissed Zálím from the office of minister. Zálím left Kóta at once, and proceeded straight to the court of Ráná Arsi of Údaipúr. He found that monarch under the tutelage of one of his vassals, the chieftain of Délwarra. His reputed talents gained him a warm reception, and the Ráná soon confided to

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him the misery of his condition. By a daring plan, which cost the Délwarra prince his life, the Ráná was released from his bondage. But a rebellion followed, and in the battle which ensued, Zálím Singh was taken prisoner. He fell into the hands of Trimbuck Ráo, father of the celebrated Ambají Ingliá, and formed with him a friendship. Released from this bondage he returned to Kotá. The Rájá refused to receive him. Whereupon, choosing a favourable moment, he thrust himself into his presence, and was not only pardoned, but employed.

Probably the secret of his success lay in the fact that the Márhátás were swarming into Kotá, and the Rájá saw not how to expel them. Probably, too, he recollected Butwarro. Again, but in a different manner, did he succeed. The Márhátás were kept out, but only by the payment to them of six lakhs of rupees. Scarcely had they retired when the Rájá, Goman Singh, died. Before his death, however, he nominated Zálím Singh guardian to his infant son, Uméd Singh.

Uméd Singh was proclaimed as Máhá Ráo, but thenceforth Zálím Singh was the real chief of the state. He was a wonderful man—fond of power, unscrupulous as to the means he used, it must be admitted ; but, on the other hand, he had a keen and vivid intellect, a distinct perception of the ends to strive for ; a daring, a breadth of resources, a power of subduing difficulties, never surpassed. Under his administration, extending over forty-five years, the Kotá territory was respected by all parties—Mahomedan, Márhátá, and Rájpút. Whilst the other portions of that region were devastated and despoiled, Kotá reached the height of its prosperity, benefiting by the misfortunes of her neighbours. One of these was Búndi, from whom Zálím Singh snatched the rich districts of Indurgurh, Bulwan, and Anterdeh, retained ever since by the despoiler. The success of Zálím Singh was owing, in a great measure, to his personal character, to the justice and good faith for

which he was celebrated. His word was regarded as good as the oath of other men, and, during the twelve years which elapsed between 1805 and 1817, few transactions occurred and few negotiations were contracted, without the intervention of Zálím Singh. This, too, it must be remembered, at a period when the British Government had withdrawn from all interference in the affairs of Rájpútáná.

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When, in 1817, the British Government undertook to put down the Pindáris, Zálím Singh was the first of the Rájpút chiefs to co-operate with them. By his means a treaty was concluded between the Rájá of Kotá and the British Government in December 1817, by which Kotá was taken under the protection of the paramount power. The tribute formerly paid to the Márhátás was to be paid to the British Government; and the Máhá Ráo was to furnish troops according to his means when required. A supplementary article was added, vesting the administration in Zálím Singh and his descendants. Other clauses were inserted favourable to Zálím Singh, but it must be recorded, to his honour, that whilst the British Government was prepared to make a separate grant to himself personally of four districts ceded by Holkar, Zálím Singh insisted that they should be annexed to the Kotá State. The Máhá Ráo, Uméd Singh, who had been all his life a nonentity, died in 1820. His son, Kishór Singh, succeeded him. It became apparent, soon after his accession, that the anomalous system by which one person was recognised as the titular chief, and another was guaranteed as the actual ruler, would not be allowed to remain undisturbed. Nor was it. In December 1820, Máhá Ráo Kishór Singh left Kotá, called to his assistance his chiefs and vassals, and appealed to the neighbouring princes to assist him to expel Zálím Singh. Having assembled about 6,000 men, the Ráo advanced from Jaipúr into the Kotá territory, notwithstanding that he was aware that a body of British

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troops, called out for the purpose, barred his entrance thereto. A contest ensued (September 30, 1821) at Mangrúl, in which the Máhá Ráo's force was defeated, his brother was killed; and his adherents were put to flight.

The Máhá Ráo himself fled to Nathdwara, in Jodhpúr, but, after negotiating satisfactorily, returned on December 31 to occupy his pageant throne. He was guaranteed an annual allowance of 164,000 rupees for himself and his establishment; he was declared supreme within his own palaces, and had 300 men, of whom 100 were cavalry, placed at his disposal. On the other hand he recognised the perpetual administration of Zálím Singh and his heirs.

Zálím Singh, who had long previously attained the title of Ráj Ráná, died on June 15, 1824, and was succeeded by his son, Madhú Singh. The unfitness of this man for the office was notorious, but the terms of the treaty were imperative, and his succession was undisputed.

In 1828 Máhá Ráo Kishór Singh died, and was succeeded by his son, Rám Singh. Shortly after the Máhá Ráo's accession, Madhú Singh died, and his place and title devolved upon his son, Muddun Singh. The relations between this minister and the Máhá Ráo were never cordial, and in 1834 they reached such a pitch of hostility that it became necessary to make a rearrangement of the offices. It was finally resolved, in 1838, with the consent of the Máhá Ráo, to rescind the supplementary article of the treaty of 1818, which secured to the descendants of Zálím Singh the office of sole administrator of affairs, and to create a new and independent principality for them by dis severing certain districts from the main body of Kotá. This was accordingly done. Seventeen districts, yielding a revenue of twelve lakhs of rupees, and denominated the principality of Jháláwar, were made over to Muddun Singh.

This arrangement formed the basis of a new treaty

with Kotá. The Máhá Ráo's tribute was reduced by eighty thousand rupees, to be paid by Jháláwar, and he agreed to maintain an auxiliary force at a cost of not more than three lakhs of rupees. It was with much reluctance that the Máhá Ráo agreed to the formation of this force; and in consequence of his repeated remonstrances the payment was reduced to two lakhs in 1844, and it was agreed that if this sum should prove insufficient, the difference would be paid from the Kotá tribute. At the same time the Máhá Ráo was warned that should he fail to make his payments punctually, a territorial security would be required both for the tribute and the payments for the auxiliary force.¹

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V.

The arrangement made to sever Jháláwar from Kotá worked well for both states, and caused all disagreements to cease.

In 1857, the auxiliary force previously referred to rose in revolt, and murdered the political agent and his two sons. Máhá Ráo Rám Singh made no attempt to put down the revolt or to aid the British officer. As a mark of the displeasure of Government his salute was reduced by four guns. He was subsequently, however, guaranteed the right of adoption.

- The Máhá Ráo Rám Singh died on the evening of March 27, 1866, at the age of sixty-four. As soon as it became generally understood that the Ráo's days were numbered, a rumour spread abroad that one of his widows had expressed her determination to perish on the funeral pile. The political agent took measures at once to prevent the possibility of such an occurrence. He caused the apartments of the zenana to be locked and guarded, and directed that the news of the Máhá Ráo's demise should be withheld from the Ránís as long as possible. They were kept in ignorance of it for four hours. Then, however, one of the Ránís declared her intention of performing Satí, and indeed showed herself so violently

¹ Aitchison's *Treaties*.

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determined that she succeeded in bursting open the door. She was prevented, however, from leaving the zenana, and next morning the burning of the corpse took place without crime or disturbance.

Rám Singh was succeeded by his son, Máhá Ráo Chutter Singh. The Viceroy took the opportunity of his accession to restore to him the salute of seventeen guns enjoyed by his father prior to 1857.

CHAPTER VI.

JHÁLÁWAR.

AREA—2,500 sq. miles.

POPULATION—220,000.

REVENUE—14,50,000 rupees.

CHAP.
VI.

IN the preceding chapter I have related how, in 1838, the bad feeling existing between the Máhá Ráo of Kotá and the descendants of the Ráj Rána Zálím Singh was terminated by the creation of a new principality as a separate provision for those descendants. The principality thus created was called Jháláwar: it consisted of nineteen districts. It was subjected to the payment of a tribute of 80,000 rupees; and its chief was to receive the title of Máháráj Rána.

The main exploits of the hero of the dynasty, Zálím Singh, have been related in the preceding chapter, but no account of his family was then given. His ancestors were petty chieftains of Hulwud, in the district of Jháláwar, in Káthiwar. Bhao Singh, a younger son of this family, left the paternal roof with a few adherents, to seek fortune amongst the numerous conflicting armies that ranged over India during the contests for supremacy amongst the sons of Aurangzib. His son, Madhú Singh, came to Kotá when Rájá Bhím was in the zenith of his power. Although he had only twenty-five horse in his

train, it is a proof of the respectability of his family, that the prince disdained not his alliance, but married his son, Úrjún, to the young adventurer's sister. Not long after, the estate of Nandta was entailed upon him, with the confidential post of *Foujdar*, which included not only the command of the troops, but that of the castle, the residence of the sovereign. This family connection gave an interest to his authority, and procured him the respectful title of Mámáh, or maternal uncle, from the younger members of the prince's family—a title which habit has continued to his successors. Muddun Singh succeeded his father in the office of *Foujdar*, and it then became hereditary in the family. Himmut Singh followed Muddun, and displayed great bravery and skill in many trying emergencies. He seconded the defence of Kotá, when it was assailed by the combined Márhátá and Jaipúr troops, and conducted the treaty which made her tributary to the former with such ability, that he gained influence sufficient to restore the ancient line of succession.¹ Zálím Singh was his nephew. How he gained his reputation has already been related.

Muddun Singh, first Máharáj Ráná of Jháláwar, was the grandson of Zálím Singh. He died in 1845, and was succeeded by his son, Pírthi Singh. This chief rendered good service during the mutinies by conveying to places of safety several Europeans who had taken refuge in his districts.²

He has been guaranteed the right of adoption, and receives a salute of fifteen guns.

¹ Tod's *Rajasthan*.

² Aitchison.

CHAPTER VII

TONK.

AREA—1,800 sq. miles.

POPULATION—182,000.

REVENUE—8,00,000 rupees.

PART
I

TONK is a town in Rájputáná, on the right bank of the river Banás, 218 miles south-west of Delhi, and the capital of the principality of the same name founded by the famous freebooter, Amír Khan. Born in Rohilkhand, of Afghan parents, in the second half of the eighteenth century, Amír Khan, then twenty years old, and his younger brother, accompanied by ten followers, left their native province for Málwá, and took service there in the local militia. But other prospects soon opened to him. The troubles at Bhopál, caused by the death of Chutta Khan, led to the enlistment of men by different parties. Amír Khan, with six horsemen and sixty footmen, was engaged by the titular Nawáb, Hayat Mahomed. Here he remained about a year, then left Bhopál to take service with the Rájput ex-chiefs of Ragúghur, who, expelled from their country by Sindhia, supported themselves and their followers by plunder.

In this service he greatly distinguished himself as a daring, fearless leader. A dispute with one of the chiefs caused him, however, to renounce it, to enlist under the Márhátá chief, Bálarám Ingliá, then engaged, with the connivance of the minister of Bhopál, Múrid Mahomed, in pacifying that country. To Amír Khan was assigned the care of the fort of Futtehghurh, and the custody of the person of the Nawáb, Ghous Mahomed. But with the death of Múrid Mahomed, and the retreat of the Márhátás, his connection with Futtehghurh came to an end. He endeavoured indeed to transfer his services to the new minister, Vizír Khan, but before he had been

employed for six months, that discerning statesman discovered his intriguing character, and dismissed him.

Just at that time, 1799, the reputation of Jeswant Ráo Holkar, as the rising star of the Márhátá chiefs, was at its zenith. To him, therefore, Amír Khan repaired, was received with open arms, and treated more as an equal than as a subordinate. Thenceforth, till the return of Jeswant Ráo from Hindostan, 1806, they followed the same path. Jeswant Ráo was the prince and leader, but Amír Khan, subordinate only to him, was sole commander of his own army, and entertained and dismissed whom he chose. Still his position was not enviable. For, often in want of money, he was constantly forced to commit outrages and depredations to appease the clamour of his troops for pay, and more than once, when unable to satisfy them, suffered considerable violence at their hands. In fact, his followers were rather depredators than soldiers, though undoubtedly able in the hour of need to strike a blow for the cause to which their master had pledged himself. The number of these followers gradually so increased that in the year 1806 they numbered 35,000 men, with 115 pieces of field artillery.

Prior to that period Holkar had assigned to Amír Khan estates (Jaghírs) in Málwá and Rájputáná, forming the nucleus of the existing principality of Tonk. These Jaghírs, however, were insufficient to support the large number of troops I have noted. His bands, therefore, ranged over every part of Rájputáná, Málwá, and Bandelkhand, indenting upon those countries for their support.

In 1806-7, leaving his brother-in-law, Guffúr Khan, to support his interests at Indúr, Amír Khan entered the service of Juggut Singh, Rájá of Jaipúr, then contending with the Rájá of Jodhpúr for the hand of the Princess of Údaipúr.¹ In the contest that followed, Jaipúr was,

¹ *Vide* Appendix C.

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at great cost to herself, successful. The Rájá of Jodhpúr saw himself reduced to his last resources, when, suddenly appealing to the avarice and ambition of Amír Khan, he induced that chief to change sides. Jaipúr was then cruelly ravaged. The indiscriminate pillage and slaughter brought both principalities to the very verge of ruin. The connection with them of Amír Khan was brought to a close by the sack of Nagore, and the treacherous murder of the real author of the war, Sevai Singh, previously chief minister of Jodhpúr.

Rájputáná thus devastated and brought to the verge of ruin, Amír Khan turned his arms against the Márhátá family which reigned in Nagpúr (1809). It is supposed that it was his intention to plant his own dynasty on the ruins of the Bhonsla. He was yet engaged in this expedition when he was recalled by the demonstrations of a British force against his own capital of Seronj. He was summoned almost immediately afterwards to the camp of Holkar, by the pressing messages of Guffúr Khan (1810). Having, as he thought, settled affairs in that quarter, he returned to fatten his followers once more on the spoils of Rájputáná and Málwá. Nor were these countries relieved from his baneful presence until the success of the British in the Pindári war enabled them to make a satisfactory and permanent settlement of those countries.

When the British army advanced, in 1817, towards Málwá, the offer was made to Amír Khan, then engaged in besieging the Jaipúr fort of Madhú Rájápúr, to accept the protection of the British Government under the condition that he should reduce his army to a certain specified number, and surrender his artillery at a valuation. On the other hand, he was informed that the Jaghírs originally assigned to him by Holkar would be guaranteed to him in sovereignty, but he was to relinquish the conquests made during his predatory career. The offer was a very liberal one. Amír Khan was more a Pindári

than the Pindáris. He had no hope that he could resist the strength put forth by the British, and doubtless he considered himself fortunate to be in a position to have such terms offered him. He accepted them; but, like a true waiter upon Providence, he delayed to ratify the treaty until he received intelligence of the result of the battle of Sítábaldí, when, considering the Már-hátá game lost, he gave in, resolved to contribute to the maintenance of tranquillity and to begin a respectable life.

By the treaty Amír Khan was confirmed in possession of the districts of Seronj, Píráwá, Gogul, and Nímáhérá. To these the British Government added, as a free gift, the fort and district of Tonk-Rampúra; and a loan of three lakhs of rupees, afterwards converted into a gift, was made to him. The district of Palwal was also conferred on his son in Jaghír for life. In lieu of the revenue of this district, which it was found inconvenient to make over to the son, a monthly stipend of 12,500 rupees was assigned to him.

From that time Amír Khan renounced his predatory habits, and employed himself in settling his country, in building palaces and houses for travellers, and in improving his territory. Not content with this, he wrote an account of the events of his chequered life.

As he grew older, he made another advance in respectability. The man who had nearly ruined Rájpútáná, and sucked the life-blood of Jaipúr and Jodhpúr, became pious and devout; took to clothing himself in sackcloth, to reading the Korán, and associating himself with Múllas. It is due to him to add that he devoted great pains to the education of his twelve children. In 1832, when he went to Ajmír to pay his respects to the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, he was accompanied by six of his sons, five of them in chain armour. On that occasion he made a favourable impression. His manners are described as most frank and

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agreeable; and his whole appearance was considered as forming an agreeable contrast to the ceremonious ostentation of the hereditary princes of Rájásthán.

Amír Khan died in 1834, and was succeeded by his son Vizír Mahomed Khan. This prince rendered good service during the mutinies, and received a sunnud from the Governor-General guaranteeing the succession to his family according to Mahomedan law in the event of the failure of natural heirs. He died on June 18, 1864, and was succeeded by his son, Mahomed Ali Khan.

Under the rule of this prince a grave complication arose which terminated fatally to the continuation of his own rule. It happened that in July 1865, the Thákur or lord of Láwa, a Rájput vassal of the Nawáb, complained of the unusual demands which had been made upon him by the administration. Far from listening to the advice of the Governor-General's agent to give these demands a careful consideration, Mahomed Ali Khan assembled his forces and assaulted Láwa. He was, however, repulsed, with serious loss of life on both sides. For the moment, however, the affair was settled by the deputation to the spot of a British officer, and the future relations between the two parties were defined to the satisfaction of both.

But the Nawáb, Mahomed Ali Khan, was only dissimulating in order the better to effect his ends. It appears that the councils of the young Thákur of Láwa, Dhírut Singh by name, had been directed, since the affair of 1865, by his uncle, Réwut Singh, a stout soldier who had previously commanded a body of cavalry in the state of Alwar; on the advice of this uncle, the young Thákur, whilst steadily maintaining his own rights, had, between the years 1865 and 1867, made constant visits to Tonk to render there his feudal service. It was known, all this time, at Tonk that though he was weak and inexperienced himself, yet he was under the tutelage of his uncle, and that so long as the uncle lived, it would be

difficult to gain an advantage over him. The uncle, therefore, was doomed.

To carry out this murderous project, the Nawáb, Mahomed Ali Khan, summoned in 1867 the Thákur to Tonk, to be presented with a dress of honour. Thither accordingly, the Thákur repaired, accompanied by his uncle and a few attendants. The reception of the uncle was most favourable. He was informed by the minister that the lands of Láwa which had been resumed by the Nawáb would be restored, and his satisfaction, as he returned from the interview, was unbounded. About nine o'clock the same evening, August 1, the uncle, Réwut Singh, was again summoned by the minister to consult with him regarding the dress of honour to be given the following morning. Réwut Singh at once proceeded to the minister's house, accompanied by his son, two kamdars or managers of affairs, and fourteen attendants. Réwut Singh, his son, and the two kamdars at once went upstairs, where they were massacred. The attendants below were also set upon by a party of Tonk sepoys, and all murdered but one, who escaped by being mistaken, by the colour of his turban, for a sepoy. The house in which the young Thákur had taken up his abode was at the same time surrounded by Tonk troops. For three days the young Thákur defended himself, resisting the demands of hunger and thirst, for he had neither food nor water for himself and his followers. On the fourth day, three persons came to him from the Nawáb, and persuaded him, under an assurance of safety, to permit himself to be conducted to the presence of that chieftain. Arriving in his presence the Thákur inveighed against the mode in which he had been treated, but the Nawáb simply informed him in reply that the past could not be recalled, and that if the Thákur had been present with his uncle he would have been treated in the same manner. On returning to his house, the Thákur found it still guarded by Tonk sepoys. There he remained till

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August 8, when the arrival of a British officer procured permission for him to return to Láwa. Whilst these events had occurred at Tonk, a force of 1,000 infantry with 40 swivel guns had appeared before Láwa, and commenced firing upon the forts.

It was impossible that the suzerain power, the British Government, should allow so flagrant an outrage to pass unnoticed and unpunished. Nor did they. An inquiry was at once instituted. All the facts I have narrated were fully proved, and the Government decided that Nawáb, Mahomed Ali Khan, should be deposed and forced to reside outside the Tonk territories; that the minister, his instrument in the outrage, should be constituted a political prisoner, and all the sepoy's attached to his office should be discharged; that the salute of the ruler of Tonk should be reduced from seventeen guns to eleven; and that Láwa should be for ever separated from Tonk and converted into a separate chiefship under the protection of the British Government. It was further decided to bestow the government of Tonk upon the son of the deposed Nawáb, his great uncle, Ibadúlla Khan, conducting the administration during his minority.

This decision was made known to the Nawáb by the Viceroy by means of a letter addressed to him; and to the nobles, chiefs, and people of the principality of Tonk by a proclamation of the Government of India.

In accordance with it, Ibrahím Ali Khan, the eldest son of the late Nawáb, was placed upon the throne in January 1868. He was then twenty years of age; very illiterate and extravagant. The state was thirteen lakhs of rupees in debt; there was not a rupee in the treasury, and the soldiers were from four to six months in arrears. On the representation of the great uncle, Ibadúlla Khan, of his own inability to cope with the circumstances that presented themselves, a council of regency was formed, composed of four influential noblemen, presided over by a British officer. The young Nawáb was likewise

encouraged to attend the meetings of the council, to be initiated in state affairs.

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The ex-Nawáb was allowed to reside at Banáras, on the understanding that he should not be permitted to leave the neighbourhood, except with the knowledge of the Governor-General's agent, and for purposes of sport or temporary recreation. He receives sixty thousand rupees a year. His minister and tool, Hákim Surwar Shah, is restricted to a residence in the fortress of Chanár, but he is allowed moderate freedom and exercise, and personal servants.

CHAPTER VIII.

KARAULÍ.

AREA—1,878 sq. miles.

POPULATION—188,000.

REVENUE—3,00,000 rupees.

THIS small state lies to the south of Bharatpúr. To the east of it is Dholpúr; to the south-east runs the river Chambal, separating it from Gwáliár; to the south-west the river Banás, dividing it from Jaipúr; and to the north-west, also, is Jaipúr.

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The early records of this state are very obscure. It would appear to have had no separate history prior to the decline of the Mogul empire. In the history of the Márhátás, the Rájá of Karaulí is mentioned as a dependant of the Peshwa, to whom the Rájá paid a tribute of 25,000 rupees per annum. He was the first to accept the protection offered by the British Government in 1817. He agreed then to acknowledge the supremacy of the British Government, and in return for this he was guaranteed in his possessions, and the tribute paid to the Márhátás was remitted.

By the fourteenth article of the treaty of Púna (June 13, 1817) the Peshwa had resigned his rights to all

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his territories north of the Narbadá, those in Gujrát excepted, and the Rájá of Karauli had in reality no option but to accept the protection of the British Government or to be absorbed. He chose the former course. Yet though his territories were thus preserved to him, his mind still hankered after some possessions south of the Chambal formerly belonging to him, and he resented the refusal of the British Government to grant him a guarantee for these. He took an early opportunity to show his ill-feeling. When, in 1825, the British were engaged in hostilities in Burmah, and Dúrjun Sál, cousin to the Rájá of Bharatpúr, rose in rebellion against his liege lord, the Rájá of Karauli assisted the rebel with all the troops he could raise. After the capture of Bharatpúr, however, his zeal oozed out rapidly; he made humble professions of submission, and his misconduct was overlooked.

Beyond the adjustment of some border differences between Karauli and Jaipúr, there seems to have been but little communication between the British Government and the Rájá of the principality, Hurbuksh Pál, till he died in 1858. He died childless. A son of his cousin, Pertáp Pál, was then nominated to succeed him, in the event of no posthumous child being born. One of the Ránís, however, shortly declared herself pregnant, and subsequently a mother. Her assertions, were, however, disputed by Pertáp Pál. A commission of inquiry was instituted; but no valid proof of the birth of the child having been submitted, the Governor-General's agent declared the statement to be untrue, and in the name of the British Government pronounced Pertáp Pál to be Rájá. This final recognition took place at the end of 1839, and early in 1840 the Rájá entered his capital in triumph. The Ránís, after vainly attempting to excite a civil war, quickly retired to Bharatpúr, where they were allowed to remain.

Pertáp Pál died in 1848. His reign had been a series of

mismanagements on the part of himself and his ministers. Want of money had led to oppression, and oppression to insubordination and outbreaks. Four times had a British officer been deputed to Karaulí to mediate and to settle affairs, but on every occasion he had failed. Pertáp Pál died childless. The family adopted Nursing Pál, a minor relative, as his successor. The British Government, however, withheld its recognition of the adoption until the first instalment of the debt of upwards of a lakh and a half of rupees, due to it by Karaulí, should have been paid. After some delay the young chief offered payment of the first instalment. But as the offer was not made unconditionally, and the money was to be advanced by a speculator for employment in Karaulí, it was not accepted. Meanwhile various parties were struggling for the guardianship of the young Rájá, and as the absence of the recognition of the latter gave these vitality and encouragement, the British Government deemed it expedient to withdraw the condition it had imposed. But in thus recognising the Rájá, a distinct warning was conveyed to him that payment of the debt would be exacted. At the same time, to control the factions and to baffle intrigue, an agent of the British Government was sent to Karaulí with instructions to assume the direct management of affairs.

The Rájá, Nursing Pál, died in 1852. The day before his death he had adopted as heir a distant kinsman, Bharat Pál. The Government of India proposed to treat the state as a lapse, and its annexation 'was only prevented by the interference of the Home Government on a threatened motion in the House of Commons.'¹ Bharat Pál was, upon this, recognised by the British Government as Rájá of Karaulí, and arrangements were made for the due administration of his state during his minority. But meanwhile the various factions, for a long time previous busy at Karaulí, had made a discovery. It was

¹ *Quarterly Review*, 1858, p. 260.

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ascertained that the adoption of Bharat Pál had been informal, by reason of the minority of the previous Rájá and the omission of certain necessary ceremonies; and it was urged that the claims of Madan Pál, as a nearer relative, were superior to those of Bharat Pál. This view was adopted by the chiefs of Bharatpúr, Dholpúr, Alwar, and Jaipúr. The facts above stated having been proved on inquiry, and Madan Pál having been accepted by the Ránís, by nine of the most influential Thákurs, by three-fourths of the lesser feudal chiefs of the state, and by the general feeling of the country, the recognition of Bharat Pál was annulled, and the claims of Madan Pál were admitted (1854). The direct interference of the political agent in the internal administration was then withdrawn, and the agency abolished the following year. But Madan Pál was warned that, in the event of his failing in the regular payment of the annual instalment of the debt (then reduced to 94,312 rupees), one or more districts would be occupied by the British till the whole of the debt should be liquidated.¹

In 1857, Rájá Madan Pál rendered good service, aiding the British authorities by every means in his power. In consideration of this, the debt, which had then risen to 1,17,000 rupees, was remitted; a dress of honour was conferred upon him, and his salute was raised from fifteen to seventeen guns. In 1859, in consequence of the pecuniary embarrassments of the state, a political agent was deputed to assist the Máharájá in the adjustment of his debts. The agent was instructed to put himself in the position of a friend and adviser to the Máharájá, and not in that of an authoritative controller of affairs. He was withdrawn in 1861.²

I am not aware that anything has subsequently occurred calling for special notice.

¹ Aitchison's *Treaties*.

² *Ibid.*

CHAPTER IX.

K I S H N G A R H.

AREA—720 sq. miles.

POPULATION—70,000.

REVENUE—800,000 rupees.

THE principality of Kishngarh was founded in the year 1613 by Kishn, the ninth son of Údai Singh, Rájá of Jodhpúr. The permission to found this independent state was the price of blood. When Rájá Guj of Jodhpúr had refused to second the ambitious views of Prince Khúrm (Shah Jehán) against his father and sovereign, the Emperor Jehángír, Khúrm tried to gain his point by means of Govindas, a Rájput of the Bhátí tribe, one of the foreign nobles of Márwár, and confidential adviser of the prince. But Govindas 'knew no one but his master and the king.' He refused. For this act of fidelity Khúrm had him assassinated. The instrument he employed to effect his purpose was Kishn, uncle to Rájá Guj; and the reward to the murderer was permission to found an independent principality. Kishn selected a spot beyond the limits of Márwár, and built there a town which, called after himself, perpetuates the memory of his crime. To follow the history of this small state in minute detail seems unnecessary. In fact, up to 1790, there is nothing to record. The inhabitants are mainly Játs, the government was, and is, patriarchal; but the territory was too small to allow its ruler to take a prominent part in the many struggles by which the eighteenth century was characterised. Perhaps the smallness of its extent, combined with the barrenness of its soil, was advantageous to it; for there can be no reasonable doubt that to this circumstance it owed for a long time its immunity from the payment of tribute alike to the Moguls and the Márhátás.

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In the years 1790–91, however, a circumstance occurred which did bring the ruler of Kishngarh somewhat prominently forward, and in a manner not very favourable to his character as a patriot. It will be recollected¹ that in 1787 the Rahtórs of Jodhpúr had united with the Kutchwas of Jaipúr to resist the Márhátás, and that they beat them at the battle of Tonga. The defeat was wiped out in 1790 and 1791 at Patun and Mairta. But on these occasions it was Bahádúr Singh, chief of Kishngarh, who betrayed his country by leading the Márhátás against his native land. It was no calculating spirit born of a desire to be on the winning side, that prompted him to this act. It was to revenge himself on his feudal lord, the Rájá of Jodhpúr, because he had foiled his attempt to despoil his brother of the share of the possessions which had devolved to him by right. The fatal battle of Mairta rivetted the chains of the Márhátás on Rájputáná, the traitor chief alone being exempted from the general subjection.

Kalian Singh succeeded Bahádúr Singh. It was during his rule that Kishngarh was brought under British protection (1818). By the treaty then made it was stipulated that the Rájá should acknowledge the supremacy of the British Government and act in subordinate co-operation with it; that he should abstain from entering into negotiations with other states without its sanction, should refrain from aggression, should refer disputes to the arbitration and award of the British Government, and furnish troops when required according to his means. On the other hand, the British Government agreed to protect him; they guaranteed that he and his successors should be absolute rulers of the country; and they promised not to introduce British jurisdiction within it. Shortly after the signature of this treaty, Kalian Singh began to behave in a manner which argued either insanity or a total absence of principle. The personal service due to him by his Thákurs, or lords

¹ Vide Chapters II. and III.

of domains, appeared to him to be fairly subject to commutation for a money payment. But there being no guarantee that after the payment had been made the services would not be insisted upon, the Thákurs naturally refused to comply. One of the Thákurs, indeed, set up claims to independence. These men the Rájá wished to subdue and crush ; but suddenly, in a freak of eccentricity, he started off to Delhi to lay his complaints before the titular sovereign who represented the house of Timour. At Delhi he employed himself in buying honorary privileges from the king, such as the right to wear stockings in the royal presence. Meanwhile his partisans had not been inactive at Kishngarh. They had enlisted troops, and even procured aid from Búndí, whilst the Thákurs had been by no means idle in responding. Hostilities actually commenced between the rival parties, the effects of which were injuriously felt in the British districts adjoining. Upon this it was represented to the Rájá that the British Government held him responsible for the conduct of his chiefs and their troops as well as for his own. This intimation would appear to have alarmed him, for on receiving it he quitted Delhi with some raw levies, reached Kishngarh, summoned his vassals, and marched against his rebellious barons. But his vassals soon showed that they had no intention to aid him in subjugating and oppressing men of their own order. One by one they deserted him, then suddenly uniting, menaced the capital, declaring their intention to depose Kalian Singh, and to proclaim his infant son. The Rájá, upon this, fled to Ajmír, and appealed to the British Government for aid, offering to farm to it the government of his province. The revolted barons likewise invoked British arbitration. The British Government, refusing the Rájá's offer, stated that no objection would be offered to his retirement to Delhi, and the formation of a regency to manage the country in his absence. Upon this, negotiations were entered into

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between the chiefs and his barons. These, however, produced no result. As a last resource, the barons offered to leave the dispute to the Máharájá of Jodhpúr, provided the decision should receive the guarantee of the British Government; but this guarantee was refused. The chiefs then proclaimed the heir apparent as Rájá, laid siege to Kishngarh, and were on the point of capturing it, when the Rájá accepted the mediation of the British political agent. By his intervention terms were agreed upon, and Kalian Singh returned to Kishngarh. A very short period, however, proved that the pacification would not last; that the Rájá had no intention of keeping the terms to which he had agreed. The nobles again banded together, and shortly afterwards Kalian Singh retired from Kishngarh, and abdicated in favour of his son. He died in 1839, and was succeeded by his son, Pirthí Singh.

Since that time nothing has occurred worthy of special notice.

The Rájá of Kishngarh has been allowed the privilege of adoption. He is entitled to a salute of fifteen guns. His territories are situated between Ajmír and Jaipúr.

CHAPTER X.

DHOLPÚR.

AREA—1,626 sq. miles.

POPULATION—500,000.

REVENUE—6,00,000 rupees.

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DHOLPÚR is a small principality bounded on the north and north-east by the district of Agra; on the south-east by the river Chambal separating it from Gwáliár; and on the west by Karaulí. Although it has only existed as a separate principality for about seventy years, the family

which rules it figured prominently in the history of India for the preceding eighty years. It will be necessary, then, to go back to the beginning of that period.

The ancestors of the present Ráná of Dholpúr were, about a hundred and fifty years ago, zamindárs or landholders of Góhad, then a small village, twenty-eight miles north-east of the fortress of Gwáliár. They belonged to the Jât caste,¹ were industrious, and of a very warlike disposition.

By the exercise of these qualities, the family brought themselves between the years 1725 and 1740 to the prominent notice of the Peshwa, Báji Ráo, and amid the lawlessness and disruptions of the times, managed to assume a quasi-independence as lords of Góhad under suzerainty of the Márhátás. The chief who accomplished this feat died about the middle of the eighteenth century, and was succeeded by his nephew. He, being likewise a clear-headed man, contrived to enlarge his borders. With a wise prescience he held aloof from the great struggle for empire between the Márhátás and the warriors from the north, and when the fatal day of Pánipat (1761) had completely overwhelmed the former, he showed his sense of the importance of the defeat by proclaiming himself Ráná of Góhad, and seizing the fortress of Gwáliár. That independence remained unquestioned for six years. But, in 1767, the Márhátá power, carefully nursed in the interval, was beginning to feel all the symptoms of revival, and its general, Ragonáth Ráo, afterwards Peshwa, being then in Hindostan, thought that the opportunity should not be lost of reading the Ráná of Góhad a lesson which he would not forget. Accordingly he marched with his army to attack the town of Góhad. But the Ráná had in the meanwhile strengthened its defences; he had drilled his troops; and being a hardy, daring man himself, with an especial

¹ According to Colonel Tod, no mean authority, the Jâts are a mixture of the Rájput and Jit or Gete race.

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dislike to be ridden over roughshod, he gave the assailants some very hard and unpleasant work. He defended himself, in fact, so valiantly, that Ragonáth Ráo proposed at last to treat. An accommodation was agreed upon, by which, for a consideration of three lakhs of rupees, the Márhátás agreed to retire, and to recognise the independence, under their suzerainty, of the Ráná, Lakindár Singh.

I have been unable to trace the exact date when the Ráná of Góhad lost Gwáliár, but it was probably about this period. It fell into the hands of Mádhají Sindhia.

It was in his possession when, in 1779, the British Government entered into an alliance with that 'turbulent tributary'¹ of the Márhátás, the Ráná of Góhad. By this treaty the Government agreed to furnish the Ráná with a force for the defence of his dominions or for their enlargement from the Márhátás, to share with him their joint conquests, except the territories constituting his jaghír and then in possession of the Márhátás, and to embrace the Ráná in any treaty concluded with the Márhátás.

In pursuance of the terms of this treaty, a British force of 2,400 men, under the command of Captain William Popham, was sent into the Góhad country to expel thence the Márhátá marauders, and to concert measures with the Ráná (February 1780). Popham drove out the Márhátás, carried the fort of Lahar by storm, and on August 4 surprised and carried the fortress of Gwáliár, till then reputed impregnable. The fortress was transferred to the Ráná of Góhad. By the treaty made by the British with Mádhají Sindhia, dated October 13, 1781, Gwáliár and his other territories were guaranteed to the Ráná, 'so long as he observes his treaty with the English.' But the Ráná did not observe his treaty with the English. On the contrary, several acts showing that he was quite prepared to aid in the confederacy forming

¹ Grant Duff.

against them in 1781-2 were brought home to him, and as a consequence the treaty of mutual assistance was regarded as abrogated. Consequently, when Mádhají Sindhia, left free by the treaty of Salbye, attacked Gwáliár and Góhad, the English left the Ráná to his fate. It was too strong for him, for Gwáliár had to surrender after a protracted siege, Góhad was taken, and the Ráná was forced to constitute himself a prisoner.

But there was to be a turn again in the wheel. In 1802 the British declared war against the successor of Mádhají, Daolat Ráo. Ambají Ingliá, his governor of the province of Góhad, seeing the rapid progress of the British arms, revolted, or pretended to revolt, against his master, and joined the British. With these he made a treaty by which he agreed to surrender to them the fortress of Gwáliár and certain districts which they intended to transfer to the Ráná of Góhad, on being himself guaranteed the remainder of the territory free of tribute. The ceded districts were made over to Ráná Kírat Singh, son and successor of Lakindár Singh, by a treaty dated January 17, 1804, with the exception of the fortress and city of Gwáliár, which the British retained.

Subsequently, in consequence of a dispute with Sindhia as to the meaning of the clause in the treaty of Surjí Anjengaom, by which he had agreed to renounce all claims on his feudatories with whom the British Government had made treaties, 'provided that none of the territories belonging to the Máharájá situated to the southward of those of the Rájás of Jaipúr and Jodhpúr, and the Ráná of Góhad, of which the revenues have been collected by him and his Amildars, or have been applicable as Serinjámí (materials) to the payment of the troops, are granted away by such treaties'—Sindhia contending that the Ráná of Góhad could not be included, inasmuch as the pretensions of that family had been extinct, and their territories in Sindhia's possession for thirty years—the British Government determined to abandon Gwáliár and Góhad

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to Sindhia. But to compensate the Ráná, and in consideration of the fact that the failure in the stipulations of the former treaty had arisen from no fault of the Ráná, they agreed to grant him the pergunnahs of Dholpúr, Bárah, and Rajkérá. Thus it was that the *ci-devant* Ráná of Góhad became Ráná of Dholpúr.

Ráná Kírat Singh accepted the exchange, although, naturally perhaps, he would have preferred that the previous arrangement should remain unaltered. But he never forgave the Sindhia. When, in 1831, the Baiza Bai and her brother were ejected from Gwáliár, he showed his dislike to the government of Gwáliár by giving them a splendid reception. He died in 1836 at a good old age.

His son, Ráná Bhagwant Singh, succeeded him, and in 1837 was invested with a robe of honour by the British Government. In 1841 he showed in an unworthy manner that the hatred of Sindhia was in his blood. He desecrated a Jain temple, by dethroning the god Párasnáth, and substituting Máhádéo, the god of his own partisans, simply because the Jain votaries were connected with Gwáliár. Sindhia took up the matter as a personal affront, and appealed to the British Government. But it was explained to him that, however blameworthy the action might have been, it was not one that warranted the interposition of the paramount power.

In 1857, Ráná Bhagwant Singh did good service by rendering assistance to the British fugitives from Gwáliár. His minister, Déo Hans, however, incurred the displeasure of Government by plundering villages in the Agra district, and, in 1862, in consequence of the intrigues of that individual, and his endeavours to supplant his prince, it became necessary to remove him to Banáras, and place him under surveillance.

Ráná Bhagwant Singh has received the right of adoption, and is entitled to a salute of fifteen guns.

CHAPTER XI.

BHARATPÚR.

AREA—1,974 sq. miles.

POPULATION—650,000.

REVENUE—21,00,000 rupees.

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THE state of Bharatpúr is bounded on the north by the British district of Gúrgaon; on the north-east by Mathurá; on the east by Agra; on the south and south-west by Karauli and Jaipúr; and on the west by Alwar. It enjoys the distinction of being the only Jât principality of any magnitude in India, and has, perhaps, the only government of a truly national character where a great proportion of the people belong to the same tribe as the nobles and princes of the state. The tribe of Jâts—recognised by Colonel Tod¹ as the Getæ and Massagetæ of the ancient writers, the Jutes of Jutland, and consequently as the people who founded the first Teutonic kingdom in England,²—is said to have emigrated from the province of Múltán, during the seventeenth century, and to have settled in the Duáb as cultivators. But they are mentioned before this in history. They were Jâts who, in 1026, harassed Mahmud of Ghizní in his march from Somnâth to Múltán, and who, in the following year were nearly destroyed by him. They were Jâts who, in 1398, were encountered and massacred by Tamerlane on his march by Múltán towards Delhi; and, finally, they were Jâts who disquieted Báber during his advance through the Punjâb in 1525. Migrating, as I have said, to India, in the seventeenth century, they settled down in the Duáb. There, the native turbulence of their character brought upon them more than once the imperial wrath, and with it condign punishment. But the disruption which followed the death of the Emperor

¹ *Journal Asiatique*, May 1827.² *Freeman's Old English History*.

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Aurangzib offered a full scope for the play of their hardy and daring character. Taking advantage of the civil wars which then ensued, they, under their chief, Chúránam, erected petty castles in the villages, the lands of which they cultivated, and soon obtained the distinction of being denominated *Kuzzáks* or robbers, a title which they were not slow to merit, by their inroads as far as the royal abode of the Emperor Farókhshir. The Seiads, then in power, commanded Jai Singh, Rájá of Jaipúr to attack them in their strongholds. But the Jâts, even in the very infancy of their power, evinced the same obstinate skill in defending mud walls as that which, in more recent times, gained them such celebrity. They beat off their assailants. Not long after this, Badan Singh, brother of Chúránam, and who had been imprisoned by him, made his escape, and, invoking the aid of Rájá Jai Singh, induced him to renew the war. This time it was Jât against Jât, and the assailants triumphed. Chúránam and his son fled, and Badan Singh was proclaimed chief of the Jâts, and installed as Rájá, by Jai Singh, at Díg, destined also in after times to have its share of fame.

Badan Singh had a numerous progeny, and four of his sons, Súrjmal, Súbharam, Pertáp Singh, and Bírnarain obtained notoriety. He subjected several of the royal districts to his authority. He abdicated in favour of his eldest son, Súrjmal, having first made a provision for the youngest, Pertáp Singh. Súrjmal inherited all the turbulence and energy requisite to carry on the plans of his predecessors. His first act was to dispossess a relative named Kaima of the fortress of Bharatpúr, and to make it his capital. In 1754 he baffled the allied forces of the Vizír Ghazi-ú-din, the Márhátás, and the Rájá of Jaipúr, though in the end he preferred to compound with them by the payment of 7,00,000 rupees. Six years later he joined, at the head of 30,000 men, the great Márhátá confederacy which, under Seódaséo Bai, marched to Delhi to strike its great blow for the empire of India.

But the incompetency of the Márhátá leader made itself so patent, and his insolence was so galling to Súrjmal, that he withdrew from the confederacy, and thus escaped the blow at Pánipat, which crushed, and for the moment annihilated, the Márhátá power. He even did more. Profiting by the confusion consequent upon that terrible defeat, he seized and garrisoned Agra. Three years later he carried his audacity so far as to make an attempt on the imperial city. But when encamped close to the enemy, he went out hunting, was set upon by a party of Belúchí horse, and was slain.

His son, Jowahir Singh, succeeded him. He was defeated in an attempt to invade Jaipúr, and was subsequently assassinated. His brother, Ratan Singh, followed. He was assassinated by a Brahman from Mathurá, who had undertaken to teach the Ját prince the transmutation of metals, and had obtained considerable sums under the pretence of preparing the process. The day having arrived on which the transmutation was to take place, the Brahman saw no way of escape from the punishment due to his imposture but by driving his knife into his dupe. His son, Kesrí Singh, an infant, succeeded, under the guardianship of his uncle, Néwal Singh. Néwal Singh was a man of great ability, but events were too strong for him. He was unable to make head against his enemies in the field, and was forced to shut himself up in Díg. Here he died of dropsy in 1773.

Námal Singh, third son of Súrjmal, succeeded his brother by right as regent. But his younger brother, Ranjít Singh, ambitious to rule, threw himself into the arms of Mirza Najaf Khan, then wielding the supreme power of the Mogul, and invited him to espouse his cause. The Mirza did so, and took possession of Agra. But called away immediately afterwards into Rohilkhand, Námal Singh, taking heart, determined to carry the war into the enemy's country. He therefore marched on Delhi and occupied Sikunderábád. Attacked, and re-

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pulsed thence, he retired, only however to make a second onward movement, reinforced by the trained mercenaries of Samrú. They had reached Hódal, a town sixty miles south of Delhi, when they were attacked and dislodged by Mirza Najaf Khan, who had returned for the purpose, accompanied by Ranjít Singh. Námál Singh and Samrú then retired, first on Kótban and ultimately on the fortress of Díg, followed by the Mirza. The latter, finding Díg extremely strong, enticed the Játs to Barsána, where he attacked and completely defeated them. Díg resisted for a twelvemonth before it was captured.

By this defeat, Ranjít Singh was enabled to get possession of Bharatpúr, though that alone remained of all the possessions of his family. By the intercession of his mother, however, with Najaf Khan, the latter restored to the family lands yielding nine lakhs of rupees. Subsequently, when the death of the Mirza in 1782 reopened the seams of disorder, the whole of the territories of the Játs, including Bharatpúr, fell into the hands of Sindhia, but, again, on the intercession of the widow of Súrajmal, he restored to Ranjít Singh eleven districts, yielding ten lakhs. To these, three districts yielding four lakhs were subsequently added as a reward for services rendered to General Perron.

Meanwhile, by the death of his relations nearer to the succession than himself, Ranjít Singh had become Rájá of Bharatpúr. His previous career had not been fortunate for his country, but his reign was destined to connect his name and that of his capital with a deed of great daring, and, in Indian annals, of unsurpassed success.

Ranjít Singh had been one of the first of the petty chieftains of Hindostan who evinced a desire to connect their interests with the British Government. A treaty was therefore concluded with him at the beginning of the Márhátá war, by which he was guaranteed in the independent possession of his territories, and was permanently relieved from the payment of tribute to the Márhátás,

and from the apprehension of exactions or encroachments of any foreign state. In the campaign against Daolat Ráo Sindhia which followed, Lord Lake was joined by a Bharatpúr contingent of horse, which did good service at the battle of Láswári, and continued to serve with the British army until the end of the campaign. For his services in this campaign, the British Government transferred to Bharatpúr five districts, yielding seven lakhs of rupees.

It was on his return from Láswári, in December 1803, that the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Lake, had an interview with Rájá Ranjít Singh, at Kanoár. It must have been in every respect satisfactory, for by his alliance with the British the Rájá had been compensated for the losses of the earlier period of his career, and no cause of dissatisfaction had been given to him. Yet it is certain that very shortly after this time he was in active correspondence with Holkar, then about to measure swords with the British.

When war did break out with Holkar, the Rájá of Bharatpúr was called upon to send his contingent to the army. This requisition he first evaded, afterwards refused. His contingent, in fact, joined Holkar, and fought with his troops against the British at Díg. It happened that when the routed troops of Holkar were pursued to the glacis of that fortress, November 1804, the Rájá's troops opened a destructive fire upon the pursuers.

This overt act of hostility showed the Rájá of Bharatpúr as a declared enemy. Thenceforth he was so dealt with, and the British army proceeded to attack his forts. Díg was carried by assault on December 23, and Bharatpúr invested on January 7. But Ranjít Singh, seeing that the fall of the fortress would be a certain prelude to his own overthrow, resolved to defend it with all the resources at his disposal. In this he was well seconded by his army and his people. He repulsed a first assault on January 9, a second on the 21st, a third on February 20,

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and a fourth on February 21, inflicting on the British army in all these a loss in killed and wounded of 3,203 men. But though Ranjít Singh had repulsed the British he was by no means confident of ultimate success. Between February and April Holkar had become once again a fugitive. Weary, then, of his allies, disliking the enormous expenses imposed upon him, and, above all, having a just dread of the pertinacity of the English general, he took advantage of receiving the intimation of the elevation of General Lake to the peerage to offer him his congratulations, accompanying them by a profession of his desire for peace, and of his readiness to proceed in person to the British camp. This offer met a corresponding return. Negotiations were opened, and on April 10 the terms of a treaty were agreed upon. By these, Rájá Ranjít Singh agreed to pay an indemnity of twenty lakhs of rupees (seven of which were subsequently remitted), and was guaranteed in the territories he had held prior to the suzerainty of the British Government. The districts which had been granted him in 1803 were resumed.

But though the Rájá of Bharatpúr lost by the line he had taken both money and territory, he gained in prestige and credit. His capital was the only fortress in India from whose walls British troops had been repulsed, and this fact alone exalted him in the opinion of the princes and people of India. For more than twenty years subsequently Bharatpúr was a 'household word' in their habitations; and it required a reversal of the result of the first siege to deprive the taunt of its efficacy and sting.

Rájá Ranjít Singh died in less than two years after his moral triumph, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Randbhir Singh. As a general rule this chief conducted his policy towards the paramount power by a system of irritating to the utmost limit of forbearance. Peace was however maintained, and in the Pindári war (1817) the Rájá duly furnished his contingent of troops to the British

army. He died, childless, on October 7, 1823, and was succeeded by his brother, Baldéo Singh.

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Rájá Baldéo Singh reigned only about eighteen months, as he died on February 26, 1825. He left a son six years old, named Balwant Singh, whose succession was recognised by the British Government. His cousin, however, Dúrjun Sál, supported by the Rájá of Karaulí and others, attacked, dethroned, and imprisoned him. Upon this the British Resident at Delhi, Sir David Ochterlony, who was also the agent for Bharatpúr, promptly assembled a force to reinstate the rightful heir, and there can be little doubt that if he had been allowed to proceed, no serious hostilities would have followed. But the Governor-General, Lord Amherst, trusting that the family differences would be peaceably adjusted, and not considering that the recognition of an heir-apparent during the life-time of the father imposed upon it any obligation to maintain him under the circumstances which had occurred, disapproved of Sir David Ochterlony's policy, and summarily removed him from his post. But in the end, the Government of India was forced to take up and carry out the policy thus rejected, and under circumstances far less favourable. For Dúrjan Sál, in the interval, whilst negotiating and professing to leave the decision of his claims to the British Government, had been engaged in strengthening the fortifications, in levying troops, and in soliciting aid, which was secretly promised from the Rájput and Márhátá states. The attitude of Dúrjan Sál, combined with the prestige attaching to his capital, produced at last so great an excitement and commotion throughout the country, that to prevent a general conflagration, the Government resolved in the end to adopt the policy of Sir David Ochterlony, viz., to replace Balwant Singh and expel the usurper. An army of 25,000 men, well provided with artillery, was collected, and sent, under the personal command of the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Combermere, against the fortress. The siege was

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begun in December 1825, but as the mud walls were of great height and sixty feet thick, fronted by a deep wet ditch, mining operations were resorted to. These commenced on December 23, and the mines were sprung on January 17 following, when a sufficient breach was effected, and the fortress carried by assault on the 18th. Dúrjun Sál was made prisoner, and sent to Allahabad; whilst the young Rájá was installed (February 5, 1826) under the regency of the principal widow of the late Rájá, and the superintendence of a political agent. The regent, however, Rání Mirut Kour, having shown a great disposition to intrigue, and have gone so far on one occasion as to lock herself up with the young Rájá for several days in the palace, threatening to destroy herself if any opposition were offered to her, or any attempt made to remove him, was displaced, and the ministers were formed into a council of regency, with the entire administration of the government in all departments.

In 1830 the government of Bharatpúr sustained a great loss by the death of its chief minister, Jawáhir Lál. He had been the principal revenue minister for the twenty-five years preceding; and it is recorded of him that it was his thorough knowledge of revenue matters, combined with a degree of temper, patience, and forbearance, which have seldom, perhaps never, been surpassed, that enabled him to discharge the duties of his office in a manner most beneficial to the interests of his country. After his death a change for the worse was quickly perceptible, and the deterioration became so rapid, that, in June 1831, the British agent suggested the appointment, as finance minister, of Bhólanáth, a man of some reputation in the town. Matters then improved.

In 1835 Rájá Balwant Singh assumed charge of his government, and the political agency was withdrawn. The detachment of troops which had till then been stationed in the capital was also recalled, and the Rájá was left to the independent management of the country.

This freedom from restraint was not abused. From the accession of Rájá Balwant Singh to 1840 the affairs of the state continued to be managed by the minister Bhólanáth, and it would have been difficult to point to a state better governed during that period than was Bharatpúr. To such an extent was this appreciated by the British Government that in 1839 it excused the Bharatpúr state from the payment of the accumulated arrears of interest with which the unliquidated war charges incurred in 1825-6, and which amounted to 25,49,000 rupees, were burdened according to agreement.

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Rájá Balwant Singh died in 1853, and was succeeded by his son, Jeswant Singh, a minor. The administration during his minority was conducted by five of the nobles under the superintendence of a political agent.

Subsequently nothing of prominent importance has occurred, unless the birth of an heir to the Máharájá on January 26, 1868, be considered such.

The Máharájá of Bharatpúr has been granted the right of adoption. He is entitled to a salute of seventeen guns.

CHAPTER XII.

ALWAR.

AREA—3,300 sq. miles.

POPULATION—1,000,000.

REVENUE—16,00,000 rupees.

THE state of Alwar is bounded on the north by Gúrgaon and the native district of Kôt Kásin; on the east by Mathurá and Bharatpúr; on the south by Jaipúr, and on the west by Jaipúr. The principality itself forms a portion of Mewát, or the country of the Mewátís.

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The Mewátís, who have long had the character of being a fierce, savage, and predatory race, played rather a prominent part, by the display of the qualities attributed to them, in the time of the early Mahomedan kings of Delhi. Their predatory expeditions, sometimes even to the very gates of the capital, at last roused indignation and desire for revenge. In 1266 Gheias-ú-dín Bulbun organised an expedition against them, and by a system of extermination, backed by the formation of local garrisons and other precautions, succeeded in ridding the country of upwards of a hundred thousand of them. A century and a half later the Mewátís endeavoured to take advantage of the disorder which followed the extinction of the house of Toghlak, but Seiad Mobárik inflicted upon them a crushing defeat (1429). From that time, for 300 years, they appear to have been content to plunder on a smaller scale. Indeed, their strength was insufficient to allow them to enter into competition with the plunderers on a princely plan. They wanted, too, organisation and a chief. But their time was fast coming. The disruption of law and order which followed the death of the Emperor Aurangzib incited the Rájá of Jaipúr, in 1720, to wrest from the empire several territories, and amongst the number the country of the Mewátís. This remained with Jaipúr for about fifty years. But in 1764-74 disorder had reached the state of Jaipúr. The nobleman, Pertáp Singh, of the clan of the Masúkha Rájput, upon whom the jaghír of Macherí in Mewát had been conferred, took advantage of the confusion consequent upon a long majority, to strike for independence. In the war carried on by Mirza Najaf Khan with the Jâts, he united his forces at an opportune moment with those of the former, aided him to beat the enemy at Barsána and at Dig; and as a reward for this service obtained the title of Rao Rájá, and a sunnud for Macherí, to hold it direct from the crown. In this way was Macherí severed for ever from Jaipúr. Not content,

however, with that, Pertáp Singh took advantage of the weakness of Bharatpúr at this period to wrest from it the strong hill fort and fortified town of Alwar and other places in its vicinity.

Pertáp Singh, having thus gained a principality, next attempted to keep it in his family. The plan he is said to have adopted was at least ingenious. He wished so to arrange that the country might offer no temptations to an invader, no smiling fields inviting the encampment of large bodies of troops. His policy, therefore, was to discourage cultivation. On the other hand he fortified all the commanding positions, and held them by strong garrisons.

Pertáp Singh lived for about twenty years after the acquisition of Alwar. He died without male issue, but he had adopted a relative, Buktáor Singh, who succeeded him. In the reign of this chief the country, notwithstanding the precautions of his predecessor, was overrun by the Márhátás, a portion of it, indeed, was conveyed to their partisans. This is sufficient to explain why, when the Márhátá wars of 1803-6 broke out, Buktáor professed himself willing to accept the protection of the British Government, and concluded with it a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance. He co-operated in those wars, and although his Mewátís, in their normal love of plunder, did not spare, occasionally, the baggage of the British, yet he was rewarded for his services by the transfer to himself of the districts originally bestowed upon Bharatpúr, and subsequently forfeited by the Rájá of that place. To suit the convenience of both parties a partial exchange of territories was effected about this time between the Rájá of Alwar and the British.

Buktáor Singh evinced no gratitude to the paramount power, nor did he always show that he was guided by common sense. In 1803, for instance, he made an embankment across the Mahnas Nai, the river flowing into the Bharatpúr territory, and supplying its people

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with the means of irrigation, and thus cut off a supply absolutely necessary for their fields. The British Government interfered, but a long time elapsed before the matter could be adjusted. Then, in 1811, the Rájá was seized by a religious frenzy, which could only be gratified by the persecution of his Mahomedan subjects. He destroyed their mosques, and seizing some of their devotees, he mutilated them, and sent their noses and ears to a neighbouring Mahomedan prince. His savage zeal did not stop there; and among other exploits, he caused the bodies of Mahomedans to be disinterred, and sent their bones out of the country.

Just about this time, also (1811), the British Government discovered that the Rájá had interfered in the affairs of Jaipúr in a manner which it was impossible for the paramount power to sanction. As no article in the treaty of 1803 expressly forbade this, a new agreement was drawn up (July 1811), by which the Rájá expressly agreed never to enter into any engagement or negotiation whatever with any other state or chief without the knowledge and consent of the British Government. Yet, the very next year (1812) he took possession of the forts of Dhobí and Sikráwa and the territory adjoining, and, though the British Resident at Delhi remonstrated, refused to restore them. It became necessary, then, to compel him. A force was organised and sent against him, but when the troops were within one march of his capital, Buktáor Singh yielded, restored the usurped territory, and paid three lakhs of rupees for the expenses of the expedition.

The Ráo Rájá Buktáor Singh died in 1815, leaving a nephew and adopted son, Benéi Singh, and an illegitimate son, Balwant Singh, both minors. A dispute then arose as to the succession. The cause of the nephew was supported by the Rájpút nobles, that of the illegitimate son by the Mahomedan faction, headed by Nawáb Ahmed Baksh Khan. A compromise was effected, and it was

agreed that the nephew should enjoy the title, while the illegitimate son should exercise the power of the state. The British Government sanctioned this arrangement. It lasted till both boys had grown up. Then, however, the nephew, Benéi Singh, chafing at the restraints imposed upon him, caused Balwant Singh to be imprisoned, and the life of the Nawáb, Ahmed Baksh Khan, then on a visit to the British Resident at Delhi, to be attempted. The assassin was apprehended, and on investigation, the crime was traced to the instigation of certain persons at the court of Alwar. The surrender of these persons was demanded by the British Government, in order that they might be tried at Delhi. Rájá Benéi Singh refused to surrender them, and he persisted in his refusal until, after the fall of Bharatpúr in 1826, he learned that Lord Combermere was on his march to Alwar. He then gave them up. At the same time he made a provision for the dispossessed Balwant Singh.

But the conduct of Rájá Benéi Singh continued to show a defiant spirit. The persons accused of attempting to murder the Nawáb were, indeed, acquitted; but so strong was the suspicion against them that the Rájá was requested not to employ them in any offices of trust. Far from complying with this request, he bestowed upon those persons the highest offices in the state! For this reason the British Resident declined to visit the Rájá of Alwar as he had visited the other chiefs of Rájputáná, and the following year (1827) the Governor-General refused to receive a deputation from his principality.

Again, in 1831, a correspondence was discovered between the courts of Alwar and Jaipúr, originating in the desire of Rájá Benéi Singh to do fealty to Jaipúr, and to receive a dress of investiture, for which he was prepared to pay a considerable sum of money. It was pointed out to the Rájá that such correspondence constituted a breach of his engagements.

In one or two other ways the Rájá continued to

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display his defiance, and a threat of the march of British troops to enforce the law was almost always necessary to bring him to reason.

Ráo Rájá Benéi Singh died in 1857, just after the outbreak of the Mutiny. After his death the Mahomedan ministers acquired an ascendancy over his son, Séodán Singh, then thirteen years of age, which was obnoxious to the Rájpút nobles, who rose and expelled them (1858). The ministers were compelled to reside at Banáras under surveillance, and a political agent was appointed to Alwar to advise and assist the council of regency which was formed to conduct the administration during the young chief's minority. Ráo Rájá Séodán Singh attained his majority in September 1863.¹ A political agent continued, however, to remain at Alwar.

In 1864 the young Máhá Ráo paid a visit to Calcutta, and much impressed the Viceroy by his intelligence and force of character, though, in other respects, the impression was not favourable. The Viceroy warned him that in the event of commotions occurring at Alwar he must not expect British assistance to put them down. The warning was needed, for the same year the Máhá Ráo was accused of murdering his master of the horse, a Mahomedan; and though the charge of homicide could not be brought home to the Máhá Ráo, the circumstances were extremely suspicious. Shortly after he caused great scandal by his disputes with his Thákurs and his overbearing conduct towards Jaipúr. By this time the British agent had been recalled, and precautions taken to prevent bloodshed. But the Máhá Ráo was distinctly informed that he would have to bear the consequences of his own acts.

To mark his sense of the Máhá Ráo's misconduct, the Viceroy felt constrained at this period (1866) to refuse him the dress of investiture in recognition of his assumption of power. Subsequently, the conduct of the Máhá

¹ Aitchison's *Treaties*.

Ráo gave promise of amendment, and the Governor-General's agent having reported more favourably of his administration, a dress of investiture was bestowed upon him in 1867.

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The Máhá Ráo of Alwar has received the right of adoption. He is entitled to a salute of fifteen guns.

Subsequently to the writing of the foregoing sketch, Máhá Ráo Séodán Singh died (October 1874). He left no children, and has been succeeded by Mangal Singh, son of Hurdéo Singh, the representative of the Thána family.

CHAPTER XIII.

BÍKÁNÍR.

AREA—17,676 sq. miles.

POPULATION—539,000.

REVENUE—about 6,00,000 rupees.

THE state of Bíkánír was founded by Bika Singh, sixth son of Rájá Joda of Jodhpúr. Followed by three hundred of his clansmen, Bika quitted the paternal roof to found a new city in the wilderness. He of course went sword in hand, with a determination to slay or to be slain. The Sanklas of Jánglú fell before him. This brought him in contact with the Bhátís of Púgal, the daughter of whose chief he married. Settling down at Koramdésír, he built there a castle; then, gradually, by establishing his influence over the race of the Játs or Getes, settled in the land, and of others who immigrated from more remote regions, he came at last to be elected lord of a community of nine cantons, containing 2,670 villages. The people led a pastoral life, their wealth consisting in their cattle, the produce and wool of which they exchanged with their neighbours. The conditions on which they offered

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to bestow the supremacy over their community upon Bika Singh were these:—

1. That he should make common cause with them against the cantons with which they were at variance.
2. That he would guard the western frontier against the irruption of the Bhátís.
3. That the rights and privileges of the community should be held inviolable.

On the fulfilment of these conditions, they relinquished to Bika and his descendants supreme power, assigning to him, in perpetuity, the power to levy *dhúa*, or a hearth tax, of one rupee on each house in the canton, and a land tax of two rupees on each hundred bighas¹ of cultivated land within their limits. As a security for the performance of their part of the contract by Bika and his successors, Bika bound himself and them to receive the mark of inauguration from the hands of the descendants of the elders, and that the throne should be deemed vacant until such rite had been administered.

Bika then made war with the rival tribe of his new nation, the Johyas, and conquered them; then advancing against the Bhátís, won Bhágór from them. In this district he founded his capital, Bíkánir (1489), just thirty years after his departure from Mundúr.

Bika died in 1495, leaving two sons by his first wife, Núnkarn, who succeeded him, and Garsi, who founded Garsisin and Arsisar.

Núnkarn conquered several districts from the Bhátís. He left four sons, the eldest of whom renounced his birthright to have a separate establishment in his father's lifetime. The second brother, Jáetsí, then succeeded Núnkarn. He, too, enlarged his borders. Kálian Singh, his eldest son, followed him, and then succeeded his eldest born, Rai Singh.

Rai Singh came to the throne in 1573. In his reign

¹ A bigha is five-eighths of an acre. The charge, therefore, was equivalent to six shillings and five pence per hundred acres.

Bíkánír rose to importance amongst the principalities of the Mogul empire, and Rai Singh became a satrap of his brother-in-law, the Emperor Akbar.¹ High honours were bestowed upon him by the emperor. He was made a leader of four thousand horse, received the title of Rájá, and the government of Hissar. Moreover, when Maldéo Singh, King of Jodhpúr, incurred the displeasure of Akbar, that sovereign transferred to Rai Singh the district of Nagore and afterwards his entire kingdom. Such transfers, however, were in effect nominal. But, armed with the emperor's favour, Rai Singh returned to Bíkánír, conquered Bhutnair, and rooted out the Johyas. Previous to his reign the Rájputés had gradually been ousting the Jâts as proprietors of the soil, and the Jâts had been sinking to the position of labourers or serfs. This silent revolution was completed under Rai Singh. It was made absolute by the conquest of the territories of the Púnias, the last race of Jâts who had preserved their liberty.

Rájá Rai Singh led a band of his warriors in all the wars of Akbar. He distinguished himself in the assault of Ahmedábád, slaying the Governor in single combat. He married his daughter to Prince Selim, afterwards Emperor, as Jehángír. Her son Purvez was one of those who unsuccessfully strove for the empire with Shah Jehán.

Rai Singh died in 1632, and was succeeded by his only son Karan. Karan supported the claims of Dára Shekó against Aurangzíb, and escaped the plot laid by the general of his antagonist to destroy him. He died in 1674, and was followed by his son, Anóp Singh. This prince held the governments of Bījapúr and Aurangabád, was nominated a leader of 5,000 horse, accompanied Rájá Jeswant Singh to Kábul with the imperial forces, returned, and died at Bíkánír in 1709. His son, Sarúp Singh, succeeded. Sarúp Singh was killed in endeavouring to recover the castle and lands of Adóní, bestowed by

¹ They had married two sisters, princesses of Jaisalmír.

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Aurangzib on his father, and taken back on his quitting the imperial army. The two next Rájás, Sujaim Singh and Zoráwar Singh, were men of little note.

Rájá Guj Singh followed them. Throughout a long reign of forty-one years, this prince was engaged in border contests with the Bhátis and Bháwalpúr. He succeeded in rounding his borders by acquisitions from both. But he is chiefly famous for the number of his offspring. He had sixty-one children; 'though,' remarks the annalist, 'all but six were "sons of love."' He was succeeded in 1787 by his son, Ráj Singh.

Ráj Singh enjoyed his dignity only thirteen days, being removed by a dose of poison, administered by the mother of Súrat Singh, fifth son of the late Rájá. He left, however, two sons, Pertáp Singh and Jai Singh. But Ráj Singh had not been poisoned without an object. Súrat Singh at once assumed the office of regent, his two elder brothers, Súr tán Singh and Ajít Singh, fleeing the paternal roof to escape the fate of their brother. During the following eighteen months Súrat Singh conducted himself with great circumspection, and by condescension and gifts impressed the chiefs in his favour. Then he disclosed to some of them his determination to rule. His plans were, however, discovered, and the majority of the nobles determined to resist him, unfortunately only passively. Súrat Singh, an active and determined man, levied troops, attacked, and subdued them; then returned to Bíkánír, resolved to remove every obstacle between himself and the throne. One of his nephews had died; the other remained under the care of the sister of Súrat Singh, a virtuous woman. Unable to deceive her vigilance, Súrat Singh forced her into a marriage which she abhorred, and then, having rid himself of her, strangled, it is said with his own hands, his nephew and sovereign. He then proclaimed himself Rájá, a position in which his defeat of his elder brothers, who had levied a force to dispossess him, confirmed him.

It was in the year 1801 that Súrat Singh became undisturbed ruler of Bíkánír. He was a warrior, and made many acquisitions to his country, especially from the Bhátis; but in the Jodhpúr civil war he unfortunately took the wrong side, supporting the cause of the pretender, Dhókal Singh, and expending nearly five years' revenue in fruitless efforts on his behalf. This failure caused him to become oppressive to his people, and bigotry in his old age, the natural child of riotous and unscrupulous youth, making him more and more superstitious, he withdrew gradually from affairs, leaving his government in the hands of those who had been his associates, and who were not haunted by the same terrors. Before his death in 1828, his country was embraced in the general scheme of subsidiary alliances, formed by the British Government at the time of the Pindárí war. The Rájá was bound to subordinate co-operation, and the British Government engaged to protect his territories and to reduce his rebellious subjects to obedience. No tribute was exacted, none having been paid to the Márhátás. Súrat Singh left his country in a terrible state of anarchy and disorder: the chiefs were in open rebellion, the country swept by robbers, the very cultivators of the fields forced to arm in their own defence. He was succeeded by his son, Ratan Singh.

One of the first acts of the new Rájá was to proceed to invade the territory of Jaisalmír in revenge for former injuries, or supposed injuries, sustained by his subjects through subjects or servants of the former. The Rájá carried his operations, in direct breach of his treaty with the British Government, to the very gates of his enemy's capital. The ruler of Jaisalmír prepared an army to resent the injury, and the armies of Jodhpúr and Jaipúr assembled on their respective frontiers. The peace of Rájputáná was in imminent danger, when the British Government interfered, and through the arbitration of

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the Ráná of Údaipúr the dispute was settled, both parties making reparation for the injuries done.

But there was but little improvement in the internal condition of the state. The Rájá continued on bad terms with many of his nobles, and he did not feel himself strong enough to coerce them. Under these circumstances, he applied for aid to the British Resident at Delhi (1830). The aid was promised under a misapprehension. But the British Government interfered, and informed the Resident that military aid should never be given to native states for the suppression of internal disturbances, except under the specific authority of Government. The Government also expressed an opinion that the case was not one in which they were called upon to interfere.

Meanwhile the squabbles between the Rájás of Bíkánír and Jaisalmír continued. They had reached such a point in 1835 that a British officer was deputed to effect a reconciliation. His mission was happily attended with success. Both Rájás renounced their previous ill-will to each other, and entered into a pact of friendship. A disposition to border encroachments was, however, manifested by the Rájá in other quarters, especially in the direction of Hissar; and it was not until strong means had been used that he desisted from his attempts.

Rájá Ratan Singh died in 1852. He was succeeded by Sirdár Singh, the present chief. Sirdár Singh did good service in the mutinies, both by sheltering European fugitives and by co-operating against the rebels in the districts of Hansi and Hissar. As a reward for these services he received a grant of forty-one villages, which, some years before, had been declared to belong to the Sirsa district. He received, likewise, the right of adoption.

Still the frontier outrages continued, and they proceeded to such a length in the Jodhpúr territory, that in 1861 the British Government was constrained to remind

the Rájá of his treaty obligations. In the same year, too, his misgovernment of the forty-one Sirsa villages ceded to him for his services in the Mutiny, called for the intervention of the British Government. An inquiry before the Commissioner of Hissar showed that, whereas the total revenue demand against the villages between 1861 and 1867 had been 90,000 rupees, the Rájá's officials had exacted 2,00,000 rupees in excess of that sum. The Viceroy, upon this, addressed a letter to the Rájá, calling upon his Highness to maintain all concerned in the rights and privileges conferred upon them by the British Government, and to place an official of upright character in charge of the villages.

I am not aware of anything that has occurred subsequently in Bíkánír calling for notice.

The Rájá of Bíkánír is entitled to a salute of seventeen guns. His territory lies in the Rájputáná Desert, east of Bháwalpúr.

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CHAPTER XIV.

JAISALMÍR.

AREA—12,252 sq. miles.

POPULATION—73,700.

REVENUE—5,00,000 rupees.

JAISALMÍR was founded in the year 1156 by Jaisal, Ráwul or Prince of the Bhátís, a branch of the Yádú race, whose power was paramount in India 3,000 years ago. Abandoning India, this tribe, led by the ancestors of Jaisal, is said to have settled in Merve. Migrating thence, they conquered Afghánistán, making Ghizní their capital. Expelled thence by the King of Khorassan (supposed to have been Antiochus IV., the Great), they settled in and colonised the Punjáb, and founded the city of Salabhána.¹

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¹ Colonel Tod thinks, and it appears to me with some reason, that Salabhána and Lahore may have been one and the same place; at all

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Driven from the Punjáb by the King of Ghizní,¹ they fled to the great Indian desert. There they intermarried with the ruling family of Amírkót, and subsequently with that of Jhalór. They then built a fortress in the desert, which they called Tanót, and made it their capital (A.D. 731).

Tanót remained the capital of the Bhátí tribe until, about the year 840, it was taken and sacked by the neighbouring clans, and all the people found in it put to the sword. The remnant that escaped under their Ráwul, Déoraj, managed, by a cunning device, to build another fortress, which, after himself, he named Déoráwal. This prince restored the fortunes of the family, conquering Lodorva, capital of the Lodra Rájpúts, and making it his own. His sixth descendant, Jaisal, considering that city open to invasion, built another ten miles from it, which on completion he called Jaisalmír, and transferred to it the royal residence (1156). This city still retains its pre-eminence, and has given its own name to the country.

Jaisal survived this event twelve years. I propose to give little more than the names of those of his successors in their order whose exploits do not seem to require special notice; but every important event will be recorded.

Jaisal was succeeded by Salbahan, a successful warrior, but who was ousted during his absence by his son, Bíjil. Salbahan was killed fighting against the Belúchís. Bíjil did not long survive him. His uncle, Kailán, followed and avenged his brother's death by defeating the Belúchís and slaying their leader. He governed prosperously for nineteen years.

Cháchick Déo, his son, succeeded in 1219, and ruled the country thirty-two years. His grandson, Karan,

events that the intervening distance could not have been great between the two cities. There is, he adds, a Sangala, south of Lahore, near the altars of Alexander, and a Sealkote. Salabhána, Salbahanpore, or simply

Salpura, may have been erected on the ruins of Kampilanágri.

¹ The Bhátís had retaken Ghizní, and made it over to the grandson of their prince, who became a convert to Mahomedanism.

followed, ruling twenty-eight years. Both these princes were valiant and successful sovereigns.

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Of Lakhúr Sén, who next mounted the throne, it is recorded that 'he was so great a simpleton that when the jackals howled at night, being told that it was from being cold, he ordered quilted dresses to be prepared for them. As the howling still continued, though he was assured his orders had been obeyed, he commanded houses to be built for the animals in the royal preserves.' He ruled only four years, and was replaced by his son, Pompál. But the temper of this prince was so violent that his nobles combined to dethrone him, replacing him by Jaetsi, the elder brother of Ráwul Karan, and whose claims had been set aside in deference to the death-bed wishes of Ráwul Cháchick.

Jaetsi reigned eighteen years. In the course of these his capital Jaisalmería was subjected to a siege from the troops of the Emperor Alla-ú-dín Khilji,¹ in revenge for some marauding carried on by his grandson. The siege, it is stated, had lasted eight years when Ráwul Jaetsi died. On the accession of his son, Múlráj, the attacks of the besiegers increased in fury, and, though they were repulsed, the blockade became more strict than before. So great was the distress of the inhabitants, that the Ráwul meditated sacrificing all the females of the place, and dying with honour on the field of battle. This plan was, in effect, ultimately carried out. Twenty-four thousand females were sacrificed by fire or the sword, then the men arming themselves, rushed on the foe, and, inflicting great slaughter, were destroyed to a man. The only survivors were the two nephews of Ráwul Múlráj and a small force in the field commanded by Déóráj, son of Múlráj, who was soon afterwards carried off by fever (1295).

The Moslem garrison occupied Jaisalmería for two years, when they abandoned it. Some years later the

¹ Not as stated by the annalist, Alla-ú-dín Ghori, who lived about a century earlier.

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Rahtórs of Méhwo came and settled in the ruins, but they were driven out by the remnant of the Bhátís, led on by Dúdú, son of Jésur, who was elected Ráwul. Dúdú had the imprudence, however, to carry off the horses of the King of Delhi whilst they were being watered at a lake. In consequence, Jaisalmír was again attacked, and submitted to a sacrifice as horrible in all its details as that which preceded it (1306). Meanwhile the two nephews of Ráwul Múlráj had been taken to Delhi. By good service rendered there, the elder, Garsi, obtained a grant of his hereditary dominions, with permission to re-establish Jaisalmír. With his own kindred, and the aid of the vassals of his friend, Jagmál of Méhwo, he repaired thither, soon restored order, and established a sufficient force. He was, however, assassinated by the partisans of the relatives of Dúdú, son of Jésur. His brother Kêhur succeeded him, and by his consent the widow of Garsi settled the descent to the throne in the family of Hámir, their cousin, grandson of Ráwul Múlráj.

The next eight generations may be briefly passed over. They were represented by the Ráwuls Kailem, Cháchick Déo, Bersi, Jait, Núnkarn, Bhím, and Munóhurdas, under whom the country became not only resettled, but increased in extent. Munóhurdás, the last-named, who had murdered his nephew, the son of his predecessor, Bhím, was succeeded by Sabal Singh, the fourth in descent from Ráwul Núnkarn. When he ascended the throne the dependencies of Jaisalmír extended on the north to the Gárah River, on the west to the Indus; on the east and south they were bounded by Bikánír and Márwár. Sabal Singh first diminished them by presenting a feudatory¹ of Márwár with the city and domain of Pókurn, which have since remained severed from Jaisalmír.

Amra Singh, son of Sabal, succeeded. He cleared

¹ The feudatory in question had been sent by the Rájá of Márwár to place Sabal Singh on the throne.

his country from robbers, and, anticipating an attack planned upon him by the Rájá of Bíkánir, completely frustrated his designs. He died in 1702, and was followed by Jeswant Singh. The reign of this Ráwul was unfortunate. Three districts, Púgul, Barmair, and Filódí, and other towns and territories were wrested from him by the Rahtórs, and the territory bordering the Gárah on the north by Dád Khan, an Afghan chief from Shikarpúr. After his death ensued a contest for the throne between the brother and sons of the deceased prince. Ultimately this was decided in favour of the eldest son, Akhi Singh, who reigned forty years. He, too, lost another portion of his dominions, Déoráwal and all the tract of Khádál, to the son of Dád Khan, the founder of Bháwalpúr.

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Múlráj succeeded him (1762). The unhappy choice of a minister by this Ráwul completed the demoralisation of the Bhátí principality. This man, named Sarúp Singh, in the gratification of his animal desires, had deeply offended the nobles and the Crown Prince, Rai Singh. He was cut down by the latter in his father's presence. Then ensued a state of anarchy, the nobles wishing to depose Múlráj and to substitute Rai Singh, the latter steadily refusing. It ended by Rai Singh and his partisans going into exile. But the Ráwul Múlráj waited until Sálím Singh, son of his slaughtered favourite, Sarúp Singh, should be old enough to manage affairs. He then made him minister. Sálím Singh would appear to have been the very incarnation of evil, to have united the subtlety of the serpent to the ferocity of the tiger. He is described as having been in person effeminate, in speech bland; pliant and courteous in his demeanour; promising without hesitation, and with all the semblance of sincerity, what he never had the most remote intention to fulfil. He was a signal instance of the fact of the inadequacy of religious professions, though of a severe character, as a

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restraint upon moral conduct, for he was most devout amongst the devout.

It happened that the nobles exiled with Rai Singh had waylaid this man on his return from a mission to Jodhpúr, but their hearts softening to his entreaties, had allowed him to depart uninjured. As a return for this kindness, he had the nobleman who had been mainly instrumental in saving him, poisoned; he then dealt to his own brother and his wife, 'who knew too much,' the same fate; he had the castle in which the heir apparent, Rai Singh, and his wife were dwelling, fired at a time when it was impossible for them to escape, and they were burnt to death; their children he confined at Rámghurh, a remote corner of the desert, and there had them poisoned. He then declared Guj Singh, the third son of the third son of Múlráj, to be heir apparent. The other sons and grandsons of the Ráwul saved themselves by flight. But the measure of Sálím's atrocities was not completed by these acts. He put to death all those whose talent he had any reason to fear. The town of Jaisalmír was depopulated by his cruelty, and the trade of the country greatly interfered with by his harsh and unscrupulous measures.

It was during the reign of Ráwul Múlráj that Jaisalmír first came under the protection of the British. The Ráwul would gladly have accepted the British protection in 1808, but the policy which limited the British ascendancy to the territories east of the Jumna prevented the formation of an alliance with him. In 1818, however, a treaty was concluded by which the state was guaranteed to the posterity of Ráwul Múlráj; he was to be protected from serious invasions and dangers to his state, provided the cause of the quarrel was not attributable to him; and he was to act in subordination to the British Government. No tribute was demanded.¹

Two years later Ráwul Múlráj died, and was succeeded by his grandson, Guj Singh. This prince was

¹ Aitchison's *Treaties*.

fitted, from his years, his past seclusion, and the examples which had occurred before his eyes, to be the submissive pageant Sálím Singh required. He was isolated by his minister from the rest of mankind, except from the creatures in Sálím's pay, whose duty it was to watch and report every word and every gesture.¹

Guj Singh was a minor when he ascended the throne. For the four years that Sálím Singh yet survived, that minister continued his career of cruelty, extortion, and misgovernment. It was this that led to those raids on the Bíkánír frontier, which caused the embroilments I have related in my account of that state. In the same spirit he constantly urged, in the name of his master, claims to territories possessed by other chiefs, and even threatened a visit to Calcutta to urge them. The Ráwul was then, however, distinctly informed that it was impossible, consistently with the engagements subsisting with other states, to attend to claims to territories possessed by those states. In 1824 an attempt was made to assassinate the minister. Sálím Singh was so persuaded that the assassin had been instigated by the Ráwul, that he sent off his family to his own jaghír. The same year he died, in the conviction, however, that he had fixed for ever the office of minister in his own family!

So firmly was the interest of this man established in the capital, that on his death his eldest son was appointed to the office, in conjunction with a younger son by a different mother, the favourite wife of the father. The eldest son, however, discovering, or pretending to discover, a criminal connection between that lady and her confidential servant, put both to death. For this act Ráwul Guj Singh, who had attained his majority, imprisoned him. His partisans rallied in his favour, but as the Ráwul was firm, and the British Government declined to

¹ Tod's *Rajasthan*.

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Subsequently the Ráwul took the administration into his own hands, and by measures of a just and conciliatory nature gained great popularity with his people. It was by his tact and judgment that the way to a pacification and good understanding with Bíkánír was made easy.

Nor was he ever other than a good friend to the British. His exertions, indeed, to supply the British army of the Indus (1838-9) with camels were such as to elicit the special thanks of the Government of India.

In 1844, after the conquest of Sindh, the forts of Shágar, Garsía, and Gatúra, which in bygone days had been wrested from Jaisalmír, were restored to that state. These forts were given over by Mir Ali Murád by order of the British Government, but no sunnud appears to have been given to the Ráwul on that occasion.¹

Guj Singh died in 1846 without male issue. His widow adopted Ranjít Singh, who received, in 1862, a formal sunnud guaranteeing the right of adoption. He died in 1864 without leaving an heir.

The widow of Ranjít Singh adopted his brother, Bairi Sál. The young prince, however, who was only fifteen years old, refused to take his seat on the throne, giving as a reason that he thought he should never be happy as ruler of Jaisalmír. In consideration of his youth, the British Government allowed the question to remain in abeyance, and the installation to be deferred, affairs being, meanwhile, administered by his father, Thákur Kaisri Singh.

But in October of the following year (1865) the young prince had outgrown his scruples. He was then installed as Máhá Ráwul by the Governor-General's agent, his father, whose administration had given satisfaction to the people, continuing as minister.

The Máhá Ráwul of Jaisalmír is entitled to a salute of fifteen guns. His territories lie south-west of Bíkánír.

¹ Aitchison's *Treaties*.

CHAPTER XV.

SIROHÍ.

AREA—3,000 sq. miles.

POPULATION—55,000.

REVENUE—80,900 rupees.

THIS territory is bounded on the north by Jodhpúr; on the north-east by Godwar; on the east by Mewár; and on the south by the state of which Barodah is the capital. It is separated by the Aráwalí range from the table lands of Mewár.

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Sirohí is the one domain in Rájputáná which maintained its independence, acknowledging the suzerainty of neither Mogul, Rahtór, nor Márhátá. Ruled over by men boasting descent from the Chohan Rájputs, Thákurs as well as Ráo, the Bhíls, Mínas, and Grásias, who inhabited the country, lived a life of lawlessness and licence amongst their native hills. That life they called liberty, and as such they clung to it. Attacked repeatedly by the Rájás of Jodhpúr, they never acknowledged themselves conquered. Wild, and savage, and free, as they were at the beginning, so did they continue to the end.

But a time arrived at last when dissension came to weaken them. In the beginning of this century, their Ráo, from master and sovereign, became tyrant and oppressor. His name was Údibánjí. Such a transformation was not to be borne by the free Thákurs of the hills. Several broke out in revolt, and transferred their allegiance to more genial lords. Those that remained acted as became a people who loved liberty. Their prince had betrayed his trust and oppressed them. In return they deposed and imprisoned him. To act as regent during his lifetime they nominated another. This other was no alien; he was the brother to the deposed Ráo, Shéo Singh by name. Údibánjí, upon this, sent messengers to Jodhpúr,

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to implore the intervention of Rájá Maun Singh. Nothing could be more agreeable to Maun Singh. He and his predecessors had long claimed suzerainty over Sirohí, though they had been forced to content themselves with its verbal assertion. They had never been able to enforce it. But now, with a Déóra prince, the rightful claimant to the chieftainship, to welcome them, success seemed certain. An expedition was ordered. It marched; it entered the Sirohí territory, and it retired baffled, beaten, and humiliated. The sons of the hills had been too strong for the invader. Údibánjí remained a prisoner, and died in confinement.

But the invasion had been a formidable one, and the danger had been great. The princes of Údaipúr, Jodhpúr, and Barodah, the nearest neighbours of the Sirohí chief, lived under the protection of the new paramount power, the British. The value of the protection thus afforded to small states had been felt even in Rájputáná. Amír Khan had ceased to desolate, the Pindáris to ravage. Every chief who had accepted it had been a gainer; he had had his possessions secured to him; and, in more than one instance—notably in that of Amír Khan—a successful and faithless marauder had developed into a pattern sovereign, given to piety and devoted to priests!

The advantages were so patent that the Regent, Shéo Singh, hastened to ask them for his small principality. They were granted. A treaty was concluded with the British Government, September 11, 1823, by which the regent acknowledged British supremacy, agreed to abstain from political intercourse with other chiefs, to govern in accordance with the advice of the British agent, to introduce an efficient administration, and to pay a tribute not exceeding three-eighths of the revenues. On its side the British Government extended its protection to the state, guaranteed the succession to the heirs of Údibánjí, should any of them survive Shéo Singh, and reserved to itself the right of regulating the transit duties.

Údibánjí having died without issue in 1847, Shéo Singh was acknowledged as Ráo, and his son as heir apparent.

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Various circumstances, however, had combined to render the administration of the country at this period a matter of some difficulty. The invasion of Maun Singh, though repulsed, had disquieted the minds of the Thákurs or barons, and some of them felt inclined to strike for independence. Others had fallen off in the reign of Údibánjí. To quell their rebellion, the Ráo was compelled to raise a force, and to raise a force he had to borrow from the protecting power. A loan of a lakh and a half of rupees was accordingly made him, and a body of troops was sent by the British against the wild Mínas, who supported his most powerful vassal. Subsequently, by the mediation of the British Government, order was restored, and it was arranged that the Thákurs who had rebelled subsequently to the deposition of Údibánjí should return to their allegiance.

In 1845 the Ráo made over to the British some lands on Mount Abú, for the establishment of a sanitarium. The grant was fettered by several conditions, one of which was that no kine should be killed. The Ráo has always refused to cancel this condition.

In 1854, the state, at the earnest request of the Ráo, was taken under direct British management. The debt was then about two lakhs of rupees. It was soon found that the tribute, 30,000 rupees, was very much out of proportion to the total revenues of the state, 80,000 rupees, and it was reduced by one-half. The state was under British management in 1857, when the Mutiny broke out. The Ráo evinced on this occasion a most friendly disposition towards the paramount power, and as an acknowledgment of this his tribute was again halved, and reduced to 7,500 rupees.

In 1861, the Ráo, Shéo Singh, being stricken in years, made over the government to his son, Úméd Singh, he retaining, however, the honours and dignities of office.

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He died the same year. Ráo Uméd Singh still continued to be assisted by the British political agent, but in 1865, the debt having been entirely liquidated, the agent was withdrawn.

The early years of the rule of this chief were disturbed by the rebellion of his three brothers, who were dissatisfied with the provision made for them by their father; but they were subsequently pacified.

Since that period nothing of importance has occurred. Some correspondence did indeed take place on the subject of the extradition of criminals claimed by other states, and it was ruled by the British Government that the Ráo was bound to comply with all such demands.

The Ráo of Sirohí has been allowed the right of adoption. He is entitled to a salute of fifteen guns.

CHAPTER XVI.

DONGARPÚR.

AREA—1,000 sq. miles.

POPULATION—100,000.

REVENUE—75,000 rupees.

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XVI.**

THIS little state is bounded on the north and east by Údaipúr; on the south-east by Bánswará; on the south and south-west by the Máhi Kanta districts.

The chief or Ráwul of Dongarpúr claims to represent a senior branch of the house of Údaipúr. His ancestors, from the time of Akbar, were dependents of the Moguls; and on the break-up of their empire after the death of Aurangzíb they fell into the hands of the Márhátás, by whom they were ground down and oppressed. The state was rescued from this bondage in 1818, by accepting the protection of the British power, in return for which it transferred from Dhár the tribute of 35,000 rupees it had annually paid to that power.

By a separate arrangement a sum of 35,000 rupees was paid in lieu of all arrears, and the annual amount of the tribute was proportionally diminished, until, after the expiration of three years, it should arrive at its maximum of Company's rupees, 27,387.

CHAP.
XVI.

From some old records of this state it was ascertained in 1819 that the revenues had greatly decreased in more recent times, and it was hoped they might be restored to their pristine elasticity; but these hopes have not been realised.

In 1824, in consequence of internal commotions, some of the Thákurs having called in the aid of the Bhíls to assist them in their claims against the Ráwul, it became necessary to invoke the aid of the British Government. Troops were promised; but the requisition was sufficient. The Thákurs returned to their allegiance, and the troops to their quarters.

The commotions alluded to were due in a great measure to the character of the Ráwul, Jeswant Singh, a man incompetent as a ruler, and addicted to the lowest and most degrading vices. For his incompetency and maladministration he was deposed in 1825, and his adopted son, Kour Dalpat Singh, grandson of Sawant Singh, chief of Partábgarh, was made regent.

But under the rule of this chief the resources of the state deteriorated, and he found himself unable to manage his Thákurs. Under these circumstances he applied in 1831 for some assistance from the British Government to enable him to curb the undue pretensions of the refractory chiefs, and to reduce them to their normal condition of lords rendering loyal service to the Ráwul. In reply, the British Government informed him that they looked to the ruler of each independent state to adopt such measures as might be necessary to maintain his own power, and to preserve general tranquillity.

British troops were, however, occasionally employed

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I.

to assist the regent in repressing the Bhils and other plunderers.

In 1844, the death of his grandfather, chief of Partábgarh, left Dalpat Singh heir to that state. The question then arose whether it might not be possible to unite the two states under one ruler. The Thákurs of Dongarpúr, however, showed themselves greatly averse to such a union, and it was not insisted upon. Finally, it was agreed that Dalpat Singh should be allowed to adopt a successor for Dongarpúr, and take up his own fief of Partábgarh. The boy he adopted, the son of the Thákur of Sablí, being a minor, it was decided that, while ruler at Partábgarh, he should continue at the same time to be regent of Dongarpúr.

This arrangement was apparently not agreeable to the late Ráwul, Jeswant Singh, for he made an attempt to recover his authority and to adopt as heir the child of another family. He was, however, unsuccessful, and, as a penalty, was removed to Mathurá, with an allowance of 1,200 rupees per annum.

The double government, as it may be called, though the term is scarcely accurate, was not a success. Dongarpúr had been badly administered whilst her ruler resided in the capital. She fared worse when he lived at Partábgarh. Maladministration was, however, endured for eight years, but then becoming quite unbearable, the affairs of Dongarpúr were removed from the hands of Dalpat Singh, and placed in those of a native agent appointed by the British Government. The Ráwul, Údai Singh, has subsequently attained his majority and has assumed the administration of affairs. The chief of Dongarpúr has been guaranteed the right of adoption. He is entitled to a salute of fifteen guns.

BÁNSWÁRÁ.

AREA—1,500 sq. miles.

POPULATION—150,000.

REVENUE—300,000 rupees.¹CHAP.
XVI.

THIS territory is bounded on the north by Dongarpúr and Údaipúr; on the north-east and east by Partábgarh; on the south by the dominions of Holkar, and on the west by a portion of Gujráť.

The Ráwuls of Bánswára are of the same stock as the Ránás of Údaipúr, of whose country Bánswára at one time formed a part. They are, in fact, descended from a younger brother of the founder of Dongarpúr, and their adherents and subjects are composed of the same classes—Rajpút Thákurs, and a large proportion of Bhíls—as are those of that state. Like Dongarpúr, too, Bánswára suffered from the successive tyrannies of the Moguls and Márhátás, the latter of whom exercised an enormous amount of oppression in the country. The rise of the British power seemed to offer to the rulers and ruled a good opportunity of ridding themselves of these marauders. Accordingly in 1812, the Ráwul of Bánswára proposed to become a tributary to the British Government on the sole condition that the Márhátás should be expelled. He engaged in fact to pay the British Government three-eighths of the revenue of his country in return for aid to expel the armies of Sindhia, Holkar, and Dhár. The Resident at Barodah, to whom this offer was made, referred the envoy to the Resident at Delhi. To him, therefore, the envoy was accredited, and though no steps were taken at the moment, yet five years later, the envoy, acting on the same credentials, concluded a treaty on the terms before offered, viz., the payment of three-eighths of the revenues in return for British protection (September, 1818).

¹ Of this sum the feudatories, thirty-three in number, receive 1,10,000 rupees.

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I.

The Ráwul, however, whose name was Uméd Singh, either thinking that the time of danger had passed away, or that the terms, though of his own offering, were too exorbitant, refused to ratify the treaty. The British Government insisted that it was binding, but as in the meanwhile they had concluded with Dhár a treaty which transferred to them the tribute theretofore paid to that state by Dongarpúr and Bánswára, they were not unwilling to revise the agreement. Accordingly negotiations were reopened, and a new treaty signed (November 25, 1818). By this the Ráwul engaged, in return for British protection and a promise to assist himself, his heirs, and successors against any relatives or connections who might prove refractory, to pay to the British Government all arrears of tribute due to Dhár or any other state, and, annually, whatever tribute the British Government might deem adequate to cover the expenses of protection, provided it did not exceed three-eighths of the revenues. Subsequently all arrears for tribute were limited to 35,000 rupees, and the annual payment settled at a sliding scale for three years, to be eventually fixed at 35,000 rupees, which is rather more than one-sixth of the present net revenue.

Up to the year 1824 Bánswára continued to be subject to raids of Bhíls and other plunderers who made inroads from the neighbouring jungles. In that year, however, a great effort was made to put an end to this organised system of robbery. The effort was successful, and since that time Bánswára has enjoyed much internal tranquillity. The effect of the suppression of these raids was shown in the rapid rise of the revenue subsequently to 1824. It was reported by the political agent that the rise would have been even more rapid but for the vices and misconduct of the Ráwul and his favourite minister.

The excesses of these men gradually led to their natural consequences. By 1835 the tribute due to the British Government had fallen considerably into arrear,

the money intended to pay it having been spent in debauchery by the Ráwul, Bhowání Singh, son of the Uméd Singh who signed the treaty of 1818, and by his minister. It needed the strongest arguments on the part of the British agent to remedy this state of things. Remonstrances were useless, and it was only when the inevitable result of persistence in conduct so discreditable was pointed out to the Ráwul, that he agreed to dismiss his minister. Arrangements were then made to liquidate the arrears.

Bhowání Singh did not long survive the dismissal of his favourite. He left no male heir, but the chiefs, with the concurrence of the political agent, adopted the noble whose claims were best founded, Bahadúr Singh. On his death, without issue, the present ruler, Latchman Singh, was elected Ráwul. The election was opposed by Maun Singh, Thákur of Khandú, who conceived that his own son had preferable claims, but he eventually withdrew his opposition on receiving a remission of 1,300 rupees a year from the tribute due by him to Bánswára. The Ráwul of Bánswára has been granted the right of adoption. He is entitled to a salute of fifteen guns.

PARTÁBGARH.

AREA—1,460 sq. miles.

POPULATION—150,000.

REVENUE—2,62,400 rupees.¹

THE state of Partábgarh is bounded on the north and north-west by Údaipúr; on the east by Mundisúr, Jáorá, and Ratlam; and on the south-east by Bánswára.

The Rájá of Partábgarh is descended from a junior branch of the family of Údaipúr. The ancestors of the reigning prince were officers of the Delhi emperors; and one of them, Sálím Singh, was so great a favourite with

¹ From this has been deducted 200,000 rupees enjoyed by the feudatories of the state.

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I

Mahomed Shah, that he granted him permission to coin money in his own name. He accordingly founded a mint in Partábgarh, from which rupees called Sálím Sháhi rupees still continue to be struck off. These rupees are of less value than those of the British currency, the proportion being nearly five to four.

On the break-up of the Mogul empire the Rájá, Sávat Singh, son of Sálím Singh, became tributary to Holkar. He attempted to release himself from those shackles in 1804, and actually made for the purpose a treaty, by which he accepted British protection, and transferred to the British Government the tribute theretofore due to Holkar. This treaty, however, having been dissolved by the policy of Lord Cornwallis, Partábgarh was doomed to suffer, fourteen years longer, the exactions of the Márhátás. But, in 1818, that policy was revoked, and in common with the other states of Rájputána, Partábgarh was then taken under British protection, the tribute, amounting now to 56,887 rupees per annum, being paid to the British, but accounted for by them to Holkar.

Between the years 1823 and 1826 much confusion and ill-feeling was excited in Partábgarh by the differences between the Rájá Sávat Singh and his son and heir, Kour Díp Singh. Some years before the Rájá had entrusted to his son the administration of the affairs of the territory. But the Kour, having wantonly put to death certain persons who were obnoxious to him, the British Government insisted upon his removal from office and banishment. He was accordingly removed, and ordered to reside at a place called Déólah.

Kour Díp Singh went to his place of exile unwillingly, but finding it even more disagreeable than he had anticipated, he stayed there only a few months and then returned to the capital. There his conduct became so outrageous and threatening that it became necessary to call in British troops to escort the Kour to the fort of Kernora.

There he died on May 21, 1826. Meanwhile the old Rájá, Sáwant Singh, who had virtually abdicated in favour of the Kour about twenty years before, resumed office; but before his son's death he pardoned him and petitioned the British Government for his release. His prayer would have been complied with but he had paid the debt of nature before the sanction of the British Government could be acted upon.

The infirm state of the Rájá prevented his paying to the affairs of state the attention which they required. Consequently they fell into disorder. The confusion was increased by the carelessness of the Bhíls, Thugs, and other marauding and murdering classes. By British intervention, however, a successful blow was struck at their depredations.

The only grandson of Rájá Sáwant Singh, Dalpat Singh, had been adopted, in 1825, into the Dongarpúr family. When, therefore, Sáwant Singh died, in 1844, he left, according to the strict Hindú law, no real heir. It was arranged, however, as I have stated in the account of Dongarpúr, after some discussion, that Dalpat Singh should succeed his natural grandfather at Partábgarh, and act also as regent for Dongarpúr during the minority of a newly-adopted ruler to that state. At the end of eight years this arrangement was found so inconvenient that Dalpat Singh thence forth confined himself to Partábgarh.

The Rájá of Partábgarh has been granted the right of adoption. He is entitled to a salute of fifteen guns.

PART II.—CENTRAL INDIA AND MÁLWÁ.

CHAPTER I.

GWÁLIÁR, OR THE DOMINIONS OF SINDHIA.

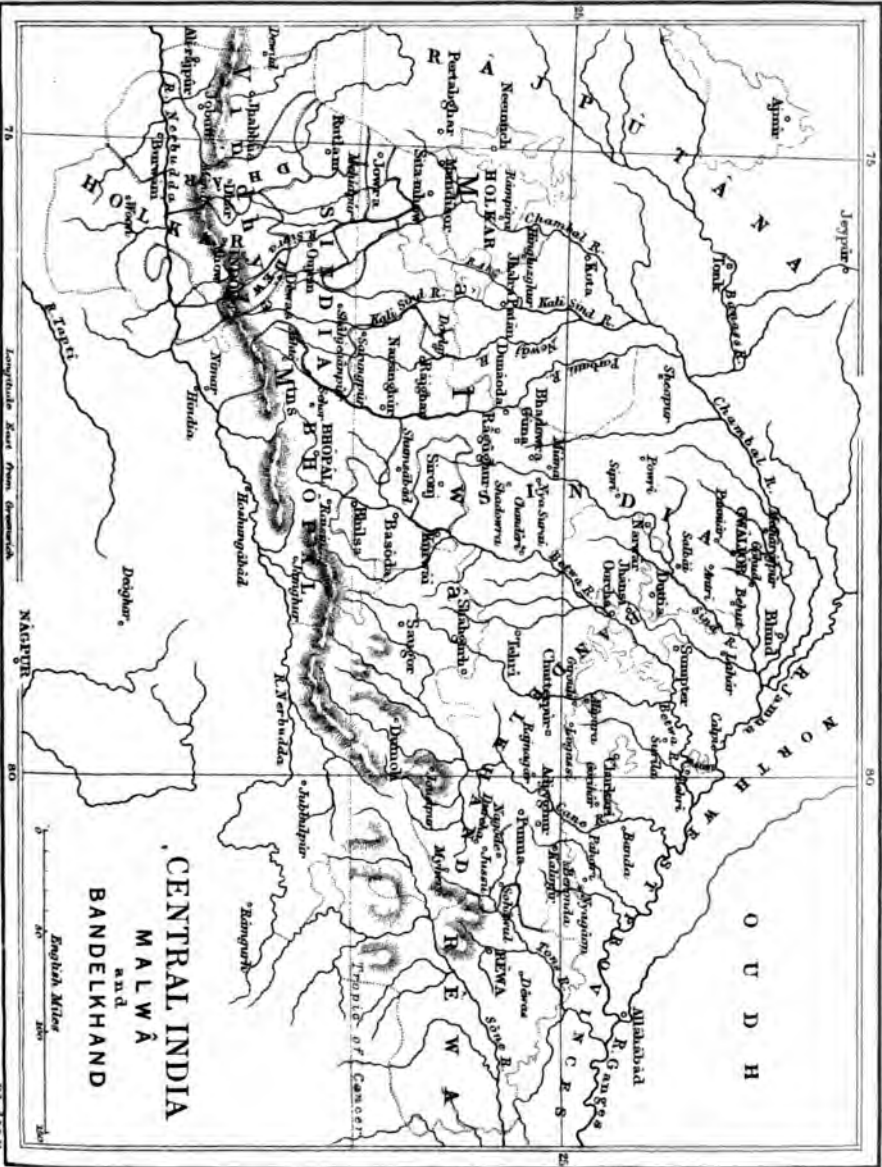
AREA—33,000 sq. miles. POPULATION—2,500,000.

REVENUE—93,10,000 rupees.

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II.

THE founder of the family which now rules the state of which Gwáliár is the capital was Ránojí Sindhia. Of the origin of the family there are two accounts. Sir John Malcolm states that they were Sudras of the tribe of Kúmbí, or cultivators, and he thus describes the rise of the man who first made it famous :—‘ Ránojí Sindhia,’ he writes,¹ ‘ the first who became eminent as a soldier, had succeeded to his hereditary office of Headman, or Patél, of Kumerkerrah, in the district of Wye, before he was taken into the service of the Peshwa Ballají Bishwanath, after whose death he continued in that of his son Bájírao Bullal. The humble employment of Ránojí was to carry the Peshwa’s slippers ; but being near the person of the chief minister of an empire in any capacity is deemed an honour in India. The frequent instances of rapid rise from the lowest to the highest rank led men of respectability to seek such stations ; and it is probable that ambition, not indigence, influenced the principal officer of a village to become, in the first instance, the menial servant of Ballají Bishwanath. Ránojí’s advancement, however,

¹ *Central India*, vol. i. p. 116.



London: Longmans & Co.

is imputed to accident. It is stated that Bájírao, on coming out from a long audience with the Sahú Rájá, found Ránojí asleep on his back, with the slippers of his master clasped with fixed hands to his breast. The extreme care of so trifling a charge struck Bájírao forcibly; he expressed his satisfaction, and, actuated by motives common to men in the enjoyment of such power, he immediately appointed Ránojí to a station in the pagah or bodyguard.¹

CHAP.

I.

This somewhat sensational story, though generally believed, has not been altogether unquestioned. A writer, who, though anonymous, had evidently access to the best sources of information, and whose work² was read over and emended prior to publication by such high authorities as Mountstuart Elphinstone and Grant Duff, ventures to doubt it. His account of the origin of the Sindhia family is as follows:—‘The Sindhia family,’ he writes, ‘were Patéls of Kumerkheir, near Sattara, and, in the absence of other information, we may judge of their respectability from the circumstance of the Emperor Aurangzib selecting a lady from the family to give in marriage to the Rájá Sahú, about 1706, before deputing him to claim his inheritance as sovereign of the Márhátás. The lady died in 1710, when residing at Delhi with Sahú’s mother. It was said of Ránojí that in early life he was a domestic of very inferior degree in the service of the Peshwa, viz., the carrier of his slippers: a story repeated by almost all writers of his history. But as the family had always been Silladars (cavaliers) nothing can be more improbable than that any member of it should serve in a menial office, more especially at a period when the army afforded an ample field for the display of

¹ Malcolm adds in a note: ‘This anecdote receives confirmation from a letter of Captain Stewart, acting resident at Sindhia’s Court, dated 3rd September, 1819. Ránojí (he observes) is stated, after he was promoted, to have carried with him,

carefully packed in a box, a pair of the Peshwa’s old slippers, which he never ceased to regard with almost religious veneration as the source of his rise.’

² *An Historical Sketch of the Princes of India.* Edinburgh, 1833.

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courage, talent, and birth. Ránoji, moreover, must have been a near relation of one of the Rájá Sahú's wives or princesses, and would, therefore, hardly be allowed to stand in the capacity of a domestic to the Peshwa, who was himself only the minister, or servant of Sahú.'

However this may be, it is certain that Ránoji was a man to make the most of his opportunities. He first attracted attention in 1725, when he was regarded as one of the most daring leaders of the Márhátá host. In 1736, at Delhi, he contributed greatly to the defeat of a body of 8,000 Mahomedan horse, who had sallied out to attack the Márhátá army. Two years later, in the campaign against Nizám-úl-Múlk, he was one of the three principal officers who led the Márhátás into action, and to whose efforts the successful result of the campaign, viz. the first foundation of the three states of Sindhia, Holkar, and Puar, was mainly due. In 1743, his character caused him to be selected as one of the securities for the observance of the treaty between the Peshwa and the Emperor Mahomed Shah. On this occasion he publicly declared that should the Peshwa not observe his contract he would quit his service.

Nearly half the conquests achieved by the Márhátás in Hindostan had been made over to Ránoji for the support of his troops. On his death, about 1750, he was in possession of half Málwá, and enjoyed a personal income of about sixty-five and a half lakhs of rupees.

Ránoji left three legitimate sons, Jyapa, Duttáji, and Juttabah. Of these the first was murdered at Nagpúr, in 1759, by emissaries of the Rájá of Jodhpúr; Duttáji was killed in action on the plain of Rudber, near Delhi, and Juttabah died at Kamber, near Díg.

But he had besides two illegitimate sons, Túkaji and Mádhaji. Of these Túkaji¹ did not survive his father; but Mádhaji lived to establish one of the most powerful and lasting native monarchies of Hindostan. But Mád-

¹ Grant Duff states he was slain at Pánipat.

haji did not immediately succeed to the chiefship of the clan. His nephew, Jankaji, who was the son of Jyapa, became after his father's death in 1759, its recognised representative. But at the fatal battle of Pánipat, January 6, 1761, Jankaji was taken prisoner and put to death. From that terrible overthrow Mádhaji escaped, though at the cost of a wound which rendered him lame for life. Arriving at Púna, alone and unattended, he at once made an application to the Peshwa to be recognised as the chief of his father's house, and the inheritor of his jaghír. After much opposition offered by the Peshwa's uncle, Ragonáth Rao, the claims of Mádhaji were admitted.

From this moment his rise was rapid though not easy. He had to meet and overcome all those obstacles, rather harassing than really formidable, which jealous mediocrity invariably seeks to cast in the way of a man whose ability and ambition are clearly recognised. But Mádhaji was equal to every occasion. Appointed general of one of the divisions of the army sent by the Peshwa into Málwá in 1764, to recover the prestige lost at Pánipat, Mádhaji took advantage of the many opportunities which presented themselves to establish himself firmly in the country north of the Narbadá. He is described by Sir John Malcolm as being, a little subsequent to this period, 'the nominal slave but rigid master of the unfortunate Shah Alum, Emperor of Delhi; the pretended friend, but the designing rival of the house of Holkar, the professed inferior in all matters of form, but the real superior and oppressor of the Rájput princes of Central India; and the proclaimed soldier, but the actual plunderer of the family of the Peshwa.'

In 1766 Mádhaji returned to Púna. Here his nominal employment was that of commandant of the household troops of the Peshwa, but the real influence of his strong practical character was almost irresistible. He used it on this occasion to support the claims of Ahalya Bai, widow of the deceased representative of the house

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II.

of Holkar, to inherit the family possessions. When we come, in the history of that house, to notice the immense benefits conferred upon it by the administration of that illustrious lady, we shall perhaps be inclined to dissent somewhat from the opinion already quoted, that Mádhaji was the designing 'rival' of the house of Holkar.

In 1769, Mádhaji commanded one of the divisions of the army sent by the Peshwa under Visaji Krishna against Northern India. Of this expedition Mádhaji was the soul. It was due to the plan of operations advised by him, that the Mogul Emperor, Shah Alum, was induced to throw himself into the arms of the Márhátás. It was under his escort that the emperor re-entered his capital in December 1771. That accomplished, the Márhátás conquered nearly the whole of Rohilkhand, and established in that part of India a footing so firm that it was never seriously contested till they were driven from it thirty years later by Lord Lake.

The death of the Peshwa Madho Ráo in the following year, recalled Mádhaji to Púna. The new Peshwa, Narain Ráo, did not long enjoy his honours, and then the mantle fell on the restless Ragonáth Ráo, the enemy of Mádhaji. This latter, however, seeing that Ragonáth Ráo had enough upon his hands to occupy all his thoughts, employed the following two years in consolidating his power. This accomplished, he in concert with Túkaji Holkar, suddenly declared against Ragonáth, whose imprudence was already imperilling the Márháta empire.

In the contest which followed, Mádhaji first came in contact with the English, who had espoused the cause of Ragonáth Ráo. His first operations were eminently successful. He compelled the troops, commanded by Colonel Cockburn, with Mr. Carnac as his *adlatus*,¹ to retreat with great loss, to destroy their heavy guns and

¹ These officers and Colonel into the snare, were dismissed the Egerton, who had led the army service.—GRANT DUFF.

burn their stores, and finally, he forced upon them at Wargaum the most disgraceful treaty ever signed in India by a British commander. CHAP.
I.

The effect on Mádhají's career was marvellous. In no country is prestige more powerful than in India, and Wargaum had given Mádhají prestige. Thenceforth with the Márhátás, as with his own countrymen, his influence was unbounded.

The arrival of General Goddard somewhat changed the aspect of affairs. But even in his contest with this general, Mádhají proved his right to be considered a commander of no ordinary ability. More acute than all his countrymen, he had thus early discerned in the English the capital enemy with whom the Márhátás would have to contest the empire of India, and he was unwilling to embark in such a contest, until he should have united all the native powers against their common foe. He felt that the contest was, for him, premature. He therefore used all his efforts to negotiate a peace. But Goddard was as far-sighted as Mádhají. It was necessary, he felt, to disarm so powerful an enemy with as little delay as possible. With this view, he attempted, April 3, 1780, to surprise him at Barodah. But though actually taken by surprise, Mádhají drew off his forces with consummate skill and little loss.¹ A second attempt, made on the 19th of the same month, was even less successful, Mádhají skilfully avoiding an action. By this line of conduct he effectually gained his end—the prolongation of hostilities until after the commencement of the rainy season. He lost, however, almost immediately afterwards, the fortress of Gwáliár, then reputed impregnable, but which succumbed to the skill and daring of Captain Popham in August of that year. Unable to pursue his operations against Sindhia in the interior, Goddard transferred his operations to the coast, and laid siege to Bassein. On December 10 he

¹ These details have already appeared in a memoir on Mádhají

Sindhia in *Recreations of an Indian Official*, p. 373.

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defeated the Márhátá force sent to relieve it, and the place surrendered on the following day. Other operations, with varying fortunes, ensued, no great success, however, being obtained by the English, and their army on one occasion, April 23, 1781, suffering a decisive defeat. These operations gave Mádhají the opportunity he coveted, of planting his own power firmly in Central India. General Goddard at last perceived that, by confining his attack upon the Márhátá possessions to those districts farthest from the possessions of Sindhia, he was in reality playing the game of that ruler, who, whilst he was the mainstay of the Márhátá power in the field, cared nothing regarding the nation at whose expense his own possessions were extended. A resolution was accordingly arrived at to attack Sindhia in his own territory.

The attempt was first made by a British force under Lieutenant-Colonel Camac. The operations of Mádhají, on hearing of this movement, stamp him as a military genius of no common order. Learning that Colonel Camac's force was small, he resolved to overwhelm it before it could be reinforced. He hastened at once, with a large body of troops, in the direction of Sípri, but, too late to save that place, he came up with Camac at Seronj, and surrounded him. The English force was reduced to great straits by famine. Added to this a cannonade of seven days' duration made considerable havoc in its ranks. Feeling that a further continuance in his position would inevitably lead to his destruction, Camac resolved to retreat, having previously sent to the nearest division of British troops earnest requests for reinforcements. For seventeen days the retreat continued, our troops being followed up and harassed by Mádhají. But on the eighteenth day the Márhátá chieftain, for the first time in his life, allowed himself to be completely outwitted. As the only means of escape, Colonel Camac, at the dead of night, on March 28, attempted to surprise his enemy. His movements were entirely successful. Mádhají was com-

pletely defeated, and forced to give up the pursuit. A few days later, Colonel Camac was joined by a force under Colonel Muir. Mádhají, however, with the energy and spirit of a true Márhátá, soon recovered from his mishap; and, by his superiority in cavalry, he speedily reduced the English force to a state of inactivity. A few months later, Mádhají, perceiving that he had everything to lose from a contest carried on within his own territory, concluded a treaty with Colonel Muir, by which he bound himself to neutrality, agreed to exercise his good offices to bring about a general peace, recovered all his territory except the fortress of Gwáliár, and obtained from the English a promise to recross the Jumna.

This treaty was concluded just at the right time for the interests of Mádhají. The Government of India was, for many reasons, anxious to conclude the war with the Márhátás, to prevent it from attaining the proportions of a deadly struggle for existence. The defection of Mádhají from the confederacy was hailed, therefore, by them with the liveliest satisfaction, and prepared them to show towards that chieftain a consideration such as, under other circumstances, would undoubtedly have been denied him. Nothing could have more advanced the views of Mádhají at this conjuncture than his recognition by the English as an independent prince. Besides the great moral advantages flowing from that recognition, it would give him that of which he then stood greatly in need; it would give him time: time to consolidate his conquests, to give them a compact form, to gain for himself an independent footing amongst the several rulers of Hindostan; time, moreover, to watch the opportunity for recovering, free from any interruption on the part of the English, the stolen fortress of Gwáliár. That fortress the English had made over, after its capture, to the Ráná of Góhad, to be by him held solely on the condition of good behaviour. It required but a little arrangement on the part of Mádhají to bring about

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II.

the apparent infraction of a condition so easy to set aside.

But, before he attempted this, he had been a consenting party to the treaty of Salbye, between the Peshwa and the English, which restored peace to every part of India but the Carnatic. Mr. Hastings was urged to the conclusion of this treaty by the doubtful fortunes of the struggle between Haider Ali and the coast army, and by the fear lest a man so ambitious as Mádhají might influence the Márhátá nation to cast in its lot with the great adventurer of Mysore. Náná Furnawis was anxious for peace, not less on account of the presence of English troops in the Márhátá territories, than of jealousy of the increasing power of Mádhají; whilst Mádhají himself, after long hesitation, after coquetting with Haider Ali and even obtaining the sanction of the Náná to a plan for the invasion of Bengal, came to the conclusion, for reasons already stated, that peace with the English would, for the moment, best advance his interests.

The treaty of Salbye, whereby, in addition to the former territories secured by him, he obtained the cession of Bharoch, promised him after the capitulation of Wargaun, had scarcely been signed, when Mádhají had proof of the wisdom of the course he had followed. The signature took place on May 17, 1782; the treaty was ratified on June 6 following, and was exchanged with the Peshwa on February 24, 1783. In the interval between the first signature and the final exchange, events had occurred at Delhi which opened out to Mádhají Sindhia a prospect, the realisation of which had ever been one of his fondest hopes, and had, nearly twenty years earlier, led to the campaign which ended on the fatal field of Pá nipat.

Ever since the retreat of the Márhátás to their own country in 1773, the imperial government had been carried on under the auspices of Mirza Najaf Khan, the leader of the anti-Rohilla party in the state. His rule

had, on the whole, been vigorous and successful. He had made the voice of the descendant of Timour once more respected at home and abroad, and under his energetic sway the empire seemed likely to attain a position such as it had not occupied since the death of Aurangzib. But on April 22, 1782, Najaf Khan died. His death was the signal for anarchy and intrigue, for divided factions and contending rivals. This was the opportunity for which Mádhají had been longing. It seemed to him that the occupation of imperial Delhi, with the connivance of the English, opened out to him better prospects than an alliance with Haider Ali for the destruction of that nation. And when, towards the close of 1782, he received from Warren Hastings an assurance that the English would not interfere with his plans on Delhi, he made up his mind, and at once put in action the means he had so plentifully at his command.

CHAP.
I.

Whilst these intrigues were pending, he made himself, in the first instance, secure in his own acknowledged dominions. To protect them the more effectually, he contrived a quarrel with the Ráná of Góhad, and forced him to surrender Gwáliár,—the English, occupied, after the death of Haider, with his son Tippú, not caring to interfere. Everything having been placed upon a footing of order in his own territory, he caused himself, by means of his intrigues with one of the contending factions at Delhi, to be invited to that city in the name of the emperor. The timely assassination of one of the leaders of the contending factions made Mádhají arbiter of the situation. Meeting the imperial court near Agra, he accompanied it to Delhi, where, refusing for himself and for the Peshwa the office highest in name and in repute—that of Amir-úl-Amrah, or prime minister—he accepted for the Peshwa that of vicegerent of the empire, and for himself that of deputy to the Peshwa; thus, at the same time, acknowledging his fealty to the chief of the Márhátas, whilst retaining in his own hands alike the

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power and the right to exercise it. From this period till the defeat of the armies of Daolat Ráo Sindhia, by Lord Lake, in 1802, the imperial districts of Northern India were—some brief intervals alone excepted—administered and governed by the Márhátás, acting in the name of the imprisoned emperor.

For the five years following Mádhají's assumption of power at Delhi, he was engaged in a continuous struggle to maintain it. It was scarcely to be supposed that the Mahomedan factions would acquiesce tamely in his elevation. The country, moreover, was exhausted, and the necessity for raising a certain amount from its inhabitants did not increase his popularity. The Rájputs, the Játs, the Sikhs, and some of his own followers, too, disputed his supremacy. Yet Mádhají was resolved not lightly to resign the imperial power. He enlisted two battalions of regular infantry under a foreign adventurer, named De Boigne, and as opportunity offered he largely increased this force and added greatly to its efficiency. He improved likewise the irregular troops, enlisting amongst them not only Rájputs, but Mahomedans, and organising them on the basis of a disciplined army. His own energy and force of character not only inspired his men, but supplied even the losses occasioned by the treachery and misconduct of some of his adherents. Thus, after the battle of Jaipur, lost by the desertion of his regular infantry, Mádhají delayed not a moment in securing his strong places; then, effecting a junction with a considerable force of Játs, he sent a fresh army into the field under Ráná Khan and De Boigne. Though this army was defeated near Agra on April 24, 1788, Sindhia so far rallied it as to meet the enemy, and completely beat them on June 18 following. The Moguls, under the ferocious Ghulám Kadir, committed after this event those terrible atrocities upon the unhappy descendant of Timour and his family, as well as upon the inhabitants of Delhi, which have made his name for ever infamous in history. His triumph was short-lived. On

October 11 Delhi was occupied by Ráná Khan and De Boigne, and a few days later Mádhají himself seated the blinded Shah Alum on his recovered throne. His power and authority were subsequently confirmed and consolidated by a great victory obtained by his army on June 20, 1790, over Ismael Beg, the last remaining Mahomedan noble possessing sufficient power and influence to interfere with his ambitious views. A second victory over Ismael Beg's allies, the Rájpúts, was gained on September 12 the following year; and Mádhají, sensible of the expediency of conciliating rather than driving to extremity that war-like people, granted them peace on easy terms.

In the first war with Tippú, 1790-92, Mádhají took no part. He was strongly of opinion that complete victory in such a contest would only be advantageous to the English, from whom a violent and persistent enemy would thus be removed, whilst the maintenance of Tippú at Mysore was by no means inconsistent with Márhátá interests. He condemned, therefore, strongly the conduct of Náná Furnawís, in aiding the British on such an occasion. He continued, then and subsequently, to consolidate his own authority in Hindostan, to meet the open efforts of Túkají Holkar and the secret efforts of Náná Furnawís to overthrow him, and to prepare against any attack from the north-west, constantly threatened as it was by the grandson of the Abdallí. He found, however, in the course of time, that, having placed his dominions in Hindostan on a footing of tolerable security, the best, and indeed the only efficacious mode of thwarting his Márhátá rivals was to proceed direct to Púna. Could he become the minister of the Peshwa, as well as the holder of the power of the Mogul, what a vista would open to him! He would then wield a power such as neither Aurangzib nor Sivají, with all their efforts, had ever attained. To unseat Náná Furnawís, always plotting against him, and to occupy his place, became then the fixed and settled purpose of his mind. For no lighter purpose would he have

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left his territories in Hindostan and Central India, the seat of his real power. But the end he proposed to himself was so vast, so full of promise, so magnificent, that it seemed to him worth while to encounter even a dangerous risk. He set out for Púna, and marching slowly, ready at any moment to retrace his steps, he reached that city on June 11, 1793.

There was naturally an ostensible reason for his journey. He was to invest the Peshwa with the insignia of the office of vicegerent of the Mogul empire, conferred upon him by the emperor. This he did, despite the secret opposition of Náná Furnawís, with great pomp and ceremony. His secret object, however, was to gain the young Peshwa, Madhú Ráo Narain. This too, despite of the opposition, open as well as secret, he would, had he lived, undoubtedly have accomplished. Everything seemed to favour his purpose. Whilst at Púna he received intelligence of the complete defeat of the fast adherent and supporter of Náná Furnawís, Túkají Holkar—a defeat by which the army of that rival chieftain was almost entirely destroyed; he learned, too, of the capture of Ismael Beg, his sole Mahomedan adversary. He found, in fact, that he wielded unchecked the whole power of Northern and Western, and a great part of Central Hindostan. The spirit of the young Peshwa, too, chafing under the austere guardianship of the Náná, inclined more and more every day to the genial warrior, who encouraged him in his aspirations after the sports of the field and the pleasures of the chase. But it was not to be. At the very threshold of his fortunes, when success seemed within his grasp, Mádhají was attacked by fever and died. His death took place on February 12, 1794, in the vicinity of Púna. He had no children, nor had he made any adoption. He had, however, expressed a wish that his grand-nephew, Daolat Ráo, grandson of his co-illegitimate brother, Túkají, might succeed to his possessions; and this wish, after

some opposition on the part of his widow, was carried into effect.

CHAP.
I.

By the death of Mádhají Sindhia the Márhátás lost their ablest warrior and their most far-seeing statesman. In his life he had had two main objects: the one to found a kingdom, the other to prepare for the contest for empire with the English. In both, it may be said, he succeeded. The kingdom he founded still lives; and if the army which he formed on the European model was annihilated eight years after his demise by Lake and Wellesley, it had in the interval felt the loss of his guiding hand, as on the field it missed his inspiring presence. Had he lived, Sindhia would not have had to meet Lake and Wellesley alone; Mádhají would have brought under one standard—though in different parts of India—the horsemen and French contingent of Tippú, the powerful artillery of the Nizám, the whole force of the Rájputs, and every spear which Márhátá influence could have collected from Púna, from Indúr, from Barodah, and from Nagpúr. The final result might not have been altered, but it would still have hung longer in the balance, and at least the great problem, in the terms in which it had presented itself to the mind of the greatest of Márhátá leaders—the problem of a contest between an united India and the English—would have been fairly fought out. As it was his death settled it. Thenceforth a sinister result became a question only of time.

Daolat Ráo Sindhia was fifteen years old when he succeeded to the extensive dominions of his grand-uncle.

Daolat Ráo
Sindhia.

Young as he was, with a character still unformed, this prince had, at the very outset of his reign, to deal with problems which called for the wisdom of a practical statesman. The first of these was that raised by the death of the Peshwa.

On October 25, 1795, the Peshwa Madhú Ráo, in a fit of profound melancholy, deliberately threw himself from a terrace of his palace, and injured himself so

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much that he died two days later. An event more fraught with importance to India could scarcely have occurred. Madhú Ráo was young, well-disposed, and entirely dependent upon his minister, the famous Náná Furnawís. His nearest relative was his cousin, Bájí Ráo, son of Raghunát Ráo, a young man of great talent, utter unscrupulousness, and greater ambition, but detested by Náná Furnawís, who even then kept him in restraint in the hill fort of Sewneri.

Daolat Ráo had already been to Púna. He had taken part in the almost bloodless campaign of 1795 against the Nizám, had renewed at Púna with Náná Furnawís the friendship which had existed, on the surface, between that minister and his father, and had already reached Jamgaon on his return to Hindostan, when he was recalled by an express from the Náná to deliberate as to the succession to the vacant Peshwaship.

The plan adopted by the Náná, in consultation with Holkar, Sindhia, and other chiefs, was to put aside Bájí Ráo, and to authorise one of the widows of Madhú Ráo to adopt an heir. But Bájí Ráo, apprised of this, began to manœuvre on his side. He first gained over Daolat Ráo's chief minister, Balloba Tattai, and then Daolat Ráo himself—the latter by the offer of territory bringing in a revenue of four lakhs of rupees, and the payment of the whole charge of his army during his stay at Púna.

Into the intrigues which followed it is not necessary here to enter. They mostly concern the youthful Daolat Ráo in that they were the cause of his concluding a marriage which cannot but be termed unfortunate. In their course Bájí Ráo, then under surveillance in the camp of Sindhia, had been started off by the minister of the latter, Balloba Tattai, towards Hindostan. Now this escort was commanded by Sukharám Ghatgay, a man of the most unscrupulous character. Bájí Ráo gained him over by promising to pay two millions sterling to Daolat Ráo on his becoming Peshwa; to have, then, Ghatgay

appointed as Sindhia's prime minister : he arranged, too, that Ghatgay's daughter should marry Daolat Ráo ; and that Ghatgay should obtain the village of Kagul, in inam.¹ Most of these conditions were subsequently carried out.

But before this happened Daolat Ráo had asserted the preponderance of his power in a very remarkable manner. A quarrel occurring in the house of Holkar consequent upon the death of Túkají Holkar, Daolat Ráo interfered to support the party of the imbecile son, Khási Ráo, against his more able brother. The contest resulted in the death of the brother and the capture of his infant son. With a *crétin*, then, as the representative of Holkar, Daolat Ráo had apparently nothing to fear in Central India.

He fortified his influence likewise on the western coast by the capture of the fort of Kolábah, imprisoning the ruler, and transferring that principality to his near relative, Bábú Ráo Angria.

But all this time Báji Ráo was anxious to get rid of him. He had already rid himself of his able minister, Náná Furnawís, and now he thought Daolat Ráo's turn had come. He executed his plans with an ingenuity of malice not to be surpassed. First, in March 1798, he married Ghatgay's daughter to Sindhia. This caused the latter to expend enormous sums of money. To meet his necessary payments, he asked Báji Ráo to pay him the two millions he had promised. Báji Ráo regretted his inability, but told Daolat Ráo that if he would appoint Ghatgay his minister, he would know how to raise the necessary sums. Ghatgay was consequently appointed, and he did succeed, by a system of extortion, torture, and oppression, unparalleled in the history of Western India, in screwing enormous sums out of the people. But by this proceeding, the very name of Sindhia became hateful to the masses.

¹ *Inam*, a gift from a superior, free from all rent to Government.

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This was what Báji Ráo had plotted. He thought now that the pear was ripe. He determined to rid himself for ever of Daolat Ráo. The scene that followed is thus told by the facile pen of Captain Grant Duff:—"In this state of things"—which I have described—"Sindhia's unpopularity having become extreme, Amrat Ráo (the adopted brother and prime minister of the Peshwa), with Báji Ráo's cognisance, prepared Abba Káli, the commander of one of the Peshwa's regular battalions, to be ready to rush in, upon an appointed signal, and seize Sindhia. Daolat Ráo was invited, on business, to the Peshwa's palace; but the invitation being declined, a positive order was sent by Báji Ráo desiring his attendance. He obeyed the summons, and soon after he sat down, Báji Ráo told him he had sent for him to desire an explanation of his conduct; and, suddenly assuming a tone of authority and decision for which the other was quite unprepared, he required of him to declare whether he was master or servant? Sindhia having answered with respect and humility, that he was the Peshwa's servant, and ready to show his dependence by his obedience, Báji Ráo reminded him of the insolence, violence, and cruelty which he and his servants had used, in numberless instances, towards the servants and subjects of his government, in the city, and even in his own palace; he declared that "the contempt and disrespect thus shown towards his person and authority he could bear no longer, and therefore ordered Sindhia to remove to Jamgaon." Daolat Ráo's reply was couched in the mildest terms; but whilst he expressed his willingness to obey, he declared his inability to move, from want of funds to pay his troops; "that he had incurred large debts by placing his Highness on the musnud, which it was incumbent on his Highness to discharge; when that was effected he would immediately quit Púna." At this moment Amrat Ráo asked his brother if he should give the signal; but Báji Ráo's heart failed him; he had not

courage to proceed in the design, and thus gave his friends the first decided proof of that imbecility which swayed most of the actions of his life. Sindhia withdrew from the presence in a manner the most respectful, but with a mind filled with suspicion and distrust; and Báji Ráo had afterwards the baseness, as well as the weakness, to tell him what Amrat Ráo had intended, and to advise him to be upon his guard.¹

Then followed a series of intrigues and counter intrigues, which often seemed to threaten open hostilities between Daolat Ráo and his liege lord. These were complicated by the complaints, ending in revolt, made by the widows of Mádhají that not only did they not receive the attention due to their rank, but that their ordinary comforts were circumscribed. After, as I have said, intrigue and counter intrigue, after shots had been exchanged, the mediation of the British resident solicited, and embassies for aid sent to independent powers, matters were compromised by the dismissal from office of the miscreant Ghatgay and his agent Garway, their confinement, and the release of Náná Furnawís.

But affairs still continued for some time in a very disordered condition. Daolat Ráo's treatment of the widows of his predecessor, still in revolt, had induced a large and influential body of chiefs to join their cause. The re-appointment by Daolat Ráo of Balloba Tattai as minister did at least put an end to this scandal, as he used his great influence and judgment with effect in his master's cause, but still affairs did not prosper. There was a laxity of principle about Daolat Ráo which manifested itself in all the important transactions of his life. The death of the Peshwa's able minister, Náná Furnawís, in the year 1800, showed him again in the light of a man who would scruple at nothing to seize the property of others. He scrambled with the Peshwa for the dead man's possessions. This was always the case when money was

¹ *History of the Mahrátás*, vol. iii.

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in question; but when it was a matter of personal revenge the two chiefs were ready to play into each other's hands. It would be waste of time to pursue further the infamous courses adopted by each, from the displacement of Balloba Tattai in favour of the infamous Ghatgay by Sindhia, to the ruin of the friends and adherents of the deceased Náná by the Peshwa.

At length Daolat Ráo felt it was absolutely necessary for him to return to Hindostan. The progress of Jeswant Ráo Holkar in Málwá was the immediate object which rendered that return imperative. He accordingly set out northwards towards the end of November at the head of the main body of his troops, and having secured bills from the Peshwa to the amount of forty-seven lakhs of rupees.

But his return was not allowed to accomplish itself without opposition from the ambitious Jeswant Ráo. In June 1801, this daring chieftain inflicted two successive defeats on strong detachments sent by Sindhia for the protection of Ujjén. The following month he made a bold attack upon Sindhia's great park of artillery, defended only by four battalions of infantry and a few cavalry; and though the gallantry of Sindhia's general, an Englishman named Brownrigg, caused his repulse, yet the attack showed to what lengths so determined an enemy might proceed.

At the same time the repulse saved Sindhia. Up to this time Daolat Ráo had displayed only an impetuosity, a recklessness, and a want of judgment, combined with an entire absence of scruple, which augured ill for the future. But, warned by the danger from which he had just escaped, he now hastened to concentrate his forces. Having accomplished this, he waited till he had been rejoined by his father-in-law, Ghatgay, and then marched on Indúr. Jeswant Ráo moved to its succour, and a battle took place on October 14, which terminated in the complete defeat of Holkar and the sack of his capital.

Had Daolat Ráo followed up this victory, Jeswant Rao's career was ended for ever. But he never, throughout his life, showed any of the great qualities of a general. He preferred to negotiate, and Jeswant Ráo, amusing him for a while, went off suddenly to renew hostilities in Khándesh. A force which Sindhia had despatched to oppose him, under Seodaséo Ráo, was completely defeated near Púna on October 25, 1802, by the intrepid Jeswant Ráo. But this defeat was more disastrous to the Peshwa than to Sindhia, as it forced the former to accede to the treaty of Bassein, a treaty by which 'he sacrificed his independence as the price of his protection.' To such a result had the divergence from the policy of Mádhaji led the Márhátá power. He had invited union with a view to combination against the English. The disunion of those who followed him had placed one of the three great Márhátá chiefs, the highest in point of rank, very much in the power of the English.

CHAP.
I.

Daolat Ráo was not insensible to the great mistakes which had been committed. In the treaty of Bassein he saw not only the subversion of the vast plans of his great uncle, but a threat against himself. Though invited to become a party to the defensive portion of the treaty, he expressly refused. And from this time he turned all his efforts to the welding together of the union, which had been the dream of Mádhaji, and for the same purpose, viz., the expulsion of the English from Northern, Central, and Western India.

But he was too late. Holkar refused to join him. His preparations, though denied, were too patent. The Governor-General, therefore, Marquess Wellesley, with a wise prescience, determined to anticipate him, and to bring the question at once to a crisis.

It is no part of my plan to detail the military operations which followed. It will suffice to say that at Aligarh on August 29, at Delhi on September 11, at Assaye on the 23rd, at Agra on October 10 and 18, at

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Láswarí on November 1, at Argaum on November 29, 1803, Daolat Ráo had to admit the ruin of his ambitious hopes. His troops, especially those trained by De Boigne, and who greatly distinguished themselves at Láswarí, fought remarkably well; many died in their ranks; but they were not a match either for British soldiers, or for their own countrymen well led by a sufficient number of British officers. The battalions trained by De Boigne, and officered on a system analogous to that now known as the irregular system, could not stand against their countrymen and kinsmen, led by European officers four times as numerous as their own.

The result was that Daolat Ráo, roughly awakened from his dream, was forced to accept on December 30, 1803, very unfavourable conditions from his conqueror. By the treaty signed on that day, and known as the Treaty of Surjí Anjengaom, Daolat Ráo ceded to the British Government and its allies his territory between the Jumna and Ganges, and all situated to the northward of Jaipúr, Jodhpúr, and Góhad; the forts of Ahmadnagar and Bharoch and their districts; his possessions between the Ajunta Ghát and the Godavery. He renounced all his claims on the Mogul emperor, on the Peshwa, the Nizam, and the Gáikwár, as well as on the Rájás who had assisted the British, and whom he declared independent of his authority. There were other minor conditions which it is scarcely necessary to enumerate.

One article, however, must be stated. It was left optional to Daolat Ráo to become a party to the defensive alliance, receiving a subsidiary force, to be paid from the revenues of the territories already ceded. Daolat Ráo eventually agreed to this, and on February 27, 1804, a new treaty was drawn up at Burhanpúr, by which Daolat Ráo agreed to subscribe to the defensive alliance, and to permit the cantoning, near his boundary, but within British territory, of a subsidiary force of six thousand

infantry. But the conditions of this second treaty were not acted upon.

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I.

It was, indeed, not the intention of Daolat Ráo that the conditions of the treaty of Surjí Anjengaom should be considered as binding on him for ever. And a circumstance occurred early in the following year which gave him great hopes of being able to shake it off altogether. On April 16, 1804, the Marquess Wellesley, unable to obtain any satisfactory assurance from Holkar, declared war against that chief. Notwithstanding Colonel Monson's mishap, Holkar was reduced, in the course of the campaign that followed, almost to extremities, when Daolat Ráo, instigated by his minister Ghatgay, expressed his determination to aid him. He preceded any overt demonstrations in his favour, however, by seizing the person of Mr. Jenkins, the acting British resident in his camp, and plundering his property. And although the Governor-General accepted the excuses made by Daolat Ráo for this outrage, the latter did not relax his preparations, but actually received in his camp Jeswant Ráo and other chiefs then fighting against the English. This act was looked upon by the British general as an act of hostility, and he advanced against Sindhia. But the two chiefs retreated to Ajmír. Here their hereditary rivalry broke out again, and Daolat Ráo found means to reconcile himself with the Governor-General. One good effect of the temporary union was the dismissal of the minister Ghatgay. He was succeeded by Ambají Ingliá, a man more inclined to cautious and prudent counsels.

The replacement of the illustrious Marquess Wellesley by Lord Cornwallis at this conjuncture gave Daolat Ráo the opportunity of altering the treaty of Surjí Anjengaom to his own advantage. He had violated it in many particulars. Amongst other infractions he had retained Góhad and Gwáliár, he had allied himself with a chief in arms against the English, he had not respected the sacred character of an envoy. But Lord Cornwallis was pre-

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pared to overlook these errors committed by a prince smarting under defeat. He accordingly agreed to negotiate a new treaty on more liberal terms. By virtue of this, signed at Allahábád on November 23, 1805, Gwáliár and Góhad were ceded to Sindhia, the Chambal was constituted the northern boundary of his territory; the British Government bound itself not to make treaties with Údaipúr, Jodhpúr, Kotá, or any chiefs tributary to Sindhia or Málwá, Méwár, or Márwár, or to interfere in any arrangements he might make regarding them; it likewise granted to Daolat Ráo, his wife and daughter, a pension and jaghírs. He, on his part, relinquished the pension of fifteen lakhs of rupees granted to certain officers in his service, and resigned the main districts of Dholpúr, Barí, and Rájkerrah, reserved to him by the first treaty. He promised never to re-admit into his service the ex-minister Ghatgay. Such were the main provisions of the treaty; in other essential points the stipulations of the treaty of Surjí Anjengaom were adhered to. Though peace was thus restored to the dominions of Daolat Ráo, it by no means followed that it should be accompanied by internal tranquillity. And, in fact, the contrary was almost always the case. Daolat Ráo spent upon his army far greater sums than the revenues of the country could afford. To meet these constantly increasing expenses he had recourse to a system than which a worse could scarcely be devised. He sent his troops out into the districts to feed themselves on what they might wring from the ryots. The system of Napoleon, that of making war support war, has been often and justly blamed. But he at least made the inhabitants of the enemy's country pay for his victorious soldiers. Daolat Ráo made military rapine one of the principles of the administration of his own country. The result is thus recorded by Captain Grant Duff: 'Armies accustomed to rapine and violence in extensive regions were now,' he writes, 'confined to tracts comparatively small; the

burden of their exactions became in many places intolerable, and districts, before cultivated and populous, were fast running to waste and violence.'

It can readily be imagined that the revenues of the country suffered in proportion. With every year they diminished. As for Daolat Ráo himself, the only reliable source of private income he possessed arose from the pension and jaghírs granted to him and to his family by the British Government. But even with that, so frequently was he embarrassed, that he was forced to take advances—at a ruinous rate of interest—from the bankers of the country.

The same cause, impecuniosity, probably prevented Daolat Ráo from taking advantage of the humiliation of Holkar by the British power, and of the consequent weakness of his dominions; nor can it be doubted that for many years that followed it was mainly instrumental in keeping him on terms of peace with his former conquerors.

When, however, it became necessary for the Government of India, in 1817, to deal with the Pindáris, a great temptation seemed to offer itself to the restless spirit of Daolat Ráo. The Pindáris had been the hangers-on of the Márhátá camps during all the wars in the latter half of the eighteenth century. It is true they had plundered as well as fought; probably indeed plundered more than fought. But to Sindhia they looked up as to their natural protector and liege lord. Strong in their own numbers, with his support they thought they must be irresistible. These, and other reasons at least as potent, were urged upon Daolat Ráo. He was very much inclined to give way. He would, indeed, have given way but for the prescience of the Marquis of Hastings, who, informed of his hesitation, promptly placed the British troops in such a commanding position as to force him to an immediate decision. He had grown too wise by experience to doubt, then. On November 5, 1817, he signed a treaty

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by which he agreed to locate his troops in positions from which they were not to emerge without the orders of the British Government; to give up the fortresses of Assírgarh and Hindia as security for the lines of communication and a guarantee for the performance of his engagements, and to surrender for three years the tribute of the Rájpút states.

But Daolat Ráo had been hesitating regarding other matters likewise. About this time the Peshwa had been endeavouring to resuscitate the old Márhátá confederacy, That Daolat Ráo, though he dared make no open demonstration in his favour, favoured secretly his plans, was proved by the fact that on the capture of his fortress of Assírgarh by the British on April 9, 1819, a letter was found in the possession of the Killadar directing him to obey all the orders of the Peshwa, at the time at war with the British. The penalty inflicted for this breach of faith was the permanent cession of the fortress to the English. The year prior to this discovery, Daolat Ráo had, by treaty (dated June 25, 1818) readjusted the boundaries of his dominions with the English, he resigning Ajmír and other districts, in exchange for lands of equal value.

Daolat Ráo survived the fall of the Peshwa (June 1818) nearly nine years—years of peace, but for him scarcely of prosperity. He died on March 21, 1827, at the comparatively early age of forty-eight. He had had a stormy and chequered career. The great projects of his predecessor had been scattered to the winds. Still he had fared better than his master, the Peshwa, better even than Holkar. He had, in fact, been preserved by the British power, in spite, as it were, of himself. Twice had he been thus saved. In 1805, the replacement of Marquess Wellesley by Lord Cornwallis secured to him peaceful possession of Gwáliár and Góhad, which he had seized, and with which he would not have parted without a severe struggle; in 1817, the occupa-

tion of his country by the orders of the Marquis of Hastings, preserved him from casting in his lot with the Pindáris. It was to these acts of his enemies, far more than to any statesmanlike policy and political foresight of his own, that he left behind him territories capable of realising a revenue, under proper management, of nearly a million and a half sterling. His dominions, in fact, remained at his death almost in the same state in which they had been left by the treaty of 1805. The acquisitions made from him by the British Government comprised the principal part of the Delta of the Ganges and Jamna, from the source of the latter river to near its confluence with the former. They included the city of Delhi, which, however, with a tract of country round it, was continued under the nominal authority of the titular emperor, the real authority being vested in the British Resident.¹

CHAP.
I.

Daolat Ráo left no son. Seeing that he had no prospect of offspring, he sent to the Dekhan, shortly before his death, for the children of some distant relations, that he might select one from amongst them. The candidates, five in number, not arriving at Gwáliár till after his death, the right of selection devolved upon his widow, Baiza Bai, daughter of the infamous Ghatgay, and who then filled the office of regent. She selected Múgat Ráo, a distant relative, eleven years old. The ceremony of adoption took place on June 17, 1827, and the boy was married the same day to the granddaughter of Daolat Ráo, by his daughter married to Dhubári Ráo, Sénápatí.¹ The following day he was placed on the throne, under the auspices of the British Government, with the title of Ali Jah Jankojí Ráo, Sindhia.

The reign of this prince, which lasted over a period of sixteen years, was characterised by peace with his neighbours and turbulence within his own borders. In his early youth, and for ten years after his accession, the

Jankoji
Ráo
Sindhia.

¹ *Historical Sketch of the Princes of India.*

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ambition of his predecessor's widow, the Baiza Bai, caused him and his country endless trouble and annoyance. This lady began very soon to show that she intended to be the real ruler. Her late husband, she asserted, had nominated her to be regent during her entire lifetime. With a spirit worthy of the daughter of Ghatgay she began at once to put her plans into operation.

It must be admitted that the conduct of the British Government with respect to her claims was such as to encourage them. It declined to interfere beyond insisting that the Máharájá's seal should be always used in official communications. It made no effort to provide for the future good government of the country by instilling right principles into the mind of the young prince, nor did it even insist that he should receive any education at all. As a consequence he remained uneducated.

Thus left to their own devices it is easy to understand how the stronger mind of the experienced woman triumphed over the youth and inexperience of the never strong-minded boy. For the moment the Baiza Bai gained the day. And, had she been endowed with good judgment and sense, she might have kept her position till her death. But she was the worthy daughter of Ghatgay, as unscrupulous, as ambitious, as headstrong, and as impulsive as he had been. Instead of consolidating her position by governing the country in such a manner as to gain the confidence of the people—instead of endeavouring to win the confidence of her ward—she oppressed the former, and she kept the latter in a seclusion which resembled confinement. Vain were his remonstrances. The Baiza Bai was jealous of his possible influence, and made him feel that she was so.

To such a mode of procedure there could be only one result. Scarcely had the young prince attained the age of sixteen than (October 1832) he fled from the palace, and took refuge with the British Resident.

In December of the same year, the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, paid a visit to Gwáliár. Before he arrived the Baiza Bai had become reconciled to the young Máharájá, but the terms on which they lived had not improved. For her, then, the advent of the Governor-General was an event of great importance. He might side with her, or he might side with her ward. The efforts made by both parties to influence the Governor-General were incredible. But they found him impassive. He was apparently willing to recognise the Baiza Bai, so long as she did not attempt to interfere with the future rights of the Máharájá. To all the solicitations of the latter he replied, therefore, that it was impossible for him to interfere, but that if the Máharájá would abstain from all attempts to subvert the Baiza Bai's power, the British Government would prevent the regent adopting any other person, to the prejudice of his claim to the throne.

This negative policy satisfied nobody. Within seven months, then, of the departure of the Governor-General, the Máharájá again left the palace, and took refuge at the residency; and although, by the Resident's persuasion, he was induced to return to the palace, the news of the step he had taken encouraged those who were discontented with the rule of the Baiza Bai to attempt a *pronunciamento* in his favour.

In point of fact, the Baiza Bai's rule had become so unpopular in the country, that the nobles and the people only wanted an excuse to rise against her. This excuse the conduct of the Máharájá afforded. The day following his flight from and return to the palace, almost all the troops at Gwáliár rose in revolt against the Baiza Bai, and shouted for Jankojí Ráo. The Rání, alarmed, attempted to escape, but her flight having been intercepted, she in her turn took refuge at the residency. Here, however, she was allowed to remain only on the condition that she would resign the sovereignty and quit the country. She was forced to agree, and quitted Gwáliár for Dhol-

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púr on July 13. The Máharájá had been proclaimed sovereign at Gwáliár three days previously.

The proceedings of the Resident did not altogether meet the approval of Lord William Bentinck. He was censured for having called out the contingent to support the Máharájá's authority, and the Government of India declared its indifference as to whether the Máharájá or the Bai exercised the administrative power, its only object being to preserve general tranquillity and its own reputation, recognising the ruler supported by the popular voice. In accordance with this view, whilst the Government of India forbade the Baiza Bai to use her asylum in the British territory for the purpose of organising an invasion of Gwáliár, it placed no obstacle whatever in the way of the return of that lady to Gwáliár with the view of throwing herself upon the support of her own people.

Thenceforth, however, the Baiza Bai had no connection with the administration of Gwáliár, although she troubled the actual rulers in the vexatious manner of which an intriguing woman, in command of a large amount of money, is so well capable. But in the end, seeing every hope vanish, she renounced her ambitious views, and was allowed to return to Gwáliár, where she died in 1862.

Jankojí Sindhia was a weak ruler. During the greater part of his reign the administration was in the hands of his maternal uncle, Mámáh Sahib. But, to quote the words of Mr. Aitchison¹: 'The court was one constant scene of feuds and struggles for power amongst the nobles; the army was in a chronic state of mutiny. The weakness of the internal government prepared the way for the hostilities with the British Government, which broke out shortly after the Máharájá's death, and resulted in an entire change of policy towards the Gwáliár State.'

¹Aitchison's *Treaties*, vol. iv. p. 208.

I have already stated that the reign of Jankojí was undisturbed by war. In fact the only two matters which connect his reign with foreign governments were the organisation of the contingent and the rounding of the borders of his territory by exchanges.

CHAP.
I.

The reform of the contingent took place in the year 1837. Consisting originally, according to the treaty of 1817, of 5,000 horse, and reduced after the termination of the war to 2,000, it was resolved in 1837 to establish it on the footing of a regiment of cavalry, one of infantry, and a company of artillery, commanded by European officers. To induce Jankojí to agree to this arrangement, it was resolved to restore to him the districts in Khándesh which had been made over temporarily to the British Government, Sindhia paying in lieu a sum equivalent to their net revenues. The expenses of the contingent were defrayed in part from those revenues, in part from the revenues of the retained Sagar districts, and the tributes from the Rájpút states, formerly due to Sindhia.

Jankojí had no male children. In 1837, however, an attempt was made to substitute a male child for a female, to which his wife had just given birth. But the attempt coming to the knowledge of the Rájá, it naturally miscarried. On the death of his wife the year following, he married her sister, Tara Bai, then little more than a child, the daughter of Jeswant Ráo Gúrpóra.

In general matters the government of Jankojí showed itself eminently desirous to keep on good terms with the British Government. He gave every encouragement to the endeavours made by that Government to suppress Thagí and highway robbery—till then extremely prevalent; and he arranged for the trial and punishment within his own dominions of the prisoners charged and convicted. In 1838, when a mission from Nipál, supposed to entertain intentions hostile to the British Government, came to Gwáliár, its members were arrested and sent back. Similarly in 1839, he arrested and placed at the

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disposal of the British Resident an envoy from Dóst Mahomed, ruler of Afghanistán.

In January 1840, Jankojí received a visit from the then Governor-General, the Earl of Auckland. It was merely a complimentary visit, but at an Asiatic court such modes of showing honour are highly esteemed.

Just three years later—February 7, 1843—Jankojí Sindhia died. It will be seen from the sketch I have given of his life, that, at the best, his was a negative character. He did not possess one tittle of the genius of Mádhají, nor was he endowed even with the boldness and daring of his immediate predecessor. He took but little part in the government of the country. He was in that respect little more than a lay figure. His death, at the early age of twenty-seven, was certainly due neither to excess of work, to excess of horse exercise, nor to intellectual study.

The death of Jankojí without an heir, and without having adopted an heir, left the throne once more open to the intrigues of interested parties. But on this occasion the sound principle was adhered to of adopting the nearest relation. This nearest, though distant relation, was Bagírat Ráo, son of Hanwant Ráo, usually called Bábjí Sindhia, and he was only eight years old. The adoption made by the widow, Tara Bai, with the assent of the great nobles, was approved of by the British Government. But it then became necessary to appoint a regent. Now the prime minister at the time of the death of Jankojí, and indeed for several years previously, had been the Rájá's maternal uncle, Mámáh Sahib. Of him the British Resident had reported only two years previously, that he was 'the most capable of the ministers of state,' and 'certainly the person of most influence at present.' It is true the Resident had somewhat qualified this testimony to the merits of the Mámáh Sahib by an insinuation that he owed the retention of his position to the absolute confidence reposed in him by his master, 'for,'

he adds, alluding to the influence, 'I am of opinion that it is likely to terminate with his nephew's, the Máharájá's, existence.' But when, on the demise of the Máharájá, this second part of the Resident's report appeared to be falsified by the selection of this very Mámáh Sahib by the chiefs present at Gwáliár to be sole regent, and the Resident reported that this selection had given universal satisfaction, the British Government could not but signify their approval.

CHAP.
I.

But a few months showed that, in his report of two years before, the Resident had rightly divined that the influence of the Mámáh Sahib was bound up with the existence of the late sovereign. For three months, indeed, if we may except the revolt of one battalion, speedily suppressed, all was quiet. But intrigue had not the less been at work. It was impossible, with a young widow bent on power, it should have been otherwise. Either women in such a position will find men weak enough to bend to their vices, or there will be men ambitious and unscrupulous enough to make tools of the women. The intrigue in this case formed no exception to the rule.

There happened to be a woman in the palace, possessed, or believed to be possessed, of great influence with Tara Bai, named Morengi. This woman had struck up an intimate friendship with Dádá Khásjí-wála, a man who had been appointed controller of the palace under the Mámáh Sahib. The 'friendship' was soon suspected to cover a dangerous intrigue, and the woman was removed. But Dádá Khásjí-wála's movements still continued to excite suspicion. Mámáh Sahib reported his conduct to the Resident, and, going further, taxed the Dádá in person with want of loyalty. The latter assumed an air of virtuous indignation, denied the charge, and courted inquiry. Nothing could then be proved against him. But soon the object of his machinations became apparent. He assumed a haughtier tone. He openly bearded the regent. Suddenly, when the pear was ripe,

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the widowed Rání, Tara Bai, expressed to the British Resident her determination to dismiss the Mámáh Sahib from office.

From subsequent events it appeared that she had been made to believe that the Mámáh Sahib, whose daughter had been married to the Máharájá, intended entirely to supersede her authority.

The British Resident remonstrated, but to no purpose. Mámáh Sahib, whose friends fell from him, as though he were infectious, on the news of his disgrace, was dismissed, and fled from Gwáliár. The Dádá Khásj-wála became minister in his place.

The remarks made by the Governor-General at this crisis deserve to be quoted for the good sense they display. The Mámáh Sahib, he recorded, was clearly an incapable, who 'had proved himself quite unfit to manage men or women, and a minister of Gwáliár must manage both.' Lord Ellenborough saw no great offence to the British Government in the removal from office of a minister so incapable, nor did he wish to force upon the state an unpopular regent. 'Any form of administering the affairs of the Gwáliár State which may effect the object of frontier tranquillity will be satisfactory,' he wrote, 'to the British Government.'

It will thus be clear that the expulsion of the Mámáh Sahib and the installation in his place of the Dádá constituted no offence to the British Government. Such offence could only be created by divergence on the part of the Dádá from the peaceful foreign policy pursued by the government of Sindhia subsequent to the year 1819.

Unfortunately for himself, the Dádá did make that divergence. Probably having been installed by the favour of the army, he deemed it absolutely essential to keep the troops in a good humour and in a state of devotion to himself. The specific so successfully practised at Satory in 1850-51—the specific of 'sausages and champagne'—had not then been invented, nor probably would

it have been quite suited to an eastern hemisphere. He was forced then upon a dangerous course. The army had forgotten Assaye and scarcely remembered Láswári. A new race had grown up, a race into whose ears the triumphs of Mádhají, and the commanding position of Daolat Ráo had been sung from their earliest childhood. These men thirsted for action, and the Dádá soon found that to retain their confidence it would be necessary to fan their hopes.

With this object he in a short time dismissed from the army, even with ignominy, all those officers who were favourable to the British, replacing them by the scum of Márhátá society—men who were ready for plunder and pillage at any price. Large presents of money were made to the soldiery, and they were gradually brought to a state of indiscipline bordering on revolt.

But to escape one danger the Dádá had provoked another. The British Government could not at any time have tolerated a mutinous and hostile power—for its hostility was undisguised—within fifty miles of Agra. Still less was it possible for it to tolerate the existence of such an army, when another mutinous body of soldiers, the soldiers of the Punjáb, threatened its northern boundary. Lord Ellenborough, however, was averse from severe measures. The mischief seemed to have been caused by one man, the Dádá Khásjī-wála, and he not unreasonably hoped that with the removal of the Dádá it would disappear. The better to bring about this result, an officer in whom Lord Ellenborough had entire confidence, Colonel Sleeman, was appointed Resident at Gwáliár.

The report of Colonel Sleeman confirmed the pre-existing opinion that the Dádá was at the root of the mischief. He described him as turbulent, restless, and intriguing; an enemy of public order, and a fomentor of troubles with his neighbours; at the same time so deficient in personal courage, that it was his habit, in moments of difficulty, 'to conceal himself in the most sacred of the female apartments.'

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This report decided the Government. It determined to remove Dádá Khásjī-wála from Gwáliár to a place of security within its own territories. To give force to its orders, it directed the assembly at Agra of an army of exercise.

But before the British Government could take any action in the matter, affairs had come to a crisis in Gwáliár. The conservative party in the army, representing the views of those favourable to an alliance with the British, suddenly reasserted their position, and called for the dismissal of the obnoxious Dádá, as the cause of all the evil. The Dádá, to suppress this revolt, as he termed it, sent against the insurgents the troops who remained faithful to himself. But these were beaten, and the Dádá himself was seized. After some discussion he was sent off, under an escort, to the British camp at Agra. But either the escort was merciful, or the Dádá was profuse in his promises; he was allowed to return.

After his return the Gwáliár Durbar made one effort to procure permission for the confinement of the Dádá within the Gwáliár territories. But Colonel Sleeman was inexorable. Either, he said, the Dádá must be surrendered, or British troops would march on Gwáliár.

Still the Durbar hesitated, and the British troops accordingly broke ground. But it was not until the close approach of the Governor-General at the head of an army showed the impossibility of retaining the Dádá, that he was surrendered.

But by that time, the British army had advanced too far to recede without obtaining a guarantee against the recurrence of such a danger. It continued then to move forward, the Governor-General intimating to the Durbar his wish to settle matters at a personal interview between Tara Bai and the Máharájá on the one side and himself on the other.

This interview was fixed for December 26. But the intelligence was extremely distasteful to the Gwáliár

army. They determined then to fight for it. Massing the great body of their troops near the village of Máhá-rájpúr, they took the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hugh Gough, by surprise, on the 28th, whilst a smaller detachment made a similar demonstration against the disjointed wing of the British army, under General Gray.

CHAP.
I.

But it would not do. The Gwáliár troops fought well; they had everything in their favour; they inflicted on us considerable loss, but they were beaten; and Gwáliár lay at the feet of Lord Ellenborough.

The way in which this nobleman dealt with the prostrate State will always be quoted as a masterpiece of policy. He made a friend of it—a friend who stood the English in good stead during their troubles fourteen years later. By a treaty concluded on January 13, 1844, the sovereignty of the country was retained for Sindhia; the government during the minority of the Rájá was to be conducted according to the advice of the British Resident; the British Government pledged itself to maintain the just territorial rights of Gwáliár; a territory yielding eighteen lakhs a year was to be ceded to the British Government for the maintenance of a contingent force, and other lands for the payment of debts due, and the expenses of the war; and the army was to be reduced to 6,000 cavalry, 3,000 infantry, and 200 gunners with 32 guns.

This arrangement ensured peace, an improved administrative system, and gratitude. From 1844 to 1857 the history of Gwáliár was a history of peace and prosperity. In 1854 the young Máhárájá Alijáh Jaijái Ráo Sindhia became of age, and assumed the administration. Nor throughout the entire period were there the smallest symptoms of any disturbance of the political horizon.

But in 1857 the Bengal army mutinied. The prime minister of Jaijái Ráo, for four years previous to the outbreak, had been a Brahman, named Dinkar Ráo, one of the most honest, most far-seeing, and most capable men that Central India has ever produced. In his brief tenure

Jaijái Ráo
Sindhia.

THE NATIVE STATES OF INDIA.

PART II.

of office he had introduced large and beneficial reforms in the internal administration of the country, had swept away numberless abuses, and had made life comparatively easy for the cultivator of the soil. In effecting these reforms it would have been impossible for him not to have given some offence to a few of the ambitious families whose folly had fourteen years before pushed Dádá Khásjī-wála to defy the British. But in a time of peace and prosperity the machinations of such men were powerless.

But the rumbling of the coming mutiny had not been unfelt in Gwáliár. It had given hope to the disaffected, and filled the minds of the aristocracy with ambitious ideas. But there were at least two men in that state free from the prevailing madness. These men were the Máharájá, Jaijái Ráo, and his able minister.

From the very first, with the full concurrence and support of that minister, Jaijái Ráo determined to cast in his lot with the British. Not in vain had Lord Ellenborough, in 1844, displayed the prescient policy of a real statesman. Not in vain had he forborne from the lust of conquest, and restored to the minor sovereign intact his dominions, with a provision to secure their good administration during his minority. With an opportunity which Mádhají would have made decisive, which Daolat Ráo even would have clutched at, Jaijái Ráo took upon himself the task, which, under the circumstances of the feeling of the country, must have been pre-eminently difficult—the task of being loyal to his engagements to the British, even when British supremacy seemed lowered, and British authority had been shaken off in districts within fifty miles of his capital.

Full of these loyal ideas, Jaijái Rao's first movement was to send his own bodyguard to Agra to aid the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces in the suppression of the revolt.¹ They rendered excellent ser-

¹ *Red Pamphlet*, Part II. pp. 192-3.

vice. His next was to place his entire contingent at the disposal of the same high officer. The offer was accepted. But it soon became evident that the causes which had induced the mutiny in the Bengal army had infected the sepoys of the Gwáliár contingent with the virus of revolt. At Hatrás, at Nímach, at Augar, at Lalatpúr, and finally on June 14, at Gwáliár itself, the sepoys of the contingent rose and massacred many of their British officers.

CHAP.
I.

No sooner had these men revolted than they placed their services at the disposal of Jaiájí Ráo, and begged him to lead them against the British in Agra. To give due credit to the loyalty of Jaiájí Ráo Sindhia at this crisis it should be remembered that not only were the insurgents in possession of the capital of the Moguls, but the entire country to the north-west of Agra was in revolt. British garrisons were beleaguered at Káhnepúr and at Lakhnau, and it seemed as though one decisive blow would finish with the English dominion north of Bengal proper. Had the Máharájá, then, acceded to the request of the sepoys, it was quite possible that with the 20,000 trained soldiers, men who afterwards gave evidence of the excellence of their discipline against General Wyndham at Káhnepúr, and against Lord Strathnairn after Jhánáí, he might have struck that fatal blow.

To say that he must have felt his power, is only to credit him with ordinary capacity, and his capacity is at least beyond the average. But he was loyal and true. Had the ablest member of the Council of India been at his ear he could not have inspired him with counsels more calculated to prove beneficial to the British cause than those which he and his minister, with the instinct of loyal natures, followed of their own free will.

Not only did the Máharájá not accept the offer of his troops, but by dint of skilful management, by cajoling and by gifts of money, by pretended difficulties in the way of procuring carriage, he detained them. More than that,

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when mutinous troops from Mau and the territories of Holkar passed through his dominions, he restrained his own troops from joining them. He succeeded, in fact, in retaining them in inaction till after Delhi had fallen, and Káhnepúr had been relieved. And when finally he did let them go, it was only that they might fall into the clutches of Sir Hugh Rose and Sir Colin Campbell.

It can easily be imagined that the loyalty of Jaiájí Ráo to the British alliance had not made him popular with that large and augmenting class of self-seekers which the mutiny had called into existence. It was not long before the hostile feelings of these men were manifested. When in June 1858, the rebel troops under Tantia Tópi entered Gwáliár, not only had the power of the Máharájá to restrain his own men vanished entirely, but these made common cause against him, and forced him and his minister to flee for British protection to Agra. He was restored in the course of the same month by Sir Hugh Rose.

The loyalty of Jaiájí Ráo to the British Government did not pass unnoticed. His conduct, indeed, had been so pre-eminently faithful that nothing could have excused its being passed over. By a treaty dated December 12, 1860, lands were restored to Sindhia yielding three lakhs of rupees a year; and the exchange of lands he wished for for others of nearly equal value was arranged with the British Government. He received a sunnud conferring upon him the right of adoption, and permission to raise his infantry from 3,000 to 5,000 men, and his guns from 32 to 36. In place of the revolted contingent the British Government agreed to maintain a subsidiary force.

Subsequently the name of Jaiájí Sindhia appeared in the first list of the Knights of the Star of India.

Since 1859 Jaiájí Ráo has been his own prime minister. He has administered the country himself. His former minister, now Sir Dinkar Ráo, lives mainly at Agra, in

which city his son is receiving the education of an English gentleman.

CHAP.
I.

It is strange that, like all his predecessors, without one exception, Jaiaji Ráo Sindhia has no legitimate male descendant. He has had three sons, but they died. He possesses the power of adoption, and this power he exercised in November 1865, by the selection of a youth named Ganpat Ráo to be his successor. It has, however, been stipulated that in the event of his being blessed with offspring, his own son shall succeed him, Ganpat Ráo being provided with an estate returning an annual income of a lakh of rupees.

Of the revenues of the country 78,38,900 rupees are derived from the land ; 14,70,202 from customs ; the remainder from the tributes of feudatories. The customs' revenue is realised from transit duties on iron, tobacco, sugar, and salt, all other articles being free, and from jaghír and local taxes. No transit duties are taken on the portion of the Agra and Bombay road and its branches passing through Sindhia's territories, or on the roads connecting Gwáliar with Itáwah, Farrukhabád, Datiá, Jhansí, and Kalpí.¹

The Máharájá of Gwáliár receives a salute of nineteen guns. His territories may be described generally as being bounded on the north and north-west by the river Chambal ; on the east by Bundelkhand and the central provinces ; on the north by Bhopál and Dhár ; and on the west by Dholpúr, Karaulí, Údaipúr, and Kotá.

¹ Aitchison's *Treaties*.

CHAPTER II.

INDÚR, OR THE DOMINIONS OF HOLKAR.

ARRA—8,318 sq miles.

POPULATION—576,000.

REVENUE—30,00,000 rupees.

PART
II.

THE father of Mulhar Ráo, the founder of the dynasty of the Holkars, was a shepherd. To this occupation he added the more profitable trade of a weaver of blankets. He lived in the village of Hol, on the river Níra, whence he derived the surname Holkar—the adjunct kae or kur signifying inhabitant.

Mulhar Ráo first saw light about the year 1693. His father died when he was five years old, and his mother went shortly afterwards to live with her brother, a landholder in Khándesh. Mulhar Ráo was brought up as a shepherd, but soon disdaining the slothful life, he determined to devote himself to arms, and enlisted in a troop of horse, then on their way to Gujrát. He soon distinguished himself, and, it is said, in one of his first engagements, had the good fortune to slay with his own hand an officer of rank in the enemy's service. For this he obtained the command of twenty-five horsemen. Whilst on duty with this body of men on the family estate of his leader, Kantají Kadam, a party of the Peshwa's horse, on their way to Málwá, attempted to pass over the lands belonging to it. Mulhar Ráo disputed their passage, and displayed so much courage as to attract the notice of the Peshwa, who persuaded him to enter his service as commander of 500 men. This transfer was made with the consent of Kantají Kadam, and Mulhar Ráo showed his obligations to that family by adopting their colours as his own.

Mulhar Ráo appears to have joined the army of the Peshwa about the year 1724. Starting as the leader of

500 horse, he, in four years, raised himself to a far higher position. In 1728 he received from the Peshwa, as a reward for his services, a grant of twelve districts north of the Narbadá; in 1731 twenty districts were added to these, and at the same time the Peshwa, in a letter written with his own hand, confided the Márhátá interests in Málwá to his charge. The following year he filled the post of principal general under the Peshwa when the army of Dia Bahadúr, Subadar of the province of Málwá, was defeated by the Márhátás. Indúr, with the greater portion of the conquered country, was assigned to Mulhar Ráo for the support of his troops, and in 1735 he was left as general-in-chief of the Márhátá forces north of the Narbadá. In 1738 we find him the most daring assailant of the Mogul army under Nizám-úl-Múlk, and conducting to a favourable conclusion a warfare which confirmed to the Márhátás the sovereignty of the country between the Narbadá and the Chambal.

In 1739 he assisted at the expulsion of the Portuguese from Bassein—an enterprise which cost the besiegers, it is said, 500 men. He then rejoined the Peshwa to defend his territories against the threatened onslaught of Nadir Shah. But this never took place.

In the eleven years that followed, Mulhar Ráo continued to increase his fame and his possessions. In this interval he never met with a single check, and this continued success no doubt served to encourage the ambitious designs which gradually forced themselves upon him, and which, it seemed to him, could be crowned only by the replacement at Delhi of the Moguls by the Márhátás.

With this object in view, we find him in 1751 assisting the Vizír Safdar Jang in preserving Oudh from the Rohillas. In this war he greatly added to his reputation as a leader. The mode in which on one occasion he succeeded with a small body of troops in a night attack on the masses of the enemy is thus recorded by Sir John Malcolm: 'He directed torches and lights to be tied to

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the horns of several thousand cattle, which were driven in one direction, while in another he placed lights upon every bush and tree, and, when this was done, marched silently in the dark by a different route to attack. The enemy, pressed in one quarter by an actual assault, and seeing lights in several others, thought themselves surrounded and in danger of destruction; they dispersed and fled in dismay, leaving their camp to be plundered by the conquerors, whose leader acquired just increase of fame from the victory.'

For his conduct in this campaign, Holkar received a grant of twelve and a half per cent. on the revenues of Chandúr, and honours in addition.

At Pánipat Mulhar Ráo divided with Sindhia the command of the right wing of the Márhátá army. Prior to that battle he had been treated with the greatest indignity and insult by the commander-in-chief, Sudaséo Ráo. Again and again had Sudaséo spurned the advice offered him by the practised warrior. 'Who wants the advice of a goatherd?' was the reception given to these wise counsels. In one of the skirmishes, or rather battles of a secondary rank, on his way to join the headquarter camp, Mulhar Ráo had been surprised and defeated, but this had not prevented his junction with the main body, nor had it held him back from inflicting in subsequent skirmishes great losses on the enemy. He had advised Sudaséo to adhere to Márhátá tactics, to retreat, to draw the heavy-armed enemy after him, then suddenly to overwhelm him. The advice, as I have said, was scornfully rejected. The result was that on January 6, 1761, the Márhátá power, was dealt an almost fatal blow on the field of Pánipat.

It has been asserted that in that fatal battle Mulhar Ráo did not fight with his old spirit, and that he left the field early in the day. He did not, it is certain, exhaust all the powers of his men. He kept something in hand in case of an overthrow. But his partisans assert that he did this because he believed defeat to be certain, and that

he kept a portion of his troops in reserve to cover the retreat of the remainder. It is certain that he alone, of all the Márhátá leaders, retired with some amount of order.

CHAP.
II.

After Pánipat Mulhar Ráo retired to his possessions in Central India, and employed himself in reducing his vast acquisitions to coherence and order. In this he succeeded well, for he was a man of generous instincts, considerate, yet firm, and these qualities ensured his popularity amongst his people. He died in 1765, at the ripe age of seventy-six, leaving a name amongst the Márhátás which, even now, stands second only to that of Mádhají Ráo Sindhia, and second to him only in the science of politics. He left behind him a principality bringing in an annual gross revenue of 75,00,000 rupees.

Mulhar Ráo Holkar had had but one son, Khandí Ráo, who was killed at the siege of Khumbír, near Díg, some years before Pánipat. But Khandí left behind him by his wife, Ahalya Bai, a son named Máli Ráo. This boy, however, who showed symptoms akin to madness, did not survive his grandfather more than nine months. The administration was then assumed by Ahalya Bai.

The rule of this estimable lady, which lasted thirty years, was not, however, established without some opposition. The scheming Ragonáth Ráo, uncle to the then Peshwa, and afterwards Peshwa himself, used all the means in his power to procure the adoption of a child whose movements, by means of his agents, he might always control. But in this attempt he was defeated not less by the firmness and prudence of Ahalya Bai, than by the steadfast attitude assumed by Mádhají Sindhia, who, aided by other Márhátá chiefs and the Peshwa himself, declared himself determined to support the legitimate rights of the widow of Mulhar Ráo's son.

Ahalya
Bai.

Thus firmly established, the first act of Ahalya Bai was to select a commander-in-chief of her forces. It need not be said that in those days, when the principle was

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universally recognised that power was to him who wielded the sword, this was a task which called for the nicest discrimination of character. Ahalya Bai proved that she was endowed with that discrimination. Her choice fell upon Túkají Holkar, a man of the same tribe, but not related to her husband's family. He was a man of mature years, unobtrusive and unambitious, whose character was formed, and who had won the respect of all parties. A better choice could not have been made. Bound together by feelings of mutual respect and mutual esteem, Ahalya Bai and Túkají conducted the affairs of the state for thirty years—thirty years of happiness and prosperity for the people, such as they had never known before and have but rarely known since.

The mode in which this 'coalition government' was conducted has been thus described by Sir John Malcolm : 'When Túkají was in the Dekhan,' he writes, 'all the territories of the family south of the Satpúra range were managed by him, and the countries north of that limit were under Ahalya Bai, to whom the different tributaries also made their annual payments. While he was in Hindostan he collected the revenues of the territories that had been acquired there and in Bundelkhand, and also the tributes of Rájputáná. The districts in Málwá and Nimár continued as usual under the direction of Ahalya Bai ; and her authority was on such occasions extended over the possessions in the Dekhan. The treasures of the family, which were very considerable, remained with Ahalya Bai ; and she had besides personal estates yielding annually four lakhs of rupees, which, with the hoard above mentioned, were entirely expended at her discretion, while all the rest of the receipts were brought into a general account, and applied to the expenditure of the government. The accounts of receipts and disbursements were kept with scrupulous exactness ; and Ahalya Bai, after paying the civil and militia charges,

sent the balance that remained in the public treasury to supply the exigencies of the army employed abroad.'

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It would appear, moreover, from the same writer, that wherever he might be, Túkají always referred, on every occasion in which the general interests of the country were implicated, to Ahalya Bai, and that the ministers at the several foreign courts were deputed directly from her.

During thirty years of rule perhaps no prince or princess ever conciliated more respect from foreign sovereigns than did this illustrious Hindú lady. She was extremely pious, much given to devotion, yet she found time to attend to the important affairs of state which pressed themselves daily on her attention. It was her habit to transact business every day in open durbar. 'Her first principle of government,' says Sir John Malcolm, 'appears to have been moderate assessment, and an almost sacred respect for the native rights of village officers and the proprietors of lands. She heard every complaint in person; and although she continually referred causes to courts of equity and arbitration, and to her ministers for settlement, she was always accessible; and so strong was her sense of duty on all points connected with the distribution of justice, that she is represented as not only patient, but unwearied in the investigation of the most insignificant causes where appeals were made to her decision.'

Her hours for transacting business were from 2 P.M. to 6 P.M., and again from 9 P.M. to 11 P.M. By her unremitting attention to business she was able during her long reign to maintain such excellent relations with her neighbours that her dominions were but once invaded, and then unsuccessfully. Nor was her internal administration less successful. In no part of India were the people so happy and contented as were those in the dominions of Holkar.

Amongst other of the acts by which her reign will be remembered, was the founding of Indúr, the present

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capital of the country. A village when she came to the administration, it was soon transformed, under her auspices, into a wealthy city. She built likewise several forts, and caused to be constructed, at considerable cost, a road over the Vindhya range, where it is almost perpendicular. She spent likewise large sums of money on religious edifices.

She died at the age of sixty, worn out with care and fatigue. According to Sir John Malcolm, to whose history of Central India the reader is referred for a more detailed account of this famous lady, 'she was of the middle stature, and very thin; her complexion, which was of a dark olive, was clear; and her countenance is described as having been to the last hour of her life agreeable. . . . She was very cheerful, seldom in anger, possessed a cultivated mind, was quick and clear in the transaction of public business, and even flattery appears to have been lost upon her.'

Her death, which occurred in 1795, was lamented far and wide.

It is not necessary to give more than a cursory glance at the military achievements of Túkají during the reign of Ahalya Bai. We find him in 1780 employed in Gujráť in conjunction with Mádhají Sindhia against the English, under Colonel Goddard; and in 1786 aiding the Nawáb of Savanór against his master, Tippú Sultan, whose troops he defeated. In 1792 he introduced European tactics and discipline among his troops, four battalions being thus disciplined and placed under a Frénchman, the Chevalier Dudrenec. At the battle of Lukhairí, near Ajmír, these four battalions formed part of Holkar's army, 30,000 strong, which fought against Sindhia's forces, commanded by Gopál Ráo Bhao, consisting of 20,000 horse, and 9,000 regular infantry, disciplined in the European fashion, and commanded by De Boigne, who planned the attack. Dudrenec's battalions fought till they were nearly annihilated, and Holkar

lost all his guns. The stand made by Dudrenec, however, encouraged Túkají to persevere in the system.

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Túkají Holkar survived Ahalya Bai only two years. He died in 1797, leaving four sons, Khásí Ráo and Mulhar Ráo by his wife, and Wittójí and Jeswant Ráo by a concubine. Of the legitimate sons Khásí Ráo was half-witted, but Mulhar Ráo gave promise of great things. The four young men were invited to the Peshwa's court at Púna on their father's death, and it was hoped that the succession would devolve upon the high-spirited Mulhar Ráo. But just at that moment Daolat Ráo Sindhia was supreme at the court of the Peshwa, and it suited the ambitious views of that unscrupulous ruler to see Holkar's dominions governed by a fool. He therefore gave the whole might of his support to Khásí Ráo, attacked Mulhar Ráo in the night, slew him, and took his son, Khandí Ráo, prisoner. Wittójí and Jeswant Ráo escaped, but the former turned freebooter, was captured whilst marauding in the Dekhan, and was put to a cruel death.

All the hopes of the subjects of Holkar now turned to Jeswant Ráo. This prince, fleeing from Púna, had sought refuge with the Rájá of Nagpúr, but had been treacherously imprisoned. After a short confinement, however, he escaped, and for a year or so led the life of a proscribed fugitive. But in the course of that life he had many opportunities of displaying the innate strength and daring of his nature, his lofty views and his generous ideas. The breezes wafted exaggerations of these qualities to Indúr, and the whole army longed for him to appear. At length he arrived. Then, as if instinctively, the entire army, including the trained infantry and artillery of the Chevalier Dudrenec, the Patans of Amír Khan, and the Pindárí auxiliaries, went over to him in a mass.

Jeswant Ráo, ignoring the claims of the imbecile Khásí Ráo, at once assumed the regency in the name of

Jeswant
Ráo
Holkar.

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his nephew Khandí Ráo, but, as he subsequently caused the latter to be poisoned, his reign may be said to begin from this date (1798). He found in Indúr a great part of the treasure accumulated by Ahalya Bai, and he commenced his reign by a declaration that he intended to make regular payments to his troops. But his necessities, exaggerated by an ambitious nature, soon made him burst the bonds he had proposed to himself. He found he was compelled to feed his army by the plunder of others. He did not scruple then to lay waste alike the territories of Sindhia, and the territories of his liege lord the Peshwa. It was the story of these devastations that caused Daolat Ráo Sindhia to leave Púna for his own territories.

But as a general, Daolat Ráo was no match for the daring Jeswant Ráo. The latter, counting the initiative as three-fifths of a victory, attacked, in June 1801, the disciplined forces of Sindhia, under Hessing at Ujjén, and completely defeated them. He then, in July, made a daring attack upon Sindhia's great park of artillery on the north bank of the Narbadá, and though he was repulsed, still succeeded in alarming Sindhia, who advanced upon Indúr. The battle that ensued at that place was most desperately contested. Well had it been for the Márhátá power had Holkar triumphed, for the victory of Daolat Ráo paved the way to the ruin of the Peshwa and the treaty of Bassein.

Jeswant Ráo was indeed badly beaten; and had Sindhia displayed any of the qualities of a politician, his ruin had been assured. But dallying away the time in a fruitless attempt to treat, he left the game in the hands of his vanquished rival. Jeswant Ráo had lost his army, but rallying round him the daring spirits who traded in adventure, he first plundered Rájputáná, then devastated Khándesh, and marched on Púna. Near this place he defeated, on October 25, the general of Sindhia, and possessed himself of the capital of the Peshwa.

Had the Peshwa, Bájí Ráo, taken counsel of anything but his fears, he would have endeavoured to negotiate with Holkar, whilst waiting the arrival of Daolat Ráo Sindhia, with an overwhelming force. But Bájí Ráo Peshwa possessed one of those natures that could not wait. To obtain a temporary triumph, he signed a treaty (Bassein) which made him virtually a vassal of the British, and escorted by a British force, thenceforth virtually his jailors, recovered his capital.

Jeswant Ráo then returned to his own dominions, thence to watch, though not to partake in, the war which ensued between Sindhia and the British. Had he lent the weight of his support to his brother Márhátá chieftain, the result might have been different. Why he did not still remains a mystery. Probably he thought, as Napoleon III. thought in 1866, that the struggle would be long and doubtful, and that he might then step in with the overpowering prestige of an arbitrator. But the struggle, though sharp, was short and decisive. Yet no sooner had Sindhia been beaten than Jeswant Ráo showed the British Government that he, too, was prepared to meet their conquering forces.

He entered into the struggle with a decision and energy characteristic of the man. And at first fortune smiled on him. He compelled Colonel Monson to retreat with great loss. He at once invaded the British territories. But he had to experience then the fate of every native power which has yet contested supremacy with the British. At Futtegharh, at Díg, and on other minor occasions, he was completely beaten. He fled then for refuge to Bharatpúr, and aided in the repulse of the British from that place. A peace having been concluded with the Rájá of Bharatpúr, he fled to the Punjáb. Pursued by Lord Lake with the energy which marked all that general's movements, Jeswant Ráo, hopeless of all but his life, threw himself on the mercy of the conqueror, admitting that 'his whole kingdom lay upon his saddle's

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bow.' To his surprise the British Government restored to him all his territories, and the few that they alienated at the time they gave back to him the following year.¹

Hardly had Jeswant Ráo returned to Indúr than he set himself to work to remodel his army. He carried out this reform on a very intelligent plan. His army had become overgrown, and want of discipline had made it a rabble. He at once reduced its numbers to a figure proportionate to the revenues of his dominions, and amongst the reduced numbers he established a system of order and discipline. The predatory horse, which he had found more prompt to plunder than efficient in the field, he summarily discharged.

The result of these innovations was that the disbanded troopers not only turned against him, but actually proclaimed his nephew, Khandí Ráo, a boy of eleven years of age, Rájá in his stead. To rid himself for ever of the prospect of such a rival, Jeswant Ráo first pacified the mutineers, and then had his nephew poisoned. By similar means he rid himself very shortly afterwards of his legitimate brother, Khási Ráo, and of his wife, who was then in a state promising to present her husband with an heir.

Having thus removed all competitors from his path, he set himself to work with redoubled energy to complete his military reforms. He began to cast cannon, labouring at the forges with his own hands. The effects of this hard labour, aggravated by excessive drinking, soon showed themselves. His temper, always violent, became unbearable. Unless his orders were carried out on the spot, he became excited beyond measure. Gradually his mind began to wander; the tension on his brain had become too great. His madness became too evident, and in 1808 he was placed under restraint. Many attempts

¹ More detailed accounts of Jeswant Ráo's military exploits are to be found in Malcolm, Grant Duff,

Thorn, and the Author's *Essays and Lectures on Indian Historical Subjects*—Essay 'Lord Lake.'

were made to bring about his recovery, but they all failed. After remaining one year in a state of madness, he sank into one of complete fatuity. In this he lingered two years longer, dying at last on October 20, 1811, in the city of Bambúra.

Jeswant Ráo was of middling stature, and of strong and active build. His complexion was dark, and he had suffered much from the loss of an eye, but its expression was agreeable from the animation given to it by his constitutionally high spirits. His character is thus, and, I think, very fairly, summed up by Grant Duff: 'The chief feature,' he writes, 'of Jeswant Ráo Holkar's character was that hardy spirit of energy and enterprise which, though like that of his countrymen, boundless in success, was also not to be discouraged by trying reverses. He was likewise better educated than Márhátás in general, and could write both the Persian language and his own. His manner was frank, and could be courteous, and he was distinguished by a species of coarse wit very attractive to the Indian soldiery. He had few other commendable qualities; for, although sometimes capriciously lavish, he was rapacious, unfeeling, and cruel, and his disposition was overbearing, jealous, and violent.'

On Jeswant Ráo becoming insane, the regency had been assumed by his favourite mistress, Túlsa Bai, a woman of great beauty, most fascinating manners, and considerable talents. She adopted a young boy, then not four years old, the son of another mistress,¹ and during his minority, which would be long, she flattered herself she would be allowed to administer the affairs of the country. As prime minister she retained Balarám Sét, who had filled the same office under Jeswant Ráo, and whom she believed to be devoted to her interests.²

¹ A woman of low caste, a Kumár or pot-maker.

² Sir John Malcolm relates that Túlsa Bai was married prior to her

acquaintance with Jeswant Ráo; that he saw her, fell in love with her, and in a few days she was in his house and her husband in prison.

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But to keep in proper restraint the newly-formed army, proud of its strength and conscious of its power, something more was necessary than the control of a woman whose chief claim to her position was her surpassing loveliness. The troops almost at once assumed a licence bordering on revolt. Many of the neighbours seized without scruple outlying districts of which they themselves had been robbed. The cohesion which had existed in the dominions of Mulhar Ráo and Ahalya Bai was now dissolved, and decay and dismemberment seemed to threaten the entire edifice. The demands of the troops became at last so insolent and so rapacious, that Túlsa Bai was forced to take refuge in the fortified town of Gungrao. There, in pursuance of a dark intrigue, and instigated by her paramour, Ganpat Ráo, a man of no talent, she caused her minister, Balarám Sét, to be executed. But this deed of violence, far from stopping the clamours of the troops, increased them to such an extent that the regent and the infant Rájá, worsted in the field, fled for refuge to Alót.¹ Just about this time (1817) the Pindári war broke out. An English force was assembling near Újjén. The opportunity appeared to Túlsa Bai too advantageous to be lost. She sent to the English commander an earnest request that she and the youthful Rájá might be received under British protection. But whilst negotiations were proceeding to effect this object, war broke out between the British and the Peshwa, and a large and predominating party in the durbar of Holkar announced their intention to adhere to the fortunes of the titular chief of all the Márhátás. In this conjuncture the regent, Túlsa Bai, found herself powerless. The command of the army was seized by Pathán leaders, hostile to any accommodation with the English. As a first preliminary to hostilities with that

Eventually, the husband received as compensation for the loss of his handsome wife, a horse, a dress, and a

small sum of money.

¹ A town sixteen miles southwest of Gungrao.

nation, these leaders caused the person of the Rájá to be seized, the regent Túlsa Bai to be executed, and her paramour and minister, Ganpat Ráo, to be secured.

Túlsa Bai was beheaded on December 20, 1817. Her accomplishments and character are thus described by Sir John Malcolm: 'Túlsa Bai,' he writes, 'was not thirty years old when she was murdered. She was handsome, and alike remarkable for the fascination of her manners and quickness of intellect. Few surpassed her in fluent eloquence, which persuaded those who approached her to promote her wishes. She rode with grace, and was always, when on horseback, attended by a large party of the females of the first families of the state. But there was never a more remarkable instance than in the history of this princess, how the most prodigal gifts of nature may be perverted by an indulgence of vicious habits. Though not the wife of Jeswant Ráo, yet being in charge of his family, and having possession of the child who was declared his heir, she was obeyed as his widow. As the favourite of the deceased, and the guardian of their actual chief, she had among the adherents of the Holkar family the strongest impressions in her favour; but casting all away, she lived unrespected, and died unpitied.' The day after the murder of Túlsa Bai, the army of Holkar, under its Pathán leaders, was completely defeated at Mehidpúr. The little Rájá, Mulhar Ráo, then about sixteen, was present at the action, seated on an elephant. He is stated to have behaved with spirit, but to have burst into tears when he saw his men fleeing in confusion. The treaty of Mundisúr, concluded a fortnight later (January 6, 1818), deprived him of nearly two-thirds of his dominions, and he was reduced to the position of a dependent sovereign. The terms of the treaty may thus briefly be stated. To the British Government were abandoned all Holkar's possessions within and to the south of the Satpúra range; he relinquished all claims or conquests from the Rájput

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states; he ceded to the Rájá of Kotá four districts formerly rented by him; and to Amír Khan and Gafúr Khan the jaghírs held by them of the Holkar family, the latter, however, binding himself to maintain a contingent of 600 horse. In return, the British Government took the remaining territories under its protection. These remaining territories yielded then an actual annual revenue of upwards of twelve lakhs of rupees, but they were capable of much development; they now produce thirty lakhs.

The minister with whom the treaty of Mundisúr had been negotiated, Tántia Jógh, bent all his attention, after the signature of the treaty, to discharge superfluous troops and establishments, and to restore the finances of the country. In this praiseworthy endeavour he received encouragement and assistance from the British authorities—an encouragement and assistance without which all his efforts would have been futile. For the treasury was empty, and the country disorganised. But by small loans from time to time advanced by the British Government, Tántia Jógh was enabled to tide over the difficulty.

Two insurrections broke out in 1819, which added greatly to the difficulties of the minister's situation, and thus retarded the settlement of the country. One of these was occasioned by an impostor personating Mulhar Ráo Holkar, and the other by the pretensions of Harí Ráo Holkar, cousin of the Máharájá. The impostor, whose real name was Krishna Koer, assembled a considerable force to the west of the Chambal, and kept the field for some time, supported by a body of mercenaries; but he was at length encountered by the contingent under British officers formed by the minister at Mehídpúr, and his party was broken and dispersed. He then fled to Kotá, was recognised and imprisoned, but finally pardoned and released as having been an instrument in the hands of others. The insurrection of Harí Ráo Holkar was less

Mulhar
Ráo
Holkar.

formidable, for soon becoming sensible of the folly of his enterprise, he threw himself on the generosity of his cousin, who, it is said, was disposed to pardon him, but was dissuaded from this purpose by Tántia Jógh, who deemed it imprudent he should be left at liberty to disturb the peace of the country. He was, therefore, thrown into prison at Mahaisir.

In the years 1821 and 1822 further disturbances arose, which were only finally suppressed by the intervention of the British troops.

In April 1826, the able minister who had striven so zealously to retrieve the fortunes of his country died. He was succeeded by Raojí Trimbak. But a year later Raojí was displaced by a relative of the late minister, Daejí Bakshí. But this individual proving himself incompetent, Appah Ráo Krishna, a clever, active Pundit, was nominated to the high office.

Second only to the tranquillisation of the country, the most important event which characterised the reign of Mulhar Ráo was an agreement made with the British Government, securing to it the exclusive right to purchase opium in Málwá. Serious difficulties, however, having resulted from these arrangements, the monopoly was abandoned in 1829, and a transit duty was levied on the opium in its passage through the British territory to the sea-coast.

Mulhar Ráo Holkar took little part in public affairs himself. He was dissolute and extravagant, and was cursed with the fatal facility of yielding to the influence of worthless favourites. None of the three ministers who had succeeded Raojí Trimbak were men of mark. As a natural consequence, the revenue had fallen, and the country gradually verged to the state in which it had been before the battle of Mehidpúr—an empty treasury and a mutinous soldiery. In 1829 the eyes of the Rájá were opened to the impending catastrophe. Giving promises of reform and amendment, he persuaded his

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mother, who had made large accumulations, to relieve his pecuniary embarrassments, and at her desire the minister Appah Ráo Krishna was dismissed, and the executive charge of the government entrusted to Madho Ráo Furnawís.

Mulhar Ráo Holkar died four years later (October 1833), at the early age of twenty-eight, a victim to debauchery and dissipation. He left no issue; but, at the moment of his death, his widow, Gótuma Bai, with the concurrence of her mother-in-law, adopted the infant son of Bápú Holkar, said to be of the same tribe and lineage as Mulhar Ráo, and not many degrees removed from Túkají Holkar. This child, not four years old, was publicly installed on January 17, 1834, by the style and title of Máharájá Martand Ráo Holkar, the executive government still continuing in the hands of Madho Ráo Furnawís. The British Government recognised the succession, though declining to bind itself to support it if it should appear subversive of the authority of any other party, or contrary to the wishes of the majority of the chiefs and followers of the Holkar family.

But it soon appeared that the pretensions of Martand Ráo were not to pass unquestioned. The cousin of the late Rájá, Harí Ráo Holkar, was still alive, though in confinement at Mahaisir. From this he was forcibly released by his partisans on the night of February 2, 1834, and proclaimed without delay at Maindlaisar. Thousands flocked to his ranks; the infant child was abandoned, and on April 17 Harí Ráo Holkar was installed as Máharájá in the presence of the British Resident. Martand Ráo was banished from the country, and granted an allowance of 500 rupees a month on condition of his resigning all claims to the succession.

Harí Ráo
Holkar.

The new sovereign was quite unfit to rule. He was weak, timid, and superstitious. An imprisonment of nearly fifteen years had sapped up all his energies. All his acts betrayed incapacity. After, in the manner of his

race, wreaking vengeance upon those who had supported the pretensions of his rival, he unearthed from a distant part of India an individual named Rívají Phansia, a man who for the preceding fifteen years had lived obscure and in poverty, and made him prime minister. The character of Rívají soon showed itself. He knew nothing of the country, he was naturally devoid of ability, and long poverty had made him avaricious and self-seeking. He was, besides, a drunkard. His first act was to marry his eldest son, Rájá Bhao, also a drunkard, to a natural daughter of the Máharájá, and to bestow upon them a valuable pergunnah; thus, by his first act, alienating from the impoverished State at least a twelfth part of its revenues.

Under the management of this man the revenues began to decrease and the expenditure to augment, until in 1834 the extraordinary result was reached that whilst the former had dwindled down to 9,25,000 rupees, the latter had become swollen to 23,69,000. But this would appear to have been a part of the minister's system. He thought to trade on the timorous nature of Harí Rao by representing the army as being on the verge of mutiny, which he alone could suppress. Hence he augmented and decreased the number of troops at his pleasure, according to the fancied exigencies of the moment. To meet the extra expenditure he had recourse to loans from soucars or bankers at a ruinous rate of interest.

This state of things could not long continue. In 1835 a conspiracy was formed, mainly, it was said, by Madho Ráo Furnawís, the last minister of the Rájá Mulhar Ráo. On September 8 of that year a body of 300 armed men, led by two officers of the late Rájá, entered Indúr. Far from meeting any opposition in the city they were allowed to reach the palace unmolested, were admitted into it, and were even joined by some of the Rájá's troops. Had they pushed on, the enterprise would have succeeded. But the two leaders went in the first instance to ask instruc-

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tions from the widow of Mulhar Ráo, then occupying rooms in the palace. She received them with reproaches, and refused to lend her support. Meanwhile the troops faithful to Harí Ráo attacked the invaders. The two leaders, seeing that all was lost, threw themselves on their own swords. A general massacre then ensued, not a man of the invaders or of those who had joined them escaping.

This conspiracy only increased the timidity of Harí Ráo; and his minister, nursing his fear, so fortified the palace that he made of it a prison guarded by a lawless rabble. The proper business of the government fell into stagnation, and the disorder in the finances increased. As for Harí Ráo, his alarm was so great that for fifteen months after the conspiracy he never once left his apartments.

At length the crisis came. Rívaji Phansia could raise no more money. He had ruined the credit of the State. He had then no course to pursue but to retire. This he did in November 1836. He was succeeded by Salikráam Mantri, the agent of the firm of bankers of which Tántia Jógh had been the head.

But the country had become so disorganised that it became necessary (1837-8) for the British Government to interfere. Harí Ráo Holkar was accordingly informed that the British Government would consider it its duty to assume the management of the country under its own officers should the Resident of Indúr be unable at a certain fixed period to report a material amelioration in the state of affairs within his dominions.

This notification had a wonderful effect. A capable and well-qualified officer, Abbaji Buláb, was appointed minister, and a very few months later, several important reforms had been effected. Expenses were cut down, the corrupt officers of revenue were removed, remissions were granted in the districts which had suffered most from over-exaction, and an improved revenue system was intro-

duced. By these means it became possible before long to pay off the arrears of the civil and military establishments.

In an autograph letter to Harí Ráo, the Governor-General, Lord Auckland, expressed himself pleased with the measures thus taken by that prince.

Harí Ráo died on October 24, 1843, at the age of forty-eight. He left no male offspring, his only son by his wife, Híra Bai, a person of an obscure family, having died when quite young. Two years before his death he had adopted as his heir and successor Khandí Ráo, a boy thirteen years of age, son of an obscure zamindar, and very distantly related to the reigning family. Khandí Ráo was at once recognised by the British Government. But he lived little more than three months.¹ 'He was never married. There was no lineal heir to the State, and there was no one possessing a legitimate right to adopt. The nomination of a successor was therefore declared to rest exclusively with the British Government, and the Resident, Sir Robert Hamilton, was instructed to make a selection in such a way as to show that it was manifestly the sole act of the British Government. The mother of Harí Ráo Holkar, who was greatly respected by the people, and had been associated with the Resident in the administration before Khandí Ráo's death, pleaded the claims of Martand Ráo, but Government refused to select him, and proposed to nominate the younger son of Bhao Holkar if he should be found, on inquiry, to be the most eligible. The Resident thereupon declared in full durbar the desire of the British Government to perpetuate the state of Holkar by the selection of a successor from amongst those eligible to such a distinction, that the Mah Sáhíba had pointed out the younger son of Bhao Holkar as a fit successor, and that the Governor-General, having a great respect for the Mah Sáhíba, had determined to bestow the chieftainship on him. Three days thereafter, without waiting for instructions, the Resident installed the

¹ Aitchison's *Treaties*.

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boy with all the formality of an hereditary chieftain. For this serious departure from his instructions the Resident was severely censured, and informed that by his proceeding an opportunity had been lost to Government of marking an important line of policy. In a letter to the young chief the Governor-General laid down the conditions on which the state was conferred on him. This letter was declared to have the force of a sunnud, and the Máharájá was required to present a nuzzer of 101 gold mohurs on its delivery.'¹

Túkaji
Ráo
Holkar.

The new sovereign, then about ten years old, assumed the name of Túkaji Ráo Holkar. He attained his majority in 1852, and from that date has managed the affairs of his state.

Little occurred to mark the administration of Túkaji Ráo prior to the outbreak of the mutiny in 1857. He had then a military establishment consisting of about 2,000 regular and 4,000 irregular infantry; of 2,000 regular and 1,200 irregular cavalry; of 500 artillerymen and 24 field guns. The irregular portion of these broke from his control under the influence of the excited passions of the hour, and suddenly besieged the Resident, the late Sir Henry Durand, in the Residency. With some difficulty, and solely to ensure the safety of the women and children under his charge, Colonel Durand retired to Bhopál. Thence he hastened towards Aurangábád to direct the movements of the column advancing from Bombay to restore order in Central India. He met this force at Assírgarh, and so impressed his strong character on the direction of its movements, that not only was the rebellious fort of Dhár taken, but Nimach was very seasonably relieved after two actions fought at Mundisúr. These victories not only broke the spirit of Holkar's mutinous soldiers, but also cowed them so completely that at Indúr they ignominiously laid down their arms before the man whose life, only a few weeks earlier, they had

¹ Aitchison.

treacherously attempted. Order was then restored in Central India.

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The Government of India did not connect Túkají Holkar with the rebellion and outrages of his troops. He received in 1862 a sunnud guaranteeing to him the right of adoption, and he was subsequently nominated a Knight of the Star of India.

From that time to the present day nothing has occurred in the territories of Holkar meriting special notice.¹ The matters which have been raised between him and the British Government have been more or less questions of detail, and in respect to these the action of the British Government has been more than liberal. In 1864 arrangements were concluded with the Máharájá for the cession of land for a line of railway to connect Indúr with the great Indian Peninsula line at Nimar.

The present prime minister of Holkar is Sir Madhava Ráo, K.C.S.I., a Brahman from the south of India, one of the most acute and accomplished men of his race.

The Máharájá is entitled to a salute of nineteen guns.

CHAPTER III.

BHOPÁL.

AREA—6,764 sq. miles.

POPULATION—663,656.

REVENUE—13,76,252 rupees.

THE principality of Bhopál was founded at the close of the seventeenth century by an Afghán nobleman, Dóst Mahomed Khan, who served under the emperor Aurang-zíb. Dóst Mahomed had been nominated by the emperor, about the year 1690, superintendent of the district of

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¹ It has been stated, and I believe truly, that throughout Holkar's dominions no private individual possesses permanent, heritable, or alienable rights in land. Every cultivator is a tenant at will of the Máharájá.

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Bhairsía, and he took advantage of the convulsions which followed the death of the emperor to declare himself Náwab of the territory which, partly as a reward for services rendered, partly by stratagem, and partly, it is said, by treachery, he had acquired in the emperor's lifetime. This territory he called Bhopál, after the principal town within its limits.

Dóst Mahomed Khan survived the emperor sixteen years. He died in 1723, at the age of sixty-six, leaving behind him a great reputation as a man of capacity and courage. His death was the signal for a struggle for power. There were two claimants to the succession. One, Yar Mahomed, the elder but illegitimate son, the other, Sultán Mahomed, younger but legitimate. The cause of Yar Mahomed was espoused by the Nizám, and Sultán Mahomed resigned in his favour, receiving as compensation the fort of Ráthgurb and its dependencies.

Yar Mahomed possessed little of the ability of his father, nor did his son and successor, Feyz Mahomed, compensate for his sire's deficiencies. Yet they had both one great merit. Though they possessed little ability themselves, they were eager to encourage it in others. During their reigns the affairs of the state were managed by Híndú ministers, men of honesty and singular talents.

Feyz Mahomed was a fanatic or religious recluse. But he was harmless. He was not a persecutor, but was content to practise his austerities upon himself. His death, after a reign of thirty-eight years, was little felt. His brother and successor, Mahomed Yassein, survived him only a few days. The third brother, Hyat Mahomed, who followed, possessed a proportionate share of the fraternal intellect, and no more.

Many stirring events, however, happened during his long reign of twenty-nine years. First may be mentioned the contest of the English with the Márhátás, ending for the moment in the shameful convention of Wargaum. In consequence of that convention the very safety of

British interests on the western coast seemed to depend upon the opportune arrival of a force of 4,000 or 5,000 men, which Warren Hastings, with the wonderful prevision for which he was distinguished, had despatched, in anticipation of disturbances, from Bengal. This force, making its way through Central India, met with numberless obstacles and impediments to its progress. The Rájput and other powers whose territories were touched, were all more or less dependent on the Márhátás. They all refused their aid. All, I should have said, but one—and that one was Bhopál. When the difficulties in the way of the advance of the English general, Goddard, appeared insurmountable, Bhopál offered him a friendly hand. Not only did she open out a path for him through her territories, but she furnished him plentifully with supplies. This was the beginning of a friendship which has never been broken, and which, genuine on both sides, has operated to the advantage of both.

The next stirring events—for two came simultaneously—in the reign of Hyat Mahomed, were the invasions of the Pindáris and the Márhátás. The former swept like locusts over the land, and the latter, called in to expel them, began to vie with them in plundering. In this crisis, with an imbecile sovereign on the throne, and intriguers tearing the state to pieces by their selfish manœuvres, Bhopál was saved by the appearance on the stage of a young cousin of the Nawáb, Vizír Mahomed by name, who, having been driven into banishment for rebelling against a minister subsequently deceased, returned to offer his sword to his country in her danger. The talents, the daring, the engaging qualities of this young soldier of fortune worked wonders. He expelled the Pindáris, drove out the Márhátás, and in less than eight months restored to Hyat Mahomed the security of his throne.

But he had deserved too much for the small minds of the members of the ruling family. The heir apparent,

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Ghous Mahomed, especially looked upon him with suspicion. He was too popular, and must be got rid of. The office of dewan or prime minister happened to be vacant, and the claims of Vizír Mahomed were in every one's mouth. To get rid of Vizír Mahomed it was necessary to appoint some one else to the office, who, looking upon him as a rival, would endeavour to crush him.

This policy was carried out. Muríd Mahomed Khan, a lineal descendant of the legitimate son of the founder of the family, was made minister. His first act was to send Vizír Mahomed to act against the Márhátás in the field; his next to 'feather his own nest.' He did this so unblushingly that he drove the people to revolt, and then sent for the Márhátás to support him.

This was Vizír Mahomed's opportunity. He flew at once to Bhopál to defend it against the foreign foe. With his inadequate means he might not have succeeded, but, fortunately, a disturbance in the territories of Sindbia caused the Márhátás to be recalled. They left, taking with them the cause of their invasion, Muríd Mahomed Khan, who died from terror in their hands.

The way was now open for Vizír Mahomed. He became minister. He found, it is true, an empty treasury, an impoverished state, and a dwindled army. In return he gave himself to the State. It resulted from this gift that in a short time order was restored to the finances, and victory to the standards of Bhopál. A little longer period and the State would have been pronounced cured of her misfortunes. But again jealousy struck him down. To support him, first the Pindáris, then the Márhátá hosts, were called in by the son of the sovereign, the imbecile Ghous Mahomed.

Just at this period the father, Nawáb Hyat Mahomed, died, and Ghous became ruler. Far from resting his support on his countrymen, however, he recognised the Márhátás only as his protectors. Vizír Mahomed had withdrawn for the moment, but, watching his opportu-

nity, he returned, and expelled the Márhátás. From that moment Ghous Mahomed was but the nominal Nawáb; Vizír Mahomed became real ruler.

For the nine years that followed, Vizír Mahomed was engaged in warring for the defence of his country. Compelled in 1809 to ally himself with the Pindáris, then pursued by the British, he laid before the British commander a clear statement of the necessities of his position, and expressed his earnest desire to enter into friendly negotiations with the rising power. Nothing was agreed upon at the time, but the design never left the mind of the minister of Bhopál. Four years later he was attacked and besieged in the capital by the combined armies of Sindhia and the Rájá of Berar. For nine months he, with a gallantry and fortitude never surpassed, with a garrison very small in proportion to the number of the assailants, withstood their attacks, and had the proud satisfaction of repulsing them. Next year Sindhia threatened to renew the siege, but was withheld by the interference of the British Government, which began now to discern, though still dimly, the importance of Bhopál.

Eighteen months later (1816) Vizír Mahomed died at the age of fifty-one, leaving behind him the reputation of being the greatest warrior, the most skilful and dashing leader, and the wisest politician of that part of India. He was succeeded as minister by a son worthy of himself, Nuzzer Mahomed, whose granddaughter now reigns in Bhopál.

Though this minister held office for less than four years, his administration was of lasting consequences to his country. He succeeded, the year after his accession (1817), in concluding an arrangement with the British, whereby Bhopál was guaranteed to himself on condition of his aiding the British army with a contingent, and co-operating with it against the Pindáris—a condition which was faithfully observed. The following year these terms were made the basis of a formal treaty of perpetual friend-

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Sekunder Begum, knowing Jehángir's character, and feeling that with time and patience the day was her own, left him to go and live with her mother.

The result was what she had foreseen. After six years of weak and dissolute rule, Jehángir died. On the occurrence of this event various means were attempted to place her, either alone or conjointly with the Kúdsia Begum, at the head of the administration, but they all failed, as the Begum intended they should fail. Eventually, in February 1847, Sekunder Begum was appointed sole regent for her only child, a daughter.

In this office the Begum had a large field for the exercise of her talents, and she fully justified all the expectations that had been formed of her. In six years she paid off the entire public debt of the state; she abolished the system of farming the revenue, and made her own arrangements directly with the heads of villages; she put a stop to monopolies of trades and handicrafts; she brought the mint under her own management; re-organised the police, and made many other improvements. In fact she displayed in all departments of the State an energy, an assiduity, and an administrative ability such as would have done credit to a trained statesman.

She had originally been appointed regent till her daughter should attain the age of eighteen, but on the marriage of the latter with the commander of the forces, Bukshí Báker Mahomed Khan, the period was extended three years. This, however, did not satisfy the Begum. She desired to be regarded as ruler in her own right, and although, in consequence of the British Government having previously recognised her daughter, Shah Jehán Begum, the request could not be complied with at the time, events soon after occurred which gave her a claim that was irresistible. Meanwhile she remained actual ruler, her daughter having resigned her right to govern during her mother's lifetime.

She was guiding the State vessel when in 1857 the

storm of the mutiny burst upon her. She was equal to the occasion, true to the traditions of her country, to her plighted word, to the sentiments of truth and honour. As early as April of that year she communicated to the British agent the contents of a lithographed proclamation which had reached her, urging the overthrow and destruction of the English. In the month of June she expelled from Bhopál a native whom she found engaged in raising troops for a purpose he did not care to avow. In July she afforded shelter to the British officers who had been driven from Indúr by the mutinous troops of Holkar. She did all this under great difficulties: when the contingent raised in Bhopál and commanded by British officers had mutinied, when her mother, who had become a bigot, and her uncles, who were weak-minded and priest-ridden, were urging her to declare a religious war against the infidel. But the Begum never faltered. She was true to the last. She caused the British officers to be conducted in safety to Hoshungábád; then with infinite tact allayed the excitement in her capital; put down the mutinous contingent with a strong hand, and finally restored order in every part of the Bhopál territory. Then, when the tide turned, and British supremacy began to vindicate itself, she was as prompt in another way with her aid. Supplies, soldiers, all that she had that could be useful, she gave with a liberal hand.

For these services Sekunder Begum received for Bhopál a grant of the district of Bairsía, confiscated from Dhár; she was recognised (December 1859) as ruler in her own right of Bhopál, with succession to her daughter, and succession to her descendants according to the Mahomedan law; four guns were presented to her; and on September 1, 1863, her Highness was invested by the Viceroy with the dignity of the highest grade of the most exalted order of the Star of India.

She, too, was liberal and generous. Those of her

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own subjects who rendered good service in 1857 were largely and handsomely rewarded.

Two months later her Highness left Bhopál with a suite on a pilgrimage to Mecca, leaving her daughter under the protection of the British Government. It had been at one time her intention to extend her journey to Medina, and thence possibly to England, but the annoyance she met with from marauders induced her to return after an absence of nearly eight months. She arrived at Bombay in June, 1864, remained there four or five months, and then returned to Bhopál.

Her Highness lived four years longer, still governing Bhopál with wisdom and prudence. She died on October 30, 1868. The intelligence was received by the Government of India 'with profound regret.' An extract from the order issued on that occasion will be found in the appendix.¹

The daughter, Begum Shah Jehán, at once succeeded. She, too, has one child, a daughter, Sultán Jehán, who was married on February 1, 1875, to Mír Ahmed Ali Khan Bahadúr, a nobleman of Afghán descent. She has learned English.

The Begum of Bhopál receives a salute of nineteen guns.

CHAPTER IV.

DHÁR.

AREA—2,691 sq. miles.

POPULATION—125,000.

REVENUE—4,37,000 rupees.

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IV.**

THE family of the Puars of Dhár descends from a Rájput tribe settled in Málwá in a remote era, whence the branch now reigning in Dhár emigrated at an early age to the

¹ *Vide* Appendix D.

vicinity of Púna. Sivají Puar, the first of this branch who brought himself at all prominently forward, was a Patél¹ of the village of Múltán, thirty miles north-east of Púna, where the descendants of that branch of the family retained thirty years ago, and probably retain still, the hereditary office of Patél. Sivají Puar had one son, Krishnají, who, as well as his three sons, Bábají, Ryají, and Kerújí, were cultivators of the soil, and at the same time silladars. Bábají had two sons, Sámabají and Kálojí, who became military commanders in the service of the famous Sivají. Three sons of Sámabají, viz. Údají, Anand Ráo, and Jugdeo, fought likewise under the successor of Sivají, Sahú Rájá, in the Márhátá army, and from the circumstance of that direct service under the chief of all the Márhátás, their descendants claim precedence over Sindhia and Holkar, who had served only under the Peshwa. Of the three members of the family last mentioned, Údají Puar attained considerable rank. He was not only entrusted with a high command, but treated with great consideration by Sahú Rájá and his minister, Bájí Ráo.

Údají Puar, however, incurred the displeasure of the all-powerful Peshwa, and was imprisoned. His name does not again occur in history, though his descendants are still Patéls of Múltán. The leadership of the family devolved, after the imprisonment of Údají, upon his brother, Anand Ráo, at the time Patél of Kaorá. This leader was vested with authority to collect the Márhátá share of the revenue of Málwá and Gujrát in 1734. Subsequently he settled in Dhár, and this province, with the adjoining districts and the tributes of some neighbouring Rájput chiefs, was then assigned for the support of himself and his adherents. He is thus considered as the founder of the principality of Dhár.

Anand Ráo Puar died in 1749, and was succeeded by his son, Jeswant Ráo. This prince was the first of the

¹ Head man or chief.