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SELECTIONS

FROM THE

ESPATCHES, AND OTHER STATE PAPERS

PRESERVED IN THE

BOMBAY SECRETARIAT.

MARATHA SERIES,

VOL. I.

EDITED BY

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PREFACE.

The object of this volume is to trace by means of the records deposited in the Bombay Secretariat the history of the Maráthás from their founder Shiváji, who welded a few tribes into a great nation, to their defeat by the matchless genius of Wellington. From Arras to Assaye the story is told by the letters and narratives of the chief actors. These have been printed exactly as they are entered in the Secret Diaries. The only alteration has been in the spelling of the Native words. Great difficulty has been experienced in identifying the names of places and persons. Thus the name of Suvarndurg is written in the Diaries as Severmook, and the name of Samsher Bahádur, half brother of the Peshwa Nána, as Sumlia Prahauder. Some of the papers regarding the First Marátha War have already appeared in print in a large folio printed by order of the House of Commons in 1806. They are now printed again both for the sake of the continuity of the narrative of the present series and because the folio is accessible to very few persons. It was also found on comparing the printed papers with the Records that they were full of errors and inaccuracies, and in many cases, owing to the way Native names were transcribed, unintelligible.

After the papers relating to the Second Marátha War will be found thirty-two letters written by the Marquess Wellesley when Earl of Mornington. They were found among a bundle of old letters in the Record Office. These letters have been carefully collated with Mr. Martin's "Despatches, Minutes, and Correspondence of the Marquess Wellesley," and Mr. Sidney Owen's "Selection from the Despatches, Treaties, and other papers of the Marquess Wellesley", and those which have not been printed are now given. The majority of the letters were written to Colonel Palmer and the Peshwa. One letter, though not dealing with Marátha affairs, is included for the importance and interest of the subject discussed. The Marquess Wellesley and his Council discuss the advantage to be gained by having an establishment at the port of Aden, and come to the conclusion that "On the whole we are perfectly satisfied that the proposed measure is in no respect eligible. We therefore direct that the overture of the Sultán of Aden be declined in as conciliating terms as possible, and that the detachment under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Murray be withdrawn from Aden with the least possible delay. It appearing from concurrent accounts that Perim, joined to some positive discouragements of a very serious nature, does not, in point of local situation, possess the advantages which were originally expected from it, we do not think it proper that it should again be occupied by British forces" (p. 640).

After the letters of the Marquess Wellesley follow a few letters written by the Duke of Wellington when he was Colonel Wellesley and was in chief command of the newly acquired Mysore territory. In the Bombay records there are a large number of letters written by the Duke, but the majority of them have been printed in the despatches edited by Colonel Gurwood. Those given in this volume are now printed for the first time. A vast number of both felt letters remain to be examined, and it is quite possible that among them there are some of the attack on written by the Duke of Wellington. The first letter, written from Seringapatam, is dated March 1800, and is addressed to the Secretary of the Government of Bombay. It is a Sanskrit letter that the troops in Kánara and Malabár have been directed to put themselves under the command like a monkey command. "As I have never had the honor of serving under the orders of the Government he conducted Bombay, I am ignorant of the standing rules and regulations of their service, of the cause that I am s that destroyed

communication pointed out for the military, and of other matters in which I am desirous of being correct, and I shall be obliged to you if you will furnish me with such information as it may be in your power to afford." In all the letters of the Duke the conciliatory tone which he always adopts to the civil authorities is very striking. He ordered some troops to be moved from Malabár in order to employ them on active service. The gentlemen of the Malabár Commission objected to their removal, and he forwards their letter to the Bombay Government with the following remark. "In the short time that I have had the command of the troops, I have had an opportunity of showing my readiness to perform that part of my duty, *viz.*, to attend as much as possible to the requisition of the civil power. If, then, it should be decided that I was wrong in drawing the troops from Malabár, and that my arrangements were faulty, I hope that the error will be attributed to one of judgment and not to an unworthy desire to do that which should be displeasing to the Commissioners." He also writes to the Commissioner of Malabár, "An arrangement has been made of the military force in Malabár which I am concerned to observe is not satisfactory to the gentlemen of the Commission: but it is the best thing I can devise in these difficult times, and I hope I shall have the credit with the Bombay Government and the Commander-in-Chief for having adopted it only as a measure of necessity. This I might likewise claim from the gentlemen of the Commission." At page 609 is printed a facsimile of the letter written by the Duke of Wellington announcing to the Bombay Government the victory of Assaye which made us masters of India.

After the Duke of Wellington's letters will be found an interesting historical account of the illustrious Marátha families who helped to increase the power and dominion of their country. A few papers on contemporaneous subjects of curiosity and interest are printed in the appendix. Among them may be found two letters written by Tipu and a detailed account of the state of his army immediately before the war which proved fatal to him. The volume closes with an extract from a Persian manuscript entitled "Memoranda and Recent Anecdotes of the Southern Courts of Hindustán by a Musalmán Observer in the year 1195-96 Hijri, that is A.D. 1781-82." The paper is of value on account of its giving a Mahomedan view of the Marátha Empire.

In order to make the Selections more intelligible to the general reader I have thought it advisable to prefix to them a short historical introduction. In the introduction will be found a letter written by Lord Clive which has never been printed before, an interesting memorial signed by the leading members of the Native community in the year 1739, offering to subscribe thirty thousand rupees to repair the defences of the town of Bombay, and a quaint letter from Lieutenant Pruen describing a gallant naval action.

It affords me much pleasure to acknowledge the valuable assistance rendered me in the preparation of this volume by Mr. Purushottam Bákrishna Joshi, whose services were placed at my disposal by Government.

G. W. FORREST.

Bombay, August 1885.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

TREATY WITH THE MARA'THA'S IN 1739.

Articles of Agreement between Stephen Law, Governor of Bombay, &c., on the part of the Hon'ble English East India Company, and Bájiráv, Pandit Pradhán, or First Minister of the Most Serene Sháhu Rájá, July 1739, or 1140, Gentoo style.

Stipulations between the Government of Bájiráv, Pandit Pradhán, in the year 1140 of the Gentoo style (Anno Domini 1739), and the Hon'ble Stephen Law, General of the Port of Bombay, delivered to Captain Inchbird, his Deputy, in Bassein.

ARTICLE I.

The English shall only issue passes to the Company's vessels, the merchants or servants, dependents, belonging to the island of Bombay, or other places where the English have settlement; and the English shall not interfere with Bájiráv's fleet, nor give convoy to foreign vessels; save that if two or three vessels should accidentally fall into company with the English, in such case Bájiráv's fleet shall not molest them.

The English shall give their pass and colours to the vessels belonging to the port of Bombay, to the Company, or other merchants, as customary, but not to vessels belonging to those of foreign ports, who, taking pass from our Government, may navigate and carry on their trade freely. Those who shall not take our pass shall be chastised by us, and the English shall not oppose the execution. The English Government shall not, as aforesaid, give their pass or colours to foreign merchants, or convoy vessels belonging to foreign ports not having passes from this State. Our fleet will not harm two or three vessels belonging to foreign ports, if by chance they come under convoy of the English fleet, whilst they continue under that convoy.

ARTICLE II.

The English, nor their subjects or dependents, shall not freight or put their effects on board any vessels not provided with passes from Bájiráv; but if any unavoidable necessity obliges them to the contrary of this, in case of such effects being seized by Bájiráv's fleet, they shall be restored to the owners, they proving their property therein.

The English shall not freight their effects, or those of their jurisdiction, on vessels not having passes from this State, and shall only freight those that have our pass; but in case of such a freight through pure necessity, and the effects should be seized by our fleets, on proof being made that they belong to the English or their merchants, they shall be restored and delivered up.

ARTICLE III.

The English will not lay any restraint on the inhabitants of other countries that have taken refuge in Bombay, in the war time, let them be coolies, carpenters, or other caste whatever, from returning to their abodes with their effects and gallivats.

The English shall lay no restraint on the inhabitants, coolies, carpenters, and all castes of people belonging to the jurisdiction of Bassein up to Daman and other places whatever, that referred to Bombay, but shall let them come away with their effects and gallivats.

ARTICLE IV.

The English will furnish two fighting gallivats, if required, to give convoy to the fishing gallivats of Bájiráv, carrying goods or provisions, in their passage to and from Máhím and Versova.

The fishing gallivats that carry provisions or goods to and from Versova, shall be conveyed in their passage, coming and going, between Versova and Máhím, by the English.

ARTICLE V.

The English will grant free license for the export of all goods and commodities whatever, for the service of Bájiráv, and a free trade to the merchants of his country, in all sorts they may want, as iron, lead, brimstone, saltpetre, dammar, tar, sail-cloth, coir, and others (excepting artillery, balls, powder, and shot), they paying the customary duties. Such things as have not before been used to pay export duty shall continue free of any as before. In like manner, Bájiráv shall permit the English and their merchants the free trade of his country and liberty of export of goods and provisions, paying the customs.

All sorts of merchandise or goods (except artillery, powder, balls and shells) that the State may want, such as iron, lead, brimstone, saltpetre, dammar, coir, cloth for sails, and other sorts, shall be freely supplied us: and there shall be, in no wise, any impediment given to the merchants of this jurisdiction in their procuring the above sorts, or denial from the merchants or the Company; and when exported, they shall only pay the customary duties that such goods have been commonly rated at, and they shall pay no customs on those that were not before liable to any. In the same manner there shall be no impediment given the English, the Company, or their merchants in their buying any goods or provisions from this jurisdiction, or exporting the same, paying the customs.

ARTICLE VI.

The English will preserve their dominion of the river of Máhím, as it was granted them by the Portuguese. All the merchants' vessels and fishing gallivats belonging to Bájiráv's Government shall have free passage through the said river, and five or ten sepoys, with their arms, shall be allowed to pass, being on board merchant vessels, on any service, or employed to bring intelligence.

All the command and dominion which the Government of Bombay has in the river, from Máhím to Bombay, since the time it was delivered to them by the Portuguese, shall be preserved in the same manner as has been practised from the beginning. All other commands or dominions they may have increased since, by means of their power, shall not be allowed. They shall grant free passage through the said river to all merchant vessels and fishing gallivats that carry goods to and fro (except those belonging to our fleet). They shall suffer five or ten sepoys to pass with their arms, that may be in the said vessels, on any service, or sent to bring intelligence.

ARTICLE VII.

The English will not assist any of Bájiráv's enemies, though in friendship with them, with any other or more of the sorts than what they engage to supply Bájiráv's State with; and

The English shall not give assistance of any sort to the enemies of this State, though they may be their friends. In like manner, we will not assist the enemies to the English. All the

Bájráv shall observe the like agreement with the English.

sorts they supply this State with, they may furnish others as they please, excepting munitions of war.

ARTICLE VIII.

Any person belonging to the English or Bájráv's jurisdiction, that shall go over to either Government, such Government shall oblige him to make satisfaction to his creditors. If a slave, he shall be delivered up by compulsion.

Any person, of either side, taking refuge under either Government, let him be merchant or in pay, and owing or carrying money away with him, the creditor of such person shall go where he is, and proving the debt by the arbitration of five persons, the money shall be delivered to the owner, and the person sued shall have liberty to go freely where he pleases; but if a slave, he shall be delivered up by force.

ARTICLE IX.

Any vessel belonging to the English or Bájráv, that shall be driven by stress of weather, or other accidents, for shelter on the coast of either jurisdiction, all possible assistance shall be given for the re-fittal; but if stranded or wrecked on either shore, half of the cargo and vessel shall belong to the Government, and the other half be reserved to the owner.

Any vessel, great or small, belonging to either Government, that by stress of weather shall be driven for shelter to the coast under either jurisdiction, shall receive all possible assistance, and the masts, yards, and apparel that may have suffered be re-fitted, and proceed freely on her voyage. But in case the Company's or their merchants' effects shall be shipwrecked on any place of our jurisdiction, one-half shall be restored to the owners, and one-half shall remain to the State. In like manner the effects on board any vessels of our jurisdiction, that may be lost at Bombay, shall be divided, half to the Company and half to the owners.

ARTICLE X.

The fleet of Bájráv shall not attempt any vessels though not provided with his pass, within the limits of the stakes at Máhím, in a direct line to the mouth of the harbour, within the distance of a kos, or a kos and a half, from Underee on this side.

Our fleet will not harm any vessel navigating without a pass from this State, from the stakes at Máhím, in a direct line to the bar at the mouth of the harbour within the distance of one kos, or a kos and a half, from Underee this way.

ARTICLE XI.

Bájráv's fleet shall, by no means, hurt or molest the fishing gallivats, or other vessels belonging to the English or their subjects, in their navigation of these seas. In like manner, Bájráv's fishing gallivats, and other vessels belonging to him or subjects of his State, shall not be hurt or molested by the English fleet.

Our fleet will, by no means, molest any of the fishing gallivats or other vessels belonging to Bombay navigating these seas. In like manner, our fishing gallivats, and other vessels of our jurisdiction, shall not be molested by the English fleet.

ARTICLE XII.

Bájrav's fleet shall pass and repass freely by the bar, or in the river, at the mouth of the harbour; and in case of touching at Bombay for watering, they shall have friendly treatment. In like manner, the English fleet shall have reception and assistance in the ports of Bájrav's jurisdiction.

The fleet of this State shall go in and out of port freely, and if, at any time, it should repair to Bombay for watering, and stay some time there, it shall meet with assistance there. In like manner, we will assist and supply the English fleet arriving at any of our ports.

ARTICLE XIII.

The English will give no let or molestation to the merchant vessels laden with goods of the merchants under Bájrav's jurisdiction, passing to and from the rivers Nágotna, Penn, and other ports; but in case of any of the said vessels importing at Bombay, and landing their effects, they shall pay the port duties.

There shall be no impediment on the part of the English to our own merchant vessels, laden with goods belonging to the merchants of our jurisdiction, and that go or come from sea into the rivers Nágotna, Penn, and other ports; but if any such vessels go into Bombay, and unload their goods, they shall pay the customs. However, in the river, there shall no harm whatever be suffered to be done to such merchant vessels by any power whatever.

ARTICLE XIV.

The merchant vessels belonging to the English and their subjects shall have free leave to purchase in the river, Nágotna, Penn, and other places, provisions and all sorts of merchandise, and export the same, paying the customs; and, on the part of Bájrav, there shall be no impediment.

The merchant vessels of Bombay may, in the rivers of Penn, Nágotna, or other whatever; purchase freely provisions or other sorts of goods, and export them, paying the customary duties; and, on the part of this State, no impediment shall be given them.

These fourteen Articles shall be observed without failure.

These fourteen Articles I (Chimnáji) have consented to, and they shall be observed without failure. Let this be made manifest.

The 16th of Rabillicar (or 12th July).

Confirmed by the Bombay Government on 20th July 1739.

APPENDIX B.

LETTERS FROM, TO, AND REGARDING RANJIT SING.

Copy of a letter from Rája RANJIT SING of Lahore to Colonel JOHN COLLINS.

I wrote repeatedly to you before this, and I forwarded through Meer Mahomed Allikhán a Kharita for the Most Noble the Governor General. You have doubtless perused my letters and have consequently become acquainted with the situation of affairs in this quarter; but as I have yet received no answer to any of them, I still continue to expect one.

Having already apprised you of some of the occurrences in these parts as well as of the receipt of letters from General Perron and others, I now briefly recapitulate the same. My affairs here are arranged to my satisfaction, and I am returned to Lahore. Rája Bhag Sing Bahádur, my maternal uncle, accompanied by Vakils on the part of General Perron, Rája Sáhebsing and Mr. Louis, &c., are arrived here with presents for me. They have proposed to me to enter into terms of amity and friendship with General Perron. I observed, by stating the value of your kindness and regard, that in fact I was attached to the interest of the Most Noble the Governor General and you, and that it was a difficult matter to maintain a friendship with all parties. As Rája Bhag Sing is under many obligations to General Perron, he sought to gain me by every mode of persuasion, urging at the same time the great desire of the General to have a meeting with me. In fine, although my friendship for the Most Noble the Governor General and you is great beyond the possibility of what I can feel towards anybody else, yet I must preserve appearances on this occasion in consideration of what is due by me to the will of my uncle.

Seeing that you had forgotten me, I was about to repay you the same civilities you had rendered to me, but was obliged to postpone my intention in consequence of the departure from this, by your orders, of your agents, who knew the proper mode of managing matters of that nature. It was also my intention to depute a Vakil to you, but the people of this country being ignorant of your manners and customs, that measure too was suspended. If, however, I shall meet with a person acquainted with your usages I will immediately despatch him to you.

(A True Translation)

(Signed) PARIS BRADSHAW,
Assistant to the Resident with Sindia.

(A True Copy)

(Signed) J. COLLINS,
Resident, D. R. S.

Extract of a letter from Rája RANJIT SING to Colonel J. COLLINS.

As the relations of friendship are firmly established between us, I use no ceremony in apprising you of the following circumstance in consequence of the regard I bear you: "The General* has written to me, through my relatives who are assembled at Hansi for the purpose of opposing Mr. Thomas, that if I sincerely entertained sentiments of friendship and goodwill towards him, I ought to give proofs of the

* Meaning M. Perron.

same by acts of kindness. It is a practice of long standing among the Khálsa Sardárs to remain firm to those with whom they first entered into engagements of friendship. The General wrote also divers other matters to me which it would be improper to commit to paper. In no particular, however, has the amicable connexion so well established between us by Meer Usuf Allikhán and Meer Mahomed Allikhán, experienced either weakness or diminution.

(A True Translation)

(Signed) P. BRADSHAW,

Assistant to the Resident with Davlatráv Sindia.

(A True Copy.)

(Signed) P. BRADSHAW,

Assistant.

Copy of a letter from Rája BHAG SING to Rája RANJIT SING.

The English, who are the wisest people of the present times, having by truth, propriety, and kindness rendered the Princes of the country contented and thankful, are become the chief rulers of Hindustán. Your reputation for courage, justice and talents for Government lately reached them through the public papers, and the Governor General, although a stranger to you, is highly pleased and satisfied with your distinguished qualities. Accordingly to establish the foundations of amity and friendship he has deputed to you Meer Usuf Allikhán, a confidential person on his part, one honored with the management of the English dáks of intelligence, and a person the ancient friend of the late Maharája and me. The Meer adverting to our long intimacy has visited me, bringing with him Shokai from the King and letters from the English. For my own part I regard this unexpected gratification, transient as it is, as extremely seasonable and just. I have supplied Meer Usuf with a party of horse and foot and sent him forward to you. You ought to consider the establishment of friendship with so distinguished a person, meaning the Governor General, unequalled for truth and propriety of conduct, unlike the foreigners of Kábul, meaning Zemáun Sháh, as the special assistance of an Invisible Power, as the favour of Satguruji, and strive to avail yourself of the matter Meer Usuf shall propose.

(A True Translation)

(Signed) PARIS BRADSHAW,

Assistant to the Resident with Sindia.

(A True Copy.)

P. BRADSHAW.

Substance of a written Agreement delivered to RANJIT SING on the part of ZEMÁUN SHÁH through his Vakil HARI SING, on the 12th of Shwal, during his stay at Lahore, 9th March 1800.

Whereas Sik Sáheb the Noble Ranjit Sing being at this juncture well disposed and entertaining friendly sentiments towards His Majesty the Shadow of God, it is therefore proposed, that when the King shall honor Lahore with his presence, it will be right for the said Sik to attend him in order to receive the dignity of testifying his submission; but should the said Sik actuated by views to future events withdraw himself, that then His Majesty when he shall next visit and repose in Lahore will on his departure from that city deliver the keys of the same into the hands of the dependants of Ranjit Sing, that he may thenceforth govern Lahore free from all apprehension.

(A True Translation)

(Signed) P. BRADSHAW,

Assistant to the Resident with D. R. Sindia.

Substance of a verbal communication made by Rani SUDDA COOER to USUF ALLIKHÁN.

The Ráni stated that the Vakils of Zemáun Sháh who came to Lahore with presents of fruit and horse also brought a message signifying that the Sháh designed to move towards Hindustán, and proposed a junction with Ranjit Sing. That the Vakils affirmed, his (Ranjit Sing's) country should on no account be molested on this occasion, and that whatever profit might be derived from the expedition, a share should be appropriated and paid to Ranjit Sing. Ráni Sudda Coer observed in reply to the Vakils, that they must be well informed of the ruinous state to which both the house of Jimwi and the city of Delhi were reduced; that the Marátha Sardárs had laid waste the adjacent country; and that the few wealthy persons now residing in the capital would abandon it on the first news of the approach of the Sháh's army. That, therefore, an attempt to visit Hindustán could be productive of no benefit; besides that the districts of the Sikhs lying in the Sháh's route could not escape desolation; consequently that Ranjit Sing could not reasonably expect to reap any advantage from the proposed junction. The Vakils rejoined, that the Sháh had twice repaired to Lahore without injuring Ranjit Sing's country, nor should it on any future occasion suffer depredations; that the Durráni Prince would enter into written agreements with him to the above effect; that Zemáun Sháh was desirous of repairing to Hindustán for the purpose of marriage; and that Ranjit Sing should have a share of all nazzars and peshkushes which the Hakims and Sardárs of that quarter might present to the Sháh. Ráni Sudda Coer then said, that Ranjit Sing should promote the views of the Sháh if the latter would confer the Subáhs of Cashmir and Multán on him; that in the event, the usual nazrána and peshkush should be regularly paid to Zemáun Sháh, and that if Ranjit Sing on account of his youth were averse to accompany the Durráni Prince in his expedition to Hindustán, she herself would join him with ten or twenty thousand horse.

(Signed) JOHN COLLINS,
Resident, D. R. S.

(A True Copy.)
(Signed) J. COLLINS,
Resident, D. R. S.

Copy of a letter from LÁL SING to Rája RANJIT SING.

Syyed Meer Usuf Allikhán having arrived here on the part of the English, I learn from him that they earnestly desire to establish the foundations of amity and friendship with all the Khalsahji Sardárs, but chiefly with you, whose ambition and extensive views are known to every one. The intention is conjointly to concert measures for opposing Zemáun Sháh should he meditate a repetition of evil designs on their parts, having formerly, in consequence of the disunion among the Khalsahji Sardárs entered your country, and plundered and oppressed the inhabitants of the surrounding territories. As long as Meer Usuf remained with me, he experienced all the attention that hospitality and a regard for the English friendship prescribed, and having taken his leave of me he will, by means of this letter, reap the advantage of presenting it to you. You are by the favor of Sutgurudeal endowed with considerable sense and penetration, and this in a great measure constitutes the excellence of Sardárs, to evince therefore a superior readiness to cultivate the friendship of one who spontaneously invites it, is among the number of indispensables. It is especially so with regard to the English, who are extremely powerful, and cordially and particularly desire an intercourse with you. Revolve this matter in your mind; listen to what they have to say with the ear of wisdom, and do that which shall

seem necessary to render it effectual; and then by attentions the most approved and sincere kindness treat and dismiss Meer Usuf with customary ceremonies and presents. Possessed as you are of good sense, to enlarge further on this subject would be unnecessary.

(A True Translation.)

(Signed) PARIS BRADSHAW,
Assistant to the Resident with Sindia.

(A True Copy.)

(Signed) P. BRADSHAW,
Assistant.

Copy of a letter from MEER USUF ALLIKHÁN to HUSSEN ALLIKHÁN, dated from the Keithel, 16th of August 1800.

At my interview with Bhaglal Sing I discovered him to be a shrewd, vigilant and penetrating character. He showed how much friendship with the English was to be preferred to a similar connexion with any other power; and when we conversed about Mr. Perron he remarked, that this officer was the dependant of a people whose treaties and engagements were devoid of all stability. In short, as far as appearances can be trusted, he is intent on accomplishing the purposes of the Governor General and the Colonel. As to myself, I shall to-morrow or the next day send back my camels and baggage to Delhi on account of the impracticability of the roads, and then set out towards Patealah, and from thence will proceed to the camp of Rájá Sáheb Sing, which is distant upwards of 30 kos from that city. Having there visited the Rájá, I will take an escort from him and proceed to Cheegooroojee, and in that place wait the return of the Chobdars of Rájá Ranjit Sing from Rájá Bhag Sing, to whom they had come on some affairs of importance. Bhag Sing and Bhaglal Sing on their parts gave me every information and advice necessary in my circumstances, pleased and satisfied me, and dismissed me handsomely towards Lahore. Write me something definitive. I shall act just as you desire.

(A True Translation)

(Signed) PARIS BRADSHAW,
Assistant to the Resident with Sindia.

(A True Copy.)

(Signed) P. BRADSHAW,
Assistant.

Translation of a letter from USUF ALLIKHÁN to HUSSEN ALLIKHÁN, 19th of August 1800.

Appearing to interest himself in my behalf and to participate in my views, Bhag Lál Sing at several subsequent conferences gave me to understand I had neglected various necessary observances. In particular he told me that in order to accomplish an important object for the English I had undertaken a distant journey without means and empty-handed, and asked how under such circumstances any Chief could credit my mission on the part of the English who, now masters of Hindustán, were apprised of the rights and customs of Sardárs. He observed, that at least a company of sepoy, together with some demonstrations of my own consequence, should have appeared with me, for that if it was known to all the Chiefs, Zemáun Sháh and others, that the English had established a friendly intercourse with the Khalsahji Sardárs, that therefore the Sháh entertained doubts and suspicions that the Sikhs meant merely to amuse him with appearances, while in reality they were inimical to him and strengthening themselves by means

of this trick. If, however, it were deemed unnecessary to bring any token of civility for other Sardárs, for Ranjit Sing at least it was indispensable. They will all now think, nay they will believe, that I was come for no other purpose but to view and report upon the state of the country, and that to impress an idea of my own importance, I gave out that I came to establish relations of amity and friendship. In fact, if a few articles only, he added, were brought by me as marks of attention from the English, the Khalsahjee Sardárs would have magnified them to be double. He assured me, that in consequence of Bhag Sing's letters, and from my general appearance, he believed I came on friendly purposes on the part of the English during this period of the rainy season; but that further on, the Sikh Sardárs being ignorant of all the modes of civilization, paid attention to externals only, and this he gave me previous intimation of, as he said, because he really wished me well. As for the friendship of the English, who were extolled for their excellences, and famed for their accomplishments, sincerity, and adherence to their engagements, it was what he asked of heaven; but he knew not how it could be effected without conferring with and sounding the dispositions of the Khalsahji Sardárs, the assembling of whom would be a matter of no difficulty. He could, he said, accompanied by Bhag Sing, repair to Rájá Sáheb Sing, whom, with other Sardárs of Suhwa, he could engage in his purpose, and all encamp on the banks of the Sutledge, Ranjit Sing, and others could be summoned to meet them there and then, and after conferring together, he could acquaint me of the result of these deliberations. But as the sincerity of the Southern Sardárs (Maráthás) and Mr. Thomas could not be confided in, it would be imprudent to leave the country exposed by such a movement; and as I had come on so momentous an occasion, he advised me so far to delay my departure until he could learn the secret dispositions of the Sardárs and dismiss me with an escort, which, protecting me beyond their respective boundaries, would conduct me in safety to Lahore. I have therefore delayed here in consequence of this advice from Bhag Lál Sing. He addressed letters, couched in proper terms, to the Khalsahji Sardárs, and despatched them by his own confidential servants. They were ostensibly to this effect: that a creditable person on the part of the English had arrived at Keithel for the purpose of establishing friendship with the Khalsahji Sardárs; that this person had visited him; and that he required them to give their opinions as to what was best to be pursued on this occasion. To these letters the Sardárs conjointly replied, that they submitted to his wisdom, and bid him adopt whatever proceedings should seem to him most proper, but cautioned him to do so securely and satisfactorily, so that the English might be bound to them in both prosperous and adverse circumstances; and they bid him beware that the English did not deceive them, and after having withdrawn the veil between them Zemáun Sháh and the Maráthás, desert them in the hour of necessity by affecting not to perceive it. In fine, these answers were received by Bhag Lál Sing from Rájá Sáheb Sing and other Sardárs through the hands of trustworthy messengers, and the originals sent to me to peruse. After stating to me, face to face, the advantages and the contrary, he concluded by saying, if it be the wish of the English to unite in friendship with them, that they were ready to meet them, nay that they would obey them, and serve them without pay, but that they required something definitive and satisfactory. With this view and for his own gratification he has despatched to you one of his own domestics to bring him intelligence from personal observation.

(A True Translation)

(Signed) PARIS BRADSHAW,
Assistant to the Resident with Sindia.

(True Copy)

(Signed) P. BRADSHAW,
Assistant.

A letter from USUF ALI KHAN to Lieutenant-Colonel JOHN COLLINS, dated from Keithel, 4TH of August 1800.

From Sháhjehánábád I proceeded to the camp of Mr. George Thomas, which I reached under the favor of Providence and your auspices. Having waited on Mr. Thomas, I experienced from him on your account every mark of civility and kindness, as I more particularly mentioned to you in a former letter. After this, taking an escort from him I went by the Cusbeh of Rohtuk to the Cusbeh of Jeend, in order to visit Rájá Bhag Sing Bahádur, who is the maternal uncle of Rájá Ranjit Sing Bahádur. Bhag Sing, in testimony of his respect for you, treated me in like manner with great attention and friendship, behaving in all respects as the laws of hospitality required. He questioned me about my journey and the cause of it, and I accordingly extolled to him the errand on which I came. As he is a person of sense and foresight, he perceived the advantage of securing the friendship of the English, and gave me a letter, couched in proper terms, to his nephew Rájá Ranjit Sing. At the same time looking forward to consequences, he observed to me with earnestness and deliberation that a measure of this nature could not be effected without the advice and recommendation of his brother Lal Sing Bahádur, who is the superior of their sect as well in wisdom as in all spiritual affairs, that he would give me a favorable letter on this subject for him, and that I should visit and consult with him. To which he added, that he himself, Rájá Rajehgan Sáhí Sing and others would assent to whatever his brother should resolve on; and that it was probable Rájá Ranjit Sing, considering what behoved him as a man and a relation, would not hold off. In consequence of this information I repaired to Keithel, from which Patealah is distant 30 kos, and waited on Rájá Lal Sing Bahádur with your letter addressed to him, together with Rájá Bhag Sing's. My reception, on his part, corresponded in all particulars with the style and manners of Sardárs and men of rank; and in consideration for your character he paid me marked attention and civility. Before I could disclose your objects to him, he of himself, with good sense and benevolence, remarked, how much the friendship of the English with the Chiefs of this quarter would tend to the security and affluence of the people, and that for his part it was what he was desirous should take place. He told me likewise with some minuteness of the amicable footing of Ranjit Sing with Zemáun Sháh. The Sháh, he said, by means of a khelat, presents, and hopes of one kind or other, gained over Del Sing, the Chief Minister of Ranjit Sing, from whom he then made a requisition of a certain number of cannon. Del Sing, in order to reconcile Ranjit Sing to the demand, represented to him, that all the Sardárs of the Rájáh's own tribe were adverse to him in consequence of his having acquired possession of Lahore, and that therefore it would not be politic to displease or irritate the Sháh, whose alliance and friendship he should rather cultivate as the means of securing the discretion of the other Chiefs. Del Sing's arguments having satisfied Ranjit Sing, he addressed a letter to Zemáun Sháh informing him that his master had acknowledged his subjection to His Majesty, and desiring him to send a trusty person to receive charge of the cannon. Zemáun Sháh accordingly deputed a Mutsaddi belonging to Vazir Vaffadar Khan called Tek Sing to Ranjit Sing with a splendid khelat, two horses of great value, and other rare and precious articles accompanied with a royal letter. Ranjit Sing had the cannon repaired and delivered to the Mutsaddi, whom he dismissed with rich presents and thus acquired the friendship of the Sháh. Here Lal Sing remarked, that since nothing had occurred to interrupt this friendship, he would, as a well-wisher, and with a view to future events, state to me that having come so great a distance in order to effect so important an end without any of the external means¹ of intercourse, people said I came as a spy, and made various similar suppositions, but that he, being long on friendly terms with the English, gave no credit to the popular rumours, and always answered them by saying that a Mutsaddi or harkára would be sufficient for purposes of that nature, and not a person

¹ Meaning presents.

of my character. However, continued he, without the external requisites for forming acquaintance, the current reports will be believed by Ranjit Sing, who is young, ambitious, and given to wild projects, for his ministers are all in the interest of Zemáun Sháh, and may assume a merit from apprizing that monarch that a person of consequence is arrived on the part of the English for amicable ends, and God knows what conduct he might pursue. Lálsing then recommended me to write to you that as Zemáun Sháh had adopted the ordinary external modes of conciliating acquaintance, these people would not be satisfied without similar observances, and would not trust in any declarations of friendship. And he encouraged me with assurances that he would open a correspondence with Rájá Rájehgan Bahádur immediately, secure me a good reception from him, and forward my views, after which I might proceed on my journey. He accordingly wrote this day to Rájá Sáheb Sing stating my arrival at Keithel, and asking his advice on the subject of my mission. When the answer to this shall be received, and that the torrents shall subside in the Nadis Kehker, Sersuti, and Barkendeh (which people inform me are overflowed to the distance of several kos, and on which there are no boats to obviate the difficulty of crossing with camels and horses). I will pursue my journey to Patealah.

I also have learned from Lálsing, that when Zemáun Sháh came the year before last to Lahore, he sent a letter to Rájá Rájehgan Bahádur to this effect: That he (the Rájeh) being of old protected by the Sháh, he had not at that juncture appeared in attendance, nor had he deputed any person in his name to forward the royal service; that in consequence the Rájá referred to him (Lálsing) for his counsel, which he thus gave, that considering the difference in religion, devastation of the country, and ruin to its inhabitants, peace between them (the Sikhs) and the Sháh was impossible; and he cautioned the Rájá to beware and on no account to rely on the deceitful appearances of the words and actions of that king.

Continue to hope for the blessing of God!

(A True Translation,)

(Signed) P. BRADSHAW,

Assistant to the Resident with Sindia.

(A True Copy.)

(Signed) P. BRADSHAW,

Assistant to the Resident with D. R. Sindia.

Extract of a letter from MEER USUF ALI KHAN to HUSSEN ALI KHAN, dated the 11th of November 1800.

Munshi Rám Dayál relates to me the real state of the transaction between Ranjit Sing and Zemáun Sháh, and gives me full information regarding all occurrences, because he deems it consistent with the first principle of his duty to his master, as the establishment of friendship with a power like the English will be permanent, while nothing is derivable from a connexion with the Durránis but apprehension and treachery. In fact if it be the intention to conciliate Ranjit Sing, the best means this end can be effected by are these persons, the Munshi who is,

possessed of the entire confidence of Ranjit Sing, and Delsing, who commands the army and is related to Ranjit Sing by the father's side.

(A True Translation.)

(Signed) P. BRADSHAW,

Assistant to the Resident with D. R. S.

(A True Copy.)

(Signed) P. BRADSHAW,

Assistant, &c.

Copy of an Arzee from MEER USUF ALI KHAN to Lieutenant-Colonel JOHN COLLINS.

You have doubtless received my former address acquainting you of the arrival of Zemáun Sháh at Pesháwar on the 27th October, of my interviews with the Sardárs of Ranjit Sing at Amritsir and with Jessasing Sáheb Sing, Nizám Khán Kussooreeah, Sardár Delsing, and Munshi Rám Dayál, together with copies of a letter and treaty sent by Zemáun Sháh to Ranjit Sing, and also a letter to the same from Vaffádár Khán.

Sardár Delsing and Munshi Rám Dayál possess the chief control in the affairs of Ranjit Sing, and to all appearance are prudent, honest, and sensible men. They bear a high reputation in this quarter, were from the first employed in negotiating the agreement concluded by the Sháh with Ranjit Sing through the Grand Vazir Vaffádár Khán, and are still the channel of intercourse between their master and the Durráni Prince. For these reasons I have had four interviews during the short time I have been here with Munshi Rám Dayál, who impressed with the character for courage, magnanimity and wisdom which every where distinguishes the English nation, entered into a minute detail of past transactions between Ranjit Sing and Zemáun Sháh, and explained the nature of their present connection. To recapitulate the particulars would be tedious, but the substance of them is to this effect: When Zemáun Sháh came the second time to Lahore he bestowed, contrary to his habits, khelats on every Sikh found imprisoned in his camp, and dismissed them with many encouraging professions. Ranjit Sing notwithstanding took post with his followers at Amritsir, resolved to resist and harass the army of the Sháh, and was then joined by other Sardárs whose pride of independence and sense of honor were roused by the occasion. Vaffádár Khán desirous to conciliate and avail himself of the aid of so powerful a Sardár as Ranjit Sing in the prosecution of his enterprize, sent a person to him with proposals of various advantages in point of wealth and territory if he would do homage to the Sháh. The answer of Ranjit Sing was a positive refusal in plain terms. Vaffádár Khán finding he could not bring over Ranjit Sing to his views, he with dexterity and cunning applied to certain other Sardárs who were the secret enemies of Ranjit Sing, promised to put the whole country into their possession, made various other deceitful offers, drew them to his purpose, and induced them to send Vakils to the Sháh. By the departure of these Vakils from Amritsir Ranjit Sing was roused to circumspection; he accordingly sent a letter and a nuzzer to the Sháh by Munshi Rám Dayál, who is a man of ability and conversant with the language of the people of Kábul. As the first object with Vaffádár Khán was to bring over Ranjit Sing, the Munshi, who was long and well acquainted with the manners and character of the Durránis, soon got into the confidence of their Vazir, whom he prevailed on to favor the views of Ranjit Sing. Such was the footing and intimacy he quickly acquired with the Vazir that he became apprized of the secret purposes of his heart,

as Vaffádár Khán explicitly told him that the Sháh had long entertained anxious views on Hindustán, that it was for this sole purpose he was then come to Lahore, and that the first wish of his heart was to prosecute this enterprize. At the same time to secure the assistance of the Munshi, whom he required to exert his influence with Ranjit Sing in order to make him pay a visit of submission to the Sháh, and by receiving a khelat and presents facilitate the expedition, he made liberal promises of rewards and honors and a grant of territory. In the midst of these proceedings repeated accounts were received regarding Mehmood Sháh. Nothing conclusive was therefore adopted. Khelats for Ranjit Sing and Delsing were given to the Munshi, the Vakils were dismissed with suitable distinction, and the Sháh returned towards Kábul. It was on the ground of this state of intercourse that the cannon were restored. So well did Vaffádár Khán at that time lay the snare of treachery that all the Sardárs are now ready to testify their submission to the Sháh.

(A True Translation)

(Signed) P. BRADSHAW,

Assistant to the Resident with D. R. S.

(A True Copy)

(Signed) P. BRADSHAW,

Assistant, &c.

APPENDIX C.

LETTERS FROM TIPU.

Letter from TIPU SULTAN to the Acting GOVERNOR GENERAL, received 26th April 1798.

I have been highly gratified by the receipt of your letter (*vide* that written 7th March) and have understood its friendly contents.

Wynaad (spelt Wynaur) is the name of a Kurreea¹ in my territory in the midst of a forest of trees with an inconsiderable number of habitations upon it, the inhabitants of which have ever been remarkable for their turbulence, for which reason a small fort was long ago erected there, which is garrisoned by my troops. They have always been disorderly and turbulent, and there has been constant occasion to chastise them. The said Kurreea is situated on the tableland near Tambacherry. All the tálukás ceded to the Company were particularly specified in the treaty of peace in order to prevent repeated altercations. I did not cede a single táluka to the Company on the tableland, nor has the Company any concern there. I have no doubt but that in consequence of the representation of some interested persons you have written with a view to have such designing representations exposed, and therefore I write thus particularly. Just now no one in that Kurreea has excited any disturbance or commotion; my subjects do not frequent the country below the tableland, which has long constituted a barrier to both parties. The plain and all below the tableland belongs to the Company, and above it are my subjects. There are mountains situated between; this matter does not require investigation and deliberation.

Believing my friendly heart disposed to pay every regard to truth and justice, and to strengthen the foundations of harmony and concord established between the two states, I hope you will always gratify me by letters notifying your welfare.

(A True Translation)

B. EDMONSTONE.

Letter from TIPU SULTAN (addressed to the Acting GOVERNOR GENERAL), received 17th May 1798.

I was much gratified by the receipt of your friendly letter communicating the departure of Sir John Shore and your having taken charge of the Government until the arrival of the Earl of Mornington (*vide* that written 26th March 1798). As you are a friend, I have no doubt of your constant disposition to strengthen the bonds of sincere attachment between the two states.

The Kurga people have entered and taken up their abode in Kaunturunkul and Coloor, Bauchu, two Kurreeas below the Ghauts and woods, where they commit violence and injure the rayats; one Officer with a small detachment was therefore sent to bring them to reason, but they will not hear reason and only want to excite disturbance. I have written this for your information, lest any person should represent the circumstance to the Company's Government in a manner contrary to what is the real fact. You must write to the Kurga Rája enjoining and insisting on his quitting those two Kurreeas and remaining within his own boundary above the Ghats, and in future not to go beyond them. Believing me solicitous for the good tidings of your welfare I hope you will constantly gratify me with your friendly letters.

(A True Translation)

B. EDMONSTONE.

¹ The same as Mozah; the term *village* does not answer to the word Kurreea or Mozah, which signifies not only the village itself but the lands belonging to it.

A COMPUTATION OF TIPU SULTAN'S ARMY IN THE YEAR 1798.

The Regular Cavalry—Mokum or Taveel.

1st Cutcheri—Mais—Sowár—Askur (Sheiks)—

Bay and Chesnut Mares—

1st Bukshee	...	...	Sufder Cáun. ¹	
2nd do.	...	...	Abdula Cáun.	
3rd do.	...	...	Meer Hussain. ²	
The 1st Mokum or Regiment	...	...	Meer Ismaél ³	190
2nd do.	...	...	Dáud Bujebyo	185
3rd do.	...	...	Mahomed Mean ⁴	90
4th do.	...	...	Isoof Cáun ⁴	90
				— 555

2nd Cutcheri—Ali—Sowár—Askur (Syds)—

Bay and Chesnut Horses—

1st Bukshee	...	...	Khadoo Mean or Kháder Waly.	
2nd do.	...	...	Hyder Beg.	
1st Mokum	...	...	Meer Mahomed	200
2nd do.	...	...	...	200
3rd do.	...	...	...	200
				— 600

N. B.—This Cutcheri has no 4th Mokum.

3rd Cutcheri—Noor—Sowár—Askur (Sheiks)—

Dark and Light Grey Mares—

1st Bukshee	...	...	Syd Ashuruf ⁵	
2nd do.	...	...	Meer Ahmed.	
4 Mokums	...	...	...	550

4th Cutcheri—Hafes—Sowár—Askur (Pattáns)—

Dark and Grey Horses—

Bukshee	...	...	Hafes Saheb.	
4 Mokums	...	...	...	550

5th Cutcheri—Ryman—Sowár—Askur (Sheiks)—

Black Piebald and Dun Mares—

Bukshee	...	...	Humateeár Cáun. ⁶	
4 Mokums	...	...	...	About 500

6th Cutcheri—Khudoor—Sowár—Askur (Sheiks)—

Black Piebald and Dun Mares—

1st Bukshee	...	...	Meer Asud Ulla. ⁷	
2nd do.	...	...	Bubber Ali Beg.	
1st Mokum	...	...	(Angresee) Maudeen Sáheb's.	130
2nd do.	...	...	Meer Salf Khar Ali's	140
3rd do.	...	...	Meer Sufder Hussain's.	112
4th do.	...	...	Mahomed Mussa's	55
				— 437

¹ A Chela of the Ballassore family.

² A cousin of Tipu by his aunt, Hyder's sister and wife of Noor-Ul-nisar Can.

³ The brother of Meer Medeen.

⁴ Brothers, natives of Tanjore.

⁵ The brothers-in-law of Syd Peer, the Killedár, who was killed in Bangalore.

⁶ A Chela of the Kenchencode family.

⁷ Said to be related to the king of Delhi.

7th Cutcheri—Shooker—Sowár—(Askur Sheiks and Pattans)—
Black Piebald and Dun Horses—

Bukshee	...	...	Abdul Sarab Jung. ¹	
4 Mokums	...	...	...	About 300
<i>Abstract.</i>				
4 Cutcheris of Mares	...	...	...	2,042
3 do. of Horses	...	...	...	1,450
				3,492

One Mokum of Mattafurchat Mares called Suf Sheekun,
commonly attached to the Sulátn's person and Choren
battalion commanded by Kham Jehan Khan² 700

Regular Horse. .. 4,192

The Regular Cavalry is armed with carbines and swords.
Establishment of a Cutcheri of Regular Horse (complete.)

		Pay of each Rank in the Canterai Pagodas. ³	
		From 50 to	Fanams.
1, 2 or 3	Bukshees	...	150 0
4	Mokumdárs or Ser Askurs, one to each Mokum	...	40 0
16	Teepdárs 4 to each Mokum	...	25 0
32	Pusdárs 8 to do.	...	16 0
64	Sercheils 16 to do.	...	10 0
128	Jemádárs 32 to do.	...	6 0
768	Privates 6 to each Guard or Jemádárs	...	5 4
16	Puckálies 4 to each Mokum	...	2 1
4	Sherbasherunds 1 to do.	...	9 0
16	do. 1 to each Teep	...	7 0
4	Persian or Mizzai Accountants, one to each Mokum	...	10 0
4	Hindowee do. do.	...	16 0
4	Kohars ... do.	...	2 7
	Cheodries, one to every 10 horses	...	2 5
	Horse-keepers, one to every horse	...	2 1
4	Allum Sercheils, one to each Mokum	...	7 5
8	Nufferie Nawas, 2 to each Mokum	...	5 4
Attached to the Bukshoo or the officer commanding the Cutcheri.	The Mondy Khána or Grain Do- partment.	1 Persian Accountant	16 0
		2 Hindowee do.	16 0
		6 Assistants	5 0
		2 Nukibs (Choubdárs)	16 0
		1 Salustry (Horse Doctor)	5 0
		1 Punsarie (Seller of Massálás or horse medicines).	Has no pay.
		1 Sungur, Saddler	2 1
		1 Deroga	1 2
		2 Accountants	9 0
		4 Dundies (Measurers)	1 2
		1 Massáljee, Lamp Lighter	1 0
		1 Furrásh, Sweeper	1 2

N. B.— Each person is furnished with a horse from the Sarcár whose pay exceeds 5 Canterai pagodas, excepting the Nukibs and the Hindowee Accountants of Mokums.

¹ Lately from the Nizam's service.

² Was originally a Brahman of Biddenoor; he rose gradually in the Sultán's favor after being made a Chela. He is also Bukshee of the 1st Cutcheri of Infantry and has charge of the Ordnance Department.

³ The Canterai pagoda or Chinkrum is 10 Canterai or Sultáni fanams; six Canterai pagodas are nearly equal to five star pagodas.

Establishment of a Mokum or Regiment of Regular Horse.

1 Mokumdár or Ser Askur (Commandant).	
4 Teeps or Troops.	1 Hindowee Accountant.
1 Sherbasherund (Adjutant):	1 Allum Sercheil (Standard-bearer).
1 Persian Accountant.	2 Nufferie Nawas (Trumpets).

Establishment of a Teep or Troop.

1 Teepdár (Captain).	1 Sherbasherund (seldom more than one to two Teeps).
2 Eus or Half Troops.	1 Puckálie (Water-carrier).

Establishment of a Eus or Half Troop.

1 Eusdar (Captain Lieutenant).	
2 Sercheils (Subalterns).	Cheodries, one to every ten horses.
4 Jemádárs (Non-Commissioned)..	Horse-keepers, one to every horse. ²
24 Privates, at six to each Jemádár. ¹	1 Tent-pitcher.

Each Cutcheri has a red flag with green streaks in imitation of the marks of the royal tiger to denote its number, the first Cutcheri having one streak and the 7th seven streaks.

The standard of each Mokum is a red silk with a black star in the centre.

The 5th Cutcheri was raised towards the close of the year 1794 by drafts from the 1st and third Cutcheris. The 6th and 7th were raised in June 1797 by drafts from the other five: they consist of old cattle, many of them being thought unserviceable.

The number of the Regular Horse has diminished considerably within the last four years. Two reasons are given to account for this decrease; one, is that during the years 1794 and 1795, when the whole Regular Horse had been cantoned on the island, a great number of the cattle died of diseases and from the scarcity of good forage; another is, that for the last three years or upwards horse dealers have met with such discouragement from the Sultán, that scarcely any horses have been of late taken for sale into his country; and from the design and carelessness of his men the mares are not found to rear a sufficient number to supply the ordinary casualties.

It is only a small proportion of the mares that are allowed the proper attention required for breeding. When a mare is reported to have foaled, the rider is sent along with her to Seringapatam from the foraging station, and becomes a dismounted horseman for a considerable time. This is a circumstance to which the men are naturally averse, as the horses are public property, and as they suppose that breeding is prejudicial to the speed and strength of their cattle, they can easily use means to prevent their breeding.

The Sillahdár or Irregular Horse are formed into six Cutcheris, viz:—

1st Cutcheri or Shemsheer Cutcheri	} 6,000
2nd Yunnee do.	
3rd Aigis do.	
4th Kafer do.	
5th ³	
6th	

The two latter Cutcheris were formed about three years ago; from the first four all the Mahomedans of the 4th Cutcheri were drafted into the 5th and 6th, and all the Hindus of the first three were drafted into the 4th.

¹ The Jemádárs receive only the pay of privates when their guards consist of fewer than 4 men.

² The Horse-keeper's duty is to provide forage. It is the Sultán's order that each Private, &c., should clean his own horse; but this order is not attended to.

³ This Cutcheri is composed of Maráthás and Rajputs.

The Sillahdár have been of late formed into component parts, similar to the Regular Horse, only that there is no particular limit to the number of privates in a Teep (before called a Rissála), the strength of which depends on the activity of the officer commanding it.

In the registers of the army the Mokum, called Suf Shekun, is sometimes termed a 7th Cutcheri of Sillahdár.

All the officers of the Sillahdár above the rank of a Sercheil receive pay from the Sarcár; but they are obliged to furnish their own horses, in which point only their situation is less advantageous than that of the officers of the Regular Horse, who are allowed two horses each.

The horses of the Sillahdár are private property. Each man and horse having a fixed allowance according to appearance at the time of being registered; the average may be reckoned at 28 or 30 rupees per month of 40¹ days, which, with the pay of the higher ranks of officers includes their whole expense.

Jághírs, of generally half their allowances, have been given to the Sillahdár, in situations within fifty miles of Seringapatam; they remain dispersed among their several villages, by which means they are enabled to take the greatest care of their cattle and to superintend their farms.

Within the last twelve months they were furnished with carbines, and ordered to practice the carbine exercise; but they are so prejudiced against that weapon, that they never handle it, except on occasions of being mustered.

The Regular Infantry.

1st Cutcheri or Hoozoor Askur (Sheiks)—

Bukshee	...	...	Khán Jahán Cáun.
1st Cushoon—Sipáhdár	...	...	Abdul Azeo.
2nd „ „	...	...	Dáud Bujebe.
3rd „ „	...	...	Bagga Meán.
4th „ „	...	...	Abdul Waháb.

2nd Cutcheri or Amudee (Sheiks)—

Bukshee	...	...	Hussain Ali Cáun.
1st Cushoon—Sipáhdár	...	...	Mahomed Hullum.
2nd „ „	...	...	Abdul Ryman.
3rd „ „	...	...	Mahomed Cássim.
4th „ „	...	...	.....

3rd Cutcheri or Futtah Peade Askur (Pattans)—

1st Bukshee	...	...	Baker Bey.
2nd „	...	...	Mahomed Ally Julluk.
1st Cushoon—Sipáhdár	...	...	Khander Caung Hesgee.
2nd „ „	...	...	Hussain Cáun Khullell.
3rd „ „	...	...	Hussain Cáun Bungush.
4th „ „	...	...	Mahomed Azeem.

4th Cutcheri or Mulluk Cutcheri (Moguls)—

Bukshee	...	...	Yoolum Khodda Dád.
1st Cushoon—Sipáhdár	...	...	Mootloom Bey. ²
2nd „ „	...	...	.....
3rd „ „	...	...	.....
4th „ „	...	...	.....

¹ Although the month is nominally said to consist of 40 days, there is no actual account kept of regular dates for payment of the troops, the intervals between issues of pay being arbitrary according to the Sultán's pleasure, from 40 to 55 days.

² This officer with his Cushoon was sent to Gooty and ordered to form it into a Cutcheri.

APPENDIX C.

5th Cutcheri or Hyderi (Sheiks, Maráthás and Rajputs)—

	Bukshee	...	...	Adam Cáun Lohány.
1st	Cushoon	...	...	Lume (Shake Imam). c
2nd	"	...	...	Sipáhdár Chitter Sing.
3rd	"	...	...	" Lechman Sing.
4th	"	...	...	.....

6th or Assud Ullahee Cutcheri.—

	Bukshee	...	...	Hafez Mahomed Cáun.
1st	Cushoon—Sipáhdár	...	...	} Chelas.
2nd	" "	...	...
3rd	" "	...	...	} Syds.
4th	" "	...	...

7th or Khella Cutcheri (Sheiks)¹ —

	Bukshee	...	...	Meer Nuddeem.
1st	Cushoon—Sipáhdár	...	...	Yoolam Hussain.
2nd	" "	...	...	.....
3rd	" "	...	...	.....
4th	" "	...	...	.....

Abstract of the Regular Infantry.

The 1st Cutcheri	...	...	...	3,500
" 2nd "	...	...	...	2,500
" 3rd "	...	...	...	2,500
" 4th "	...	...	...	1,500
" 5th "	...	...	...	3,000
" 6th "	...	...	...	2,500
" 7th "	...	...	...	2,000

17,500

One Independent Cushoon called Duum Jewan, commanded by a brother of Cumur-ul-Deen	...	...	...	1,000
The corps called Lallys of different castes	...	...	...	500
2 Khas Teeps or companies of Infantry marksmen attached to the Sultán as a body-guard	...	...	...	160

Total supposed strength ... 19,160 Exclusive of Rockets and Artillery and Irregular Infantry.

Establishment of a Cutcheri of Infantry—

			Monthly Pay of each Rank.
1 or 2 Bukshees	...	From 50 to Canterai pagodas	100 0 0
2 Persian Accountants	...	...	12 0 0
2 Hindowee do.	...	...	12 0 0
2 Sherbasherunds (Adjutants)	...	...	12 0 0
1 Joug or Company of Lascars	...	...	.....
4 Nukeeps (Choubdárs)	...	...	16 0 0
4 Haserbashees (Sweepers)	...	...	1 2 0
2 Mussaljees (Lamp-lighters)	...	...	1 0 0
and 4 Cushoons	...	...	.....

¹ This Cutcheri is attached to the fort of Seringapatam.

Establishment of a Cushoon—

1 Sipáhdár (Commandant)	From 50 to	...	60	0	0
1 Persian Accountant	...	...	10	0	0
1 Hindowee do.	...	...	10	0	0
1 Sherbasherund (Adjutant)	...	...	10	0	0
16 Durkush (Gunnery)	...	...	5	4	0
80 Beiruk burdars (Gun Lascars)	...	...	2	7	0
80 Shabdars (Rocketmen)...	...	...	2	7	0
10 Gárriwáns (Draft Bullock Drivers)	...	...	2	1	0
2 Camels	...	...	.....
2 Guns with Tumbrils	...	...	.....
and 4 Teeps or Grand Divisions	...	...	.....

Establishment of a Teep—

1 Teepdár (Captain)	...	...	25	0	0
1 Sherbasherund (Adjutant)	...	...	7	5	0
1 Allumburdar or Allum Sercheil (Flag-bearer)	...	...	7	5	0
1 Shinai Nawas (Clarionet)	...	...	5	1	0
1 Nufferie Nawas (Trumpet)	...	...	5	1	0
and 4 Euz or Sub-Divisions	...	...	.....

Establishment of a Eus—

1 Eusdár (Captain Lieutenant)	...	...	16	0	0
4 Sercheils (Subalterns)	...	...	7	5	0
8 Jemandárs (Non-commissioned) ¹	...	...	6	0	0
48 Privates (six to each Non-Commissioned)	...	...	5	1	0 ²
1 Nusum (Tent-pitcher)	...	...	2	7	0

Abstract Strength of a Cushoon (if complete.)

1 Eusdár.	16 Gunners.
4 Teepdárs.	80 Rocketmen.
16 Eusdárs.	80 Gun Lascars.
64 Sercheils.	10 Bullock Drivers.
1 Sherbasherund of the Cushoon.	2 Guns with Tumbrils.
4 Do. one to each Teep.	2 Camels.
128 Jemádárs.	4 Flag-bearers.
768 Privates.	4 Clarionets.
896 Non-Commissioned and Privates of Infantry.	4 Trumpets.
986 Officers and men, exclusive of Artillery and Rocketmen.	16 Tent-pitchers.
	1 Persian Accountant.
	1 Hindowee do.

Although the above is the establishment of a Cushoon, the strength may be at an average reckoned at 600 Non-Commissioned and Privates of Infantry. Some Cushoons, however, are complete, and others have not above 300 men.

The strength of the Infantry has decreased considerably since the year 1794. This is accounted for by the effect of the Sultán's regulation of not admitting any Hindus into his corps, Maráthás and Rajputs excepted. It may be urged that there ought to be at present in his army as many Mahomedans, Maráthás and Rajputs as there had been in 1794; but the deficiency may be reconciled when it is recollected how much the sources of his recruiting have been limited by the cessions he made in 1792, and that from the army he had at the breaking out of the late war, he had lost by desertion a much greater proportion of Hindus

¹ A Non-Commissioned officer is not entitled to more than the pay of a private, unless his guard consists of 4 men or upwards.

² There are stoppages made which reduce the pay to 4-7 of a private, nearly Star pagodas 3½.

than of Mussulmáns, that is to say, that a great many of the Mahomedans who were entertained in the territories which he ceded must have been in his army in 1794.

Should he continue to adhere to his present plan of rejecting Hindus in general, it is probable the number of his Infantry will be declining for several years hereafter. For it cannot be supposed that the proportion of population contained in his present territories of the Mahomedan, Marátha and Rajput castes can be sufficient to supply recruits for thirty thousand Cavalry and Infantry.

Abstract of the Sultán's Force.

Regular Cavalry	...	...	...	4,192
Irregular do.	...	..	...	6,000
			Total Horse	<u>10,192</u>
Regular Infantry	...	...	...	19,160
Gunners, exclusive of Gun Lascars ¹	...	...	...	500
Rocketmen	...	...	...	2,400
				<u>32,252</u>
Exclusive of peons and independent companies of Infantry attached to particular forts	...	...	...	32,252

Having received the information which relates to the Regular Horse from a person who was very lately an officer in one of those corps, I consider the details of the Regular Cavalry above stated as the most authentic that is likely to be procured. And I have been informed by a person who had access to the rolls of the army, that its whole strength (alluding to June 1798) was Regular Cavalry

...	...	...	...	4,000
Irregular Cavalry	...	...	...	6,000
and Regular Infantry	...	...	...	20,000

I do not feel any suspicion that there can be a material incorrectness in that statement. But if the Sultán's army had occasion to take the field, I believe its number would be found to fall short of this return, which comprises only the marching army.

It is supposed that his net revenue is between thirty-two and thirty-six lákhs of star pagodas, after deducting the various items of district charges. And that after paying his present establishment he saves from one to three lákhs of pagodas annually. His marching army, including officers, may be reckoned to cost 20,00,000 of pagodas. The surplus would then only be from twelve to sixteen lákhs for the payment of his household, civil list, stores, fortifications, &c. It is supposed that the fortification of Seringapatam alone has cost him, since the year 1792, at the rate of three lákhs of Canterai pagodas yearly; and still a great part of it is represented to be in an unfinished state, particularly about two hundred yards of the north face from the north-east angle. This space is said to be so open that people walking the streets inside of the fort may be seen from the north bank of the river. The rest of the north face has been rebuilt from the foundation upon a more substantial plan than the former.²

Some part of the west face is also open in consequence of being levelled for the purpose of rebuilding it;—but that is of less importance, as it is thought the part of the river which runs along the west face is so rugged and deep at all seasons as to render it unfordable.

¹ The Gun Lascars are supposed to amount to about 2,500.

² The old rampart wall is levelled from the foundation and a new wall of stone with brick parapet, considerably thicker than the old wall, is built in its stead. A second rampart is in forwardness inside of the first, and of such a height that the guns of the inner may be fired over the outer rampart. There is a new ditch between the two walls.

Besides the capital the only other forts which have engaged the Sultán's attention since the late war in regard to being strengthened are Suvandroog and Nundydroog. Completing the fortification of Dewanhully, now called Roostumábád, has also employed a considerable number of workmen. The Sultán wishes to make that a place of some note, because it was the birth-place of his father.

Tipu changes the names of his Cutcheris or brigades of Cavalry and Infantry, and of the details and appointments attached to them, so that it is often difficult to comprehend their arrangement; and as those terms are always in the Persian language, it is scarcely possible to understand them clearly from the account of a person unacquainted with that language.

The foregoing computation of the army applies to its state in June last, but since that period it has had undergone certain changes and arrangements, particularly in the number of Infantry corps, being increased by drafts. There is however no ground to believe that the actual strength has as yet been augmented, although the increase of the number of corps may be supposed to indicate a design to increase the strength.

The Sultán's civil establishment consists of different Cutcheris or departments, viz:—

1st.—*The Meer Meerun Cutcheri, or the Military Office, through which all business connected with paying or mustering the different corps of the army is transacted.*

Risa Saheb ¹	...	President.
Purnea ²	...	} Members.
Nasir Ally	...	
Syd Yofar ³	...	
Tuckur-u-Deen	...	
Shrinivás Row, the son of Purnea	...	} Principal Secretaries and Accountants.
Abdul Chader	...	
Shake Hyder	...	

The President and Members of this Cutcheri wear a *padduch* suspended from the neck. It is a star with eight points made of green velvet and embroidered with gold.

(Revenue Department.)

2nd.—*The Malpat Cutcheri or Asif Cutcheri.*

Meer Sandikh	...	President.
Syd Mahomed Cáun	...	} Members.
Sheer Cáun	...	
(Mulwonlly) Shrinivás Row	...	} Principal Accountants.
Keisoo Row...	...	
Báboo Row...	...	

3rd.—*Sudoor Cutcheri or the Office for receiving all Returns and Reports of Garrisons, whether relating to the Stores and Fortifications, or the Troops attached to them.*⁴

Yoolamee Sáheb	...	President.
Meer Nuddeem	...	} Members.
Fakeer Mahomed	...	

¹ Risa Sáheb is a near relation of the Sultán.

² Purnea is also Secretary or Head Accountant of the Treasury and next to Meer Sandikh has most influence in all Departments particularly Revenue.

³ Syd Yofar is supposed to be the best officer in the Sultán's service. He was trained under English officers.

⁴ The troops employed in garrisons are considered as Irregulars or as Provincial Corps. They are of two descriptions: Peons who are irregularly armed, and Infantry armed with firelocks.

4th.—*Zee-oo Cutcheri* or the Office for paying the State Servants, Household, &c., as the Silver Pikemen, Harcaras, and Choubdárs, &c.

Hafes Moortusa ... President.

5th.—*Eim Cutcheri* or the Marine Department.

Bakir Beg, &c.

This office was formed in May 1797, when the first emissaries who came from Mauritius were at Seringapatam.

The Sultán is supposed not to possess above eight or ten vessels, which are chiefly employed in transporting pilgrims to and from Mecca.

The pay of the civil establishment is very inconsiderable, varying from 100 to 1,000 rupees per month each. The emoluments or more properly the peculation, of the civil officers (particularly in the Revenue Department) are very extensive, notwithstanding it is an annual practice at the Mohurrum Feast to administer an oath of fidelity at Seringapatam to all civil and military officers, whether Mahomedans or Hindus.

(Signed) WILLIAM MACLEOD.

October 1792.

APPENDIX D.

EXTRACT FROM A PERSIAN MANUSCRIPT, ENTITLED MEMORANDA AND RECENT ANECDOTES OF THE SOUTHERN COURTS OF HINDUSTAN.

BY A MUSALMAN OBSERVER, IN THE YEAR 1195-96 HIJRI, THAT IS, A.D. 1781-82.

Of all the infidel tribes of Hindustán the Maráthás are best known to the followers of Islám. They derive their name from the country of the Maháráshtra which they inhabit. Owing to the frequency of their wars with the Musalmán States they are now emphatically called the enemy. Like the other followers of Brahma the Maráthás are divided into four castes. These are sub-divided into an infinite number of sub-divisions, all of the Sankar or bastard race.¹

The Bráhmans are of two castes, the Maháráshtra and the Konkanasth. The latter caste is sub-divided into four others, of which the Chitpávan is of late the most distinguished, as the Peshwa, or as he is otherwise called the Pant Pradhán (prime minister), belongs to this caste. The Carrires (Karhádás), another division of the Konkanasth, is famous and hated for the practice said to be prevalent among them of making a triennial sacrifice of a member of the religious order to their goddess Bhawáni.²

The Chiteree (Kshatriya) Sankar in the second descent are ninety-six in number. They acknowledge the superiority of the Bhionslá family, though those of Jádhav, Sindia, and Gáika-wár are more numerous and ancient. Besides these, there is a single family in the first degree of bastard consanguinity or lineal descendants of the genuine Rajput tribe of Rháthor. They pride themselves in continuing unmixed and preserving their original distinction and purity during many ages of residence in the province of Báglán amidst the more contaminated Chiteree (Kshatriya) race of the Maráthás. It seems, however, probable that the antiquity of this family called Beherijee (Bahiri) cannot be traced with certainty further back than Kirrin,

¹ By *Sankar* the writer means *Sankar-játi* or mixed castes. The Bráhmans, says Dr. Wilson in his work on Indian Castes, Vol. I, p. 63, had the custom of receiving in marriage females of all the four castes (the wife of his own caste being the first). The Kshatriyás married the females of three castes, including their own. The Vaishyás were to exclude the females of the Bráhman and Kshatriya castes and to marry those of their own and the Shudra caste. The Shudras were permitted to contract marriages only in their own caste. The offspring of such marriages was called the *Anuloma*, and the offspring of unlawful connexions between the higher caste men and lower caste women was called the *Pratiloma*. Those born of illegal connexion of the men of any one of the above-mentioned castes with the women of any other caste were called *Sankara-játis* or mixed castes. Being a Musalmán, the writer speaks of them as bastards.

² About the practice of offering human victims said to be prevalent among the Karhádás, Sir John Malcolm gives an interesting account in the Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society III, p. 93. Colonel Alexander Walker in a letter addressed to Government in 1808, also alludes to this custom, and Major Moore, in commenting on the communication of Colonel Walker, refers to three instances of human sacrifice brought to his notice by a Karháda Bráhman who was agent to a respectable mercantile house in Poona (Wilson's Castes II, 24). This horrible custom, according to Colonel Mackintosh (Journal, Madras Literary and Scientific Society VIII, 77) was put down by the Peshwa Báláji Bájiráv alias Náná Sábáb.

the fugitive prince of Nerwallah in Gujarát in the seventh century. Of the caste Bice (Vaishyás) there are few inhabitants in Maháráshtra, and none of note.

The fourth caste or Shudrás are of course the most numerous; and they are moreover warlike; yet, I have not been able to learn anything satisfactory regarding them. But the Bergy Cuttiacur and Kunbi tribes are sub-divided into about forty others. They take their names from their different occupations, some being shepherds, others weavers and husbandmen. Of the weavers the family of Holkar is the most illustrious.

When the great Emperor of Delhi, Alláuddin Khilji, first entered the Deccan about 500 years ago, the wealth of a long line of princes which ruled the country of Maháráshtra in their capital of Devgad or Davlatábád became in part an easy prey to that conqueror. The enemy were ignorant of the improved art of war; they had no places of defence, and were peaceably inclined. They, therefore, readily submitted to the payment of a small annual tribute for the space of fifty years, and were feudatories of the crown of Delhi. But it was not until the beginning of the tenth century when five independent principalities were raised on the ruins of the Bráhmáni kingdom that the Maráthás were completely subdued and brought, under the multiplied yoke of Musalmán authority. Such are the happy consequences when princes lead their own armies into the field, are at hand to check the corruption or support the weakness of their generals, and exert authority within a narrow compass. The power of a State depends more on the personal ability of the ruler than on solid principles of government. The dynasties of Adil and Nizám Sháhis divided the whole of the Konkan between them. Maháráshtra proper, chiefly between the Krishna and Bhima, exclusively belonged to the former as prince of Bijápur; and the modern province of Davlatábád, constituting the greater part of the principality of Ahmadnagar, was subject to the latter. A third portion of Maháráshtra fell to the lot of Kassim Barrid, who laid the foundation of a new government in Bidar even before the total extinction of the old Bráhmáni dynasty. That polite prince, (Kassim Barrid) after having slain in battle Sábáji, the only Marátha Chief of note remaining, accomplished his ambitious projects, chiefly by uniting in interests and marriage the sole heiress of the deceased Indian with his own son Amin.

Thus fell the ancient fabric of an idolatrous society; its cement was dissolved by the irresistible talisman of Muhammad, but the stubborn materials retained their form, and like unto the desevered particles of the same substance had always a propensity to reunite. Or, as we are told, that the dismembered parts of the serpent, when it is cut asunder, have a separate existence and seek to be again united, so it may be said of the Maráthás. After impotently grovelling in the dust nearly a century and a half without a head, they at length found, and recognized one, in the person of Sháháji Bhonsla. This man, third in descent from the Rána of Chitore by a concubine, naturalized himself among the Maráthás by a matrimonial alliance with the tribe of Jádhav, another Rajput *Sanker*, then high in power, though under subjection to Nizám Sháha. When Sháhájehán, in the middle of the eleventh century, finally reduced the principality of Ahmadnagar, Sháháji, with his family, took refuge in Bijápur, and obtained from Adil Sháha the zamindári of Poona and Wái the northern part of the Krishna. But he being an enterprising and experienced general, was soon afterwards appointed to the Government of the newly-acquired dominions in the Karnátak. These he enlarged by the conquest of Tanjore, where his second son, Venkoji, settled, and eventually transmitted it as an inheritance to his posterity. The eldest son, Shiváj, left in the management of the original zamindári, very early became entitled to the surname of Iblis (wicked) by discovering the most treacherous method of rebellion against his sovereign and otherwise violating the laws of God and our prophet. The imbecility of a minor prince and a declining empire gave a deep and vigorous root to usurpation, and the contest which followed

between the houses of Timur and Adil Sháha, ending in the destruction of the latter, brought the noxious weed to full maturity. While it was springing up, the powerful opposition of Alamgir, through the medium of Jysing, an Indian prince, for a short time stopped its growth; for we often see one poison operate as an antidote to another. But the corruption or inability of Khán Jehán and other Musalmán Omrás who were employed in the second *jehád* against Shiváji lost the advantages derived from their predecessors' dexterity. War is the harvest of generals, and the Deccan presented so rich and ample a field for cultivation that it was thought worthy the personal attention of the Mogal himself. The Marátha contest, however, was only a matter of secondary consideration; for the extensive kingdoms of Bijápur and Haidarábád, were fitter objects for the Emperor's ambition. After the reduction of these States, Sambháji, the son and successor of Shiváji, felt the weight of the conqueror's arms. He was surprised and slain; his family taken prisoner, and his skin, stuffed with straw, was sent round the country in order to strike terror into all rebellious subjects. Rám Rája, the brother of the deceased, till then imprisoned, was at the same time released by his countrymen to conduct a predatory war. But Tárábái, who with an infant son soon afterwards succeeded her husband, proved a much more formidable enemy to the Musalmán power. Even the great Alamgir on one occasion, for the sake of peace, resolved to pay annually a Deshmukhi of nine per cent. from the revenues of the Deccan. In the end, however, he did not carry out the agreement. During, however, the life of that monarch the Marátha power appeared contemptible; but in Sháhu, the captive son of Sambháji, contrary to sage advice, he cherished a serpent in his bosom, which afterwards was destined to destroy his empire. As we see a tree grow with additional vigour when pruned of its branches, so the Mogals in lopping off successive shoots, yet preserving the principal stock of the Marátha, did only increase the Marátha power. The civil wars and anarchy which followed the death of Alamgir at once gave freedom and dominion to the captive Sháhu, nor did the tide of Indian conquest begin to ebb, until in the revolution of sublunary events was introduced an ecclesiastic government.

This union of spiritual and temporal authority forms a two-headed monster in society which frightens an ignorant world into submission. It is, however, necessarily of short duration, even if by the light of science and cultivated reason the period of its existence be not shortened, for the regimen which is proper for the support and nourishment of the one part, empoisons and enfeebles the other. Such was the mighty Khalifat of Arabastán and Ajim under the divine authority of Mahomet and his holy contemporaries, and the unnatural did in that case thrive, but it should be classed among the miracles to prove the mission of our prophet. When mere mortal men undertake a more than human task, they only show the presumptuous weakness of their reason. This is well illustrated by the barbarous heirarchy introduced in Maháráshtra on the death of Sháhu Rája. That prince and his ancestors, the acknowledged Chiefs of the State, delegated the administration of their patriarchal feudal government to eight subordinate officers. The nature of their duties and the names of the offices were chiefly borrowed from the Muhammadáns; but, contrary to the true spirit of eastern legislation, these offices became hereditary in particular families. In like manner the estates and *jághírs*, into which the whole conquered countries were divided and parcelled out among the civil, military, or religious dependants of the Rájás, also became hereditary.

The Peshwa Báláji, a Konkanasth Bráhmañ of the Chárávan race, was next to the Pratinidhi in rank, but as Diván or Prime Minister, was the first in power. He was assisted by the Phadanavis, who superintended the Daftar (Records), and was of the same tribe. On the decease of Sháhu, without issue, this officer (the Peshwa) seized the reins of administration, under the nominal authority of the famous Tárábái and her weak son, the second Rám Rája, and virtually transferred the whole power to his own family and other Bráhmañs of the

Konkan. These infidel priests had long since converted into a bowstring the peaceful cord denoting their priestly calling. Though courage was not denied to them by nature, they transgressed a special rule of their order in the exercise of the military art, which was never to take up arms or follow the profession of a soldier unless driven to it by necessity. The evils which their wise legislator (Manu) foresaw would be the result of such a deviation from the doctrines of the Bides (Vedás) they soon experienced after their exaltation to empire.

The lust of worldly power became the predominant passion, to gratify which the spiritual character must either entirely be laid aside or rectified. But the genius of the clerical profession in every religion, except the true one, is to enslave the mind, as well as to control the persons and property of mankind. A great portion of the temporal power was, however, soon transferred to its proper ministers, the laity, who, of course, endeavour to shake off the unnatural yoke of civil Bráhmancial authority.

The Senápati, or commander-in-chief of the army, the second most powerful officer under the Marátha Government, had been transferred from the Rajput *Sankar* of Jádhav to that of Bhonslá. It was bestowed, together with the Collectorship of Berár, on Raghoji, a member of a branch of the reigning family. This man was the first who assumed independence, from being a tax-gatherer. He or his sons became proprietors of half the province, and levied on the other half, under Musalmán authority, a grievous tax of fifty per cent., under the denomination of *Sardeshmukhi*, *Chauth*, *Sautra*, and *Bápty*,—all included in the general name of *Mukasa*.¹ Mudáji, the reigning prince, in the name of his son enjoys, in consequence, a revenue of one crore of rupees, with which he maintains a body of 22,000 cavalry, including 2,000 *Pága*. He also verifies the observation that riches depend less on the amount of income than on a proportional expenditure, by laying by an annual surplus of nearly fifty lákhs, more by Hindu parsimony than by valour, and Bithu Pandit raised again to supreme power the family of Bhonslá, now represented in Satará by the third Sháhu, a youth of twenty.

Notwithstanding, however, the dismemberment of Berár, an extensive empire, yielding annually three crores of rupees and nearly five of old, was still held in subjection to the Peshwa. It was reserved for more modern times, and the irresistible sword of fate at present wielded by the Firangis, to cut asunder the slender thread by which the zamindárs of the Konkan have, in a short period of general confusion, held together as by a charm a heterogenous confederacy. Rághoba, that bane of Musalmán pride, but close imitator of the iniquitous policy which attends it, had tasted out of his turn the sweets of power which he was enabled to enjoy in consequence of the minority of the prince. Unwilling to part with the sensual cup, he put an end to the rightful desires and days of his nephew Náráyan. Such a violation of the rigid laws of Brahma was not to be tolerated under the most depraved system of government; moreover, the aggressive regent had a powerful faction against him and few friends within the circle of his administration. By constant and successful opposition to the Nizám and by his supercilious treatment of an intriguing neighbour at the memorable interview at Bedar he had rendered himself personally obnoxious to him. The neighbour was all the more dangerous, because he was contemptible enough to be overlooked. Accordingly Rághoba was soon compelled to seek refuge with the Firangis, and to the wars, which have been since waged by these

¹ *Sardeshmukhi* was the tax of ten per cent. exacted by the Maráthás from the revenues of the Muhammadan territories of the Deccan, in addition to the *Chauth* or one-fourth of the revenue, which also they claimed from the Muhammadan rulers of the Deccan. *Sahotra* or *Sautra* was an item of the Marátha *chauth*, being the six per cent. of the balance of the collections after setting aside one-fourth to the Peshwa. *Bápty* or *Bapoti* means patrimonial inheritance. The term *Mokhása* originally was used to signify a village or land assigned to an individual either rent-free or at a low quit-rent, on condition of service. Afterwards it came to be used to all the aforesaid taxes and cesses mentioned above.

foreign intruders, may be ascribed the anticipated decline, if not the total annihilation, of the Konkan Bráhmáni empire.

It has been already set forth, that after the dismemberment of Berár, a revenue, estimated at three crores of rupees, still remained to the Peshwa. At the commencement of the present troubles the *chauth* of the Karnátak, and some districts on the Tungabhadra, in all amounting to twelve lákhs, were formerly ceded to Haidar to secure his friendship during the impending contest. In like manner Davlatábád, with dependencies, rated at twenty lákhs, and actually yielding half that sum, were transferred to the Nizám. Baroda and other parganáas in Gujarát had long been held as a hereditary fief by the family of the Gáikwár, for which they were bound to render military services with 10,000 horse and were more especially considered the immediate guardians of Ahmadábád. However by the defection of Fatté Sing and territorial losses in Gujarát and Konkan a further diminution of fifty-five lákhs may be placed to the account of the war with the Firangis on the side of Bombay. The late treaty concluded with Sindia, and consequent loss of hereditary fiefs in Málwa and Khándesh, rated at 25,000 horse, supported by a revenue of 60 lákhs, threatens instant destruction to the State of Poona, now chiefly upheld by the military force and abilities of the Holkar, who, as a counterpoise to Sindia, received, long since, on the same terms, an equal portion of two Subhás, together with the Government of Indore. This man is heartily tired of an unprofitable burthensome war, and dreads the enterprises of his more noble collateral neighbours of Nágpur and Argoan, who, by their late transactions and by receiving Vakils, seem to be entirely under foreign influence. Besides Tukoji Holkar, Gangádhar and Bálláji, both cunning Bráhmans, held foreign districts of ten lákhs in Bondeláh (Bundélkhand) for the maintenance of 5,000 horse dependant on the Peshwa, but this force has been rendered of no avail by distance and disaffection. In addition to this there are 12,000, including 3,000 Pága, in the forts and dominions of the Peshwa, and there is a revenue of 50 lákhs to support them and the princely dignity. Indeed, if we except Yashvantráv Pensia, a Marátha Bráhman, who commands the artillery and has a jághír of 3 lákhs, the remaining power of the Pant Pradhán rests entirely on the single, wise, and disinterested counsels of Nána Phadanavis.

With such slender uncertain resources, to continue the war appears impossible. It is true the Nizám has lately paid up the arrears of his Mukása, about ten lákhs, but he is not without hopes of future remission, as well as being put in possession of the forts of Ahmadnagar and Assur, in the event of a partially effectual mediation, which would greatly more than counterbalance his present pecuniary aid. We would further most cheerfully exonerate the Marátha States if they made a provision for the unfortunate Rághoba by giving him jághír, even beyond the period of his natural life, in a transient world, unless the success and an enterprise of Amrutráv, the adopted son of the exiled prince, assisted by Guljean Khán, who has lately appeared in arms in Khándesh, on the frontiers of Aurangábád with 10,000 horse, should make it unnecessary to seek an inheritance through any foreign aid. In the meantime, however, the crestfallen Rághoba wishes rather to content himself with the hermitage of Tirmook (Trimbak) at the sacred source of the Godávári to purify himself of his sins, and wait patiently his own predestined fate, or that of his infant offspring Savái Bájíráv, who, in the event of the present Peshwa's death without issue, would probably be named for the succession. The prospect not only must embitter Nána's grief for the recent loss of his only child, the intended wife of the Peshwa Mádhavráv, but it must also give reality to the artful, but hitherto chimerical, speculations of the Minister of Haiderábád, who favours the desire of Krishnaráv Balvant, late Vakil from Poona and Jághírdár of the Nizám, to give his daughter (to the Peshwa) on certain conditions. Instead, however, of guiding the war, and being actors in the scene, it is worth considering how far the situation of their own affairs, internally or externally, is likely to permit them to enjoy in peace the pleasure of being simple spectators.

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