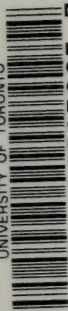
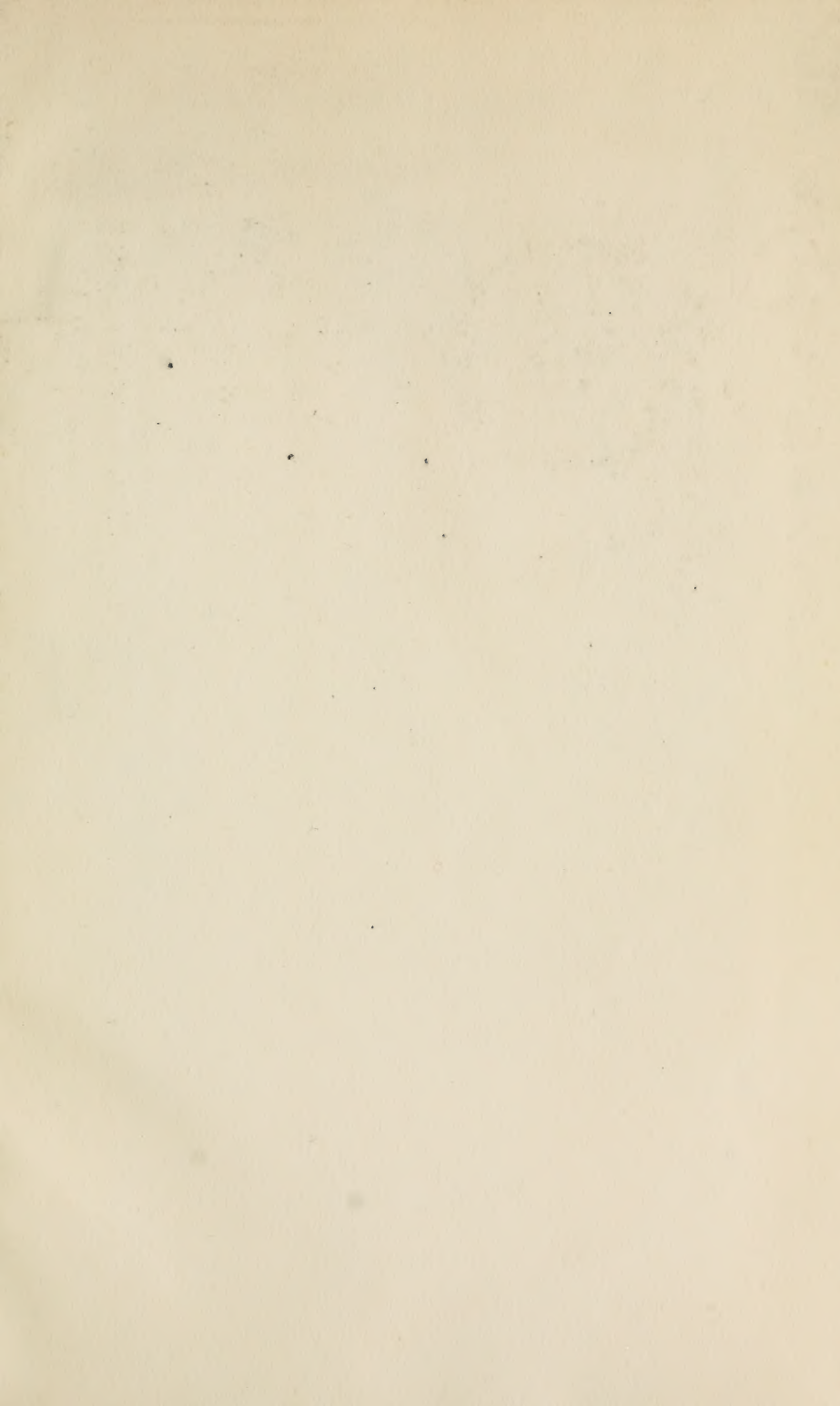


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AHMADSHAH DURANI

[Frontispiece.]

A HISTORY OF THE MARATHA PEOPLE

BY

C. A. KINCAID, C.V.O., I.C.S.

Officier de l'Instruction Publique

AND

Rao Bahadur D. B. PARASNIS

VOL. III

FROM THE DEATH OF SHAHU TO
THE END OF THE CHITPAVAN EPIC

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TO THE MARATHA PEOPLE
THIS WORK
IS
RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

PREFACE TO THIRD VOLUME

I NOW offer to the public the third volume of *A History of the Maratha People*, which I have dedicated like the others to the Maratha People. I decided to write the book as far back as 1913, after assuring myself of the collaboration of Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis. I owe him a deep debt of thanks for the help which he has given me, and for the infinite courtesy with which he has always soothed my impatience. He is solely responsible for Appendix B, Chapter LXVIII on Ram Shastri and the Peshwa's justice. I have also received the greatest help from Mr. Sardesai's admirable Riyasat, a copy of which he very kindly sent me. The Chief of Ichalkaranji has been throughout most sympathetic, and has often lent me books that without his help I could not have obtained. My thanks are also due to Rao Bahadur Sane, who has laid all students of Indian history under a great obligation by the publication of the Peshwa's Bakhar and other ancient Maratha chronicles. Lastly, my most grateful thanks are due to the Government of H. H. The Maharaja of Baroda, the Government of H. H. The Maharaja of Kolhapur, and to the Chiefs of Sangli, Ichalkaranji, Bhore, Aundh, and Miraj senior, for their generous support.

As regards the arrangement of the third volume, it may be objected that I have compressed into too small a space the reign of Bajirao II. This I have done deliberately. My work is primarily for Indian readers, and to them the glorious period of the Maratha kingdom will, I think, prove more interesting than its decline and fall. Maratha pre-eminence ended with the death of Madhavrao II. After the treaty of Bassein the Peshwa became a subordinate ally of the English. English readers who wish to read in more detail the events of Bajirao's reign will find them described at great length in Grant Duff. His immortal *History of the Mahrattas*, admirably edited by Mr. S. M. Edwardes, C.S.I., C.V.O., has recently been republished by the Oxford University Press.

One of my critics complained that I had not given a full list of the authorities consulted by me at the end of each volume. I have tried to meet his wishes by giving a list of authorities consulted (so far as it is possible in view of the wide reading involved in such a work) at the beginning of this volume.

In the preface to my first volume I promised to include in the third volume a short account of the Maratha states between 1818 and the present day. This promise, I regret to say, I have been unable to keep. The publishers, for whose generous co-operation I am deeply grateful, think that the work is already long enough. I fear too, that, to use Michelet's words, *L'âge me presse*. I must leave to some other pen the task of writing the history of the Maratha states during the last hundred years.

I conclude by repeating what I said in the last paragraph of the preface to the first volume, and by assuring my Indian readers, that I have done my best to avoid giving them offence. If by inadvertence I have done so, I trust that they will extend to me their forgiveness.

C. A. K.

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CHAPTER XLVIII

THE WOMEN'S WAR AND THE TRIUMPH OF BALAJI PESHWA

A. D. 1750 TO 1751

IN the late monsoon of 1750 the Peshwa with a large force entered the territories of the Nizam. Ostensibly he was acting as the ally of Nasir Jang. His real aim was to reduce the Nizam's territories to Maratha rule. In September 1750 Raghuji Bhosle received from the Peshwa a robe of honour and sent his son Janoji with the vanguard of the Maratha army to Nasir Jang's assistance. The combined force defeated Muzaffir Jang and took him prisoner. Then the tide turned. On the 5th December, 1750, Nasir Jang was killed in battle against the French, whose rapid rise the Peshwa had observed with growing resentment. Through a Krikakolam Brahman named Ramdas, in high office at the Nizam's court, he entered into negotiations with Sayad Lashkar Khan, the Governor of Aurangabad. The Peshwa was willing to support either a brother or son of Nasir Jang, as Sayad Lashkar Khan might wish. The Sayad chose Ghazi-ud-din, the eldest son of Nizam-ul-Mulk, who, in view of his own prospects at the imperial court, had not actively opposed the succession of Nasir Jang. He now, in return for Maratha support, offered to cede to them the subhas of Aurangabad and Burhanpur. On receiving Lashkar Khan's reply, the Peshwa prepared to march. On the 29th January, 1751, he left Poona, and on the 12th February he was before Aurangabad, which he invested. Sayad Lashkar Khan paid him seventeen lakhs of rupees, ostensibly to raise the siege, but really to assist his enterprise. The Maratha army then spread over the country and effectively occupied the two districts, Aurangabad and Burhanpur, offered by Ghazi-ud-din. Salabat Jang, who was still with de Bussy in the Carnatic, marched northwards to oppose the Peshwa. On hearing of his advance, the Marathas concentrated on the Krishna and thence moved on Haidarabad.

But while Balaji was still at Pangal, seven marches from Haidarabad, he received the most alarming news from Satara. He had recently attached but little importance to the conduct of Tarabai. He was not unwilling that Ramraja should remain for some little time in custody in Satara fort, if only to make him appreciate more highly his release. But he now learnt that Tarabai, in league with Damaji Gaikvad, was threatening the whole fabric of the power bequeathed to him by Shahu. He resolved to desert the cause of Ghazi-ud-din and to return to Poona. With his usual address he hid his anxiety from his comrades in the field; but he directed Janoji Nimbalkar to make the best terms he could with the enemy. Salabat Jang, who was ignorant of Balaji's fears, offered, to secure the Peshwa's departure, seventeen lakhs, two in cash and the rest in bills on bankers in Haidarabad, Aurangabad and Burhanpur. To his surprise and joy, Balaji accepted his offer and evacuated his dominions.

The events that had occurred in the Peshwa's absence on field service resembled the war known in French history as the Fronde. The plot was woven and the rebel armies were organised and equipped by women, although it must be conceded that the characters of the Maratha ladies differed widely from those of Mme de Chevreuse or Mme de Longueville. Umabai, the widow of Khanderao Dabhade had, in spite of her pretended reconciliation with the Peshwa, never forgiven Bajirao or his son Balaji for the defeat of Dabhai or the death of her eldest son, the gallant Trimbakrao. She had openly disregarded the terms on which Shahu had pardoned her family and had continuously withheld the half share of the royal revenues due to the royal treasury. So long as Shahu lived, he would permit no extreme measures; but on the king's death, Balaji, faced with an empty treasury and a foreign war, determined to reduce to obedience the house of Dabhade. Umabai made public complaints against the Peshwa's demands and affected incurable grief at the loss of her protector, the Maratha king. Tarabai saw in Umabai a ready ally. She planned a meeting with her and in the rainy season of 1750 the two women met. Umabai agreed to put the forces of Guzarat at the disposal of Tarabai, provided her final appeals to Balaji to release the Dabhades from their

covenant failed. On the 1st October, 1750, the Maratha ladies met again at the temple of Shambhu Mahadev. The power of the Pant Sachiv and the Pratinidhi had been broken, and it is possible that at this interview the plot against Ramraja's person was hatched. On the 20th October, 1750 Umabai instructed her agent, Yado Mahadev Nirgude, to ask the Peshwa to reconsider his claim. Balaji haughtily replied that, so far from reconsidering the covenant of the Dabhades, he meant at once to enforce it. In the agent's presence he formally invested his kamavisdars with powers to collect half the revenues of Guzarat and bade them leave immediately for that province. Directly they had left the audience chamber, Yado Mahadev angrily withdrew, rudely refusing the formal present of clothes usually offered and accepted on such occasions. Umabai, unwilling to rebel, if she could attain her ends by other means, demanded and obtained a personal interview. On the 22nd November, the great Maratha lady met the Chitpavan minister at Alandi. After the preliminary civilities, Umabai pleaded her son's rights and repudiated the terms imposed on them after Dabhai. Extorted by force, so she contended, they were not binding. The Peshwa was more polite to her than to Yado Mahadev, but the gist of his answer was the same. Nothing would alter his resolve to divert into the royal coffers half the income of Guzarat. Umabai bade the Peshwa a dignified farewell. Two days later Tarabai at Satara seized the person of Ramraja.

On the assassination of Pilaji Gaikvad, his son Damaji, who early shewed great promise, was confirmed in his father's offices. As Yashwantrao Dabhade yielded more and more to the use of drink and opium, Damaji's power grew. To him was now given the command of an army equipped by Umabai to effect a junction with Tarabai and to break the power of the Peshwa. On her side Tarabai was not inactive. She increased the garrison of Satara by five thousand men, placed a strong contingent on the summit of Yeoteshwar hill, and garrisoned other strong places in the neighbourhood of the fort. She implored help from the Pratinidhi and the Pant Sachiv, and sent emissaries to Ramdas, the Brahman in Salabat Jang's service, offering him the office of Peshwa if he would advance with the Nizam's army to her help. Unfortunately

for her plot, the Pratinidhi and the Pant Sachiv thought that they had suffered enough in her cause, while the Peshwa's treaty with the Nizam stopped the advance of troops from the Moghul Deccan. Damaji Gaikvad advanced with great speed at the head of an army of fifteen thousand Maratha and Guzarati troops. His first intention seems to have been to march on Poona. On the 7th March, he encamped with his army at the village of Asbota. A wild panic seized the inhabitants of the capital. At early dawn on the 8th March, Radhabai and Kashibai, the Peshwa's grandmother and mother, fled from Poona to Sinhgad. On the same day the Guzarat army halted at Kendur, a large market town twenty miles south-west of Sirur. It was once given by Bajirao Balaji to his beloved Mastani. Here Yashwantrao Dabhade joined the force and stimulated it by his presence, although he left the command with Damaji Gaikvad. On the 10th, the army halted at Nimbgaon, six miles south-east of Khed. On the 11th it encamped at Pargaon, some thirty miles east of Poona. Here the Guzarat general received a letter signed by Mahadji Purandare, who denounced him as a traitor. Thereupon Damaji Gaikvad changed his course and marched straight on Satara. On the 13th March, Mahadji Purandare's brother, Trimbakrao ¹ led a strong force out of Poona to intercept him. Purandare came up with Damaji Gaikvad on the Salpa pass. He had by this time been joined by contingents under Balwant-rao Mehendale and Bapuji Retharekar and his troops numbered twenty thousand. He attacked Damaji Gaikvad in irresolute fashion and was repulsed.² He retired on Nimb, a small town some eight miles north of Satara. Thither Damaji Gaikvad followed and defeated him. From the scene of the victory, the Guzarat army marched in triumph to Satara. Damaji Gaikvad was received in state by Tarabai and several of the neighbouring forts declared for her. The rebel's triumph, however, was short-lived. Trimbakrao re-formed his army and on the 15th March, led it once more to the attack. The Gaikvad's troops met Purandare's on the banks of the

¹ Usually called Nana Sahib Purandare in the Maratha chronicles.

² Grant Duff. In this chapter I have followed in the main the Riyasat; but as regards the scenes of the fighting, Grant Duff is, I think, to be preferred.

Yenna. This time the larger numbers of the royal army prevailed. The Gaikvad was forced to retreat with the loss of most of his transport and camp equipage. He retreated towards the Krishna valley.¹ At its mouth stands Wai. This picturesque township is built on both sides of the Krishna river, which swells during the rainy season into a mighty stream. Even in the hot weather the Krishna never wholly dries up, and year in and year out the score of temples that stand on its banks are mirrored in its clear and brimming pools. The polished Brahmans have a tradition that their town is none other than the ancient Viratnagar, the city famous in the *Mahabharata* as the hiding-place of Yudhishtira, his four brothers and his wife Draupadi. The ancient palace of king Virata, so they will tell the curious visitor, stood on the top of Pandugad, a great fortress close to Wai. On its eastern slopes a small temple marks the spot where the evil prince Kichaka, lured to his doom by the lovely and virtuous Draupadi, went to meet her at a spot chosen by herself. He found awaiting him, not the princess whom he expected, but her terrible husband, Bhima. It was also from Viratnagar that Yudhishtira and his brothers set forth to the stricken field of Kurukshetra, whereon India's chivalry all but perished for ever. As the traveller advances westward up the valley, it narrows; the river grows smaller and the hills on either side become wilder and the forests on them thicker. At last the gorge ends in a blind alley, blocked by a ridge a thousand feet high, which divides the Konkan from the Deccan plateau. The ridge is covered with dense jungle, even now the haunt of sambhar and panther, wild dog and wolf; and in its depths are to be found the true sources of the Krishna river.

¹ There is some doubt as to the line of the Gaikvad's retreat. I have followed the *Chitnis Bakhar*, which says that he retreated to the Jor Khora, i.e. the Krishna valley. Grant Duff has done the same and so has Sir James Campbell in his *Imperial Gazetteer*. Mr. Sar Desai says in his *Riyasat* that Damaji retreated up the Mahadara valley, which lies to the south of Satara. The Indore copy of the *Chitnis Bakhar* mentions the Medha Khora, i.e. the Yenna valley, as the scene of his flight and surrender.

By a series of skilful actions the unhappy Gaikvad was driven further and further up-stream, until at last he could retreat no more. The narrow gorge furnished him with no supplies. Beyond it the Sarsubha, or governor of the Konkan, Ramaji Mahadev Biwalkar held the country in the Peshwa's interest. Damaji still communicated across the Mahableshwar plateau with Tarabai's garrison at Yeoteshwar. At last even this narrow door was closed. The Peshwa advanced with lightning speed from the Moghul frontier. In thirteen days he covered four hundred miles. The news of Purandare's victory reached him at Nizamkonda. On the 24th April, he was at Satara. He at once stormed Yeoteshwar, and killed or took the garrison. He then drove in Tarabai's outposts, recaptured the lost forts and joined Purandare in the Krishna valley. Damaji Gaikvad gave way to despair. His Maratha soldiers deserted and fled as best they could over the wild hills; the Guzarat troops, ignorant of the locality, lost all heart. He sent to the Peshwa a messenger begging for terms of peace. Balaji affected to welcome the messenger and sent as his envoys Trimbakrao, Purandare and Ramchandra Shenvi.¹ They invited Damaji to return with them to the Peshwa's camp and he did so. The Peshwa bade Damaji pitch his tents close to his own, that they might amicably discuss the terms of peace. When Damaji had obeyed, the Peshwa demanded the definite cession of half Guzarat and an indemnity of twenty-five lakhs. Damaji refused, pleading that he was a mere subordinate, and referred Balaji to Umabai. As nothing would move Damaji from this position, the Peshwa changed his tactics. On the 30th April he attacked, in spite of the armistice, the Gaikvad's camp, shortly before the dinner hour. The Guzarat troops, completely surprised, offered no resistance.

Damaji was captured in his bath. With him were taken his brother Khanderao, his eldest son Sayaji, his minister Ramchandra Baswant, Yashwantrao and Umabai Dabhade. Damaji's three youngest sons, Govindrao, Manaji and Fatehsing, fortunately for them, were staying with Tarabai in

¹ See chapter xlix.

Satara. The prisoners were sent ahead to Poona, while the Peshwa invested Satara fort and vainly pressed the old queen to release Ramraja. That unfortunate prince's condition had grown worse with the failure of Tarabai's plans. Unable to induce him publicly to remove Balaji from his office, she confined him in a damp, cold dungeon. After the defeat of the Gaikvad, she vented her full spite on the wretched prince. She fed him with the coarsest grain, insulted him daily and openly spoke of him as an impostor—a mere *gondhali* whom she had in a foolish moment presented to Shahu as her grandson. Ramraja's spirit, never of the highest, drooped under this treatment. His health and mind suffered and he soon became (what Tarabai wanted him to become) unfit to sit on the throne of his forefathers.

Satara was well provisioned and of great strength. A siege would have lasted for months and could hardly have ended before the monsoon, which in Satara bursts in the first week of June. Balaji therefore turned his face northwards and marched to Poona. During the rainy season of 1751, he tried to induce Damaji Gaikvad to cede on behalf of Yashwantrao Dabhade half the lands of Guzarat. This Damaji, as often as asked, refused to do, and counter-intrigued with Dabhade and Tarabai to compass the Peshwa's destruction. At last Balaji lost patience. On the 19th July, 1751, he placed Damaji and his Diwan, Ramchandra Baswant, in strict confinement. On the 14th November, he sent them to Lohgad and Khanderao Gaikvad to Sinhgad. Some weeks later Ramchandra Baswant escaped in disguise and made his way to Guzarat. His presence there revived the hopes of the Gaikvad family. He and his cousin, Balaji Yamaji met the Gaikvad's relatives, agents and servants at the great fort of Songad. In the cold weather Balaji sent his brother Raghunathrao, a brave and skilful captain, to reduce Guzarat to obedience. Raghunathrao recovered the revenues of Surat, but he could not penetrate north of the Tapti; while the Governor of Bassein, Shankarji Keshav Phadke was, on laying siege to Parner, attacked, routed and driven from the province. These mishaps made the Peshwa still more anxious to come to terms. On the other hand confinement was preying on Damaji. He had been put in irons since Ramchandra Baswant's escape. His

sons, at first safe with Tarabai, were afterwards barely saved from her venomous temper by Govindrao Chitnis; while Balaji was successfully tempting Khanderao Gaikvad from his allegiance to Damaji. In these circumstances both parties sought a means of reconciliation. They found a mediator in Ramchandra Shenvi. In March, 1752, Damaji, yielding to his instance, abandoned the cause of the Dabhades, his masters. He consented to cede a half of Guzarat and of all his future conquests, to pay a yearly tribute of Rs. 5,25,000 and as arrears Rs. 15,00,000, to maintain for the Peshwa's service ten thousand horses and to send to the Dabhade family a yearly sum sufficient to maintain them in dignified comfort. On his side the Peshwa promised to aid in the capture of Ahmadabad and the expulsion of the Moghuls from Guzarat. He also conferred on Damaji Gaikvad the title of Sena Khas Khel, to which the Maharajas of Baroda still attach great value.

On the 10th December, 1752, an army commanded by Raghunathrao set out for Guzarat. With him went Vithal Shivdev, the founder of the Vinchurkar family, while Malharrao Holkar, Jayappa Sindia, a son of Ranoji, and Powar led contingents in the field. Forming a junction with Damaji Gaikvad, the combined forces, at least fifty thousand strong, invested Ahmadabad. The Moghul commander, Jawan Mard Khan Babi, was absent at Palanpur. He skilfully passed through the Maratha lines and threw himself into Ahmadabad. His defence of the town was loyal and resolute. At one time the Marathas mined the fortifications, but without result. At another they smuggled into the town seven hundred soldiers. These were discovered and slaughtered. At last, in March, 1753, Jawan Mard Khan Babi surrendered Ahmadabad. In exchange he and his brothers were confirmed in their possessions in Kathiawar, Balasinor and Radhanpur. Shripatrao Bapuji was appointed by the Peshwa Governor of Ahmadabad; but one gate of the city was entrusted to the keeping of the Gaikvad. In July, 1756, Momin Khan, Nawab of Cambay, with a body of Moghul troops occupied Ahmadabad in the absence of Shripatrao Bapuji at the Poona court. But Sadashiv, the son of Ramchandra Shenvi, sent by the Peshwa, was in October, 1757, with Damaji Gaikvad's help, able to dislodge

him. Thereafter the town remained in the undisturbed keeping of the Marathas.¹

Thus agreeably to the Peshwa's good fortune ended the Women's War. Umabai² and the Dabhades were reduced to impotence and poverty. Even Tarabai was not unaffected. She felt that she could not indefinitely defy the Peshwa. She had quelled a rising of the garrison by seizing and beheading their leader, Anandrao Jadhav. Such were her superhuman strength of will and vigour, that his fellow-conspirators, thinking her an evil spirit and therefore invincible, let themselves be executed without resistance. Having thus established a reign of terror in Satara, she consented to meet the Peshwa in Poona. She did so with the greater confidence in that Raghuji Bhosle's son Janoji, who was in the neighbourhood of Poona with a powerful army, assured Tarabai of his support. Trusting in this assurance, the old queen went in high state to Poona. She was received by Balaji with the utmost deference, and, after a show of reluctance, she made her submission and agreed to dismiss Baburao Jadhav, whom she had left in command behind her, and whom Balaji disliked. In return, Balaji left in her care her unfortunate grandson. He did, indeed, ask for Ramraja's release, but on this point the old beldame was obdurate; and in the end the Peshwa decided, perhaps wisely, to sacrifice the king for the peace of the kingdom. Tarabai did not trust Balaji's bare word and demanded that he should confirm it by an oath in the temple of Jejuri. That temple was not then the stately building, approached by a lofty staircase and adorned with shrines and parapets, that it now is. But it was nevertheless one of the holiest spots in the Deccan. It is sacred to the god Khandoba, of whom the following tale is related. Some Brahmans living near Jejuri were at one time tormented by a demon called Malla or Mallasur. In answer to their prayers, the god Shiva took shape as the warrior Khandoba and slew Malla. On the latter's death both Khandoba

¹ Elliott, p. 50.

² Umabai died on 28th November, 1753. On her death Balaji took Yashwantrao into the Carnatic. The fatigues of the march proved too severe. He died near Miraj on 18th May, 1754, leaving a son, Trimbakrao Dabhade (Riyasat).

and Malla were absorbed into the godhead. It was at this temple that Shivaji had met his father Shahaji. Aurangzib's men-at-arms had tried to plunder it, but had been ignominiously driven out by a swarm of hornets that miraculously issued forth from a hole in the temple wall. The bigoted emperor, convinced against his reason of the power of a Hindu idol, had bestowed on it a diamond worth a lakh and a quarter. In this temple, hallowed by the reverence of millions, Tarabai and Balaji met. On the 14th September, 1752, they swore that they would abide by their mutual promises, and Tarabai further declared on oath that Ramraja was not her grandson, but a *gondhali* and a common impostor. This statement Balaji affected to believe, since it justified him in taking no further steps to obtain Ramraja's freedom. After the interview the high contracting parties returned to their respective strongholds. Tarabai had indeed secured the perpetual custody of the king, but the real victory lay with the Peshwa. By a happy combination of courage and resource, skill and patience, he had defeated or disarmed all his enemies. The Chitpavan statesman was henceforth the sole ruler of the Maratha empire.

APPENDIX A

Letter from Balaji Peshwa to Nana Sahib Purandare
giving an account of the Battle of Satara

(Parasnis Collection)

To Rajeshri Nana,

With love and blessings from Balaji Bajirao. Your letter of the 28th Rabilakhar, sent with a messenger on camel, duly came to our hands on the 12th Jamadilavel. We came to know in detail the account of your fight with the Gaikvad in which he was routed and made to retreat to Gendya Mal; and the capture of three-fourths of his irregulars together with camels, horses and palanquins. The contents of the letter greatly pleased us. The messenger told us that the Gaikvad's camp was on the bank of the Yenna. Your camp is near the bank of the Krishna. Messrs. Manaji Paygude and Tatyā also must have joined you in your camp. With your united efforts, do not allow the Gaikvad to escape.

If the situation favours you, crush and defeat the Gaikvad's army and plunder him. Do not demobilize your forces till the Gaikvad is defeated and routed. We came to an amicable settlement with the Moghuls. All our business in this part is finished. With regular marches, we have been able to encamp ourselves at Nizamkonda on the 12th Jamadilavel. We shall expedite our march and come there soon. Do not allow the Gaikvad to escape. It is no surprise to us, that while the battle was being fought, Sonji Bhaskar and men in the service of the Huzurat and Raja Huzurat showed wonderful bravery; that Bapuji Baba was wounded with a sword, that Nagoram was wounded with shot, etc. It was in the fitness of things that these worthy soldiers rose to the occasion. For further conduct of the war, we fully rely on them. You should try to cheer everyone up. You won the victory in a battle which had been almost lost. You acquitted yourself in a way that would have befitted your ancestors. Your further manoeuvres to paralyse the foe should be regulated with great vigilance and caution. Exert yourselves to the utmost. We shall be coming soon.

CHAPTER XLIX

THE WAR AGAINST THE NIZAM

A. D. 1751 to 1752

WHILE Balaji was thus meeting with undaunted front the intrigues of Umabai and Tarabai and the army of Damaji Gaikvad, he was at the same time threatened by a domestic quarrel and a foreign war. The Peshwa saw that the feeling of the Maratha leaders opposed his reduction of Satara by force of arms. At the same time he realized more clearly than anyone the impossibility of ruling in harmony with the malignant Tarabai; but his views were not shared by his cousin Sadashivrao. The latter wished for himself the post of Peshwa's diwan and the ascendancy enjoyed in public affairs by his father, Chimnaji Appa. On the other hand, Balaji was unwilling to confer power on one who had so far shewn no proof of signal capacity. He had appointed Mahadji Purandare as his diwan and desired to keep him. His wife, Gopikabai, too, feared that the interests of her sons might suffer, if Sadashivrao obtained an undue influence over her husband. Thwarted in his ambition, Sadashivrao pressed on Balaji a further public reconciliation with Tarabai, but Balaji rejected his advice. The anger of the young Chitpavan was fanned by the malice of Ramchandra Malhar Shenvi. Ramchandra had been Kulkarni of Aravali in Savantvadi, but, unable to meet his ruler's demands, had fled to Satara. Under Bajirao he had distinguished himself both in arms and in business and had been appointed by that Peshwa diwan to Ranoji Sindia. While the latter remained poor, Ramchandra Malhar Shenvi amassed a large fortune. On Ranoji's death, Ramchandra wished to be confirmed in his post; but Jayappa Sindia had long been jealous of his power and saw with no favourable eye the splendour of his mode of life. At Poona Ramchandra lived in a seven-storied mansion built by himself, and his fame had spread throughout India, because

of his donations to temples and public charities, and especially because of the masonry works built by him on the banks of sacred rivers. The money that increased the glory of the minister had been, so Jayappa rightly guessed, pilfered from his master's revenues. Malharrao Holkar, the ruler of the neighbouring state, feared Ramchandra and also desired, although on different grounds, his removal. After his dismissal by Sindia, Ramchandra was appointed diwan to Sadashivrao. To his new master Ramchandra whispered that Sadashivrao's capacity was as great as his father's, and, sneering at his cousinly love and obedience, urged him to demand his rightful place in the administration. On Balaji's refusal to dismiss Purandare, Ramchandra Malhar tempted Sadashivrao to secure at the court of Kolhapur a position equal to Balaji's at the court of Satara. Thus, urged the insinuating diwan, would Tarabai's plots be set at nought. Sambhaji would take the place of Ramraja and once more a Bhosle would rule as king. Mahadji Purandare, too, favoured the scheme, as by Sadashivrao's departure for Kolhapur he himself would remain secure in his office. Behind his cousin's back, Sadashivrao entered into a correspondence with Sambhaji. The king readily agreed to make Sadashivrao his Peshwa and offered him by way of salary a *jaghir* of five thousand rupees a year and the three forts of Pargad, Bhimgad and Wallabhagad.¹ Jijabai, Sambhaji's queen, bitterly jealous of Tarabai, already counted on her rival's downfall; but the clear vision of the Peshwa penetrated the schemes of the conspirators. He so sternly upbraided Mahadji Purandare, that the latter in anger resigned his post, which the Peshwa at once bestowed on Sadashivrao. He attached Ramchandra Shenvi to his interest by appointing him his karbhari, but at the same time contrived to extort from him thirty-six lakhs of rupees. About Mahadji Purandare's future conduct the Peshwa felt grave doubts. But, although deeply hurt at the Peshwa's reprimand and the loss of his post, Purandare never wavered in his loyalty. As we have seen, he denounced as a traitor Damaji Gaikwad and sent his brother Trimbakrao in command of the force, that so

¹ Riyasat. Grant Duff gives the forts as Pargurh, Kallanidhee and Chundgurhee.

signally defeated him. On the Dasara festival following the collapse of Damaji's rebellion, the Peshwa was publicly reconciled to the Purandares and bestowed on them grants of land not inadequate to their great services. Ramchandra Malhar never again played a prominent part in public affairs. In 1752, he accompanied Balaji on a pilgrimage to Nasik on the Godavari river. The occasion was the Sinhast, the period when at the end of every twelve years the planet Jupiter enters the sign of the zodiac Leo. Thousands of pilgrims flock to the sacred river; for then, so it is believed, the Ganges pays her fairer but slighter sister a visit and joins her waters to those of the Godavari. Subsequently Ramchandra was entrusted with a small command, but achieved nothing noteworthy. At last the Peshwa, sure of Sadashivrao, dismissed from his service the unlucky Shenvi. In July, 1754, Ramchandra went on a pilgrimage to Pandharpur, but at the end of September he fell ill. On the 1st October, he was struck down by paralysis. Unconscious for three days, he died on the 4th October, 1754. He was burnt at Onkareshwar, the great burning-ghat reserved at Poona for the Brahman caste, and on his pyre his wife Dwarkabai burnt herself as a *sati*.

As I have related, the Peshwa had undertaken, in return for the cession of the districts of Aurangabad and Burhanpur, the elevation of Ghazi-ud-din to the throne of Asaf Jah.¹ The invasion of the Deccan by Damaji Gaikwad had forced the Peshwa to retreat. Once Damaji had surrendered, the Peshwa resolved to renew his interrupted campaign. He had received,

¹ Asaf Jah, the title of the Nizam, means one who is an Asaf in dignity. According to an old Musulman legend, Asaf, the son of Barachia, was the vazir of King Solomon and was renowned for his prudence and wisdom. Two instances are given in the Koran of his superhuman intelligence. On one occasion he contrived to bring underground to Jerusalem the throne of Balkis, the Queen of Sheba, by pronouncing the ineffable hundredth name of God, which he alone knew. On another occasion he discovered the wickedness of Jerada, the daughter of the King of Sidon. When Solomon had slain her father, he married Jerada. But in spite of her wedlock to a true believer, she and her maids secretly set up and worshipped the image of the dead king. Her wickedness was established by Asaf and adequately punished by King Solomon.

it is true, from Salabat Jang a cash payment of two lakhs ; but the bills on the bankers for fifteen lakhs had not been honoured and Ramdas had put Balaji off with false excuses, and, to make matters worse, had recently plundered a Maratha convoy. The Peshwa ordered Holkar and Sindia to join Ghazi-ud-din and to effect a junction with himself near Aurangabad, now occupied by Salabat Jang and his French allies. The news of this fresh campaign filled the Nizam and his advisers with consternation and dismay. But it was in the hour of danger that the courage of de Bussy rose to its greatest height. "Care nothing," he said to his trembling master, "care nothing for the invading army ; you will best preserve the Deccan by marching on Poona." With cool audacity the French general unfolded his plan and such was his influence that he overcame the fears of Salabat Jang. Leaving Aurangabad to its fate, the Moghul prince moved on to Golconda, and, after some days spent there in preparation, he marched through Pabal, Khedal and Ahmadnagar to Bedar on the road to Poona. As he marched, he contrived to send messages to Tarabai at Satara and received from the treacherous old queen favourable and encouraging replies. Near Parner de Bussy learnt of the approach of a Maratha army. Balaji, angered at the boldness of the Nizam's plan, had been sufficiently affected by it to detach forty thousand picked horsemen from the main army and lead them in pursuit. The Moghul forces consisted of large irregular levies, quite unfit to meet Balaji's cavalry. But with them were five hundred French infantry and five thousand highly disciplined sepoys led by French officers. On the news of the enemy's vicinity the Musulmans formed up to await the Maratha attack. De Bussy seized some heights on one of the flanks and put his field-pieces on them, so as to command the ground across which the Peshwa must charge. In support of the guns he drew up his disciplined infantry. Balaji attacked the Moghuls in the usual Maratha fashion, testing the whole line before charging home. But these proved bad tactics in face of the rapid shooting of the French cannon and the continuous fire of their drilled riflemen. The Maratha army after suffering some loss disappeared. De Bussy led the Moghuls on Poona, destroying all the villages through which they passed. The

Peshwa retaliated by getting his agents to spread among the Moghuls rumours of intended French treachery. De Bussy's answer was a brilliant *coup de main*. On the 22nd November, the Marathas were engaged at Kukadi in devotions inspired by an eclipse of the moon. Balaji, like most members of his family, was strict in his religious beliefs and encouraged his soldiers to pray to the Most High, to secure an early release of the moon from the clutches of the demon Ketu. While so engaged, they were surprised by de Bussy's trained troops. The Maratha army did not suffer heavily, but they abandoned their camp, from which the plundering Moghuls secured a considerable booty. Among their trophies were the golden utensils used by the Peshwa for himself and for his gods. On the 27th November, 1751, the French general took and sacked Ranjangaon and utterly destroyed Talegaon Damdhare.

De Bussy's plan of campaign had succeeded. So far from invading the Nizam's dominions, Balaji was perplexed how to save Poona. He reinforced his army by summoning to it the Sindia contingent, led by Dattaji and Madhavrao Sindia, two sons of Ranoji Sindia; and on the 27th November, 1751, he attacked the Moghul army on the banks of the Ghodnadi river with the utmost determination. The Maratha attack was led by Mahadji Purandare, Dattaji and Madhavrao Sindia and Kanherrao Trimbak Ekbote, a native of Purandar. A peculiar interest attaches to the last-named of the four leaders. On this day his gallantry was so splendid that, on the demand of the army, the Peshwa conferred on him the title of "Phakde" or "the brave". This title, or rather nickname, was only conferred three times by the Marathas and then only by the unanimous judgment of the troops. It entitled the recipient to wear a silver bangle on his horse's foreleg. The other two gallant men, who were similarly honoured, were Manaji Sindia and Captain James Stewart, still known to Maratha writers as Ishtur Phakde. We shall hear of them later. Kanherrao Phakde, as he was always known after the battle of Ghodnadi, lived for five years to enjoy his high reputation. In May, 1756, he was killed before Savanur by the side of Sadashivrao, the Peshwa's cousin.

So vigorous was the Maratha charge that Salabat Jang's levies were completely overwhelmed. The day was saved by



SADASHIVRAO BHAI

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de Bussy. Changing his front, he brought his guns to bear on the flank of the charging cavalry with such effect that he enabled the Moghuls to rally; and, although the Maratha losses were far less than those of their enemies, they eventually withdrew from the field, taking with them Salabat Jang's howdah, four elephants and seven hundred horses. The next day de Bussy pressed on to Koregaon on the river Bhima, a little town only sixteen miles from Poona. Balaji now decided to follow his foe's example and save his capital by carrying the war into his enemy's country. He directed Sadashivrao to enter into negotiations with the Nizam's Hindu diwan, Ramdas, to whom Dupleix had given the title of Raja Raghunathdas. The plenipotentiaries met, but the negotiations, no doubt at Balaji's orders, were deliberately drawn out. Before any settlement was arrived at, the Nizam was dismayed to hear that the fort of Trimbak had been escalated by a Maratha officer. While the Nizam vainly protested against the outrage and demanded the return of his property, news reached him that Raghuji Bhosle was overrunning, on his eastern frontier, the whole country between the Penganga and the Godavari. At the same time the Peshwa's agents fomented the discontent of the Moghul soldiery, by charging de Bussy with embezzling their pay, which they had not received for several months. Salabat Jang's confidence in his French general was shaken and he ordered a retreat to Ahmadnagar. Having reached that town in safety, the Nizam's courage returned. He replenished his ammunition and collected siege guns for the recapture of Trimbak. He set out northwards, but he was so harassed on his march that he abandoned his enterprise and once again sought de Bussy's counsel. That sagacious soldier saw that it was useless to continue the march on Trimbak. It was useless also to march on Poona, for the Moghuls had turned their backs on it and were now sixty miles away. He advised his master to ask for an armistice and thus secure his retreat to his own dominions. The Nizam took his advice. On the 7th January, Balaji at Shingwa granted an armistice in return for a promised cession of land. Salabat Jang sent some cakes, and his diwan, Raja Raghunathdas, sent some *tulsi* leaves as a proof of their good faith; and the lately victorious army retreated across their

own frontier. Salabat Jang was still in grave peril. His army was mutinous for want of pay, and during the homeward march Raja Raghunathdas was assassinated by some Afghan soldiers, with whose commander he had quarrelled. On de Bussy's advice the Nizam replaced the dead diwan by Sayad Lashkar Khan, the former governor of Aurangabad ; but it was still impossible to enter that city. Ghazi-ud-din, supported by Holkar and the main Maratha army, had occupied it with 1,50,000 men. To his cause had rallied the Moghul gentry of Aurangabad and Burhanpur ; and even Salabat Jang felt qualms about his right to supersede his elder brother. Indeed, he would in all probability have yielded to the persuasion of Sayad Lashkar Khan, who was a secret adherent of Ghazi-ud-din, and surrendered his throne in exchange for a landed estate. The Marathas would have acquired Aurangabad and Burhanpur under their agreement, and Ghazi-ud-din would have become the new autocrat of the Deccan. But this arrangement, which would have been fatal to French influence, was suddenly rendered impossible by the death of the viceroy-designate. At Aurangabad in the ancient palace of the subhedars lived one of the widows of the great Nizam-ul-Mulk. She had borne her husband one son, Nizam Ali ; and it was the darling wish of her heart to see her son succeed to his father's office. Two obstacles stood in his way. One, Salabat Jang, was safe with de Bussy and the army. The other, Ghazi-ud-din, was close at hand. On the 16th October, 1752, she invited her stepson to dinner and insisted on his partaking of one dish, which she said with truth she had prepared herself. The unfortunate claimant, suspecting nothing, ate of it freely ; the same night he died of poison. Salabat Jang had now no elder brother to dispute his claim. But the Maratha leaders insisted on his carrying out Ghazi-ud-din's engagements. In this they were supported by the Moghuls of Burhanpur, who, after the help given by them to Ghazi-ud-din, were afraid to remain Salabat Jang's subjects. The viceroy left the decision to de Bussy. The French general preferred a solid peace to a doubtful war and advised the surrender of a considerable tract of land, provided Raghuji Bhosle first withdrew from the eastern provinces. Balaji ordered Raghuji Bhosle to do so. He complied. Thus,

in spite of de Bussy's genius and of French valour, the Peshwa acquired in this war the sacred town and fort of Trimbak and the whole country west of Berar from the Tapti to the Godavari.¹

¹ This treaty is known in history as the treaty of Bhalki. It was concluded on the 25th November, 1752.

CHAPTER L

THE RISE OF THE ENGLISH AND THE FALL OF ANGRE

A. D. 1751 to 1757

AMONG my readers there must be many who, reading of the inability of the English to take Angre's fortresses and of their wavering and uncertain conduct during the siege of Bassein, have wondered how they came by their Indian Empire. The answer to that question is to be found in their struggles with the French in Southern India. In chapter xlv I described how the gallant de Bussy, in face of tremendous odds, stormed the fortress of Jinji. From that disaster Mahomed Ali escaped; afterwards he took shelter in Trichinopoli. In his despair he appealed to the English and they, correctly judging that the further growth of French power would mean their own expulsion, resolved to answer his appeal. Their first efforts were not successful. A relieving force under Captain Gingens was defeated at Volkonda and in several subsequent engagements. In the meantime Chanda Sahib and his French allies closely besieged Trichinopoli, which, so far as man could foresee, was a doomed city.

It was at this point that there appeared in the ranks of the English a genius of the first order. On the 29th September, 1725, in the small Shropshire town of Market Drayton was born a sickly child, to whom his parents gave the name of Robert Clive. His father was a struggling solicitor, to whom the practice of the law had brought but little profit. Unwilling to condemn his son to a profession in which he had himself earned so little wealth, his attention was drawn to the East by the large fortunes brought home about that time by men engaged in Indian trade. He obtained for his son a writership in the service of the East India Company and on the 10th March, 1743, the *Winchester*, a 500-ton ship owned by the Company left the Thames, carrying on board the founder of the English empire in India. It was not until June, 1744, more than a year

later, that Clive, a boy of seventeen, landed in Madras to begin his career. His salary was five pounds a year and his work consisted chiefly of trading on a small scale with Indian merchants and of attending long, compulsory services in church. A year or two of such a life would probably have killed Clive ; but on the 24th September, 1744, its monotony was broken by the news that France and England were again at war.¹ The fall of Madras and the siege of Pondicherry have already been related. It was at that siege that Clive, who had volunteered for active service, had his first real experience of war. He was present at the capture of Devicottah, stormed by the English on behalf of Shahaji, the Raja of Tanjore, who had been driven from his throne by his half-brother Pratapsing. He subsequently took part in the disastrous fight at Volkonda and barely escaped capture. But wherever he had served, his courage and resource had won him the high esteem of his commanding officers. So great was now his reputation, that he could without presumption submit to the Governor in Council a plan to restore the fallen fortunes of his country.

Clive's plan was at once simple and daring. It was to relieve Trichinopoli by a march into the enemy's country. Chanda Sahib in his anxiety to reduce his rival's last stronghold had denuded his own capital, Arcot. Let the English take Arcot, said Clive, and Chanda Sahib would, to recover it, raise the siege of Trichinopoli. The Madras Council, dominated by his genius, approved his plan. On the 6th September, 1751, Clive left Madras. On the 11th, he entered Arcot under cover of a thunderstorm, and the reduced garrison, terrified alike by the storm and the suddenness of the attack, fled without opposing him. The fall of Arcot had no effect on the serene mind of Dupleix and he ordered the siege of Trichinopoli to be pressed with greater vigour than before. But he could not soothe the fears of his ally. Chanda Sahib detached his son Raju Sahib with ten thousand men to win back the capital of the Carnatic. The details of the siege of Arcot live for ever in the glowing pages of Macaulay and need not be repeated here. It began on the 4th October, and on the 25th

¹ War was actually declared in March, 1744, but the news took six months to reach India.

November the baffled besiegers retreated to Vellore. The valour of the defenders, aided by a body of Maratha horse under Murarirao Ghorpade, a great nephew of Santaji Ghorpade, had triumphantly held against all assaults the great city. Clive now set himself to imitate the French methods of training Indian soldiers. Fired by his spirit and subjected to strict discipline, the English sepoy soon became the equal of the French. Reinforcements came from England, success followed success, until at last, on the 13th June, 1752, not Trichinopoly, but the besieging army of Chanda Sahib, surrendered to the English. Chanda Sahib was beheaded and Mahomed Ali was proclaimed by his English allies Nawab of the Carnatic. The cost of this disastrous expedition alienated the sympathies of the French East India Company from Dupleix. They wanted not glory, but dividends, and, impatient at his failure to provide them, they resolved to recall him. They sent in his place a Monsieur Godeheu ; and on the 14th October, 1754, the greatest Frenchman of his time left India for ever. Anxious to secure peace at any price, Godeheu directed his officers to act strictly on the defensive. The result was as might have been anticipated. The moral of the French armies declined, while that of the English armies rose. On the 13th December Monsieur Godeheu obtained from the Madras Government a contemptuous peace, by which he sacrificed the French claims in the Carnatic and recognized Mahomed Ali as Nawab. De Bussy's name was omitted from the treaty and he still remained supreme at the court of the Nizam, Salabat Jang.

The success of the English arms against the French, for a short time deemed invincible, had deeply impressed the discerning mind of Balaji Bajirao. He resolved to use the English to remove French influence from the dominions of the Nizam, which he secretly hoped to annex to his own. He cultivated friendly relations with Mr. Bouchier, the Governor of Bombay, and invited him to join the Marathas in an attack on Janjira. This invitation Mr. Bouchier declined, pleading the long alliance between the English and the Sidis. In return he invited the Peshwa to join him in the destruction of the Angres. This proposal a man so far-sighted as the Peshwa would certainly not have accepted, had events not favoured the

English. The quarrel between Sambhaji Angre and Manaji Angre had caused the war between king Shahu and the Portuguese, and had ended in the Maratha conquest of Salsette and Bassein. Sambhaji retained the fortresses of Suvarnadurg and Vijayadurg or Gheria. Kolaba remained with Manaji. Sambhaji had always kept near him his half-brother Tulaji, and on Sambhaji's death, not long after the fall of Bassein, Tulaji succeeded to Sambhaji's share of the great Kanhoji Angre's inheritance. Tulaji kept alive his brother's family feuds and added to them other feuds of his own making. He quarrelled with Sadashivrao and carried off the ladies of Manaji's household. So outrageous was his conduct that Brahmendraswami felt constrained to write him a reproachful letter, in which he implored him to be reconciled with Manaji and to join with him in the destruction of the Sidis.¹ The shameless Tulaji, unmoved by this saintly epistle, continued to plunder the ships of all nations and even to levy contributions from the Peshwa's own territories. He affected to be the ally of Ramraja and of Tarabai, and defied the usurper, as he styled Balaji, to reduce him to obedience. Nor was it a light task to do so. Tulaji's infantry numbered thirty thousand. His numerous artillery was served by European gunners and his sixty war-ships were the terror of the Indian Ocean. To Ramaji Mahadev Biwalkar the turbulence of Tulaji Angre was particularly obnoxious. As Sarsubhadar of the Konkan, Ramaji Mahadev had jurisdiction over Salsette, Bassein, Thana and Kolaba. At Kalyan, his headquarters, he built a stately mansion, still the home of his descendants. At Thana the temple of Koupineshwar still perpetuates his name, and in his house in that city British judges to-day dispense law and justice. It was Ramaji Mahadev's duty to collect the Angre tribute, but, so far from paying it, Angre cut off the noses of the unfortunate men sent to collect it. He followed up this insolence by storming the fort of Ratnagiri, held by Amatya Bawadekar in the Peshwa's interest. To punish the sea-rover was impossible, so long as he held the great forts of Suvarnadurg and Vijayadurg ; so, with a skill sharpened by hatred, Ramaji Mahadev strove to unite in

¹ See Appendix A.

a league against Tulaji, his brother Manaji Angre, the English and the Peshwa. The alliance of the English and of Manaji was easily obtained. But the Peshwa was for long reluctant to call in foreign aid against a Maratha subject. At last Tulaji's excesses and Ramaji's instances won Balaji over. On the 19th March, 1755, a treaty was signed by the English and the Marathas. The English were to command the allied fleets. Their reward was to be the forts of Bankot and Himmatgad together with five villages and also half the ships captured by the allies. The remaining forts, with their treasures and armament, were to become the property of the Peshwa. On the 22nd March, 1755, the English fleet weighed anchor. Their squadron consisted of the *Protector*, the *Bombay*, the *Swallow*, the *Triumph* and the *Viper*. They were under the command of an able and skilful sailor, Commodore James. At Chaul, thirty miles from Bombay, the English squadron met the Maratha fleet. It numbered sixty-seven galleys and barges, locally known as gallivats and grabs. On board were ten thousand Maratha troops. On the 2nd April the allied fleet reached Suvarnadurg. Eighty miles south of Bombay, Suvarnadurg stood on a low irregular island about a quarter of a mile from the shore. The fortifications were built out of the solid rock and the channel was protected by three forts named Goa, Fatehdurg and Connoidurg. On the 2nd and 3rd April, Commodore James bombarded Angre's fortresses without result. On the 4th April the outer strongholds struck their colours. Only Suvarnadurg remained. But for months past Ramaji Mahadev had been corrupting its garrison. Thus, when a landing party from the ships disembarked to carry it by storm, they met with little or no resistance.

On the fall of the outer forts, Tulaji had fled to Vijayadurg, where he remained in safety until the following year. The approach of the monsoon made Commodore James anxious to return to Bombay, which he did on the 17th May. Ramaji Mahadev, reinforced by a strong body of troops under Shamsheer Bahadur, the son of Bajirao and Mastani, took all Tulaji's lands in the neighbourhood of the conquered fortress. Another detachment under Khandoji Mankar drove Tulaji's soldiers from the villages near Vijayadurg. The attack on Vijayadurg itself was postponed until the next dry season.

In the meantime the English Government had decided to drive de Bussy from the Deccan. Their plan was to invade, together with an allied Maratha force, the Nizam's dominions, and force him to dismiss de Bussy. It was too far to do this from the Carnatic. The starting-point, therefore, of the English expedition was to be Bombay. In March, 1754, Admiral Watson sailed for the East Indies with six ships of the line. They had on board the 39th regiment of 700 men, and some 240 gunners and recruits for the Company's regiments. On the 23rd April, 1755, Clive, who had been to England to recruit his health, sailed for Bombay on the *Stretham*, one of a squadron of ships that carried several hundred more English soldiers. The second squadron reached Bombay in October, 1755, and found Admiral Watson's ships already in the harbour. Clive was the senior military officer and took command of the troops. He learnt to his dismay that the Bombay Government, alarmed at the cost of the expedition to the Nizam's dominions, had made the recent truce with Godeheu an excuse for abandoning it. They decided instead to use the expeditionary force for the reduction of Vijayadurg. That fortress stands about a hundred miles lower down the coast than Suvarnadurg. On the 7th February, 1756, the fleet sailed from Bombay. Khandoji Mankar's force had been camped round Vijayadurg since the previous November and was engaged with Tulaji Angre in negotiations for its surrender. On seeing the great strength of the English armada, Tulaji fled in terror from the doomed stronghold and took shelter in Khandoji Mankar's lines. Neither Khandoji Mankar nor Ramaji Mahadev wished any longer to storm Vijayadurg, since Tulaji was in their power and could be forced to surrender it at any moment. But the English commanders resented the separate negotiations of the Marathas, and on the 12th April, 1756, their attack began. By 6-36 p.m. Angre's entire fleet had been destroyed and the English colours flew over Vijayadurg. Tulaji spent the rest of his life in captivity, first in Chandan Wandan fort near Satara and afterwards at Sholapur. The Peshwa annexed his lands.

After this brilliant feat of arms Watson and his squadron sailed for Madras, which they reached on the 14th May, 1756. On the 22nd June, Clive was appointed Governor of Madras,

On the 14th July, 1756, the news reached him that the Nawab of Bengal, Suraj-ud-Daulah had declared war on the English. It will be remembered that in 1750 Alla Vardi Khan ceded to the Marathas the province of Orissa by way of settlement for the *chauth* of Bengal. He lived for six years after making this cession, dying in 1756, at the ripe age of eighty. To his dying day he remained on friendly terms with the English, whose settlement, founded by Job Charnock at Satanathi Hath, or the cotton thread market, had grown into the rich emporium of Calcutta. On Alla Vardi Khan's death his grandson Suraj-ud-Daulah succeeded him. He had seen with apprehension the position reached by the English in the Carnatic and by the French at Aurangabad, and the fall of Vijayadurg added to his fears. The erection of fortifications round Calcutta and the refusal of the English merchants to surrender a certain Kishindas, his aunt's lover and a conspirator against his throne, furnished Suraj-ud-Daulah with an excuse ; and on the 28th May, 1756, he marched with thirty thousand men against Calcutta.¹

In August the news of the declaration of war was confirmed by worse news still. On the 26th June, 1756, Calcutta had fallen after a three days' siege and the survivors of the garrison had, all save a handful, perished in the Black Hole. War was imminent between France and England. In Chandanagore was a large French garrison and at Aurangabad was de Bussy, the one man in India whose talents as a general equalled those of Clive. A junction between the French forces and the Nawab's army meant the permanent extinction of the English settlements in Bengal. The Peshwa seems to have been deeply shocked at the misfortunes of his allies. He begged Drake, the Governor of Calcutta, not to make peace with the Nawab, and offered him the assistance of 120,000 horse. The offer was declined ; but Balaji redoubled his intrigues at Aurangabad, with the result that de Bussy, as we shall see hereafter, so far from being able to send help to Bengal, was forced to struggle for his very existence. On their side the English acted with promptitude and vigour. On the

¹ Forest's *Life of Clive*, p. 429.

9th December, Watson and Clive with an English army sailed up the Hughli. On the 2nd January, they retook Calcutta. With consummate skill, Clive lulled the Nawab with hopes of an alliance, while he prepared for an attack on Chandanagore. On the 23rd March, after a gallant defence, Chandanagore fell, and Clive marched against the Nawab. On the 23rd June, 1757, was fought the memorable battle of Plassey. In a single day Clive overthrew the great structure reared by Alla Vardi Khan ; and the whole vast province of Bengal, towards which the Marathas had often cast longing eyes, became the spoil of the English merchants. In barely ten years the English had risen from petty traders to be the only real rivals of the Maratha people.

APPENDIX A

Letter from Brahmendraswami to Tulaji Angre

To Tulaji, after compliments,—You have committed a thousand crimes. I should never have addressed a line to you ; but I am writing this letter in the hope that you may be reconciled to Manaji, for, if you are, I shall have done a great thing. Send back to Manaji the ladies of his household. I have spoken to Manaji too, and I am sure that he will behave well, for I have examined his inmost heart. You are brothers and you should be friends and join in some great work ; and this we urge you to do.

(Parasnis Collection)

CHAPTER LI

BALAJI TRIUMPHS OVER DE BUSSY

A. D. 1753 to 1757

It is now necessary to revert to affairs in the Nizam's dominions and to Southern India. In the troubled times that followed the return of Shahu, the Maratha possessions in the south of India fell away one after the other. At first so large a number of petty chieftains assumed the title of nawab and established themselves at various spots, that the great Nizam-ul-Mulk threatened to scourge any officer who dared to call himself Nawab without the Nizam's permission. This drastic threat reduced the number of nawabs to five. Of these the greatest was the Nawab of the Carnatic; then came the Afghan Nawabs of Kadapa, Sira, Kurnul and Savanur. In addition to the five nawabs, several Hindu rajas had made themselves independent; of these the most important were the Rajas of Bednur and Tanjore. Bednur, according to local legend, had been founded in 1560 by two brothers who were known as Nayaks or headmen of the petty village of Kiladi, to the north-west of Maisur, or, as the English call it, Mysore.¹ They happened to find a vampire's treasure and appeased the vampire by the sacrifice of a human victim. By means of their newly-gotten wealth they were able to conquer a strip of territory, for which they got a grant from the Raja of Vijayanagar. Their descendants moved to Ikkeri, where the Italian traveller Pietro della Valle met them. From Ikkeri Sivappa Nayak moved to Bidururu or the bamboo town, now known as Bednur. So great was the fortune of Sivappa Nayak and his descendants that at the beginning of the eighteenth century the Rajas of Bednur ruled over ten thousand square miles.

On Shahaji's death, as already related, Vyankoji, the brother of Shivaji, became Raja of Tanjore. Vyankoji had three

¹ Maisur takes its name from Mahishasura, the buffalo-headed demon, slain by the goddess Parvati or Kali.

sons, of whom Tukoji alone had issue. Two of Tukoji's sons survived him. One, Sayaji was legitimate ; the other, Pratapsing was the son of a concubine. Tukoji towards the end of his reign fell under the control of a Musulman officer. On his death the Musulman officer raised Sayaji to the throne, but in 1741 dispossessed him in favour of Pratapsing. The new prince was a man of some vigour and resource, and freed himself from his protector by assassination. Sayaji escaped to the shelter of Madras.

At Gooti were established the family of Santaji Ghorpade. Their leader was the gallant Murarirao Ghorpade, Santaji's great nephew, by whose help Clive was able successfully to defend Arcot. Lastly, a new and powerful state had grown up round the great fort of Shrirangapatan or the town of the god Krishna, known to English writers as Seringapatam. The tale of its growth is shortly as follows :—

At the close of the fourteenth century two Rajputs, Vijayaraj and Krishnaraj, who claimed descent from the divine Krishna, left their town, Dwarka, and journeyed south in search of adventure, romance and fortune. In the course of their wanderings they reached the town of Hadinad close to Mysore. At Hadinad they found what they had been seeking. The local Wadiar or prince had gone mad and a neighbouring chief demanded from him his daughter's hand or in the alternative his family lands and possessions. The father's deranged mind was incapable either of consent or refusal. The prince's relatives appealed to the two young Rajputs, who by their craft slew the hateful suitor and by their valour seized his estate. As a reward Vijayaraj obtained the hand of the grateful princess, and he and his brother adopted the *lingayat* faith of their new subjects. For two hundred years Vijayaraj's descendants were satisfied with their small principality. In 1565, the defeat and death of Ramraj, King of Vijayanagar, to whom they were subject, shook his kingdom to its foundations. It gradually fell to pieces and the former vassals of Vijayanagar strove with each other for the fragments. In 1609, Raj Wodiari, seventh in descent from Vijayaraj, seized the fortress of Shrirangapatan; to celebrate this event he renounced the *lingayat* doctrines and he and his family became once more worshippers of the god Krishna.

In 1699, the Emperor Aurangzib had planned the subjugation of Mysore; but the ruling chief, Chikka Devaraj, who had skilfully increased his territories at the expense of his neighbours, sent the Emperor so tactful an embassy that Aurangzib changed his mind and, receiving the chieftain's homage, gave him the title of Raja Jaga Deva and an ivory throne. Chikka Devaraj's successors were men without capacity and their power fell into the hands of their ministers. In 1733, the direct descent ended with the death of Dodda Krishnaraj, and thereafter the new chiefs were elected at the pleasure or the whim of their commanders-in-chief, best known by their official title of Dalwais.¹

It will be remembered that, shortly after Bajirao's appointment as Peshwa, a quarrel arose between him and Shripatrao the Pratinidhi as to the royal policy. The latter pressed for the consolidation of the Maratha possessions and then a re-conquest of Shivaji's southern acquisitions. Bajirao had successfully urged a direct thrust at the heart of the Moghul Empire. The thrust had been fatal. To use Balaji's own simile, the trunk had been struck down and the branches had fallen of themselves. It only remained for the Marathas to gather them. This Balaji resolved to do and 'We must conquer the whole Deccan' became the common catchword of the court and the army. Had Ghazi-ud-din lived and mounted the throne by the aid of Maratha arms, Balaji would surely have reached his goal. But behind Salabat Jang stood de Bussy with his French soldiers, and trained artillery and infantry, whose value had been shewn in the fighting of 1751. To the riddance, therefore, of de Bussy from the court of the Nizam, the Peshwa devoted all the resources of his acute and powerful mind. In his efforts he received ample help from his agent at the Nizam's court, Shyamji Govind Dikshit. So long as de Bussy remained at his post, Balaji's schemes made little headway. The fort at Haidarabad to which Salabat Jang had moved was at a safe distance from the Maratha frontier and was garrisoned by de Bussy's troops. Their cannon threatened the town; at the same time, so strict was their discipline and so exemplary their conduct,

¹ See Appendix A for the genealogy of the chiefs of Mysore.

that they won the esteem and affection of the townspeople. In 1753, however, de Bussy was laid low by an illness so severe that a change to the sea-coast became necessary for his cure. He was carried to Machlipatan, now known as Masulipatam, a town near the mouth of the Krishna river, and his illness and departure gave his enemies their chance. On the assassination of Raja Raghunathdas, the post of Diwan to the Nizam had, as already related, fallen vacant and Salabat Jang had, on de Bussy's advice, appointed to it Sayad Lashkar Khan. This man's affected friendship had deceived de Bussy; but he really detested the French because of their overthrow of Nasir Jang, for whom Lashkar Khan had felt a deep affection. He was in constant correspondence with Balaji, and, as soon as de Bussy had left for the sea-coast, he began to work in the Peshwa's interest. He encouraged, nay pressed Goupil, de Bussy's lieutenant, to relax the strictness of his discipline. Drunkenness and disorder took the place of order and discipline, and the French soon became as hateful as formerly they had been popular. Sayad Lashkar Khan declared himself unable to pay the troops, and advised the officers to collect their pay by plundering the neighbouring districts. Goupil, deceived by his enemy's courtly manners, divided his small force into raiding detachments. Having thus reduced Goupil's strength, Sayad Lashkar Khan persuaded Salabat Jang to return to Aurangabad, a spot at once nearer to Balaji and further from de Bussy. While the French cause was thus tottering to its fall, de Bussy lay sick at Masulipatam. But at the news of danger his ardent spirit triumphed over illness. He returned at full speed to Haidarabad, recalled his detachments and forced the governor of that city to pay his troops. Their confidence restored, de Bussy led them in October, 1753, against Aurangabad. The miserable Sayad lost courage as soon as his schemes were penetrated. He made no effort to stop the march of the French; and on the 4th December he was forced to sign on behalf of Salabat Jang a grant to de Bussy of a great tract of land along the eastern coast, 470 miles long and from thirty to a hundred miles wide. It was watered by two noble rivers, the Godavari and the Krishna, and included the towns of Vizagapatam, Rajamundri and Ellore. The tract was known as the

Northern Sirkars, a name that it still bears. De Bussy was now independent of both Salabat Jang and his minister, and he proceeded to raise fresh troops and to govern the assigned lands with a moderation and wisdom that did him the greatest honour.

Baffled by the cowardice of Sayad Lashkar Khan, Balaji did not despair. He urged him to fresh plots ; and, when the Nizam replaced the Sayad by one Shah Nawaz Khan, Balaji entered into close relations with him. This was easily done ; for Shah Nawaz Khan had also been a devoted adherent of Nasir Jang and he hated the French as cordially as the Sayad did. The recall of Dupleix by the French East India Company and the recognition of Mahomed Ali by Godeheu also aided Balaji's policy. The Nizam was vexed beyond measure at the French recognition of his enemy as the occupant of one of his own vassal thrones, without his previous consent. De Bussy did his best to smooth matters over, but his position at the Nizam's court was greatly shaken. To complete his downfall Shah Nawaz Khan advised Salabat Jang to demand the Moghul tribute from Mysore. This proposal he hoped de Bussy would oppose, as the Mysore Government were then actively helping the French. De Bussy was, however, equal to the occasion. He openly approved the advice and secretly sent a warning to the Dalwai or commander-in-chief of Mysore. Having thus done all he could for his allies, he took the direction of the invading army. Three days after crossing the Mysore frontier, he was in sight of Seringapatam. The unfortunate Mysore Government were completely paralysed by the absence of their troops and the celerity of de Bussy's movements. Worse news, however, awaited them. A great Maratha army under Balaji's own leadership now invaded Mysore from the west. This was not the first time that the Marathas had invaded Southern India. As I have related in the first volume of this history, Shivaji had conquered a dominion that stretched south of the Tungabhadra from sea to sea. Bajirao had again penetrated southward in 1726. In 1747 Sadashivrao had led thither a large army and had annexed nearly half the lands then ruled over by the Nawab of Savanur. The expedition of 1754-1755 was conducted on a great scale.

From every village through which his army passed, Balaji extorted one-fourth of the revenue, either in cash or in bills. Several strong places were stormed, the garrisons killed and the treasure-chests seized. Among them was the fortress of Hole Honnur on the river Bhadra, one of the confluent of the Tungabhadra. The Peshwa was still deeply in debt, as the result of the extravagance of Shahu and of his own father Bajirao. He was determined to make his government solvent at the expense of Mysore and he was merciless in his exactions. He joined Salabat Jang's army beneath the walls of Seringapatam. In the meantime the Dalwai had been forced to promise to the Nizam a ransom of fifty-two lakhs of rupees. He had already stripped the rich jewels from the temple images of Seringapatam and from the arms and wrists of the royal ladies, but even so he had collected only one-third of the sum claimed. The Peshwa now demanded a further vast sum as arrears of his tribute. De Bussy, on behalf both of the Nizam and the Dalwai, obtained an audience of the Brahman prince. This was the first time that these two eminent men had met. Balaji was deeply impressed by de Bussy's bearing, his studied courtesy, his unruffled temper, and above all by his vast capacity for military and civil affairs. He listened attentively to the French general's address and was led to the view that it was useless to make further demands on Mysore. The Peshwa had already obtained by plunder on the march more than enough to settle his debts and with this he agreed to remain content. He did not, however, give up his plan of removing de Bussy from the counsels of Salabat Jang; but he modified it and determined after removing him from Aurangabad to employ him in his own service at Poona.

The Peshwa withdrew his army from Seringapatam, but he overran Jamkhandi and fought a series of actions at Harihar, Bagalkot and Mundlagi. The campaign continued all through the winter and summer of 1755. In January, 1755, Mahadji Purandare was given a separate command to plunder Bednur. This duty he effectually performed, but in the performance he quarrelled with Muzaffar Khan, the commandant of the Maratha artillery. The latter had been trained by de Bussy and had left his service for that of the Peshwa.

He now deserted the Peshwa's service for that of the Nawab of Savanur. Early in April, 1755, the Peshwa returned to Poona and, as already related, engaged at once in the war against Tulaji Angre. Immediately the monsoon of 1755 had passed, the tireless Peshwa was once again at the head of his southern army. He had appointed Panse to the command of his artillery, but he deeply resented the desertion of Muzaffar Khan. He demanded his surrender of the Nawab of Savanur. The latter returned a haughty answer and leagued himself with the Maratha chief, Murarirao Ghorpade, who would not acknowledge the Peshwa, and with the Nawabs of Kadapa and Kurnul. Against this formidable league the Peshwa invoked the help of the Nizam. He justly represented that a league of Afghan nawabs supported by Murarirao Ghorpade would, after defying the Peshwa, repudiate the suzerainty of the Nizam. Shah Nawaz Khan supported the Peshwa's agent, and an allied Moghul and Maratha force marched into the country of Savanur. In the forefront of the Maratha army were many famous leaders—Mulharrao Holkar, Vithal Shivdev Vinchurkar and Naro Shankar. Raghuji Bhosle was absent, for earlier in the year, on the 14th February, 1755, that gallant old chief had died of dysentery, and thirteen Maratha ladies had, in his honour, thrown themselves on his flaming pyre. He had tried to divide his state among his four sons, Janoji and Sabaji, Mudhoji and Bimbaji; but the brothers quarrelled and the Peshwa turned their disputes to his own advantage. He conferred Raghuji's title of Sena Sahib Subha on Janoji, recognized him as his father's heir and obtained from him a *nazar* of seven lakhs. In the expedition against Savanur both Janoji and Mudhoji were present.

The Peshwa at the head of a great army met the Pathan nawabs and Murarirao Ghorpade not far from Savanur and inflicted on them so severe a defeat, that they were forced to take shelter in the fortress. On Salabat Jang's arrival the siege began. De Bussy had raised his artillery to the highest pitch of efficiency, and the tremendous effect of his cannon at this siege has passed into legend.¹ Murarirao Ghorpade, seeing the confederates' cause hopeless, entered into negotiations

¹ It is said that de Bussy fired 125,000 shells into Savanur (Riyasat).

with de Bussy and deserted to the Peshwa. Eventually the Nawab of Savanur sued for peace and obtained it in return for an indemnity of eleven lakhs, large cessions of territory and the surrender of Muzaffar Khan, who once more became an artillery officer of the Peshwa. In the course of this expedition the Marathas acquired among other places Belgaum, Sholapur and Hubli. Peace was declared in May, 1756 and in June, 1756, as I have already mentioned, the Nawab of Bengal stormed Calcutta. Balaji feared that a junction between the French and the Nawab of Bengal would be fatal to the English. He now evolved a fresh plan, by which he hoped to paralyse the French, drive de Bussy from the Nizam's service, and employ him in his own. In the course of the siege of Savanur, Murarirao Ghorpade had, to induce de Bussy to favour his negotiations, returned him a bond which the French authorities had given Murarirao in recognition of his services against the English at Trichinopoli. The French authorities since Godeheu's ignominious peace were no longer able to redeem it. De Bussy took the bond and spoke on Murarirao's behalf both to the Peshwa and the Nizam. The Peshwa came to hear of the bond and told Shah Nawaz Khan. The latter told the Nizam, at the same time painting de Bussy's conduct in the blackest colours. While Salabat Jang had received nothing, said Shah Nawaz Khan, de Bussy had behind his master's back received a rich bribe from Ghorpade. Other Musulman nobles, jealous of de Bussy's power, supported Shah Nawaz Khan, with the result that the Nizam formally dismissed de Bussy from his service. Immediately this blow had been struck, Shah Nawaz Khan invited the English to attack de Bussy's force and the Peshwa to have him assassinated. Both invitations were declined. The English had no troops to spare, and the generous Brahman not only scorned to assassinate the French general but sent to his help a large body of horse under Malharrao Holkar, offering him the same pay and advantages that he had enjoyed at Haidarabad. De Bussy, however, declined the gracious offer and, after courteously dismissing the Maratha escort, marched from the Nizam's camp to Haidarabad. With incomparable skill he evaded or swept aside the forces sent to attack him, and, reaching his goal in safety, established himself

in a garden known as the Char Mahal or the four palaces. From his new camp he sent for reinforcements to Pondicherry and Masulipatam. Moracin, the French Governor of Masulipatam, sent a Scotch officer named Law, a brother of the famous speculator of the d'Orleans regency, with a detachment of one hundred and sixty Europeans, seven hundred sepoys and five guns. A further body of seven hundred men and six guns was sent from Pondicherry, and the two forces, having met, set out to join de Bussy. As they advanced their difficulties grew and enemies sprang up from every defile, thicket and river bed. At last, when at Meliapur, only seventeen miles from Haidarabad, Law took post and sent word to de Bussy that he could advance no farther. Back came the stern answer, "I bid you march forward in the name of the King." Law dared not disobey and once more the advance began. De Bussy did all that he could to help it. He had induced Ramchandra Jadhav, the son of the rebel Chandrasen Jadhav and Rav Rambha Janoji Nimbalkar of Karmala, two of the three Maratha leaders sent against Law, to take no active part against him. He also made a feigned attack on the Nizam's troops near his own camp, and simultaneously sent a force to escort Law during the last few miles of his march. Helped in this way, Law after very severe fighting succeeded in reaching de Bussy. An hour after Law's arrival in the French camp, de Bussy received a letter from Salabat Jang offering to reinstate him. De Bussy accepted the offer and on the 20th August, after passing through a crisis which no ordinary man would have survived, he was publicly reinstated by the Nizam in all his titles, lands and dignities.

De Bussy was now, it would seem, free to act with the Nawab of Bengal; but the resources of the Peshwa's diplomacy were inexhaustible. While de Bussy was surmounting insuperable obstacles in and near Haidarabad, the agents of Shah Nawaz Khan, prompted by Balaji, had raised a revolt in the Northern Sirkars. Directly the rainy season permitted, de Bussy was forced to proceed there. On the 16th November, the French general with five hundred Frenchmen and four thousand sepoys set out for the assigned districts. In three months he had reduced them to obedience, and he was preparing

to march northward to relieve Chandanagore, when he received the fatal news that the city had fallen on the 23rd March. It was useless now to go north, but vengeance might still be exacted from the English settlements in the east and south. He took successively the English factories at Vizagapatam, Madapollam, Bandarmalanka and Injiram, and was getting ready to sweep the English from Southern India when he was again stayed by news from Haidarabad. In his absence Shah Nawaz Khan, in league with the Peshwa, had woven a most formidable plot not only against de Bussy but against Salabat Jang himself (May, 1757). Their intention was to confine Salabat Jang and to declare his brother Nizam Ali Subhedar of the Deccan. Shah Nawaz Khan seized Daulatabad, pretending to be afraid of his own troops. He invited Salabat Jang to visit him there; but from this folly he was dissuaded by the French officers of his escort. Shah Nawaz Khan then refused to surrender the fortress. Nizam Ali, who was Governor of Berar, pretended to be shocked at the rebellion against his brother and marched with all speed to Haidarabad, really intending to seize Salabat Jang in his own camp. At the same time a Maratha army under Janoji Bhosle invaded the Nizam's dominions from the north; and another Maratha army under the Peshwa's eldest son Vishvas-rao concentrated on the Godavari. A third Maratha force attacked and defeated Ramchandra Jadhav, who was marching to Salabat Jang's aid, and besieged him in the town of Sindkhed. The leader of this third contingent was Madhav-rao Sindia and against him Nizam Ali pretended to march. Madhavrao Sindia, acting under the Peshwa's instructions, allowed Nizam Ali to relieve Sindkhed. Nizam Ali offered the Peshwa the price agreed on secretly for his assistance, namely, the cession of a tract of land producing twenty-five lakhs of revenue, together with the fort of Naldurg. Balaji and Nizam Ali then marched as friends to Aurangabad; and the next step would assuredly have been the deposition of Salabat Jang. But, before this could be achieved, de Bussy came by forced marches from the Northern Sirkars. His arrival foiled the plot. He recovered Daulatabad and overawed the conspirators. Nizam Ali, in his rage at his failure, murdered Haidar Jang, de Bussy's confidential agent. He

then fled for his life to Burhanpur and in the tumult that followed Shah Nawaz Khan was killed. The Marathas withdrew, but were consoled for their check by the capture of Shivner. That mighty fortress close to Junnar had long been coveted by the Maratha Government. It was the birthplace of the great king, who had more than once tried to take it. Its commandant, Alamkhan now surrendered it, induced to this act of treachery by the handsome bribe offered him by Uddhav Vireshwar Chitale, a Maratha officer. De Bussy, for the moment master of the situation, made Basalat Jang, Salabat Jang's remaining brother, diwan, and proposed through him to govern the entire Deccan. It might thus seem that de Bussy had won in his struggle with Balaji. In reality the latter had reached his goal. While de Bussy was struggling to save Salabat Jang, the English had fought and won Plassey and conquered Bengal. Nothing that the French could now do was of any use. De Lally, the new French Governor-General, anxious to concentrate his troops for an attack on Madras, recalled de Bussy; and on the 21st July, 1758, the great soldier said good-bye to Salabat Jang for ever. The attack on Madras failed. The Northern Sirkars were conquered by the English and the French were expelled from the Nizam's dominions. It was thus Balaji who had won in the contest and it was not long before he reaped the fruits of his victory.

The Peshwa's plans were favoured by the turbulence and faithlessness of Nizam Ali. On reaching Burhanpur the latter levied a heavy contribution and proceeded to raise troops. He was soon joined by Ibrahim Khan Gardi with a corps of artillery. This celebrated individual had at one time been a favourite officer of de Bussy and had become an expert in the French method of serving their cannon. He had left the service of the French for that of Nizam Ali, had rejoined de Bussy at Haidarabad, and on his recall had once more thrown in his lot with Nizam Ali. His surname Gardi was a corruption of the French word "Garde". Basalat Jang persuaded Janoji Bhosle to attack the rebel, but by the aid of Ibrahim Gardi's artillery, Nizam Ali defeated the Maratha leader. Janoji Bhosle, thereafter, on instructions received from the Peshwa, joined the pretender's cause.

Another event helped Nizam Ali. Salabat Jang, in answer to an appeal from his French friends, marched to relieve Masulipatam, then besieged by the English. In his absence Nizam Ali took Aurangabad and marched on Haidarabad. In all haste Salabat Jang patched up a treaty with the English and returned to drive away his brother. But Nizam Ali's position had become so strong that Salabat Jang was forced to accept him as his diwan and to dismiss Basalat Jang. Nizam Ali on his part agreed to dismiss Ibrahim Gardi, who at once entered the service of Sadashivrao.

Nizam Ali, having become supreme in his brother's viceroyalty, refused to carry out the treaty of Sakhar Khedale,¹ as the treaty concluded between him and the Peshwa was called. He also refused to become the subordinate ally of the Peshwa, as Balaji demanded. In spite of the Peshwa's remonstrances, he allied himself to the English. All through 1759, therefore, Balaji and Sadashivrao made extensive preparations for war. On the 9th November, 1759, the Peshwa's officer, Visaji Krishna Biniwale induced Kavijang, the Musulman governor of Ahmadnagar to surrender it in return for a perpetual jaghir of fifty thousand rupees. This act led to an open rupture between the two powers. Some delay took place in the Maratha movements by reason of Muzaffar Khan's attempt on the life of Sadashivrao. Muzaffar Khan, as will be remembered, had on the fall of Savanur re-entered the Maratha service. Sadashivrao, who disliked him, protested, but was overruled. Afterwards Sadashivrao tried to get Ibrahim Khan Gardi appointed in Muzaffar Khan's place as commandant of the Peshwa's artillery corps. Although the two Musulmans were kinsmen, Muzaffar Khan's vanity was deeply wounded. He corrupted his son-in-law, Haidar Khan, to assassinate Sadashivrao. On the 25th October 1759, while Sadashivrao was sitting in his tent at Garpir, just outside Poona city, Haidar Khan entered it and struck at him with a dagger. A silledar or cavalry officer named Nagoji Guzar caught the assassin's wrist and Sadashivrao escaped with a slight wound. Haidar Khan was seized, and implicated Muzaffar Khan and a Prabhu officer called Ramchandra

¹ Sakhar Khedale was the village where the treaty was signed.

Narayan. The first two were instantly beheaded ; the third was imprisoned for life.

Early in December 1759, the war began in earnest. Nizam Ali's cause was hopeless from the first. His finances were in disorder and his army were in arrears. They were also outnumbered by the Marathas, who were superior in arms and equipment of every kind. Still Nizam Ali could not bring himself either to carry out the treaty of Sakhar Khedale or acquiesce in the loss of Ahmadnagar, a spot dear to all Deccan Musulmans as the capital of the Nizamshahi kings and of the heroic Chand Sultana. Nizam Ali's army moved first to Bedar and then to Dharur. Sadashivrao took by storm Bahadurgad, a strong fort on the Bhima river, and, hearing of the Moghul movements, sent an advance party to harass the main body and so prevent their junction with a cavalry corps of seven thousand horse under Vyankatrao Nimbalkar, a Maratha officer in the Nizam's service, who was encamped at Dharur. The advance party did their work admirably and so harassed the Moghuls that they never reached their objective. While the Moghuls were skirmishing with the advance guard, Sadashivrao and Vishvasrao, the Peshwa's eldest son, came up at the head of forty thousand cavalry, five thousand regular infantry and an ample park of light artillery. The unfortunate Moghuls were attacked near Udgir and driven into the fortress of Ousha, where they were besieged for four days (January, 1760). On the fifth day the two brothers—for Salabat Jang was also in the field—sued for peace and were only granted it on the most humiliating terms. Sadashivrao demanded the cession of lands that yielded annually a crore of rupees ; eventually he accepted an assignment of land worth annually sixty-two lakhs, the surrender of the great forts of Ashirgad, Daulatabad, Bijapur, Ahmadnagar and Burhanpur. Nimbalkar was no longer to remain in the Nizam's service. The terms of peace were promptly executed, save only the surrender of Daulatabad. This was stubbornly defended by the commandant, until he, too, was won over by the payment of a lakh and a half and a jaghir of thirty-five thousand rupees a year. The power of the Nizam was now almost as broken as the imperial power in the north. In two or three years, so the Peshwa expected with confidence, the entire viceroyalty

of the Deccan would have become part of the Maratha dominion.

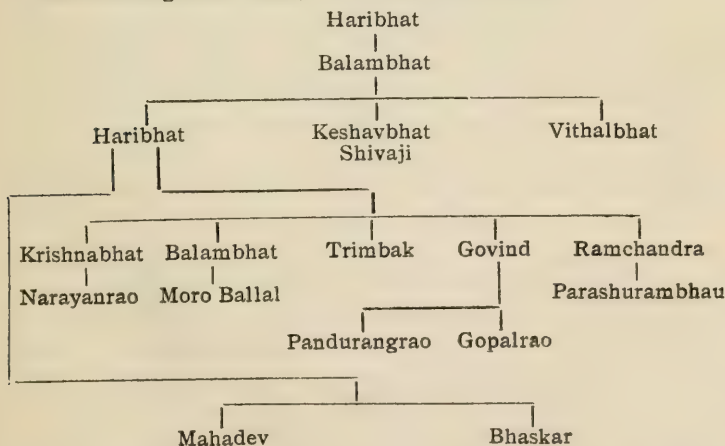
While the Peshwa was thus vigorously prosecuting his designs in the Deccan, he was pressing Maratha interests with hardly less energy in the extreme south. In January 1757, an army of sixty thousand men, led by the Peshwa and Sadashivrao, marched through southern India, collecting tribute. All the petty chiefs save only the Nawab of Kadapa paid it readily. In March 1757, the Marathas were under the walls of Seringapatam and claimed several crores of rupees as arrears of tribute. The Dalwai Nandraj pleaded his inability to pay. Sadashivrao opened fire on Seringapatam with thirty cannon. Unfortunately a shot from one of his guns struck the temple of Shri Rang or Vishnu, the temple from which the town derives its name. About the same time another gun burst, causing considerable loss of life. A religious panic spread through both armies because of the evil omen and they hastened to come to terms. Sadashivrao demanded thirty-six lakhs, but accepted thirty-two. Five lakhs were paid in cash; for the remaining twenty-seven lakhs fourteen districts were mortgaged. The Peshwa appointed revenue collectors over the mortgaged districts and occupied them with six thousand men. On the 16th May, he started to go back to Poona. The Krishna and Tungabhadra were already in flood and the troops despaired of crossing them. The Peshwa, however, worshipped the river deities, the floods abated and the main army reached Poona on the 16th June. A considerable force remained with Balwantrao Mehendale with orders to recover Sira, Bangalore, Ouscotta, Kolar and Balapur, the former conquests of the great king. This brought him again into conflict with the Afghan Nawabs of Kadapa, Savanur and Karnul. On the 24th September, 1757, Balwantrao Mehendale won a great victory near Kadapa. The Nawab of Kadapa was killed and his town was sacked. His cousin and heir, Abdul Nabi Khan gallantly defended the rest of the Kadapa territory, but eventually agreed to surrender half and keep the rest. Finally Mehendale levied four and a half lakhs from the Nawab of Arcot, and returned to Poona in February, 1758.

The Peshwa spent the monsoon of 1757 in equipping a

force to reduce Mysore; for on the departure of the main Maratha army the Dalwai Nandraj had broken the treaty and had driven the Marathas out of the fourteen ceded districts. On the way he intended to reduce Bednur. But, when Shah Nawaz Khan made his attempt to depose Salabat Jang in favour of Nizam Ali, the Peshwa ordered the expeditionary force to effect a junction with his own army and march on Haidarabad. The expedition, however, against Mysore was only postponed. At the beginning of 1759, the Peshwa despatched a Maratha army under Gopalrao Patwardhan to recover the fourteen districts.

The family to which Gopalrao Patwardhan belonged gave so many famous men to the Maratha empire, that it is only fitting that we should enquire into their origin. They claimed descent from one Balambhat, the son of a Chitpavan Brahman, Haribhat, who lived in Kotawada, a village in the Ratnagiri district. Balambhat had three sons, of whom the eldest, Haribhat left his native place for Pula, a famous shrine near Chiplun, where he obtained by arduous penances, performed unremittingly for twelve years, the favour of the god Ganpati. The god's favour became manifest by Haribhat's appointment as family priest to Naropant Joshi, the founder of the

The following is the family tree of the Patwardhans :



(Rao Bahadur Parasnis. The Sangli State and the Harivansha Bakhar.)

Ichalkaranji State. When Balaji, the first of the Bhat Peshwas, married his daughter Anubai to Naropant's son, Vyankatrao, Haribhat's fortunes rose with those of the house of Ichalkaranji. Haribhat died in 1750 at Poona, and one of his sons, Govind founded in his father's honour the village of Haripur, on the banks of the Krishna, not far from Sangli. Besides Govind, Haribhat had six other sons—Krishnabhat, Balambhat, Trimbakpant, Mahadevbhat, Ramchandrapant and Bhaskarpant. Trimbak, Govind and Ramchandra rose to high military office and from them are descended the chiefs of Sangli, Jamkhandi, Miraj, and Kurundwad. Gopalrao Patwardhan was the son of Govind Patwardhan and although a young man was already distinguished as a soldier.

At first all went well with the expedition. The fourteen districts fell again into Maratha hands; and the main army besieged Bangalore, while a detachment took by storm the fort of Chennapatam, forty miles to the east of Seringapatam. It was then that the Marathas were first thwarted by the talents of Haidar Ali. This extraordinary man claimed descent from the race of the Holy Prophet himself, the famous tribe of the Koreish. One of his ancestors named Hasan, the descendant of Yahya, left Baghddad and came to Ajmir. There a son, Wali Mahomed was born to him. Wali Mahomed had a son, Ali Mahomed, who migrated to Kolar in eastern Mysore, where he died, leaving four sons. The youngest of these, Fateh Mahomed was a soldier of fortune and was killed in fighting for the imperial cause against Sadat Ulla Khan, the Nawab of Arcot. The latter confiscated the fallen soldier's wealth and turned his widow and two sons adrift. The elder, Shahbaz became an officer in the Mysore service and was later joined by his younger brother, Haidar Ali. The latter soon attracted the attention of his superiors by his energy and courage, and he was now given the command of the Mysore army. By skilfully surprising Chennapatam, he forced Patwardhan to raise the siege of Bangalore. Thereafter he so harassed the Maratha leader, that the latter was glad to come to terms. Patwardhan agreed to give up the fourteen districts for a sum of thirty-two lakhs. Half was paid in cash and half was advanced by the Maratha bankers with Patwardhan's army on Haidar Ali's personal security.

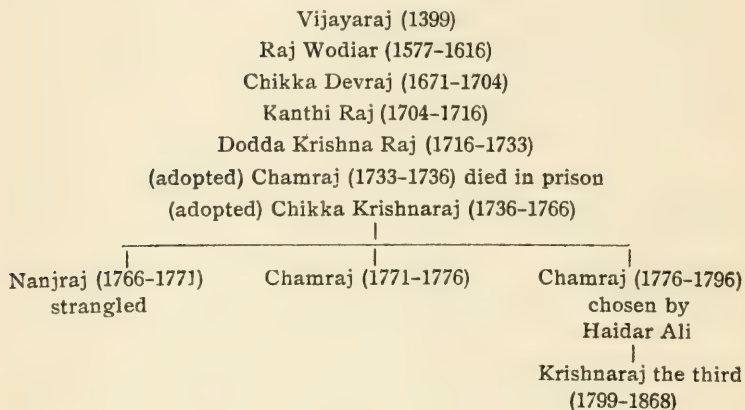
Early in 1760, Haidar Ali returned in triumph to Seringapatam and received from his grateful king the title of Fateh Haidar Bahadur, or the brave and victorious lion. Gopalrao Patwardhan, on the other hand, was reprimanded by the Peshwa. "Haidar", so he wrote to the unfortunate general, "has destroyed your prestige." After making peace with Mysore, Patwardhan tried to take advantage of the struggle then proceeding between the English and French round Madras. As neither side would buy his support, he seized the rich temple of Tirupati, proposing to appropriate the offerings due to the gods at the annual festival (January 1760). Even this he failed to achieve. During the rains of 1760, Patwardhan was recalled to Poona; and, before the detachment which he left behind could plunder the pilgrims, it was driven out by Mahomed Ali, Nawab of Arcot.¹

Thus in the year 1760, we see the Peshwa on the point of overwhelming the last fragments of Moghul rule in the Deccan; and, if in the Carnatic his troops were not so uniformly victorious, it yet seemed certain that in a year or two it also must succumb. For, on the disappearance of the Nizam's dominions, Mysore, although guarded by the genius of Haidar Ali, could certainly not have withstood the combined attack of the Peshwa's armies. That these glorious hopes were not fulfilled was due to a disaster so tremendous, that from it the Marathas never recovered. It eventually led to their subjugation by a foreign power. The events which led to that disaster will be narrated in the next chapter.

¹ Khare's collection of historic documents, vol. 1, para. 24.

APPENDIX A

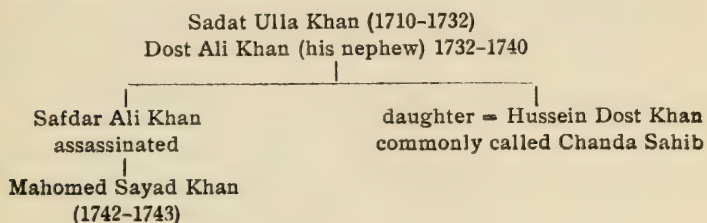
Pedigree of the Mysore rulers



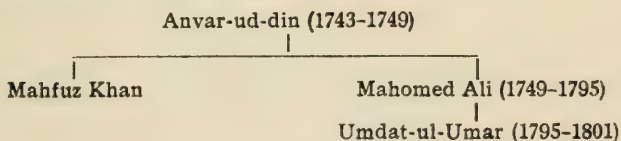
APPENDIX B

Family trees of the Nawabs of Arcot

(a) Chanda Sahib's branch

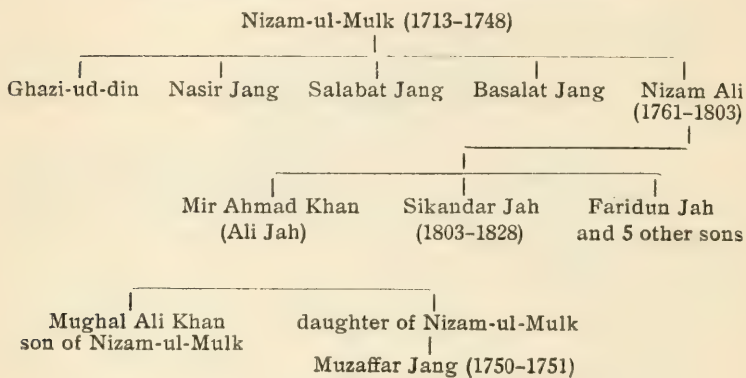


(b) Mahomed Ali's branch



APPENDIX C

Family tree of the Nizams of Haidarabad



APPENDIX D

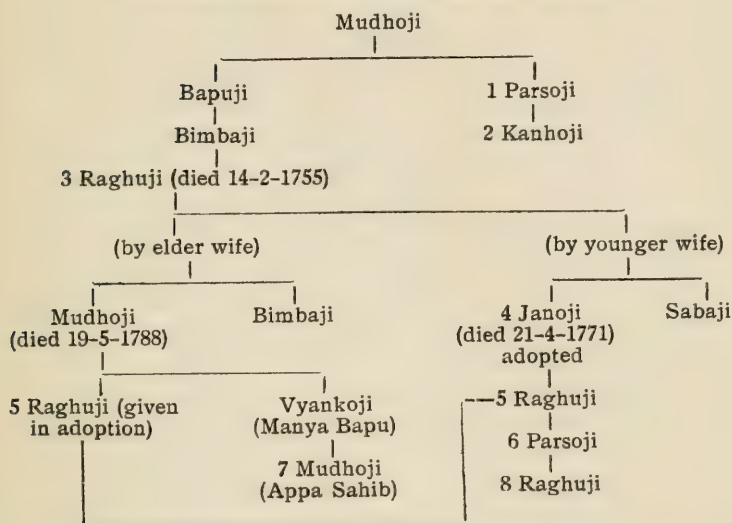
As the events of the preceding chapters are rather confusing, I have prepared the following synopsis for the benefit of my readers, of those events from 1750 to 1760. The synopsis does not include events in the succeeding chapters.

- 1751, Balaji attacks the Nizam in January, 1751, but makes peace on hearing of Damaji Gaikvad's rebellion.
 March and April. Damaji Gaikvad's rebellion.
 September. Clive takes Arcot.
 November and December. Balaji renews the war against the Nizam. Battles of Kukadi and Ghodnadi.
 Marathas take Trimbak.
- 1752, January. Truce of Shingwa with the Nizam.
 March. Agreement between the Peshwa and Damaji Gaikvad.
 June. Surrender and execution of Chanda Sahib.
 September. Tarabai and Balaji take mutual oaths of friendship at Jejuri.
 October. Murder of Ghazi-ud-din.
 November. Treaty of Bhalki with the Nizam.
 December. Raghunathrao invades Guzarat and besieges Jawan Mard Khan Babi in Ahmadabad.
- 1753, March. Capture of Ahmadabad by the Marathas.
 October to December. Sayad Lashkar Khan's plot against de Bussy.
- 1754, October. Dupleix leaves India.
 December. Treaty between M. Godeheu and the English.
 December, to June 1755. Balaji's first Carnatic expedition.
- 1755, April. Capture of Suvarnadurg in alliance with the English.
 October to May, 1756. Balaji's second Carnatic expedition and siege of Savanur.
- 1756, April. Capture of Vijayadurg.
 June. The Nawab of Bengal storms Calcutta.
 July. De Bussy dismissed by the Nizam.
 July. The Moghuls and the Nawab of Cambay retake Ahmadabad.
 August. Return of de Bussy to the service of the Nizam.
- 1757, January 2nd. Clive retakes Calcutta.
 January to June. Balaji's third Carnatic expedition. Shri-Rang temple injured.
 March. Fall of Chandanagore.

- 1757, May. Conspiracy of Shah Nawaz Khan and Nizam Ali against Salabat Jang.
June. Carnatic campaign under Balwantrao Mehendale. It lasted until February, 1758.
June 23rd. Battle of Plassey.
August. Battle of Sindkhed. De Bussy foils the conspirators. Death of Shah Nawaz Khan.
September. Victory of Balwantrao Mehendale at Kadapa and death of the Nawab.
October. Recapture of Ahmadabad by the Marathas.
1758, July. Recall of de Bussy from Haidarabad. Spread of Nizam Ali's rebellion.
1759, January to June, 1760. Carnatic campaign under Gopalrao Govind Patwardhan.
1760, January. The battle of Udgir.

APPENDIX E

Genealogical tree of the Nagpur Bhosles



Janoji was born before his brothers, but his mother was the younger wife. The numbers mark the members of the family who succeeded in that order to the Bhosle estate.

CHAPTER LII

EVENTS AT DELHI FROM 1748 TO 1760

At the close of chapter xlv we left Ahmad Shah newly seated on the throne of Delhi. Of the few provinces that still acknowledged his sovereignty, Oudh was under the government of Safdar Jang, the nephew of Sadat Khan. The latter, originally a merchant from Khorasan, had first risen to eminence during the successful plot woven by Mahomed Shah and his mother against the Sayads. In 1737 he had, as governor of Oudh, defeated Malharrao Holkar ¹ when the latter crossed the Jamna. He was succeeded in his office by Safdar Jang, his nephew. The country round Farrukabad was in the hands of an Afghan jaghirdar, Kaiam Khan Bangash. The province, known now as Rohilkhand and then as Kuttahir, was in the occupation of a band of Afghan mercenary soldiers known as Rohels or Rohillas, from "Roh", the Pushtu or Afghan word for mountain. The Whig historians have depicted the Rohillas as little, if at all, lower than the angels. They were really a set of faithless and blood-thirsty mountaineers, who had made themselves especially hateful to the Hindus by their plunder of the holy places at Allahabad and Benares. About 1673 two brothers, Shah Alam and Hussein Khan, left their native hills and obtained some petty office under the Moghuls. Shah Alam's grandson, Ali Mahomed, a man of resource and courage and quite devoid of scruple, was eventually appointed governor of Sirhind. Taking advantage of the invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali, he added in 1748 to the lands already acquired by him those formerly owned by officers absent on field service. In this way he acquired the whole of Kuttahir and changed its name to Rohilkhand. The provinces of Lahore and Multan were under the government of Mir Mannu, the son of the vazir Kamar-ud-din, who in 1748 had been killed in battle against Ahmad Shah Abdali.

¹ See vol. 2, p. 222.

Upon the death of Kamar-ud-din and the refusal of Nizam-ul-Mulk to be vazir, Ahmad Shah appointed Safdar Jang as his vazir. The first aim of the new administration was the destruction of the Rohilla power. Safdar Jang attempted nothing until the death of Ali Mahomed in 1749. He then induced Kaiam Khan, the Jaghirdar of Farrukabad, to invade Rohilkhand, but the Rohillas defeated and slew him. Safdar Jang found consolation in seizing the lands of his late ally, Kaiam Jang. The latter's brother, Ahmad Khan inflicted two severe defeats on Safdar Jang, who, beside himself with anger, called in the help of Malharrao Holkar and Jayappa Sindia, the eldest son of Ranoji Sindia, who had died in 1750.¹ Ahmad Khan in vain allied himself with the Rohillas. The allies were defeated and the Marathas according to the author of the *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah*, "ransacked the whole country, not allowing a single man to escape, and every article of money they carried away as booty." In the following year, 1752, Ahmad Shah Abdali again invaded the Punjab, and Safdar Jang and the Marathas agreed to evacuate Rohilkhand on the condition that the Rohillas paid five lakhs a year to the emperor and signed bonds for fifty lakhs payable to Safdar Jang. These bonds Safdar Jang in turn handed over to Holkar and Sindia in part payment of the subsidies due by him. As these bonds were never honoured, they formed the basis of future Maratha claims on Rohilkhand.²

Early in 1752 Ahmad Shah Abdali entered the Punjab and sent an ambassador demanding the formal cession of that province. Safdar Jang, who might have induced the emperor to resist the demand, was absent in Rohilkhand. The emperor's favourite, a eunuch named Jawid, induced him to yield, and Ahmad Shah reappointed as the governor of his new possession Mir Mannu. Safdar Jang, exasperated at the cession, and at the favourite's influence, had Jawid murdered. The emperor turned for help to Ghazi-ud-din, the son and namesake of Ghazi-ud-din, the eldest son of Nizam-ul-Mulk. The father was at the time aspiring to the throne of the Deccan, and Safdar Jang got rid of his Maratha allies by

¹ See Appendix A, pedigree of the house of Sindia.

² Hamilton's *Rohillas*, p. 112.

sending them with the elder Ghazi-ud-din to Aurangabad. There, as we have seen, Ghazi-ud-din the elder was poisoned by the mother of Nizam Ali. Ghazi-ud-din the younger was only eighteen years old, but he was capable and energetic. Safdar Jang had secured him his father's titles and estates, and he repaid his benefactor by joining the emperor against him. Ahmad Shah supported by Ghazi-ud-din dismissed Safdar Jang and called in the help of Surajmal, the chief of the Jats.

For six months the troops of the contending statesmen fought daily through the streets of Delhi. At last Ghazi-ud-din called in Malharrao Holkar and Jayappa Sindia.¹ Fearing the Maratha leaders, Safdar Jang made his peace and was formally appointed viceroy of Oudh and Allahabad. Intizam-ud-Daula, the uncle by marriage of Ghazi-ud-din, was made vazir, and Ghazi-ud-din marched with Holkar and Sindia against Dig and Bharatpur, the fortresses of Surajmal. The allies failed to take either stronghold. In their absence the emperor, who had grown to hate and fear Ghazi-ud-din worse than he had hated and feared Safdar Jang, began to plot with Surajmal against his young supporter. Surajmal agreed to help the emperor with an army, provided he would leave Delhi for Sikandra near Agra. The emperor foolishly set out without either informing Safdar Jang or providing himself with a proper escort. Before he could reach Sikandra, Malharrao Holkar surprised his camp and plundered it. The imperial insignia and baggage, the widow of Mahomed Shah and several other princesses fell into the hands of Holkar. The emperor and a few attendants escaped back to Delhi. There worse befell him. Ghazi-ud-din raised the siege of the Jat fortresses, returned to the capital, made himself vazir at the expense of Intizam-ud-Daula, and blinded and deposed the emperor Ahmad Shah. In his place he raised to the throne a son of Jehandar Shah with the title of Alamgir II (May 1754). Shortly afterwards Safdar Jang died and was buried in the beautiful mausoleum that bears his name, not far from Delhi. His son Shuja-ud-Daula became in his father's stead viceroy of Oudh and Allahabad.

The restless Ghazi-ud-din, having provoked a mutiny among

¹ For the family tree of the Sindias, see Appendix A.

his troops and quelled it with reckless daring, planned the recovery of the ceded provinces of Lahore and Multan. The occasion was favourable. Mir Mannu had fallen from his horse and died. His son had predeceased him and his widow carried on the government; her daughter was betrothed to Ghazi-ud-din. The young vazir, leaving the emperor under a guard at Delhi, proceeded to Lahore to celebrate his wedding. The widow was preparing a royal welcome for Ghazi-ud-din, when he had her treacherously seized and usurped her government. In a fury of rage the injured matron called down curses on Ghazi-ud-din and contrived to communicate with Ahmad Shah Abdali. The Afghan king flew to her rescue. Ghazi-ud-din threw himself at the invader's feet and on the widow's intercession obtained a pardon. Ahmad Shah, however, demanded money as a salve for his outraged feelings. He marched first to Delhi, where he repeated the atrocities of Nadir Shah. From Delhi he sent detachments into Oudh, and against the Jats. But it was at Mathura that Afghan cruelty reached its zenith. This holy spot attracts pilgrims from all parts of India; for there the divine Krishna, the eighth incarnation of the god Vishnu, was born. To save the infant god from the murderous hatred of his uncle Kansa,¹ his earthly father, Vasudeva carried the babe across the river Jamna; to give them passage the waters of the great river parted, and Vasudeva was able to hide the child in the waggon of Nanda, a cowherd of Gokula. Beyond his uncle's reach, the boy grew to manhood and in due time returned to Mathura and slew his uncle. At the time of Ahmad Shah Abdali's invasion the town was crowded with harmless pilgrims of both sexes; the Afghans slaughtered the men, outraged the women, and sacked the holy city and its beautiful temples. Happily a plague broke out among the Afghan soldiery, which forced Ahmad Shah to return to Kabul. Before he left, he married a princess of the house of Delhi and gave another in marriage to his son, afterwards Timur Shah. To protect the emperor from Ghazi-ud-din, Ahmad Shah appointed Najib-ud-Daulat as vazir. The latter was an Afghan of the Kamar Kel tribe, who had risen to eminence under Ali Mahomed. He was a

¹ Hamilton's Rohillas, p. 131.

man of great courage and capacity and was eminently fitted for the post. But as soon as the Afghan king had left India, Ghazi-ud-din sent an appeal to Raghunathrao, Balaji's brother, who in 1756 was levying contributions from the chiefs of Rajputana and Malwa. Raghunathrao at once joined Ghazi-ud-din and the confederates besieged Delhi. The only thought of Alamgir II was for the safety of his son Ali Gohar, and he contrived his flight, first into Rohilkhand and afterwards to the court of Shuja-ud-Daula, the viceroy of Oudh. Najib-ud-Daulat effected his escape by giving a handsome present to Malharrao Holkar, and he fled to his own jaghir at Saharanpur. The emperor then threw open the gates of Delhi and perforce took Ghazi-ud-din back as his vazir.

Raghunathrao now cast his eyes northward. Ahmad Shah Abdali had left behind him as governor of the Punjab his son Timur. Mir Mannu's deputy, Adina Beg, resented the appointment and invited Raghunathrao to Lahore. In May 1758, Raghunathrao entered Lahore, driving before him Timur's army of occupation. A second army of thirty thousand men under Dattaji Sindia and Malharrao Holkar drove Najib-ud-Daulat to take post at Shukratal, a defensible position on the Ganges. A third army under Govindpant Bandela¹ invaded Rohilkhand, but it was defeated with heavy loss by Shuja-ud-Daula and driven across the Ganges. Ahmad Shah Abdali had learnt with the utmost indignation of his son's expulsion from the Punjab. He could not act as soon as he could have wished; for he was engaged in quelling the revolt of Nasir Khan, the Khan of Khelat. By July 1759 the Baluch rebellion had been quelled, and Ahmad Shah took the road to Shikarpur in Sind. From Upper Sind the Afghan army marched up the right bank of the Indus and in September 1759 crossed that river at Peshawar and the Jamna opposite Saharanpur. From his prison at Delhi, the unfortunate Alamgir II sent him an appeal for help. Unhappily the letter fell into the hands of Ghazi-ud-din, who at once had the emperor murdered, and raised another member of the imperial house, Mohi-al-Sunnat, a son of Kam Baksh and a grandson of Aurangzib, to the Moghul throne, with the empty title of Shah Jahan or Lord of the Universe.

¹ For an account of Govindpant Bandela see vol. II, p. 225.

In the meantime Ahmad Shah Abdali reoccupied Lahore, while the Maratha army under Dattaji Sindia and Malharrao Holkar retired before him. Malharrao Holkar, anxious to win Surajmal to the Maratha cause, withdrew his contingent from Sindia's force and moved southward. Dattaji Sindia retreated to Delhi, but refused to go farther in spite of the prayers of his wife Bhagirthabai, who was about to be confined. He posted a guard under Janrao Vable and Maloji Sindia at the crossing of the Jamna known as the Badaon Ghât. He himself with the bulk of his army cantoned at Delhi; but he sent southward the ladies of his family under the escort of Rupram Katari, one of his officers. On the 10th January, 1760, Dattaji Sindia celebrated at Delhi the festival of the Makar Sankrant with prodigious ceremony, just as if no active and resolute foe was in the field against him. The Makar Sankrant is the Hindu equivalent of the Christian Christmas. On that day is celebrated the winter solstice. The sun has reached the southernmost point of its course. From this moment begin the six lucky months, known as the Uttarayan, during which time the sun's progress is northward. In honour of this fortunate season, Hindus of both sexes rise early, worship the family gods, dress in holiday attire, and visit their friends.¹ As they enter a friend's house they present him with sugared sesamum and repeat the rhyme, "Til kha tilse ya, gul kha godse bola" (Eat the sesamum and come towards me little by little; eat the sugar and let your words be sweet).² The smallness of the sesamum seed represents the tiny changes that occur in the length of the day during the early part of the Uttarayan. The day, so the Hindus say, lengthens only "til til", or the size of a sesamum seed.

On the morning of the 10th January 1760, Dattaji Sindia held a parade of his forces at Delhi and distributed sugared sesamum to his higher officers. It was his intention throughout the day to receive and to pay a series of formal visits. In the meantime the Abdali's spies had brought him

¹ The Makar Sankrant now falls on the 14th January. This difference between the Christian and the Hindu calculations is due to the disregard by the latter in modern times of the precession of the equinoxes.

² The present practice is to say only, "Tilgul ghya aani god bola."

news of Dattaji Sindia's position and also of his negligence. Effecting a junction with Najib-ud-Daulat, the Abdali forced the Jamna river at the Badaon Ghât, cut to pieces Janrao Vable and his men, and marched on Delhi. Dattaji Sindia, on hearing of the disaster, led, with more courage than prudence, the rest of his contingent from Delhi, and attacked Ahmad Shah. His force was outnumbered and overwhelmed. He himself and his illegitimate brother Jyotaba were among the slain. Jankoji, his nephew and the son of Jayappa Sindia, was wounded but escaped with two or three thousand men, and was hotly pursued by the Afghans for several miles.

Malharrao Holkar on hearing of this disaster retreated towards Sikandra, forty miles east of Delhi and five miles from Agra. He had heard that the Rohilla chiefs had stored grain and money there to aid Ahmad Shah in his eastward march, and he hoped to seize the store. He found, however, on arrival that the Rohillas had removed their granary and money ; so he rested his troops and renewed his efforts to win over Surajmal. No spot could be found more suited for repose than Sikandra ; for there, in a mausoleum in the midst of a beautiful park thronged with deer and antelope, rests in an endless sleep the great Akbar. The calm of his surroundings led Holkar to neglect his usual precautions. The Shah of Afghanistan, learning his whereabouts, sent against him an active officer called Pasand Khan with fifteen thousand horse. In twenty-four hours this mobile body marched a hundred and forty miles to Delhi. Halting at the capital for a single day, Pasand Khan marched that night to Sikandra, which he reached just before dawn. Malharrao Holkar was taken completely off his guard. He fled almost naked from his camp, with only three hundred companions. The rest of his contingent was dispersed, taken or slaughtered. Ahmad Shah followed up his advantage by moving his main army to Sikandra, where he prepared to pass the rainy season.

These were not the only misfortunes that befell the Maratha leaders about this time in Upper India. On the death of Abhai Sing, Maharaja of Jodhpur, his son Ramsing succeeded. At his installation, Abhai Sing's brother Bakhta Sing, although first prince of the Rahtor house, absented himself and sent by way of proxy his aged foster-mother

to put the red mark of Rajput sovereignty on the brow of the new prince. Ramsing in a fury drove her forth, asking insolently whether his uncle took him for an ape, that he had sent a female monkey to present him with the *tika*.¹ This insult, deeply resented by Bakhta Sing, led to a war between uncle and nephew, in which the former was victorious. Ramsing retaliated by poisoning his uncle, and the dispute became one between Ramsing and Bakhta Sing's son Vijayasing. Ramsing asked for and obtained the help of Jayappa Sindia, who after defeating Vijayasing besieged him in Nagore. Unable to obtain the help of the other Rajput chiefs, Vijayasing stooped to assassination. Two soldiers, one a Rajput and the other an Afghan, disguised as camp followers, contrived to get close to Jayappa's tent. There they feigned a violent quarrel and implored the Maratha chief to decide between them. Sindia, interested in their concocted story, let them come close to his side. Suddenly rushing at him, they drove simultaneously their daggers into his body. "This for Jodhpur! This for Nagore!" they cried and fled. The Afghan was killed, but the Rajput, by mingling in the crowd and calling, "Thief! Thief!" as loud as he could, diverted attention from himself and escaped. Sindia's army raised the siege; but Raghunathrao returned to Jodhpur to avenge Jayappa's death. Instead, however, of deposing Vijayasing,² he deserted the cause of Ramsing and acknowledged Vijayasing as Maharaja, accepting by way of *mund katai*, or blood-money, the town and fort of Ajmir.

The news of these calamities reached the Peshwa in the Deccan after the great victory of Udgir. Sadashivrao, whose head had been turned by recent success, begged that he and Vishvasrao might be given the command of an army to expel Ahmad Shah Abdali and establish Maratha rule as far as Attock. Raghunathrao's experience of northern warfare gave him the better claim. But, although a skilful commander, he was profuse and unbusiness-like; and his last campaigns had brought nothing but debts to the Maratha treasury, whereas the expeditions of Balaji and Sadashivrao

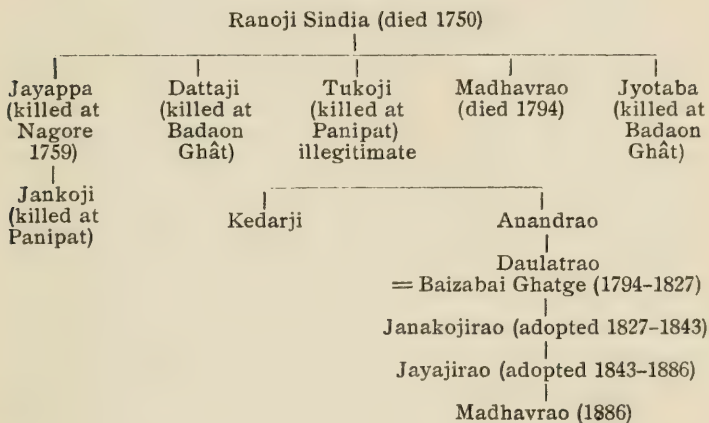
¹ Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. 2, p. 944.

² The name of Vijayasing is often corrupted to Bijaysing or Bijesing.

had filled it to overflowing. When taunted by Sadashivrao with his extravagance, Raghunathrao bade Sadashivrao take the command and do better, a challenge that Sadashivrao readily accepted and Balaji unwisely approved. Having appointed the general, the Peshwa spared no pains to equip the army. It was the most splendid array that ever followed a Maratha leader. From Poona, Sadashivrao and Vishvasrao set out with Balwantrao Mehendale, Shamsheer Bahadur, Naro Shankar, Vithal Shivdev Vinchurkar and Trimbak Purandare, twenty thousand picked cavalry, ten thousand disciplined infantry and a strong corps of artillery under Ibrahim Khan Gardi. At various points along the line of march Malharrao Holkar, Jankoji Sindia, Damaji Gaikwad, Jaswantrao Powar and Govindpant Bandela joined them with strong contingents. The Rajput chiefs sent them irregular horse and Surajmal of Bharatpur met them with thirty thousand Jats. The tents and equipment of the army were of the most splendid kind ; for, while Sadashivrao was willing to reprimand his cousin Raghunathrao for his reckless expenditure, he was not unwilling to profit by it or to occupy the gorgeous tents and to ride the noble horses, the cost of which had led Raghunathrao into debt. But, in spite of its great size and its glorious record, the Maratha army had one fatal weakness. It was suffering from a change in its tactics. It was forsaking the old guerilla tactics that had won the battles of Balaji Vishvanath and his son Bajirao, for new methods copied from the French, which neither the generals nor the soldiers properly understood. Such a situation proved fatal to Soubise's army at Rossbach and to Mackay's army at Killiecrankie ; it was soon to prove even more fatal to the grand army of the Marathas.

APPENDIX A

Pedigree of the Sindia Family



CHAPTER LIII

PANIPAT AND THE DEATH OF BALAJI PESHWA

SADASHIVRAO, full of self-confidence, led the confederate army to Delhi. On the march Surajmal saw with the eye of an experienced soldier the confusion and disorganisation behind the splendid appearance of the Grand Army. He urged Sadashivrao to leave his camp followers and his trained infantry at Bharatpur, and to harass the Afghans in the old Maratha way, until they started to retreat towards their native mountains. During the retreat they could be easily overwhelmed. Surajmal's advice was supported by Malharrao Holkar and the older captains. But Sadashivrao had seen the effect of Ibrahim Khan Gardi's cannon at Udgir and could not believe that against another enemy different tactics might be needed. He slighted Surajmal as a petty zamindar and taunted Holkar with his low birth. No untoward event, however, disturbed the Maratha march before they reached Delhi. The fort was held in the Afghan interest by Yakub Ali Khan. Ghazi-ud-din, on hearing of the Maratha advance, had fled to the camp of Surajmal and disappeared from history. After the battle of Buxar in 1765, he joined Shuja-ud-Daula with a handful of followers. In 1779, he was found at Surat in the garb of a pilgrim and ordered to quit the jurisdiction of the East India Company.

Yakub Ali Khan's force was too small to guard the vast perimeter of the Delhi fort effectively, and a Maratha leader named Vithalrao with five hundred men scaled the walls near the lion bastion and forced his way to the doors of the imperial *zanana*. Some Afghans rushed up and shot twelve Marathas dead. The remaining Marathas were seized with a panic and threw themselves over the walls. The siege was now begun in regular form. Ibrahim Khan Gardi battered the fort with his cannon for several days ; then the supplies of the garrison failed and Yakub Ali Khan offered to evacuate the fort, if allowed to join Ahmad Shah Abdali's camp across the Jamna.



SURAJMAL, KING OF THE JATS

[To face page 63.]

His offer was accepted and the Marathas entered in triumph the palace of the Moghul emperors. The city and neighbourhood of Delhi had been exhausted by a succession of plunderers, and Sadashivrao's army soon consumed what remained. Unable to raise cash levies from the inhabitants, the Maratha general stripped the tomb of Nizam-ud-din of its treasure and ornaments. This saint was the contemporary and intimate friend of Mahomed Tughlak ; and his sepulchre is still venerated throughout upper India. The tombs of the emperors were next plundered, and lastly Sadashivrao seized their golden and silver ornaments, the imperial throne and the gold canopy above it. These acts procured for him only seventeen lakhs of rupees, while they caused the greatest scandal among the Rajput and Jat princes. Accustomed as they were to regard the empire, even in its humbled state, with profound veneration, they protested strongly against this insult to fallen majesty. Neither to protests nor entreaties would Sadashivrao pay heed. He had formed the design of declaring Vishvasrao, on his father Balaji's behalf, the Hindu emperor of India, and he had only postponed its execution at the instance of Malharrao Holkar, until he had defeated Ahmad Shah Abdali and driven him out of India. In the meantime he took a pleasure in degrading the government that he intended to supersede. Surajmal had indeed offered to ransom the Moghul throne and canopy for five lakhs of rupees, but this had only confirmed Sadashivrao in the belief that they were of immense value. Surajmal and his Jat officers, deeply hurt, conferred with the commanders of the Rajput contingents ; and one morning Sadashivrao learnt that in the night the Jat and Rajput forces had left his camp and were marching home. Sadashivrao affected indifference. Towards the end of the monsoon he deposed Ghazi-ud-din's nominee, Shah Jahan, and put on the throne Shah Jawan Bakht, the son of the fugitive heir Ali Gohar. He appointed as the emperor's vazir Shuja-ud-Daula, whom he thus hoped to detach from the Afghan cause and with whom he began a prolonged correspondence.

At the same time the town of Kunjpura, some sixty miles up the Jamna from Delhi, offered a tempting bait. Kunjpura, being interpreted, means the crane's nest. It had been built by Najabat Khan, an Afghan soldier of fortune, whom

Nadir Shah had in 1739 created Nawab of Kunjpura.¹ He now held it with twenty thousand Afghans in the interests of the Abdali, and the latter had stored there a large treasure and a quantity of grain. On hearing of the Maratha advance, the Shah became anxious about its safety, but the Jamna in flood prevented him from relieving the garrison. Sadashivrao had been anxious to plunder Surajmal's lands as a punishment for his desertion; but Holkar and the Sindias pressed on his notice the unguarded state of Kunjpura. On a day pronounced fortunate by the Hindu astrologers, the Maratha army marched against the doomed fortress. The Afghans made a gallant defence; but on the 17th October 1760 the Marathas, attacking in three divisions, one led by Sadashivrao, one by Shamsheer Bahadur and one by Ibrahim Khan Gardi, took Kunjpura by storm. The garrison were put to the sword, except two kinsmen of Najabat Khan, who were tortured to reveal the secret treasure-house of Ahmad Shah Abdali. When they had shown to the Marathas fifteen lakhs of rupees, their lives were spared. No other prisoners were taken, Sadashivrao excusing his ferocity on the ground that Najabat Khan had been present at the death of Dattaji Sindia. Indeed, among the spoils of the capture was Javhergaj, the favourite elephant of Jankoji Sindia, which had been taken in the subsequent pursuit. This easy success so increased the pride of the Brahman general, that he and Balwantrao Mehendale taunted Malharrao Holkar with his defeat at Sikandra. The scarred old warrior was deeply incensed and left Sadashivrao's tent, muttering that jackals roared loudly until they had seen the lion.²

In the meantime the Abdali had helplessly witnessed the fall of Kunjpura and the massacre of the garrison. A fanatical Musulman, he now regarded the approaching struggle with the Marathas as a holy war, and sent Najib-ud-Daulat to appeal to Shuja-ud-Daula to join his ranks and to fight by his side in the sacred cause of Islam. Although Najib-ud-Daulat was a Sunni and Shuja-ud-Daula a Shia, the latter was won over, and the confederate Musulman and Hindu armies faced each other across the swollen waters of the Jamna river. After the

¹ Karnal Gazetteer.

² Bhausahib's Bakhar.

storm of Kunjpura the Marathas camped at Pasina Kalan, some miles to the south and the scene of hard fighting during the civil wars that followed the death of the emperor Feroz Shah. They seem to have expected Ahmad Shah to try to cross the river higher up-stream, but after a brilliant feint he crossed the Jamna at Bhagpat,¹ between the Maratha camp and Delhi. He lost a number of men during the crossing ; but, to make the waters abate, he threw into the stream sheets of silver with verses of the Koran engraved on them. His guns he put on rafts or on the backs of elephants. He himself swam his horse across, and by the 25th October the whole Afghan army was on the right bank of the Jamna. On the 26th October, the Maratha vanguard attacked the Afghan outposts, but were repulsed with the loss of twelve hundred men.² At this point the weakness in the Maratha high command showed itself. If Sadashivrao intended to fight in the European manner, it was vital to him to keep open his communications with Delhi. If he fought in the old Maratha way, he needed no line of communications ; but he could not fight in the old Maratha way so long as he kept with him Ibrahim Khan Gardi's trained artillery and infantry. Malharrao Holkar begged Sadashivrao to stick to Maratha tactics, but that meant the sacrifice of Ibrahim Khan Gardi and his men ; and that soldier of fortune threatened to fire on the Maratha army if he was deserted. Sadashivrao rightly refused to sacrifice Ibrahim Khan Gardi ; but he did not grasp the difference between the two systems of tactics. Instead of retiring southward past Ahmad Shah's left flank and thus reopening his line of communications, he marched northward towards the town of Panipat, Ahmad Shah following him. In Panipat he fortified himself ; while the Afghans established themselves across the Delhi road. From that moment the Maratha army was in the gravest danger. Ahmad Shah was between them and Delhi. The fertile provinces on his right flank were in the hands of his allies, Shuja-ud-Daula and Najib-ud-Daulat. Behind the Marathas was the Punjab held by Afghan governors in Ahmad Shah's interest. For a short time,

¹ Karnal Gazetteer, p. 20.

² Bhausahib's Bakhar.

however, the Maratha army suffered no privations. The tourist who now visits Panipat can gaze from the highest point of the town over an endless succession of wheat-fields irrigated by the Jamna canals. So prosperous, indeed, are the inhabitants that they are accused by their neighbours of unduly wasting their time in pigeon races and quail fights.¹ Even in 1760, it was a thriving town and the Marathas found stores of grain and other supplies, which they promptly requisitioned. Their next care was to fortify themselves. Under Ibrahim Khan's supervision they built an immense ditch fifty feet wide and twelve feet deep, and constructed ramparts to guard the Maratha camp and the town; of this ditch traces are still visible. Opposite the Maratha camp and barring the road to Delhi, Ahmad Shah Abdali fortified himself. Neither side was willing to attack the other, and both sides strove to obtain a superiority in light cavalry actions. It was clear that, so long as the main armies chose to remain stationary, the force whose light cavalry held the command of the open country would starve the other force out. At first the advantage lay with the Marathas. Govindpant Bandela,² who was in charge of the Maratha light cavalry, had a marked advantage over the Afghan horse by his superior mobility.

On the 22nd November, Jankoji Sindia, the son of Jayappa Sindia, made a brilliant attack on the Abdali's camp, drove in the outposts, inflicted severe loss on Najib-ud-Daulat's Rohillas, and captured several guns. He returned to Panipat, his war horns sounding a paean of victory. The Abdali moved his camp a considerable distance back and seriously thought of withdrawing altogether. He eventually decided to stay, and on the next new moon, which fell on the 7th December 1760, he sent a picked body of Afghans under Najib-ud-Daulat to make an attack on the Maratha centre. Balwantrao Mehendale surprised the Afghans and drove them back with great slaughter. Unhappily in the moment of victory Balwantrao Mehendale fell shot through the body. His fall caused considerable confusion in the ranks, and a band of Afghans

¹ I heard this gossip on the spot when inspecting the battle-field.

² For an account of Govindpant Bandela see vol. II, p. 225.

rushed up to cut off his head. His body was saved from mutilation by Khanderao Nimbalkar, but the Marathas withdrew. The Afghans, pursuing their advantage, followed them as far as the great ditch. There they were counter-attacked by both Jankoji Sindia and Malharrao Holkar, and driven back with a loss of three thousand men. Although the Marathas had thus the advantage, Sadashivrao felt deeply the loss of Balwantrao, who was the brother of his first wife Umabai; and the army mourned an officer distinguished in the Carnatic wars. Balwantrao's widow Laxmibai committed *sati* and was burnt with her husband's body.

On the 22nd December, a far graver calamity befell the Marathas in the death of Govindpant Bandela. This enterprising officer had cut off the Abdali's foraging parties with such skill that there was a famine in the Afghan camp. Both Najib-ud-Daulat and Shuja-ud-Daula pressed the Shah either to fight the Marathas or to retreat across the Jamna. But the Shah, who, although a ferocious barbarian, was yet a great captain, rejected their advice. "This is", he said, "a matter of war with which you are not acquainted. Do you sleep; I will take care that no harm befalls you." At the same time he rode about fifty or sixty miles a day, constantly visiting his outposts and reconnoitring the enemy. In this way he ascertained the movements of Govindpant Bandela. On the 22nd December, he sent ten thousand Afghans under Atai Khan, the nephew of his vazir, Shah Vali Khan, to surprise the Maratha light cavalry camp. The Afghans reached Govindpant's camp just after sunset and as they approached they displayed striped standards copied from Holkar's. The Marathas, thinking the newcomers friends, let them come close to the camp. The Afghans then made a sudden rush and cut Bandela's force to pieces. Three thousand Marathas lay dead on the field. Many more died in the pursuit. Govindpant Bandela escaped on horseback, but, falling and breaking his leg, was taken prisoner. He was taken to Najib-ud-Daulat, who had him beheaded and his head sent to the Abdali. The Abdali in turn sent it to Sadashivrao.

The destruction of the Maratha light cavalry division was followed by the worst results. The Afghans now obtained command of the open country and drove in the Maratha outposts

and stopped all their supplies. The two armies had eaten up the entire country-side and food could be bought in Panipat only at famine rates. A long succession of easy victories had led the Peshwa to allow the officers and soldiers to take their wives with them on field service. With Sadashivrao was his active and daring wife Parvatibai, a daughter of the house of Raste, and Panipat was crowded not only with soldiers and their servants but with thousands of soldiers' wives and maid-servants. The cold, too, became intense. The horses and cattle died in hundreds, reducing the efficiency of the cavalry and poisoning the air of the town. Sadashivrao bore himself with calm courage ; yet he clearly saw the increasing danger of his situation. Through his agent Kashirai, a Brahman in Shuja-ud-Daula's camp, he made every effort to secure that general's intervention. But Najib-ud-Daulat would not hear of any treaty with the Marathas. His country had suffered from their raids and he feared their vengeance when the Abdali had departed. The high price of food exhausted the money in Sadashivrao's treasury, so he, the Sindias and Holkar erected mints in the camp and, melting down all the men's and women's gold and silver ornaments, they coined a quantity of rupees, which they stamped with the words "Bhaushahi", "Jankoshahi" and "Malharshahi", but this money lasted for only fifteen days. Sadashivrao organised cavalry patrols to accompany the foragers, and used to offer prizes and rewards for good work ; but, as the forage failed, the cavalry horses were too weak to go on escort duty. When the foragers went out without an escort, they were pitilessly massacred by the Afghans.

On the 2nd January 1761, a determined attempt was made by the son of Govindpant Bandela, Balaji, to convey treasure from Delhi to Panipat. He took with him three hundred horsemen and tied to each horseman a bag containing five hundred rupees. Another body of five hundred horse were sent to protect those who carried the treasure. Unhappily the relief party wandered by mistake into the camp of a strong Afghan patrol. They were instantly attacked and only a few made their way to Panipat. Although the sufferings of the Maratha army were intense, Sadashivrao celebrated on the 10th January the Makar Sankrant with such pomp

and circumstance as he could. Three days later, namely, on the 13th January,¹ the Maratha leaders begged to be led into action. They were ready, they said, to die on the battlefield; but they could no longer bear to starve in Panipat. Sadashivrao agreed and a council of war was held. Jankoji Sindia and Holkar urged the commander-in-chief to abandon his guns, his followers and his women, and under cover of a feigned attack to escape as best he could to Delhi, where there was a garrison of seven or eight thousand men under the command of Naro Shankar. The other Maratha chiefs supported Sindia and Holkar. Ibrahim Khan Gardi said nothing, and Sadashivrao, assuming his consent from his silence, ordered that all the leaders should make their way as best they could to Delhi and re-form there. After the council of war had broken up, Ibrahim Khan sought an interview with Sadashivrao and, showing him letters received from Najib-ud-Daulat, threatened to desert to the enemy, fire on the Marathas and disclose their plans, unless the previous orders were countermanded and a general engagement ordered with the object of driving the Abdali into the Jamna, which flowed at the back of his camp. Sadashivrao was overcome by the anxieties of his situation and could not bear deserting the Hindu women to be a prey to the Afghan barbarians. He cancelled his previous orders and directed that next day, the 14th January, the Marathas should make a general assault on the Afghan camp. At the same time he wrote to Kashirai, his agent with Shuja-ud-Daula, "The cup is now full to the brim; it cannot hold another drop. If anything can be done, do it or answer me plainly at once. Hereafter there will be no time for writing or speaking." This letter betrayed the Maratha plans; for Kashirai shewed it to Shuja-ud-Daula, who at once took it to the Abdali. That evening the food

¹ The dates are those given by Mr. Sar Desai. Grant Duff gives the 6th January as the date of Panipat; but the celebration of the Makar Sankrant shews the 6th January to be incorrect. The Musulman historians give the date as the 12th. Elliott and Dawson, vol. 8, p. 51.

Indeed Mr. Sar Desai must be correct; for in a letter written by Anupgir Gosair to Balaji Peshwa (Parasnis collection) he gives the Hindu date as Budhwar Paush Sud Ashtami, which corresponds with Wednesday, the 14th January.

that still remained in his granaries was distributed by Sadashivrao to his army. Next morning his troops, as a sign that they would conquer or die, donned the saffron robe that Rajput warriors don under such conditions. They had some miles to go, and the Abdali's spies, warned of their approach by Sadashivrao's letter, watched their movements all the way. Neither side made effective use of its artillery. Ibrahim Khan opened the action on the left wing, where he commanded, by attacking together with Damaji Gaikwad the main body of Rohillas under Ahmad Khan Bangash that formed the Afghan right wing. The Abdali's centre was formed by the Afghan army under Shah Vali Khan, the vazir. On his left were Shuja-ud-Daula with the Oudh troops and another body of Rohillas under Najib-ud-Daulat. A picked body of Afghans under Shah Pasand Khan held the post of danger on the extreme left of the Afghan line and barred the route to Delhi. In the Maratha centre were Sadashivrao and Jaswantrao Powar and their right wing was formed by the Sindia and Holkar contingents. Everything that could inspire the soldiers of the two armies was present on that day. The Musulmans remembered with pride that on that very field the lion-hearted Babar had won the empire of India. There, too, the great Akbar, when only a boy of fourteen, had defeated Hemo and had seen his Hindu rival thrown mortally wounded at his feet. On the other hand the great plain was full of memories of Epic India. It was at the village of Basthali (Vyas sthal) that the sage Vyas had lived and dictated to the god Ganpati the myriad lines of the Mahabharata. It was at Gondar that Gautama rishi, to punish them for seeking to rob him of his bride Ahalyabai, had sent a thousand sores to torment the god Indra and had darkened for ever with his curses the till then unsullied beauty of the moon. Panipat, the town in which the Marathas had lived for two months, Sonpat, a village visible from its walls, and Bhagpat, the spot where the Abdali had forced his way across the Jamna, were three of the five villages which Yudhisthira, rather than plunge all Bharatvarsha into warfare, had asked for as a meagre fief for himself and his four brothers. To the north stretched the field, where to settle the claims of the sons of Pandu and Dritarashtra, the chivalry of India had fallen

almost to a man in the slaughter of Kurukshetra. There the generous Karna had died at the hands of his brother Arjun the archer. There Bhishma had lain on his bed of arrows while the contending chiefs guarded him from wild beasts and listened reverently to the wisdom of his lips. It was in the Parasir tank at Balapur that the brave but wicked Duryodhan had hidden from the wrath of Bhima; and it was at the Phalgu tank at Bharal that the Pandavas had celebrated the funeral rites of the warriors who had fallen in the most terrible of all Indian wars. Nor were the prizes that hung before the eyes of the opposing leaders less brilliant than those that dazzled the eyes of Duryodhan and Yudhisthira. The Musulman armies fought to retain the last shreds of the Delhi empire, that had once stretched from the snow mountains of the north to the southern seas round Rameshwaram. The Hindu warriors fought to throw off now and for ever the foreign yoke that had pressed on them since the fall of Rai Pithora, and to seat once again a Hindu prince on the throne of Dushyanta and Dasharatha, of Bharata and Ramchandra.

Ibrahim Khan Gardi had said to Sadashivrao before the battle joined that, although the latter had often complained because of his insistence on regular pay for his troops, they would now prove on the battle-field that they were worth it. This promise he nobly fulfilled. Charging the Rohillas with the bayonet, his disciplined troops destroyed their formation, killing and wounding eight thousand of them. This brilliant action laid bare Shah Vali Khan's right flank, and Sadashivrao charged the Afghan centre with the flower of the Maratha army. The Maratha cavalry broke up the enemy's centre and it seemed as if the day was lost for the Afghans. Ahmad Shah, however, had in hand a reserve of ten thousand heavy cavalry and these he now sent against the Maratha left wing. Ibrahim Khan Gardi had turned back his left flank to meet such a manoeuvre; but in the fighting the left flank had moved forward, and Ibrahim Khan, severely wounded, was in no state to restore the formation. At the critical moment a bullet struck Vishvasrao in the forehead and he died at once. To Vishvasrao Sadashivrao was deeply attached. The boy had inherited his grandfather's looks, which had been famous

throughout India ; and at this time he was one of the comeliest of the children of men. Sadashivrao had trained Vishvasrao himself and had been his constant guardian and companion in the Carnatic wars. The boy had returned his uncle's affection and seems to have loved him more deeply than even his own father. The sight of the gallant youth dead beside him in the same howdah was too much for a mind oppressed by the unceasing labours and anxieties of the preceding three months. He said to his wife Parvatibai that he could never again face his cousin, and, leaving her in the howdah, he mounted his favourite charger, a splendid Arab stallion. He sent a message to Malharrao Holkar, telling him to do as he had directed. His message conveyed, as it was probably meant to convey, the meaning to Holkar that he should revert to the earlier plan of battle and cut his way through to Delhi. Holkar rode off the field as fast as he could. Damaji Gaikwad followed. A body of Afghans got in among the camp followers and cut them up. A sudden panic spread through both wings. The centre still stood firm where Sadashivrao was fighting. He disappeared in the mêlée,¹ shot through the side, and then the centre broke too. Except the Holkar contingent, which followed their leader to Delhi, the routed army took the wrong direction and rushed back to Panipat, the spot which they had that morning meant to leave for ever. Behind them followed the Afghans, cutting them down by thousands. Great numbers crushed each other to death, trying to scale the high fortifications which they had built to check the Afghans. The survivors crowded into Panipat, round which the Afghans placed an investing force. Next morning the Afghans entered the town without opposition and made all inside prisoners. They took the men outside the town, ranged them in rows, gave each one a few grains of parched corn and a drink of water, and then slashed off their heads, which they piled in heaps. The women they reduced to slavery, regardless of their birth or rank. In this way many hundreds of high-born southern women disappeared and were never heard of again. Jankoji Sindia, who had been

¹ The spot where Sadashivrao was last seen is marked by a monument erected by the Punjab Government.

held to ransom by an Afghan, was killed in cold blood, and the gallant Ibrahim Khan Gardi, who had fallen wounded into the hands of Shuja-ud-Daula, was demanded by the Abdali and treated so evilly that he soon died. Naro Shankar,¹ who had some seven or eight thousand men at Delhi, on hearing the news of the disaster, should have done his best to cover the retreat of the remnants of the army. Unfortunately, although an officer of high reputation, he seems completely to have lost his head. On the 15th January, he fled from Delhi with such precipitation that he left behind some forty lakhs of treasure. Naro Shankar's flight added to the sufferings of the Marathas. The stragglers who escaped from Panipat had no place of refuge. When they wandered starving to Delhi, they were robbed by the mob. When they fled across country they were attacked by the peasantry and slaughtered. Others were stripped, robbed of their horses and plundered by the stalwart northern women, and sent to find their way naked, penniless and on foot to the Deccan. Malharrao Holkar made his way to Mathura and thence to Bharatpur, where he was hospitably received by Surajmal. In time some three to four thousand fugitives, including Shamsheer Bahadur, reached the Jat country. There Shamsheer Bahadur died of his wounds at Dig. The rest were hospitably entertained by Surajmal for eight days and given money to take them home.² Damaji Gaikwad and Naro Shankar reached Baroda and the Deccan in safety. Parvatibai, Sadashivrao's wife, and Laxmi-bai, the wife of Vishvasrao, were taken to Gwalior by Janu Bhintade.

The corpse of Vishvasrao was easily found and was sent for by Ahmad Shah. The Afghans crowded round it and wished to have it stuffed with straw and sent to Kabul. This inhuman proposal did not commend itself to the Abdali. Eventually Umraogir³ Gosavi, a noble in the train of Shuja-ud-Daula,

¹ Naro Shankar's family name was Dani. He was a Deshasth Brahman and the first Subhedar of Jhansi, which he founded. He was given the title of Raja Bahadur by the emperor, and is known in the chronicles as Raja Bahadur of Malegaon.

² Surajmal is said to have spent ten lakhs in helping the Marathas. Sardesai's *Panipat*, p. 205.

³ Umraogir was the Gosavi's title. His real name was Anupgir.

ransomed the bodies of Vishvasrao, of Tukoji Sindia, a full brother of Madhavrao, and of Santaji Wagh and Jaswant-rao Powar for three lakhs of rupees and had them cremated according to the Hindu ritual. For the body of Sadashivrao religious mendicants, sent for the purpose by Trimbakrao Purandare, searched long in vain. At last Ganesh Pandit saw beneath a heap of dead a corpse on which were some precious jewels. The head had been cut off, but some scars on the feet and back enabled Ganesh Pandit and the men with him to identify the body as Sadashivrao's. Thereupon Kashirai, Sadashivrao's agent with Shuja-ud-Daula, obtained leave from the Abdali to cremate it.

Sadashivrao was greatly gifted by nature. He was an admirable financier, an able administrator and within certain limits a competent general. It was his country's misfortune that, after easy successes against the Nizam's armies, he was pitted against the warlike highlanders of Afghanistan, led by a skilful and experienced captain. His judgment was disturbed by the new tactics introduced by the French, and he neither grasped their limitations nor understood their advantages. He rejected Holkar's advice, but for this there was some excuse, as only shortly before both Dattaji Sindia and Holkar had been well beaten while following the tactics the latter advocated. The worst fault that can be ascribed to Sadashivrao is that on the day of battle he allowed his sorrow for Vishvasrao to overcome his sense of duty as a general. Had he not abandoned his elephant to fight as a common trooper, he could, if he had not won the day, at any rate have saved the army. A skilful retirement on Delhi would have enabled him to re-form and again to hazard the fortunes of battle. By acting as he did, he left the Marathas without a commander either to direct the retreat or to compel Damaji Gaikwad and Malharrao Holkar to share with their comrades the full burden of the day. Sadashivrao must also be blamed for postponing a general action until hunger had wasted the number and strength of both men and horses. He had, it is true, sent for reinforcements to the Deccan, but his messages fell into the hands of the Abdali and his letters were destroyed. He waited too long; he should at once on the death of Govindpant Bandela, either have fought an action or retired

on Delhi. It is, however, impossible not to praise as well as blame. As the anxieties and the dangers of the siege grew, so grew his serene fortitude. Aware, better than anyone else, of the gravity of the situation, he hid his fears with a resolution so stern that the Abdali's spies never reported to their master the real misery of the Maratha camp. If he committed mistakes, he at least feared not to face certain death; and our censure of the general's errors must be softened by our admiration for his endurance in adversity and his physical courage in disaster.

Most of the letters sent by Sadashivrao and Vishvasrao to the Peshwa had miscarried. Nevertheless sufficient news came through to warn Balaji to send help to Sadashivrao. Unhappily he was engaged in the arrangements of his second marriage,¹ which, much to his first wife, Gopikabai's disgust, was celebrated early in December 1760. This delayed the Peshwa; but after the wedding he moved northward as fast as he could. When he reached the Narbada, a letter was brought him by a banker. It contained the words, "Two pearls have been dissolved, twenty-seven gold mohurs have been lost, and of the silver and copper the total cannot be cast up." From this the unhappy prince learnt the fate of his cousin, his son and his army. It was not long before the fugitives confirmed the news. The Peshwa showed his displeasure to those leaders who had escaped the slaughter. He censured Vinchurkar and Powar, and he attached Malhar-rao Holkar's jaghir, which remained under attachment until after Malharrao's death. Unhappily Balaji was suffering from consumption, and the shock added to the disease soon killed him. He returned to Poona, stopping on the 16th May to perform on the banks of the Godavari the *shradh* or anniversary ceremonies of his father Bajirao. He reached Poona early in June, and built the first bridge across the Muta to bear the name of Lakdi Phul² or wooden bridge. On the

¹ Mr. Sar Desai's Panipat, p. 235.

² There is still a Lakdi Phul to the west of Poona city, but it is entirely of stone. The Peshwa's family were short-lived. Sadashivrao was 31 when he was killed. Chimnaji Appa died at 42; Madhavrao I at 27; Bajirao I died at 43; Raghunathrao died at 49; Balaji Vishwanath, however, lived to the age of 76 and Bajirao II to the age of 80.

18th June, he went to his house on Parvati Hill. There his mind began to fail and he became thinner daily. In a few days, although barely forty years old, he died in the arms of his brother Raghunathrao.

English historians have dealt scant justice to this eminent prince. And yet they of all others should have been generous to him; for, by helping to destroy Tulaji Angre and by paralysing de Bussy in the Deccan and so giving Clive a free hand in Bengal, Balaji did the English the best turn ever done them by a foreigner. Without the real greatness of Bajirao, Balaji was a wise and far-sighted politician. He met with rare skill and firmness the crisis caused by Tarabai's intrigues and Damaji's rebellion. He reduced to a shadow the power of the Nizam, and, but for Panipat, would have added the whole of Southern India to the Maratha kingdom. Occupied in the south, he never found time, while Peshwa, to go to Delhi. Had he done so, he would better have understood the Afghan menace. Balaji's name was long cherished by the Maratha peasants for his success in improving the revenue system and the administration of justice. In the former he was aided by Sadashivrao; in the latter his chief associate was Balshastri Gadgil. Balaji was an untiring letter-writer and no less than fifteen hundred of his letters have survived. In every campaign he sent to Poona a continuous stream of epistles, which show his unremitting zeal in the public service. In 1750, he founded in Poona an institution for the training of revenue clerks and officers. He made great efforts to improve the food and the transport of the army, and unquestionably equipped it and cared for it better than any Maratha ruler since the days of the great king. For one innovation, however, he must be blamed. He allowed, even encouraged officers and soldiers to take with them on active service their wives and families.

Of all his cities Balaji loved Poona best. He spent vast sums in attracting to it learned scholars, devout Brahmans and famous poets. He encouraged trade, built fountains, improved roads, and created fresh peths or quarters. To one he gave the name of his cousin, to another he gave the name of his youngest son; and Sadashivpeth and Narayanpeth are still populous and fashionable. He greatly improved the

lake at Katrej and planted innumerable trees on the roads to Theur, Alandi, and Ganeshkhind. But the monument that to-day most vividly recalls to the visitor's mind this magnificent prince is Parvati Hill. Before Balaji's time a tiny temple to Parvati crowned its summit and the shrine had acquired the reputation of curing sick people. Once Gopikabai, suffering from a sore heel, went to see the hill goddess and was cured. Her husband, to show his gratitude, erected the noble temple now known as Devadeveshwar. After Shahu's death Balaji placed in it Shahu's *padukas* or sandals, and thus the hill became a monument of the Maratha king. In the plain to the south the Peshwa gave great feasts and distributed charity; while to the north he built a beautiful lake that for many years was one of the chief glories of Poona. Not only did Balaji honour the god Shiva's queen, he built also a temple on Parvati Hill to the god Vishnu, and on the eleventh of every Hindu month he went regularly to worship at Vishnu's shrine. Indeed, he so loved the hill that he built a palace there; and when he felt death coming near, it was to Parvati Hill that he went to die. Nor has the Peshwa's choice been disapproved by later generations. A constant stream of visitors still go up and down the stone steps that lead to the summit of Parvati. Thence can be seen, like a map unrolled, Poona city, her sister rivers, the Muta and the Mulla, the shrine of Alandi, and the silver thread of Tukaram's Indryani; while far away to the west the dark hill forts of the Sahyadris recall the days when Maratha armies rode forth to Delhi, and the fame of Balaji the Peshwa resounded from the Indus river to the southern seas.

APPENDIX A

Letter from Vithal Shivdev Vinchurkar to Raghunathrao, complaining that the Peshwa had censured him.

To Shrimant Dadhasaheb, with respectful compliments from Vithal Shivdev, Camp Gangruni, District Malwa, where the undersigned is doing well.—Letters from you are received by Subhedar Malharrao Holkar. We two are living together in the same camp, which you must have learnt from other sources. The reason that the Peshwa does not write to us seems to be his displeasure that we did not die on the battle-field. It is true that nobody can escape death. But one cannot help escaping it during the fated period of one's life. It was only the mercy of Providence that we recovered when severely wounded. How true it is that "Life means duty and that life provides for food". Nevertheless we are smarting under a bitter sense of mortification. It is not that we have forgotten what happened. But the truth is, that all our efforts in the battle-field, good or bad, proved in vain, through the wrath of the Almighty.

(Parasnis Collection.)

APPENDIX B

Letter from Holkar's diwan complaining of the attachment of the Holkar estates.

To Shrimant Dadasaheb (Raghunathrao Peshwa), with respectful compliments from Vinayakrao and Krishnarao Gangadhar.—Your Lordship's despatch of the 11th to Tatya was received at Gangruni on the 9th and its contents greatly delighted us. We note with pleasure Your Lordship's several directions about the affairs in Hindustan. The Subhedar (Malharrao Holkar) has sent Gangadhar Yashwant to Vazier Ghazi-ud-din Khan and Thakur Surajmal with a view to restoring peace and order in Hindustan. Your Lordship's observation that the Subhedar is the backbone of our policy in Northern India, is quite true. In days gone by, the late Peshwa Bajirao entrusted his interests to Malharrao Holkar. But this year, since the return of Shrimant (the Peshwa) from Sironje, it appears that the Subhedar no longer enjoys his confidence. There has been no neglect of duty on the part of Malharrao Holkar. The fugitives that took part in the Battle of Panipat must have seen Your Lordship and related the true account. What is the use of praising a defeat? It is well known how Scindia and Powar, the old servants of the Sarkar, fared in the battle! The news communicated by Your Lordship about the confiscation of the Subhedar's mahals in the Deccan has brought on him a feeling of despair. He often complains that, if this be the fruit of his past services, what of the future?

(Parasnis Collection.)

CHAPTER LIV

THE ACCESSION OF MADHAVRAO BALLAL

THE disaster of Panipat and the death of the Peshwa were followed by a series of plots and disturbances. Tulaji Angre, although in prison, contrived to communicate with a nephew of Ibrahim Khan Gardi and to plot a rising on the day of the Peshwa's death. Some eight thousand disciplined infantry entered Poona unperceived ; but at the last moment a letter from Angre was betrayed into Raghunathrao's hands. He acted with energy, disarmed the conspirators and confined Tulaji Angre with greater strictness than ever.

Although the unfortunate Ramraja had for ten years taken no part in the government, such was his prestige as the descendant of the great king, that it was felt necessary to obtain his investiture for the new Peshwa. As Vishvasrao was dead, the next heir was Balaji's second son Madhavrao, known in history as Madhavrao Ballal. He was then sixteen years old, and nature had bestowed on him a ripe judgment, a high spirit and the talents both of a soldier and a statesman. His uncle Raghunathrao had hoped to conduct the administration in Madhavrao's name until his nephew reached man's estate. In this ambition he was aided and abetted by two persons, his wife Anandibai and his friend Sakharam Bapu. Anandibai was a beautiful but wicked woman, whom Raghunathrao had married in 1755, on the death of his first wife Jankibai. Raghunathrao remained all his life deeply in love with her and still more deeply in fear of her. Sakharam Bapu's real name was Sakharam Bhagwant Bokil and he was Kulkarni of Hivare ; he was descended from Pantoji Gopinath, who had helped Shivaji to defeat Afzul Khan at Pratapgad. Madhavrao, although conscious of great powers, at first acquiesced in his uncle's self-formed regency. Indeed, the affairs of the state were in the greatest disorder. There was little or no danger, it is true, from the north. For the Musulman confederates had no sooner won Panipat, than they began to quarrel among themselves. Ahmad Shah Abdali had taken in his victory all Ibrahim Khan Gardi's artillery, five hundred elephants, five thousand horses and twenty thousand



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bullocks; but of treasure he captured little or none. The result was that when he reached Delhi, which he did on the 21st January 1761, and proposed to his Afghans that he should crown himself emperor, they broke into a formidable mutiny. They demanded their arrears of pay, which had accumulated during the previous two years. He contrived to appease them for a time by a forced loan of forty lakhs from Najib-ud-Daulat. But thereafter he confined his ambitions to the provinces of Sind and the Punjab. He acknowledged the fugitive prince Ali Gohar as emperor with the title of Shah Alam or "Sovereign of the Known World", appointed Shuja-ud-Daula, who had gone back to Oudh, vazir of the empire, and entrusted Delhi and the royal family to the care of Najib-ud-Daulat. On the 22nd March 1761, he struck his camp and returned to Afghanistan.

But, if there was no fear from the conquerors of Panipat, the gravest danger threatened from the east. Nizam Ali, who had usurped from his brother Salabat Jang the entire administration of the Moghul Deccan, prepared to take full advantage of the situation. In his design he was favoured by Tarabai, who openly rejoiced in the misfortunes of Balaji and the deaths of Sadashivrao and Vishvasrao. The Maratha chiefs were at variance with the Brahmans, and the Brahmans from above the Ghats sided with the Marathas against the Brahmans of the Konkan. Nizam Ali marched with all speed towards Poona, destroying and defiling, as he did so, the Hindu temples in his line of march. This conduct, as well as the judicious offer of the post of Senapati or commander-in-chief in the Maratha service, induced Ramchandra Jadhav to leave Nizam Ali and to join his own countrymen. In spite of this desertion, Nizam Ali pressed on as far as Urali, a few miles from Poona, demanding as the price of peace the cancellation of the cessions made after the battle of Udgir. After continuous fighting from the 11th November, 1761, to the 8th January 1762, the Nizam was glad to confirm the treaty of Udgir and return to his own dominions.¹

¹ Grant Duff, vol. 1, p. 5, says that Raghunathrao relinquished 27 lakhs of rupees out of the sixty-two lakhs granted by the treaty of Udgir; but the Bakhars do not support him. Mr. Sar Desai in his

In the course of the year 1762 Madhavrao determined to assert his rights. He was now seventeen and in every way fitted to conduct successfully the administration. Early in the year he had been as far as Sira, in command of a Maratha force, to collect the southern tribute. With him had gone Trimbakrao Vishvanath Pethe, the maternal uncle of Sadashivrao, affectionately known to all as Trimbakrao Mama, Baburao Phadnis and Gopalrao Govind Patwardhan, and they had urged him to beware of his aspiring uncle. Madhavrao now demanded a fuller share in the government. Raghunathrao at first scorned, and afterwards resented, the demand. On the advice of Sakharam Bapu he resigned his office as regent, and Sakharam resigned his as diwan, confident that without them Madhavrao would be helpless to govern. But they entirely misjudged the spirit of the young prince. He at once assumed the supreme control of the government in place of his uncle, gave the vacant office of diwan to Trimbakrao Pethe, and appointed Hari Ballal Phadke and Balaji Janardhan Bhanu as his private secretaries. Balaji Janardhan Bhanu is better known in history as Nana Phadnavis. According to the Peshwa's Bakhar, his grandfather Balaji and his great uncle lived at Velas in the Konkan, and gave shelter to Balaji Vishvanath when he fled from the wrath of the Sidis. Afterwards the brothers went with Balaji Vishvanath to Shahu's court. It is, in any case, certain that for three generations his family had held high office; and he had himself been brought up in the companionship both of Vishvasrao and of Madhavrao. Although only nineteen, he had seen considerable fighting and had been on field service both in the Carnatic and Hindustan. He had taken his mother north, as she wished to make a pilgrimage to Mathura; and in this way both had been caught up in Sadashivrao's army. Nana Phadnavis escaped from Panipat but lost his mother there. He made every effort to recover her, meaning to take her back if pure, or to drown her, according to the stern Brahman creed, in the Ganges if defiled. At last he learnt from her servant that she had been killed by a fall from her horse, as she strove to escape from the

article on Madhavrao in the July number of the *Vividhnan Vistar* says that Raghunathrao granted nothing. This seems the more likely in view of the precarious state to which the Moghuls had been reduced.

mad stream of fugitives that raced back to Panipat. Hari Ballal Phadke was about the same age as Nana Phadnavis. He was the son of a poor Brahman called Balambhat Phadke, a priest in the household of Baburao Bhanu, Nana's uncle. Nana and Hari had been close friends from childhood and this friendship lasted all their lives. Besides Nana Phadnavis and Hari Phadke, Madhavrao appointed Ramshastri Prabhune, of Mahuli near Satara, head of his judicial department. Ramshastri's¹ name is still remembered as a model of learning, uprightness and equity. Lastly, Gopalrao Govind Patwardhan promised his full support to the new administration. Raghunathrao had retired to Nasik on the Godavari and was hiding his wrath by the devoutness of his worship in the temple of Kapileshwar. That temple is the only known shrine of Shiva where no stone image of the bull Nandikeshwar will be found seated opposite the mystic sign of the godhead. The bull's absence is explained by a whimsical and charming story. On one occasion the goddess Parvati, it is said, put her hands over her husband Shiva's eyes; but the great god was in no humour for fun. He opened his third eye and with it burnt up the sun, the earth, and last, but not least, the god Brahmadev's fifth head. When Shiva had recovered his temper, he restored the sun and the earth, but he was not able to restore the fifth head of Brahmadev. As a punishment for burning off another god's head, he was condemned always to see it dancing before his eyes. The punishment was a very severe one, and, to rid himself of the vision, Shiva wandered all over India, visiting in vain shrine after shrine. At last he came to the banks of the Godavari, and sat down to rest under a tree. As he sat, he overheard a conversation between a young bull and a staid old cow, its mother. "To-morrow" said the old cow "our master will put a ring through your nose and, yoking you to a plough, will make you work for the rest of your life". The young bull answered scornfully that, if its master acted so, it would gore him to death. The mother remonstrated that the master was a Brahman. "Never mind," said the young bull, "I know how to purify myself even from the deadly sin of Brahman-murder". The god Shiva was

¹ For a fuller account of Ramshastri see appendix B to chapter 68.

deeply interested. He thought to himself that, if the bull could purify itself from Brahman murder, he (Shiva) could, by doing what it did, purify himself from the sin of having burnt off one of Brahmadev's five heads. He went away, but next morning returned to the spot where he had heard the conversation. In a little time the Brahman came and tried to fasten the ring in the young bull's nose. The graceless beast threw him on his back and gored him to death. From being pure white, it became black with sin. Galloping off with its tail in the air, it plunged into the pool in the Godavari river where the divine hero Ramchandra had performed the obsequies of his dead father. Such was the holiness of the water that the bull became pure white, save only the tip of its tail. This it had held in the air to shew its defiant spirit. The god Shiva watched the incident closely and immediately afterwards plunged into the same pool. The same moment the vision that had haunted him disappeared. To commemorate the punishment and the release of the god Shiva there was built close to the place where these events occurred the temple of Kapileshwar or the god of the head. It is the only temple in India, as I have said, where no bull kneels reverently in front of the god. For, whereas in other spots the bull is regarded as Shiva's servant, there the bull is regarded as the great god's teacher.

The charm of this delightful legend was, it is to be feared, lost on the Maratha Achilles, as he sulked on the banks of the Godavari. Less fortunate than his prototype, he found that his absence produced none of the calamities that he had anticipated. Sakharam Bapu was deeply hurt at his supersession by Trimbakrao Pethe. Lastly, the beautiful and ambitious Anandibai resented her husband's descent from the regency to private life. Yielding to his anger and the counsels of his friend and his wife, Raghunathrao sought the help of the Nizam against his own nephew. Leaving Nasik, he went to Aurangabad, where the governor, Murad Khan received him in state and gave him a large contingent of Moghul troops. A treaty known as the treaty of Pedgaon was entered into between Raghunathrao, and Nizam Ali, who in 1761 had deposed his brother Salabat Jang¹ and was now Nizam of

¹ Nizam Ali murdered Salabat Jang in 1763.

Haidarabad. The price of Moghul help was the reduction by fifty-one lakhs annually of the cessions made by the treaty of Udgir, and the surrender of Daulatabad, Shivner, Ahmadnagar and Asirgad. Many Maratha chiefs, including Janoji Bhosle, despised Madhavrao as a child and supported Raghunathrao. Madhavrao equipped such forces as he could, and the two armies fought on the banks of the Ghodnadi river a series of actions between the 7th and 12th November 1762. At last Madhavrao, despairing of successful resistance, went unattended to his uncle's camp and gave himself into his uncle's power, rather than continue a quarrel profitable to his country's enemies. To do Raghunathrao justice, he took no unfair advantage of his nephew's act. He put him under surveillance, but treated him with every courtesy. He made no effort to depose him, but took over the administration in Madhavrao's name, giving out that his young nephew had been misled by the advice of interested intriguers. He displaced Trimbakrao Pethe and restored Sakharam Bapu. With him he associated Balwantrao Mahadev Purandare, to whom he gave back the great fort of Purandar. He degraded Nana Phadnavis' cousin Moroba from the family office of the Peshwa's phadnavis or chief secretary, and gave it to Chinto Vithal Rairikar. He attached the estate of Bhavanrao (also known as Shrinivas) Pratinidhi, who had succeeded his uncle Jagjivan, and gave it to Naro Shankar Dani, who had disgraced himself at Delhi, to manage for his own infant son Bhaskarrao, born to him and Anandibai on the 26th February 1762. Lastly, he took Miraj by storm from Gopalrao Govind Patwardhan and confiscated his entire estate.

The evil example set by Raghunathrao was now followed by his opponents. The Nizam's diwan was at this time a singularly astute individual named Vithal Sundar Raje Pratapwant, a Yajurvedi Deshasth Brahman.¹ He invited all the discontented Maratha leaders to join Nizam Ali, and Gopalrao Patwardhan, Bhavanrao Pratinidhi, the Nimbalkars, Moroba Phadnavis and his father Baburao, Janoji Bhosle and

¹ He was one of the 3½ wise men of the Deccan. Sakharam Bapu was another and Divaji Pant was the third. Nana Phadnavis was the half. It was a case where the half proved greater than the whole.

a host of others accepted the invitation. Indeed, of all the recent adherents of Madhavrao, only Nana Phadnavis and Hari Phadke remained loyal to their country. With this formidable accession of strength, the Nizam believed himself capable of overthrowing the Maratha state. He denounced the treaties of Udgir and Pedgaon, and proclaimed his intention of removing from the regency the Chitpavan Bhats and substituting for them Janoji Bhosle of Nagpur. The kingdom of Shivaji would then once more be in the hands of a Bhosle. The Nizam would have been better advised had he declared himself the champion of Madhavrao; for, by threatening the removal of the Chitpavan Bhats, he drove Madhavrao into his uncle's arms, who then had the help of his nephew's clear and resolute mind. Raghunathrao had also the experienced aid of Damaji Gaikwad and Malharrao Holkar, and at their advice he opposed to the invasion the old Maratha tactics. Evading a general action, he slipped past Nizam Ali and besieged Aurangabad. Failing to take it, he led his army into Berar, where they plundered the estates of Janoji Bhosle. From Berar they roamed up and down, laying waste the Moghul territories and extorting contributions of grain and money. Nizam Ali at first pursued them in vain. He then changed his tactics and marched straight for Poona, while Raghunathrao, in turn, marched against Haidarabad. The threat did not divert the Nizam from his goal. He marched unopposed to the Maratha capital, whose inhabitants fled panic-stricken to Sinhgad. Camping outside Poona, he allowed his army to plunder it, and pulled down or burnt every house not ransomed by its owner. He then marched eastward, devastating the country between Purandar fort and the Bhima river. In the meantime Raghunathrao had reached Haidarabad, but had made no impression on its fortifications. After levying two lakhs from its suburbs, he followed Sakharam Bapu's advice and entrusted to that statesman the task of winning back to their duty the Maratha officers in the Nizam's army. Sakharam Bapu was first successful with Janoji Bhosle, to whom he disclosed the treachery of Nizam Ali. The latter, while Vithal Sundar had promised the regency to Janoji Bhosle, had himself offered it secretly to the Raja of Kolhapur.

Instead of a doubtful chance of the regency, Sakharam Bapu offered Janoji Bhosle an estate worth thirty-two lakhs a year out of the territory ceded after Udgir. Janoji, in turn, corrupted the other Maratha leaders with the Nizam and they agreed to desert on the first favourable opportunity. Elated by the success of Sakharam Bapu's negotiations, Raghunathrao hung on the flank of the Nizam's army, as he retired to Aurangabad, where he proposed to pass the monsoon. On reaching a spot called Rakshasabhavan, or demon land, on the banks of the Godavari then in flood, Nizam Ali crossed with half his army, leaving his diwan on the other bank with a considerable force, including a chosen body of seven thousand Afghans and all the Maratha contingents. At this point Janoji Bhosle, whose troops were in arrears, picked a quarrel with Vithal Sundar and withdrew. The other Maratha leaders pleaded the monsoon as a ground for returning to their fiefs. These desertions were the signal awaited by Raghunathrao. On the 10th August 1763, he attacked Vithal Sundar's isolated force with the utmost fury. The Afghan troops defended themselves bravely, and Vithal Sundar's leadership so inspired his men that they repulsed the attack and surrounded Raghunathrao and his favourite officer, a Prabhu called Sakharam Hari Gupte, who were seated on the same elephant. In the rear of the Maratha army was Madhavrao in nominal command, but really the prisoner, of fifteen hundred household troops. At this point the day seemed lost and the battle of Rakshasabhavan a mere repetition of Panipat. Malharrao Holkar, whose corps was in flight, came up to Madhavrao, who asked his advice. "Come with me to Poona" was the reply, "there a throne awaits you." The old soldier little guessed the heroic spirit that flamed within the breast of the young Peshwa. Turning furiously on Holkar, he said in a white heat of passion, "They spoke the truth then, who said that you were the cause of Sadashivrao's defeat and death at Panipat." Calling on his fifteen hundred men to follow him, and rallying every fugitive he met, the boy-prince charged Vithal Sundar's Afghans advancing in the disorder of victory. Fortune instantly changed sides. The household troops cut their way to Raghunathrao's elephant and he once more took command of the army. Vithal Sundar, trying to re-form his men, fell shot through the chest.

Nizam Ali tried to re-cross the Godavari, but in vain; and half his army, a moment before victorious, was slain, driven in headlong flight, or drowned in the flood of the swollen river. Nizam Ali withdrew to Aurangabad, which Raghunathrao tried unsuccessfully to storm, and then besieged. Nizam Ali was in grave peril. At any moment a conspiracy might free his elder brother Salabat Jang and restore him to the throne. He therefore took the step of visiting Raghunathrao in person, imploring his pardon and throwing the blame of his late errors on the unfortunate Vithal Sundar. Raghunathrao, save when under his wife's influence, was the simplest and best natured of men. He was completely deceived by the feigned penitence of Nizam Ali, forgave him everything and was still willing to give him the lands ceded by the treaty of Pedgaon. Of these, however, lands yielding thirty-two lakhs had been assigned to Janoji Bhosle, so that only land yielding nineteen lakhs remained in Raghunathrao's gift. These he gave; but afterwards he was induced by his own advisers to limit the grant to one of only ten lakhs.¹

The claims of Madhavrao, whose gallantry had changed the battle of Rakshasabhavan from a defeat into a victory, could no longer be ignored. Raghunathrao, genuinely grateful, freed his nephew from surveillance and accorded him a large share of power. Madhavrao's first step was to correct the errors that had estranged so many Marathas from the Peshwa's cause. He restored Miraj to Gopalrao Patwardhan and, on Bhaskarrao's death later in the year, the office of prathinidhi to Bhavanrao. The post of phadnavis was not given back to Moroba, but it was bestowed on Nana Phadnavis, his undivided cousin. As head of the state, it fell to Madhavrao to bestow on Janoji Bhosle the title-deeds for thirty-five lakhs' worth of territory. As he did so, he openly and vehemently upbraided the recreant Maratha, and condemned in the harshest terms the recent treacheries of Bhosle and his accomplices. Having thus in no uncertain way inaugurated his accession to power, he proceeded to exercise it with a genius and vigour that placed him in the affections of his countrymen only second to the great king himself.

¹ This is known as the treaty of Aurangabad.

CHAPTER LV

MADHAVRAO'S FIRST AND SECOND MYSORE WARS, AND SECOND CIVIL WAR

WHILE the Maratha power had been reduced by the defeat of Panipat, the war with Nizam Ali and internal dissensions, Haidar Ali's power had grown in the most extraordinary manner. We have seen how in 1760 he returned to Seringapatam after the not unsuccessful contest with Gopalrao Govind Patwardhan. After his return the young raja, Chikka Krishnaraj of Mysore and his mother sought to use Haidar Ali to displace Nandraj, the all-powerful Dalwai. This difficult task, Haidar Ali, aided by an able Deccan Brahman called Khanderao, successfully accomplished. But, having seized the power, he declined to relinquish it and kept the raja as dependent as before. The king and his mother then won over Khanderao, who allied himself with Visaji Krishna Biniwala (commonly known as Visaji Pandit), the commander of the Maratha troops in the fourteen districts. But in 1761, the disaster of Panipat led to Visaji Pandit's recall, and thereafter Haidar Ali, by a combination of trickery and military skill probably never equalled, overcame Khanderao¹ and, confining him in a cage, became sole master of the Mysore kingdom. Subsequently he seized Bednur and, in consideration of a payment of three lakhs, induced Basalat Jang, the brother of Salabat Jang, to

¹ Khanderao proved Haidar Ali's equal in the field, but he was overcome by a strategy worthy of Aurangzib. Haidar Ali first won over to his cause Nandraj, the displaced minister, and then fabricated letters in Nandraj's name to Khanderao's officers, desiring them to surrender Khanderao in accordance with the pre-arranged agreement. The bearer of these letters let himself be caught. When Khanderao read the letters he fled in terror to the raja, leaving the army to shift for itself. Haidar Ali then attacked it and won an easy victory. The raja surrendered Khanderao on Haidar Ali's promise to care for him as he would a pet parrot. This promise Haidar Ali kept. On his surrender Khanderao was confined in a cage and fed on rice and water until his death. Bowring's *Haidar Ali*, p. 33.

confer on him the Nawabship of Sira, which had become a Maratha dependency. In 1762, Haidar Ali on the strength of this grant drove the Maratha garrison out and installed himself as Nawab of Sira with the title of Haidar Ali Khan Bahadur. He had also tried to win to his alliance the Nawab of Savanur. On the latter's refusal to break his treaty with the Marathas, Haidar Ali laid waste his lands and drove the Maratha garrison from Dharwar. In the end Haidar Ali's lieutenant, Fazl Ali Khan extended his frontier as far as the Krishna river. These continual insults to the Maratha flag forced Madhavrao to make his first campaign in the Carnatic.

Madhavrao ordered Gopalrao Patwardhan, whose frontier as chief of Miraj extended to the northern bank of the Krishna river, to check Fazl Ali Khan's advance ; and for this purpose sent him a strong reinforcement from Poona. Patwardhan's army was superior to Fazl Ali Khan's in numbers, although not in quality ; and in April 1764 he was tempted to engage Fazl Ali Khan in a general action before the arrival of the Peshwa, and was severely defeated. Madhavrao had been delayed by Raghunathrao's insistent claim to command the army. This claim Madhavrao with the utmost courtesy heard and rejected. In this difference Sakharam Bapu supported the nephew against the uncle, and Raghunathrao, overruled, again left Poona in disgust and went back to Nasik. Madhavrao was now free to lead the army of the Carnatic. Early in May 1764, the gallant young Peshwa with thirty to forty thousand horse, an equal number of infantry and a great train of artillery, crossed the Krishna. Fazl Ali Khan fell back on Haidar Ali's main army, which lay in an entrenched camp between Savanur and Bednur. Haidar Ali's force, which consisted of twenty thousand cavalry, twenty thousand disciplined infantry and twenty thousand irregulars, was greatly outnumbered. But Haidar Ali hoped that his enemy might be induced to attack his entrenchments, and concentrated his men within his camp. Madhavrao wisely declined to send his men against a fortified position, and, by sending his cavalry in every direction, soon cut Haidar Ali's communications. At the same time he sent detachments which rapidly recovered the Maratha districts seized by Haidar Ali Khan. Haidar Ali then changed his tactics and led out in person twenty thousand

men, intending by a feigned retreat to lead his enemy to attack his camp. Madhavrao used Haidar Ali's own ruse to compass his defeat. Swarms of Maratha cavalry led Haidar Ali several miles from his camp, while the main Maratha army closed in on his flanks and rear. Only with the greatest difficulty and after suffering immense losses did Haidar Ali succeed in extricating himself. He fell back on his camp, which Madhavrao invested. A few days later Haidar Ali, in the hope of cutting off one of Madhavrao's detachments, moved out with a thousand cavalry, two thousand picked infantry and four light guns. He was attacked and so severely defeated that of his force only he and fifty cavalry escaped.

The investment of the camp continued until the middle of June 1764, when the violence of the monsoon forced Madhavrao to raise the siege and to canton his troops to the east of Savanur. But before the monsoon ended, Madhavrao passed large detachments over the Tungabhadra river and reduced the eastern districts of Bednur and the western districts of Mysore, while the dispirited army of Haidar Ali helplessly watched his operations from their camp. Early in 1765, Madhavrao renewed the investment with such vigour that Haidar Ali abandoned his camp and retreated on Mysore. He experienced the usual fate of those who have retreated before a Maratha army. Three days after the retreat had begun Madhavrao intercepted it and forced Haidar Ali to a general action. The result was a great Maratha victory. In killed alone Haidar Ali lost three thousand cavalry and six thousand infantry, and the shattered remnants of his army fled in the utmost disorder to the woods. The garrisons of the Bednur fortresses, Ikkeri and Anantpur surrendered after a feeble resistance, and Haidar Ali with such troops as he could rally took refuge in Bednur. By this time Raghunathrao had on Madhavrao's invitation taken over the command of the army, and to him the desperate adventurer made overtures of peace. Now, if ever, was the time to have destroyed this formidable foe. But the treacherous Raghunathrao was anxious to secure a retreat for himself, should his ambitious spirit find no scope in his own country. He therefore granted a most favourable peace. All that Haidar Ali was required to do was to restore to Murarirao the fortress of Gooti and the surrounding

districts, which he had taken from him on Murarirao's recent desertion to the Peshwa; to give up all claims on Savanur, and to pay thirty-two lakhs of rupees by way of indemnity. On Murarirao the Peshwa was to confer the title of Senapati or commander-in-chief, in honour of his gallant kinsman Santaji Ghorpade. Madhavrao was not consulted as to the terms of peace, which were conveyed by Naro Shankar Dani, who at the same time entered on Raghunathrao's behalf into a secret understanding with Haidar Ali. Nevertheless the honourable boy, although rightly incensed, would not repudiate the treaty; and in February 1765, upon receipt of the thirty-five lakhs, he began to withdraw his troops from the frontiers of Mysore. By June 1765 he was back in Poona.

Madhavrao had acquiesced in the grant of lands worth thirty-two lakhs a year to Janoji Bhosle; but he had not forgiven the treachery by which it had been acquired. Nor had Janoji's subsequent conduct been such as to merit forgiveness. Resenting the public rebuke given him by the young Peshwa, he had been in constant communication with Raghunathrao's wife Anandibai in the hope of instigating her husband to a fresh rebellion. The secret service of Madhavrao was excellent and he was fully aware of Janoji Bhosle's seditious correspondence. Determined to punish him, he found an ally ready to hand in Nizam Ali, who felt justly indignant at the perfidy that had cost him the defeat of Rakshasabhavan. Nizam Ali, too, was free to act with vigour. He had murdered one brother, Salabat Jang, and had reduced to obedience his other brother, Basalat Jang, who, after his dismissal from the post of diwan, had tried to carve out for himself a kingdom in the Carnatic. He readily listened to Madhavrao's proposals, and in the cold weather of 1765-1766, a combined army of Marathas and Moghuls invaded Berar, and on the 4th January 1766 forced Janoji to surrender three-quarters of the grants of thirty-two lakhs given him for his desertion. Of the twenty-four lakhs thus surrendered, Nizam Ali secured fifteen lakhs in return for a secret understanding to help Madhavrao in a campaign against Haidar Ali. Nizam Ali, however, was a broken reed. So far from giving Madhavrao any assistance, he entered into a secret understanding with Lord Clive to compass not only the

downfall of Haidar Ali but the defeat of the Marathas. Nor was this all. Nizam Ali, at the same time, allied himself with Haidar Ali to conquer Arcot from Mahomed Ali. These facts were soon known to Madhavrao, and in the cold weather of 1766 he determined to act without his perfidious confederate. Haidar Ali feared to meet the Marathas in the field, and tried to stay their advance by destroying the reservoirs, poisoning the wells, and laying waste the country. But his orders were not properly carried out. Madhavrao's force, hardly distressed by Haidar Ali's measures, overran the countryside, and by the end of March took Sira, Ouscotta and Mudgiri. At the same time Nizam Ali and the English threatened to cross Haidar Ali's northern and southern frontiers. Haidar Ali sent a Brahman called Appaji Ram to throw himself on Madhavrao's mercy. The envoy's ready wit and diplomatic skill won the fancy of the young prince and he agreed to evacuate the occupied districts on payment of thirty-five lakhs of rupees. Half was paid in March 1767. For the remaining seventeen and a half lakhs the district of Kolar was pledged. The balance was duly paid in May 1767, and Madhavrao returned in triumph to Poona. The demands of the English and Nizam Ali to share in the spoils were very properly rejected.

While Madhavrao had thus been heightening in the Carnatic his reputation as a skilful commander, Raghunathrao had met with misfortune in the north. It was the young Peshwa's ambition to avenge Panipat and recover Delhi. But he held the wise view that he should finish his work in the Carnatic before attempting another more arduous task in the north. Raghunathrao, however, urged an immediate advance northward, and obtained from his nephew the command of a considerable force. In January 1766, he marched for Delhi, accompanied by Malharrao Holkar. Unhappily for the success of the expedition, the latter, wise and experienced in northern warfare, died on the 10th May 1766, at Alampur, leaving behind him the reputation of a dashing, and above all an open-handed, generous, leader.

Deprived of his counsels, Raghunathrao failed to achieve anything. The Jats successfully disputed the crossing of the Chambal river. Raghunathrao, to punish the Jats, turned from

the north and invested Gohad. It was successfully defended by the Rana, who from an obscure landholder had risen after Panipat to considerable power. At last, after a lengthy siege, in the course of which the lives of his men and the contents of his treasure-chest were alike squandered, Raghunathrao was glad to accept three lakhs of rupees as the price of his departure. He reached the Deccan in June 1767, after an improvident and futile campaign of eighteen months, shortly after his victorious nephew. Angry alike at his own failure and at Madhavrao's success, he again turned a willing ear to the poisonous counsels of Anandibai. He talked openly of becoming a religious ascetic and of retiring to Benares or Nasik, that he might pass his remaining years in penances and austerities ; at the same time he entered into correspondence with Janoji Bhosle. Madhavrao, aware of his uncle's treasonable activity, offered him a jaghir round Trimbak worth twelve lakhs a year, and the forts of Aundhe and Trimbak ; but nothing would satisfy Raghunathrao short of half the Maratha empire. This ridiculous demand Madhavrao sternly rejected and he watched his uncle's movements closely. Unaware or disdainful of his nephew's observation, Raghunathrao raised fifteen thousand men and obtained contingents from Damaji Gaikwad and Holkar's diwan, Gangadhar Yashwant. He also received promises of powerful support from Janoji Bhosle. Long before the latter could give Raghunathrao substantial aid, Madhavrao was on the march northward with a numerous army. On the 10th June 1768, he surprised his uncle's force in an open plain near Dhodap fort close to Nasik. Raghunathrao's levies, outnumbered and outgeneraled, were driven into the fort and there forced to capitulate. Raghunathrao was taken prisoner and sent to the Shanwar palace at Poona. He was allowed to see his wife, and his recently-adopted son Amritrao ; but he was not permitted to leave the precincts of the palace or without permission to see other visitors. The charge of the state prisoner was entrusted to Nana Phadnavis.

Having crushed Raghunathrao, it remained for the Peshwa to reduce Janoji Bhosle to complete obedience. He first renewed his alliance with Nizam Ali and, skilfully masking his real intention both from Haidar Ali and the English, suddenly

led a combined Maratha and Moghul army into Berar by the road that leads past Basim and Karanja. Janoji Bhosle at first ordered his subhedar to oppose them, but his troops were beaten and their commander killed. Janoji then adopted different tactics. He conducted a guerilla warfare for some time with success, but came to realize that it was impossible for him to fight for ever against the immense resources of his enemies. He sued for, and was granted, peace.

On the 23rd March 1769, Janoji Bhosle signed an agreement at Kankapur, by which he abandoned the remainder of the lands assigned to him as a return for his desertion at Rakshasabhavan. His military establishment was fixed at a certain figure and could not be increased without the Peshwa's leave ; he was forbidden to correspond with the Nizam, the English, the emperor, or the Nawab of Oudh, and he was required to pay an indemnity of five lakhs and one rupee in five annual instalments. He was in fact reduced to the condition of a subordinate ally, who could claim help if his territories were invaded but to whom no independent relations with foreign powers were permitted. The Peshwa had now humbled his enemies at home and he was once more at liberty to consider Maratha affairs abroad.

CHAPTER LVI

MADHAVRAO'S THIRD MYSORE WAR AND PROGRESS OF AFFAIRS AT DELHI

WHILE Madhavrao had been engaged in reducing to obedience Raghunathrao and Janoji Bhosle, Haidar Ali had resumed his activities. By a series of skilfully-fought actions he forced the English at Madras to enter with him into a defensive alliance aimed directly against the Marathas, although their name did not appear in the treaty. Encouraged by this success, Haidar resumed offensive action against the Peshwa. Regardless of his previous engagements, he withheld the promised tribute and marched on Savanur, levying contributions as he went. The Peshwa's fortunate campaign against Janoji Bhosle left him free in the cold weather of 1769, to chastise the faithless invader. Directly Haidar Ali heard that the Maratha armies were in motion, he retired southwards towards Seringapatam. As he retired, he sent an urgent demand for English help. That help, however, was not forthcoming. Haidar Ali, left to his own resources, sent Appaji Ram to treat. The Peshwa, who wished entirely to destroy Haidar Ali's power, demanded a crore of rupees as indemnity and twelve lakhs as arrears of tribute. He further asserted that, as the successor of the Adil Shahi king of Bijapur, he was entitled to the undisputed possession of the whole Mysore State. As Appaji Ram was empowered only to offer a payment of twelve lakhs, the negotiations broke down and the Maratha advance continued. It assumed no longer the character of a raid for levying contribution, but with the army went experienced civil officers, who took over the administration of each district as it was occupied. Without opposition Madhavrao reached Bangalore. Masking it by an investing force, he pressed on to Kolar, Nandidurg and Mulwagar, all of which he took by assault. At Nijagal, an inaccessible fortress thirty miles north-west of Bangalore, he was for some months checked by the skill of the commandant,

Sardar Khan ; but on the first of May 1770 it was stormed by the Polygar or robber baron of Chitaldurg at the head of a body of Berads. At the beginning of June 1770, Madhavrao in the full tide of success was struck down by illness and compelled to return to Poona. With him returned his brother Narayanrao, who had been wounded in the hand at the siege of Nijagal. The campaign was continued by Trimbakrao Pethe, who added to Madhavrao's successes the capture, after a two months' siege, of Gurramkonda, a great fortress securely situated among the Eastern Ghats.

Madhavrao had intended to resume command of the Maratha field force in October, but the state of his health prevented him. He, therefore, sent Appa Balwant Mehendale, the son of the gallant Balwantrao Mehendale, with a considerable reinforcement to serve with Trimbakrao Pethe. Haidar Ali had avoided the Marathas in the field, but had several times raided their camps and once or twice driven them from their new conquests. At the end of January 1771, Haidar Ali, learning that Madhavrao was not likely to rejoin the army, sent a strong detachment from Bangalore to recover Balapur, a strong place twenty-four miles distant, which the Marathas had occupied. Trimbakrao Pethe learnt of the enterprise and, overtaking the detachment, cut it to pieces. This defeat roused the indignant Haidar Ali to try a general action against Trimbakrao. He took up a strong position near Mailghat, hoping that Trimbakrao, relying on his superior numbers, would be tempted to attack him. But Trimbakrao, as Madhavrao had done, declined an engagement and overran district after district of Mysore. Haidar Ali was forced to retreat towards Seringapatam. At 9 p.m. on the fifth of March 1771, while Haidar was still under the effects of a carouse, Trimbakrao surprised and completely dispersed the retreating army in the Cherkoli Hills, taking its entire artillery, all its elephants and most of its horses. Haidar Ali with a few well-mounted attendants escaped at full gallop to his capital. There he formed a small corps for its defence. Trimbakrao besieged, but was unable to take, Seringapatam, and in June 1772 Haidar Ali sued for and was granted peace. The conditions were severe. He was forced to surrender all Shivaji's former conquests, including Kolar, Bangalore,

Ouscotta, Balapur and Sira, as well as the fortresses of Mudgiri and Gurramkonda. He agreed also to pay thirty-six lakhs as indemnity and fourteen lakhs as annual tribute. The Mysore kingdom was now reduced to a smaller area than before Haidar Ali's advent to power, and Madhavrao could in future disregard him. But the vindictive adventurer vented his spite on Nandraj, the helpless Raja of Mysore, who had hoped to improve his condition by appealing to Trimbakrao Pethe. Haidar Ali had him strangled in his bath, and substituted for him his brother Chamraj.

At this point we must return to affairs at Delhi. The Abdali had, as I have already related, left Delhi for Afghanistan on the 22nd March 1761. Before leaving, he had acknowledged Ali Gohar as the emperor Shah Alam, and had entrusted the capital and the royal family to the care of Najib-ud-Daulat. Shah Alam had fled first to the court of Shuja-ud-Daula, the Nawab of Oudh, and, after the latter's defeat by the English at Buxar on the 23rd October 1764, had escaped to Allahabad, where he lived under English protection; so the emperor's government was conducted in his absence by Najib-ud-Daulat. When Surajmal, the Jat chief, tried to remove him, Najib-ud-Daulat defeated him in an action, wherein the Jat chief was himself killed. Afterwards Najib-ud-Daulat successfully defended Delhi against Surajmal's son, Jawahir Mal. In 1769 the Peshwa, freed from the menace of Raghunathrao's ambitions, was able to devote himself to affairs on his northern frontier. Late in 1769 a Maratha army crossed the Chambal river. The Poona troops were under the command of Visaji Krishna Biniwala, who had had considerable experience of warfare in the Carnatic. He was joined by a large contingent under Tukoji Holkar and another under Madhavrao Sindia, the only surviving son of Ranoji Sindia. Jayappa had been murdered at Nagore; Dattaji and Jyotaba had fallen at the Badaon Ghât. Tukoji, as well as Jayappa's son Jankoji, had been killed at Panipat. Madhavrao, although illegitimate, was clearly entitled to succeed to the Sindia jaghir. He had been severely wounded at Panipat but had recovered, except for a lameness that lasted all his life. He had eminent courage and rare capacity; nevertheless Raghunathrao, who disliked him, tried to obtain a grant of the Sindia

jaghir for Manaji Sindia Phakde, a distant connection. But the Peshwa Madhavrao overruled his uncle and in 1769 Madhavrao Sindia was firmly established in power.

Tukoji Holkar, who commanded the Holkar contingent, was no relation to Malharrao. The latter, as I have mentioned, had died in 1766. His son Khanderao had predeceased his father, having been killed at Kumbher, eleven miles north-east of Bharatpur. On Malharrao Holkar's death his estates passed to Khanderao's son Malerao Holkar. But the latter did not long survive his grandfather, and Khanderao's widow Ahalyabai became head of the administration. She appointed Tukoji Holkar, a trusted officer of Malharrao, to the command of the army.

The combined Maratha forces first entered Rajputana, where they levied ten lakhs as arrears of tribute. They next invaded the Jat country, won a victory near Bharatpur and extorted a payment of sixty-five lakhs. The approach of the victorious Maratha army induced Najib-ud-Daulat to offer terms of peace. Madhavrao Sindia wished, in revenge for his wound at Panipat, to exterminate the Rohillas; but Visaji Krishna Biniwala advised acceptance of Najib-ud-Daulat's offer, and his advice was followed by the Peshwa. The adhesion of Najib-ud-Daulat to the Maratha cause saved for the time his own possessions; but Madhavrao Sindia was given a free hand against the other Rohilla chiefs, Hafiz Rahmat and Dhundi Khan, who had large fiefs in the Doab, the land between the Jamna and the Ganges. In 1769, he and Tukoji Holkar crossed the Jamna, drove the Rohillas across the Ganges and occupied the fortress of Etawah, by which they overawed the entire Doab. They now conceived the brilliant idea of inducing Shah Alam to leave Allahabad and to exchange the protection of the English for that of the Marathas. They held out glowing hopes to the vain and foolish prince, and dazzled his eyes with the promised glories of an empire swayed by him and protected from foreign aggression by Maratha swords and Maratha valour. Shah Alam yielded to the lure of a pageant throne, and, leaving his English protectors, joined the camp of Madhavrao Sindia. In December 1771, the emperor, escorted by Visaji Krishna Biniwala and a great Maratha army entered his capital. On

Shah Alam Madhavrao Sindia pressed the conquest of Rohilkhand. In October 1769, Najib-ud-Daulat died and his son Zabita Khan succeeded to his territories. To Zabita Khan the emperor bore an intense enmity, as he suspected the young Rohilla of having debauched his sister Kherunnissa as well as other ladies of the imperial household. He readily accepted Madhavrao Sindia's view; and in January 1772, an army of ninety thousand men invaded the fief of Zabita Khan. The Maratha cavalry was commanded by Madhavrao Sindia. The small Moghul force was led by Najib Khan, an officer in the imperial service. Zabita Khan tried to hold the northern bank of the Ganges; but the imperial army crossed the river with ease. The Rohillas lost all courage. Zabita Khan and the other chiefs fled to the hills, and the Marathas plundered the whole of Rohilkhand and captured the ladies of Zabita Khan's household, whom they held to ransom for one and a half lakhs. Afterwards they resold Rohilkhand to Zabita Khan, and made the emperor grant to them in return for their protection the districts of Kora and Allahabad, which were in the respective possession of Shuja-ud-Daula and the English. The emperor's dominions were by these means reduced to the single town of Delhi, and he bitterly regretted the step he had taken. In a fit of despair, he directed Najib Khan to drive the Maratha army from Delhi. Visaji Krishna Biniwala had not expected this step on the part of Shah Alam, and perhaps felt some remorse for the scant courtesy with which he had treated the emperor. He withdrew his troops and sent to Poona for orders. To this despatch he received no immediate reply. For on the 18th November 1772, the greatest of the Peshwas had died in his twenty-eighth year.

In June 1770, Madhavrao had been forced, as already mentioned, to abandon to Trimbakrao the command of the army of the Carnatic; and, although his health improved during the monsoon of 1770, directly he got ready to leave Poona on field service he had a relapse. He had an inherited tendency to consumption; for from that disease both Chimnaji Appa and Balaji had fallen victims. Gradually it took a firmer hold of the young prince's frame. A ballad in the Shaligram collection declares that, finding his

end near, he went in state with his beautiful young wife Ramabai to Theur, a favourite spot of his, some thirteen miles from Poona. There Ramabai poured out continuous prayers to the family god Ganpati. But the latter appeared to her in a vision and told her that the matter was not in his but in Vishnu's hands. Ramabai then made her prayers to Laxmi's spouse, but to no purpose. Finding that nothing she could do would save her husband, she resolved to face death beside him. On the demise of the gallant young prince, she burnt herself on the same pyre, in spite of all the efforts of her family to dissuade her.¹

The youth and early manhood of Madhavrao had been spent in the service of his country. While still a child he had assumed the vast burden of the Maratha empire. Threatened both by domestic and foreign enemies, he had triumphed signally over all. Yet his triumphs had brought him no rest. For, victorious over his foes, he had spent his remaining years in tireless labour to better the condition of his people. Every department was quickened by his supervision, his industry and his example. His secret intelligence was faultless, and, no matter how remote the officer guilty of acts of tyranny, he rarely escaped punishment. The Peshwa's armies went well equipped on service, for the entire military organisation was under his direct control. Quick to anger, he was no less quick to forgive. And the only fault that the harshest critic can find in this admirable ruler is that he shortened a life, precious to his people, by his arduous and unceasing toil.

¹ The writer had the signal honour of unveiling a vrindavan erected by the Chinchwad Sansthan at Theur in honour of this heroic princess.

CHAPTER LVII

NARAYANRAO AND RAGHUNATHRAO

THE last days of the dead Peshwa had been embittered by fears for his brother Narayanrao, who, since Madhavrao had no issue, was his natural heir and successor. Narayanrao lacked the eminent qualities of Madhavrao. He was only seventeen at his accession, and was a heedless and somewhat mischievous boy. Madhavrao indeed exclaimed once with prophetic insight that the word *rajya* or rule was not written on his brother's forehead.¹ He endeavoured to train Narayanrao according to his own stern ideals. He took him to the Carnatic, where, as already related, Narayanrao received a wound in the hand. By his example and precept he tried to plant in his younger brother's heart his own serene courage. In this connection a well-known story is related in the Peshwa's *bakhar*. Once Madhavrao and Narayanrao, Khanderao Darekar and Hiraji Patankar were seated together in a tent, when a *mast* elephant broke loose and rushed towards the Peshwa's tent. Narayanrao was frightened and would have run away. But the Peshwa put his hand on the boy's arm and checked him, saying, "No harm can come to us if we are not destined to be killed by the elephant". Narayanrao sat down again, but the danger had not passed; for the elephant broke into the tent. There, however, it was attacked by Khanderao Darekar and Hiraji Patankar with daggers and lances. They stopped it until its mahout came up and mounted it. When Madhavrao's health no longer allowed his personal supervision, he, for six months before his death, made Sakharam Bapu instruct Narayanrao in administrative duties. In this way Narayanrao improved considerably. But the real danger, as Madhavrao foresaw, was the restless ambition of Raghunathrao, and above all of his wife Anandibai. They both had fretted greatly at his imprisonment and in 1772 Raghunathrao had corrupted his guards and

¹ Adhikar Yog by Mr. Khare, p. 7.

escaped from the Shanwar palace and fled to Tuljapur. He was retaken and imprisoned with greater severity. Nevertheless, what he had done before, he could do again; and Madhavrao feared that upon his own death Raghunathrao would break his bonds and seize the throne. There were only two sure methods of dealing with him. The first was by his execution and the second was by reconciliation. The kindly spirit of the Peshwa recoiled from the first; he therefore adopted the second method. On the 16th October 1772¹ Madhavrao sent for his uncle from Poona to Theur, and in the presence of Sakharam Bapu was solemnly reconciled to him. He obtained from Raghunathrao a promise that he would act rightly by his nephew Narayanrao, and thereafter he set Raghunathrao at liberty. After Madhavrao's death and the completion of his funeral ceremonies, Narayanrao went to Satara fort, where the pageant king Ramraja formally invested him with the office of Peshwa. He then returned to Poona. Raghunathrao at first kept his promise, and for a month or six weeks uncle and nephew were on the most amicable terms. But the former was wholly under the influence of his wife Anandibai; while the latter was equally submissive to his mother Gopikabai. And the contending passions of two jealous and ambitious women set at nought the hopes and intentions of the dead Peshwa. Gopikabai urged on her son that it was impossible that Raghunathrao could forgive the past, and begged Narayanrao to confine him as before. On the 11th April 1773, in spite of the protests of Sakharam Bapu and Nana Phadnavis, Narayanrao had his uncle arrested and confined in the Shanwar palace, close to the Peshwa's own apartments. Narayanrao continued Sakharam Bapu in office as diwan, but he placed his chief confidence in Hari Ballal Phadke and a certain Babaji Barve. He also relied on the wisdom of Nana Phadnavis and of the latter's cousin, Moroba Baburao Phadnavis. Confident that he had effectually checked Raghunathrao's designs, Narayanrao left Poona to receive the congratulations of his mother Gopikabai, then at Gangapur. Raghunathrao, however, had still many supporters, and in the Peshwa's absence Anandibai tried to secure her

¹ Mr. Sar Desai's article in the July number of the *Vividhdayan Vistar*, p. 292.

husband's escape to Haidar Ali at Mysore. The plot was discovered and Raghunathrao was confined more strictly than ever. This exasperated Anandibai and she wove a far-reaching plot to destroy Narayanrao and to put her husband on the throne in his place. In this plot she was aided by a number of Kayastha Prabhus, the agents of Mudhoji Bhosle. Janoji Bhosle had been present at Theur when Madhavrao died, and before the Peshwa's death had obtained leave to adopt Raghuji Bhosle, the eldest son of his brother Mudhoji. In May 1772 Janoji Bhosle died, and a quarrel arose between his brothers Mudhoji and Sabaji as to the guardianship of the adopted boy, who was still a minor. The brothers flew to arms and both appealed to the Peshwa. Narayanrao favoured Sabaji, while Raghunathrao favoured Mudhoji. When the latter sent his Prabhu agents to confer with Raghunathrao, they found him in prison; and they readily agreed to help Anandibai to compass his release from confinement and his accession to power. They found tools in the regular infantry known as Gardis, who were discontented at the stricter discipline recently introduced by Narayanrao, who longed for military glory in the Carnatic. Their leaders were Summersing Kharaksing and Mahomed Yusuf, and they willingly promised to restore to power Raghunathrao, from whose easy-going and generous nature they expected ample concessions. The plot was so widespread that it was impossible wholly to conceal it, and it came to the ears of Raghuji Angre, who on the morning of the 30th August warned the Peshwa. The latter repeated the warning to Hari Ballal Phadke and thought no more of the matter. Hari Ballal Phadke treated it as idle gossip, and, taking no steps whatever, actually left the palace to have breakfast with a friend. The young Peshwa, who had been to Parvati Hill, breakfasted late and then went to rest.

In the meantime Summersing had secured from Raghunathrao a paper which contained a promise to distribute nine lakhs among the regular infantry, provided they seized Narayanrao. The paper had passed through Anandibai's hands and she had changed the word *dharave* (seize) into *marave* (kill). Summersing had now in his possession written orders to murder the Peshwa. At 2 p.m. he collected some two thousand men and massed them at the northern or



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Delhi gate of the Shanwar Palace. The regular infantry on duty there under Kharaksing joined Summersing, and the combined force, overpowering the loyal troops, forced their way into the upper rooms and began to kill every one whom they met. Icharam Dhere, the head of the household cavalry,¹ fled into a cowshed, but the Musulman sepoy, drunk with blood, followed him and killed every man and beast in the place. Narayanrao, who was sleeping heavily, did not wake up until the rebels were actually in his apartments. He fled to the rooms where his uncle was confined, and begged him to save him. Raghunathrao, who had never ordered his murder, would willingly have done so ; but Summersing, who knew nothing of Anandibai's forgery, would not listen. He, Kharaksing, Mahomed Yusuf and one Tulaji Powar, a personal servant of Raghunathrao, tore Narayanrao from Raghunathrao's arms. The Peshwa's two servants, Naroba Phatak and Chaphaji Tilekar threw themselves unarmed between their master and his murderers ; but their sacrifice was in vain. In a few seconds all three were dead. The regular infantry then plundered the palace ; and it was not till they had stripped it of everything valuable, that they returned to Raghunathrao and saluted him as Peshwa.

Raghunathrao, genuinely alarmed at what had happened, pretended that he was entirely guiltless in the matter and that Narayanrao had fallen the victim of a military tumult. At the same time he took steps to secure his nephew's inheritance. He sent for Maloji Ghorpade, Bajaba Purandare and Bhavanrao Pratinidhi, and tried to convince them of his innocence. He also ordered Sakharam Bapu, Trimbakrao Pethe, Hari Ballal Phadke and the other prominent figures at the Peshwa's court to arrange for Narayanrao's funeral ceremonies. Gangabai, Narayanrao's widow was anxious to commit *sati* ; but Anandibai, who feared the effect of a *sati*'s curse, locked her in her room. In spite of Raghunathrao's protests and precautions, the conviction of his guilt rapidly gained ground. On the "Tilanjali" or the tenth day after Narayanrao's murder, when sesamum seed soaked in water was poured out as a libation to the dead man's

¹ Peshwa's Bakhar.

spirit, Trimbakrao Pethe, Nana Phadnavis, Hari Ballal Phadke and nine others known in history as the Barabhai or twelve brothers bound themselves by an oath to frustrate Raghunathrao's ambitions. For a time Raghunathrao's cause seemed to prosper. He obtained clothes of investiture from Ramraja at Satara, and began to form an administration. He confirmed Sakharam Bapu as diwan, but he gave his chief confidence to Chinto Vithal Rairikar and Sakharam Hari Gupte. The latter, as a leader of the Prabhu caste in Poona and also because of his distinguished gallantry at Rakshasabhavan, was a particular friend of the new Peshwa.

The foreign affairs of the state, indeed, required the closest attention. Narayanrao on becoming Peshwa had replied to Visaji Krishna Biniwala's despatch by ordering him to drive Najaf Khan from Delhi. Lack of funds had reduced the latter's forces to five thousand cavalry and four battalions of infantry, two of which were disciplined and commanded by a Frenchman called Médoc. Nevertheless Najaf Khan with undaunted spirit drew up his small force two miles outside the city, his rear being protected by the guns of Delhi. He repulsed a general attack of the Maratha horse, but, foolishly pursuing them too far, was surrounded and escaped with difficulty. The two disciplined battalions sustained the weight of the Maratha attack all day and retired into the city under cover of night. Next day the Marathas encamped under the walls. Shah Alam had no longer any hope of a successful defence. He admitted the Marathas into the capital and accepted their terms. They were not severe. Najaf Khan was dismissed from the emperor's service and Zabita Khan was appointed the imperial commander-in-chief, nominally as the deputy of the Peshwa. Shah Alam also formally granted to the Marathas the two provinces of Allahabad and Kora. But the English refused to permit the Maratha occupation, and in May 1773 Narayanrao, who was proposing to lead in person the entire military forces of the kingdom to the conquest of the Carnatic, recalled Visaji Krishna and his army. After Visaji's recall the Maratha power in northern India declined. Najaf Khan returned to Delhi and Shuja-ud-Daula drove the Marathas from Etawah, their stronghold in the Doab.

On the eastern frontier Nizam Ali was again actively offensive. He had allied himself to Sabaji Bhosle and had helped to establish him as ruler of Berar. In the south Haidar Ali was still more aggressive. Aware of the disputes between Narayanrao and Raghunathrao, he had through 1773 carefully equipped his army to be ready at a moment's notice. On hearing of Narayanrao's murder, he at once despatched his son Tipu with a large force to recover the country taken from him by Madhavrao. In a short and brilliant campaign he won back all his lost possessions.

It was against Nizam Ali that Raghunathrao first decided to move. Early in November 1773, before the rains had ceased and before Nizam Ali had mobilised his troops or could effect a junction with Sabaji Bhosle, Raghunathrao had crossed the frontier. Nizam Ali collected what troops he could and hastened to meet the invaders. He was beaten in the field and forced to take shelter in the great fort of Bedar, where he was soon closely invested. In despair he sued for peace and offered to cede lands worth twenty lakhs a year. Raghunathrao refused the offer. Nizam Ali obtained an armistice and then took a step which showed how accurately he gauged his opponent's character.¹ Without informing his staff, and accompanied only by two hundred troopers and his minister, Rukn-ud-Daula, he rode into the Maratha camp and up to the door of Raghunathrao's tent. The latter received his visitor courteously and led him inside. There the Nizam stripped from his neck his ornaments and threw them, as well as his sword and shield, at Raghunathrao's feet, and implored his conqueror to take such of his possessions as he needed. Raghunathrao's vanity and generosity were alike touched, and in a foolish moment he gave back to the Nizam his jewels and his arms and refused to take any ransom from his suppliant. Not content with this, he bestowed on the Nizam handsome robes and gave several banquets in his honour. Having thus lost by his weakness not only the prizes but the cost of the war, he bade the Nizam good-bye and turned southwards towards the Carnatic.

¹ Chitnis Bakhar, p. 40. The incident is related somewhat differently in Grant Duff, vol. 2, p. 10.

Raghunathrao had always been on friendly terms with Haidar Ali, regarding him no doubt as a possible ally. He would, therefore, in any case have been satisfied with the return of the districts ceded to Madhavrao, but, by the time he had reached Bellari, he had received news of so grave a character that he was glad to accept a cash payment of six lakhs, and a promise from Haidar Ali to pay an annual tribute of six lakhs to Raghunathrao personally, and to support him against all other claimants to the office of Peshwa. Having thus failed to achieve anything substantial against either of the Musulman powers, Raghunathrao took the direction of Poona.

The news that had alarmed Raghunathrao was the growth of the conspiracy of the Barabhai or twelve brothers, set on foot by Nana Phadnavis and the other takers of the Tilanjali oath. They had first secured the adhesion of Sakharam Bapu, whose judgment was growing clouded with age, and who resented the peculiar favour shown by Raghunathrao to his Prabhu namesake, Sakharam Hari Gupte. Gradually the plot came to include most of the prominent officers of the state, and to them were joined three ladies of the Peshwa's family—Parvatibai, the widow of Sadashivrao, Gopikabai, the widow of Balaji Bajirao, and Gangabai, the widow of Narayanrao Ballal. A day or two before Narayanrao's death, he had informed his intimates that Gangabai was *enceinte*. The conspirators thus hoped to displace Raghunathrao by a son of Narayanrao. Anandibai was aware that Gangabai had hopes of issue, and had forced her to take drugs, so as to procure a miscarriage. But the drugs had been without effect, and as time passed it became certain that Gangabai was about to become a mother. Had Anandibai been in Poona, she would assuredly have killed Gangabai; but she had gone on field service with Raghunathrao and the army. In January 1774 Nana Phadnavis, who had charge of Gangabai's affairs, arrested some armed men, who confessed that they were assassins sent by Anandibai to murder Gangabai. This gave the desired excuse. On the 30th February, Parvatibai was sent in charge of Gangabai to Purandar fort; and with them was made to go Durgabai, Anandibai's daughter, so that she might be a witness of Gangabai's

confinement.¹ Having done this, the conspirators openly formed themselves into a regency to govern the country for Narayanrao's widow and unborn son. At the same time they arrested all Raghunathrao's adherents, and entered into a correspondence with Sabaji Bhosle and Nizam Ali, both of whom—in spite of Raghunathrao's generous weakness—agreed to support the regency. Raghunathrao acted as became an experienced soldier. He had detached Trimbakrao Pethe to watch Sabaji Bhosle, while he himself invaded Mysore. Afterwards he learnt that Trimbakrao Pethe was one of the leading conspirators and he determined to overwhelm him before he could form a junction with the Moghul, Poona or Berar troops. Trimbakrao, elated by his signal victory over Haidar Ali, accepted battle on the 4th March 1774 at Kasegaon near Pandharpur. In twenty minutes he was completely defeated. His army was destroyed, and he himself was taken prisoner and so outrageously insulted by Anandibai, that he soon died of wounds and vexation.² Raghunathrao's cause prospered on account of his victory and he now marched on Poona. Had he entered it, he would have recovered his former supremacy; for the ministers in their despair were reduced to the expedient of releasing Ramraja and setting him up as a rival to their enemy. But on the road he learnt of so many ramifications of the plot against him that his heart failed him, and, turning from Poona, he marched to Burhanpur. The retreat nullified his previous success, and on the 18th April 1774 his hopes were shattered by the birth of Gangabai's son, known in history as Savai Madhavrao. Forty days later Sakharam Bapu and Nana Phadnavis obtained from Ramraja the child's investiture as Peshwa.

Raghunathrao's affairs were now going from bad to worse. He had hoped that Holkar and Sindia would send him troops to Burhanpur, and crossed the Narbada. Thereupon Mudhoji Bhosle, who was unwilling to follow him farther north, left him with all his contingent save seven thousand men. Holkar and Sindia welcomed Raghunathrao, as they wished his support in an advance into Guzarat. But in his rear

¹ Khare's Life of Nana Phadnavis.

² Anandibai sent a maidservant to wave round Trimbakrao's head lamps made of cow-dung, a coarse way of insulting him.

followed a large army under Hari Ballal Phadke, who, although still quite young, had already shown proofs of great capacity. Raghunathrao did not wish to take arms against the son of Narayanrao, as that course would have been unpopular. His plan was to seize Gangabai and Savai Madhavrao and return to Poona as regent on the latter's behalf. To achieve this end, he entered into correspondence with Moroba Phadnavis, now bitterly jealous of his cousin Nana, and with Bajaba Purandare, and Babaji Naik, the grandson of the creditor of Bajirao Balaji. It was agreed that these three should seize Parvatibai, Gangabai, Savai Madhavrao, Sakharam Bapu and Nana Phadnavis, who had, early in June, taken shelter from the heavy rainfall of Purandar in Saswad. The plot leaked out, and on the night of the 30th June Gangabai and the young prince were carried back through pouring rain to Purandar fort. A second attempt was made in November, by Moroba Phadnavis, to seize the fort by corrupting the Musulman soldiers of the garrison. They in turn tried to corrupt the Maratha soldiers, but in vain. The matter was reported by them to the commandant, who cut off the heads of the disloyal Musulmans. No evidence was obtainable against Moroba Phadnavis and he remained unpunished. In the meantime the cash payments made by Haidar Ali to Raghunathrao had been exhausted, and the pretender had no other source of revenue but the plunder of villages in the domains of Holkar and Sindia, a course which soon rendered his presence distasteful to his hosts ; and they readily listened to proposals from Nana Phadnavis to make Raghunathrao their prisoner. At the same time the conduct of Raghunathrao's allies alienated many of his warmest adherents. Basalat Jang, the younger brother of Nizam Ali, laid waste the country round Miraj, while Haidar Ali overran once more the Maratha districts south of the Tungabhadra river. In December Raghunathrao learnt of the intended treachery of Madhavrao Sindia and Tukoji Holkar. He left his wife Anandibai in Dhar, where she gave birth to a son, named Bajirao, the last independent prince of Poona ; and he himself with the remains of his army retreated towards Baroda, where he sought the alliance of Govindrao Gaikvad. Damaji Gaikvad had during his lifetime, put Govindrao in command of the contingent

sent in 1758 to Raghunathrao's help. Damaji died in 1770, leaving four sons, Sayaji, Govindrao, Manikji and Fatehsing. The two eldest sons claimed their father's inheritance, each with a show of right. Sayaji was the older in years, but the son of the second wife. Govindrao was younger than Sayaji, but the son of the Patrani or chief wife. He was moreover a man of some intelligence, while Sayaji was an imbecile. Manikji and Fatehsing were younger than the other two, and were the sons of the third wife; but Fatehsing tried to make up for the weakness of his own title by vigorously supporting Sayaji, in whose name he hoped to govern. Govindrao had been taken prisoner with Raghunathrao after the battle of Dhodap; but, after paying as fines and fees a sum of fifty lakhs, he was declared to be Damaji Gaikvad's lawful heir. In 1771, Madhavrao reconsidered this decision and at Fatehsing's instance appointed Sayaji to be the heir. This order was once more reversed by Raghunathrao after the murder of Narayanrao; and, when Raghunathrao entered Guzarat, the two brothers were at open war and Govindrao was besieging Baroda. Govindrao cordially welcomed his new ally, especially as, by a treaty signed on the 7th March 1775, Raghunathrao had secured the active aid of the Bombay Government.

CHAPTER LVIII

RAGHUNATHRAO AND THE ENGLISH

As early as April 1774, Raghunathrao, as he retreated from Poona, entered into negotiations with the Bombay Government. The latter, whose heads had been turned by Clive's victories in Bengal, readily agreed to support the pretender, believing, it would seem, that by their unaided efforts they could overthrow the Maratha power. They offered to assist Raghunathrao with two thousand men, provided that he advanced fifteen to twenty thousand rupees in cash, and that, on his restoration as Peshwa, he ceded Bassein and Salsette and the neighbouring islands. Raghunathrao had some spark of patriotic feeling left and refused to cede the scene of Chimnaji Appa's toil and glory. Instead he offered to surrender districts in Guzarat worth eleven lakhs a year, and to pay six lakhs at once and a lakh and a half monthly in return for a contingent of 2,500 men and fifteen guns. While the negotiations were still proceeding, the English learnt that a great Portuguese fleet and army had reached Goa for the purpose of recovering Bassein and Salsette. The prospect of being again cut off by the Portuguese from the rich trade of the interior proved too much for the consciences of the English factors. On the 12th December 1774, without any declaration of war, they invaded the Maratha territory. On the 28th December, they stormed Thana, and by the 1st January 1775, they had reduced the whole island of Salsette. On the 6th March 1775, Raghunathrao accepted what had happened, and entered into an offensive and defensive alliance, agreeing to a number of cessions, including Salsette and Bassein, in return for a contingent of three thousand men, including seven hundred European soldiers. The chief reason for Raghunathrao's acquiescence in the action of the Bombay Government was his own defeat by Hari Ballal Phadke. The latter had effected a junction with Holkar and Sindia, who were now as anxious to destroy Raghunathrao's army as they

formerly had been to help him, and had followed closely the pretender's retreat into Guzarat. Govindrao, threatened by a superior army, raised the siege of Baroda and fell back beyond the river Mahi. Fatehsing Gaikvad, however, knew the country well, and under his guidance Hari Phadke crossed the river in three divisions and, attacking Raghunathrao and his ally Govindrao in centre, flank and rear, utterly defeated them. Raghunathrao himself, with a thousand horse, fled from the field and took shelter with Charles Malet, the head of the English factory in Cambay. Sakharam Hari Gupte took command of the beaten army and, with Govindrao Gaikvad, led it to Kapadwanj on the frontiers of Kathiawar.

From Cambay Raghunathrao made his way to Bhavnagar, on the sea-coast of Kathiawar, and thence sailed to Surat, where he met the transports that conveyed the English relief column under the command of Colonel Keating. On the 11th April 1775, Colonel Keating effected a junction with Sakharam Gupte and Govindrao Gaikvad eleven miles north-east of Cambay. Their army amounted now to seven or eight thousand men and these were mutinous for want of pay. Colonel Keating stayed their clamours as best he could from his own treasure-chest, and then without any apparent plans wandered up and down South Guzarat, twice engaging Hari Phadke's force on the way without serious loss to either side. On the 5th May, Colonel Keating, who had halted at Matar in the Kaira district, received from the Bombay Government, who firmly believed in the invincibility of their tiny army, positive orders to march southwards on Poona. Raghunathrao, who knew the hopelessness of such a course, demurred, but finally consented. By the 17th May, the allied army had reached Napa in the Anand taluka of the Kaira district. On the 18th, they debouched on the plains of Adas, the spot where in 1725 Pilaji Gaikvad's treachery had enabled Hamid Khan to defeat Rustom Ali. When they were one and a half miles from Napa, Hari Phadke, supported by six guns, suddenly attacked their rear. The attack was for a long time successful. Eventually the English line rallied and the Marathas withdrew, leaving their enemies in possession of the battle-field. The loss of the English contingent was 222 and that of the allied army probably exceeded that of Hari Phadke's force. Both

sides claimed the victory.¹ From Adas Colonel Keating continued his southward march, reaching Broach on the 29th May. On the 8th June, he tried in vain to cross the Narbada river, which was in flood. Hearing that Hari Phadke's force was at some distance, he resolved to surprise it; but the news of his intention reached Hari Phadke and he retreated along the north bank of the Narbada. It was now clear, even to Colonel Keating, that to march on Poona during the full fury of the monsoon was to court ruin. He and Raghunathrao agreed to retreat to Dabhai, the scene of Bajirao's victory over Trimbakrao Dabhade, with the intention of laying siege in the winter to Baroda. Fatehsing on his brother Sayaji's behalf now became anxious to negotiate and an agreement was entered into, by which Sayaji was left in possession of Baroda on condition of joining Raghunathrao. The latter bound himself to bestow on Govindrao a fief of ten lakhs.

On the whole Raghunathrao's cause had prospered by land and to this partial advantage was added a considerable victory of his allies at sea. Commodore John Moore, in command of a frigate² called the "Revenge" and a grab or sailing barge called the "Bombay" met at sea a fleet of six Maratha warships all in the interest of Nana Phadnavis. The English commodore at once attacked the hostile squadron, which tried to sail away. He succeeded in bringing to action the "Shamsher Jang", a ship of forty-six guns. After a fight of three hours she blew up with all on board.

Suddenly the hopes of Raghunathrao, who had made sure of ultimate success, were dashed to the ground.

On the 19th October 1774, three Englishmen, whose names have been immortalized in Macaulay's essay on Warren Hastings, arrived in Calcutta. They were Colonel Clavering, Colonel Monson and Philip Francis. A fourth, Richard Barwell joined them a few days later. The four together with Warren Hastings formed the new Supreme Council to which the English Parliament had entrusted the control of the English dominions in India. These gentlemen

¹ This battle is known as the battle of Adas or Aras.

² Low's History of the Indian Navy, vol. I, p. 156.

were soon at variance on almost every conceivable subject, but on one they were united. They were resolved at the earliest opportunity to assert their superiority over the Governments of Madras and Bombay. The recent conduct of the Bombay Government, who, without the leave of the Supreme Council, had engaged in a foreign war, stormed fortresses and fought battles, offered the Supreme Council the opportunity they desired. They declared the treaty with Raghunathrao invalid, and the war on his behalf "impolitic, dangerous, unauthorized and unjust." They directed the immediate cessation of hostilities and in spite of the protests of the Bombay Government adhered to their view. The Bombay Government had no alternative but to repeat these orders to Colonel Keating, who on receiving them fell back towards Surat, encamping at Karod, some twenty miles east of that city. Having thus reduced to obedience the Bombay Government, the Supreme Council sent to negotiate with the ministers of the infant Peshwa their own envoy, Colonel Upton, who reached Purandar on the 28th December, 1775. The ministers received him courteously, but complained of the conduct of the Bombay administration. They offered to pay the East India Company twelve lakhs of rupees to cover the cost of their recent campaigns in Salsette and Guzerat. In return they demanded the surrender of Raghunathrao, and the evacuation of Salsette and other districts occupied by the Bombay troops. On the other hand, Colonel Upton demanded the cession of Bassein, Salsette and of the revenues of Broach town and district. To this the ministers replied with some justice that they could not understand how the Bengal Government could seek to derive advantages from a war which they admitted was unjust. This view did not commend itself to Colonel Upton or the Supreme Council; and the Calcutta Government began to make preparations for a vigorous renewal of the war. Sooner than face the united onslaught of the English and Raghunathrao, the ministers, threatened as they were by treason at home, agreed to the cession of Salsette and the revenues of Broach city and of some of the lands in its neighbourhood. On the 1st March 1770, Colonel Upton on behalf of the East India Company, and Sakharam Babu, Nana Phadnavis and Sakharam Hari Gupte on behalf of

the ministry, signed the treaty of Purandar. In addition to the aforesaid concessions, the ministry paid twelve lakhs of rupees to the Bombay Government. The treaty of Surat between Raghunathrao and the English was formally repudiated. Raghunathrao was to disband his army and was to reside at Kopargaon, a town on the Godavari river. There he was to receive twenty-five thousand rupees a month for his personal expenses and he was to be allowed a household of a thousand troopers and two hundred private servants. The last clause of the treaty was never carried out; for the Bombay Government refused to surrender Raghunathrao, and continued to give him an asylum at Surat in spite of the protests of the ministers and the orders of the Supreme Council. In other respects the treaty was observed.

CHAPTER LIX

THE PRETENDER AND THE ENGLISH WAR

IN England, during the wars between the Houses of York and Lancaster, the weakness of the central government tempted adventurous spirits to assume the part of claimants to the throne. In the Deccan the Perkin Warbecks and Lambert Simnels cropped up by scores. All the prominent leaders who had fallen at Panipat reappeared in various parts of the kingdom. Jankoji Sindia and the brother of Hari Ballal Phadke were both popular rôles ; but the most popular rôle of all was that of Sadashivrao, the son of Chimnaji Appa. Several impostors assumed his name and they obtained credence the more readily that his widow Parvatibai maintained to her death that the body found on the field of Panipat was not her husband's and that he had escaped and was living somewhere in hiding. She continued to call herself "Saubhagyavati", a title only used by ladies whose husbands are still living. The pretenders were one after the other proved to be impudent impostors, and executed ; yet their failures never deterred others from imitating them. The most successful was undoubtedly a Kanoja Brahman, a man of the same caste as Kalasha, the evil genius of Sambhaji. His name was Sukhni-dhan, or the "Treasure of happiness", and he had proclaimed himself to be Sadashivrao during the reign of Madhavrao Ballal. That energetic prince promptly confined him in Miraj. He remained in prison until 1775, when Gopalrao Patwardhan begged the ministry to relieve him of his unpleasant charge, as he seemed likely to corrupt the guards and make himself master of the fortress. Sukhni-dhan was then taken to Ratnagiri and handed over to the care of Ramchandra Naik Paranjpe, the subhedar.

There must have been something uncommon in the pretender Sukhni-dhan, for he now won adherents from among the chief officers of the state. The first to acknowledge him was the very subhedar Paranjpe to whose care he had been entrusted

and he was soon in possession of the entire district of Ratnagiri. Soon his followers included Vyankatrao Ghorpade, the chief of Inchalkaranji, Raghunathrao Kolatkar, the real Sadashivrao's brother-in-law, and Naro Shankar, the maternal uncle of the Peshwa's mother, Gangabai. Encouraged by his early successes, the pretender acted with the greatest energy. He seized the fleet and with its aid carried all the great forts along the coast, including Vijayadurg, Anjanvel and Suvarnadurg. He was soon master of the entire Konkan and at the head of twenty thousand men he carried the Bhore pass and the fort of Rajmachi. The ministry, distracted by other troubles, kept hoping that the imposture would be discovered and the pretender discredited. They were now forced to action by the prospect of his immediate march on Poona. Unable any longer to temporize, they appealed to Sindia for help and sent Bhivrao Panse to delay the pretender's advance as long as he could. Bhivrao Panse engaged him in minor actions and harassed his march so successfully, that Madhavrao Sindia was able to join Panse with a large army. The allied forces now attacked the pretender and completely defeated him. The unhappy Sukhnidhan fled to Bombay but did not land. From Bombay he went to Kolaba, where he was arrested by Raghuji Angre. The latter handed him over to the ministry on condition that he should not be punished without a full enquiry. The ministry accordingly appointed a commission of twenty-seven persons presided over by Ramshastri. Other members were Gopinath Dikshit, Dhondaba Purandare, Hari Ballal Phadke and Babaji Naik Baramatkar, all men personally acquainted with the gallant Sadashivrao. After a most careful enquiry the commission pronounced the prisoner to be an impostor. He was driven in a bullock cart through Poona. He was then taken through it on the back of a camel; at last, on the 18th December 1776, he was executed by having iron pegs hammered into his skull. The ministry next dealt severely with the pretender's followers. Vyankatrao was fined heavily but escaped with his life. The ministers attached his entire property and only returned it on payment of sixty thousand rupees by way of nazar and a fine of twenty-five thousand rupees. Kolatkar was pardoned on the insistent prayers of Parvatibai, his sister. Ramchandra Naik Paranjpe was

stripped of all his wealth and he and his family were imprisoned in different hill fortresses. Lesser offenders of the Brahman caste were punished, not for their rebellion, but for dining with one not of their own community. In hundreds of villages throughout the Konkan they were forced in the presence of officers of the government to undergo strict and unpleasant penances. Those Brahmans who had assisted the pretender in his religious or ceremonial observances were excommunicated and were not re-admitted to caste until many months afterwards. Raghuji Angre received as his reward a taluka worth annually a lakh of rupees.

Having disposed of Raghunathrao, his English allies and the pretender Sukhnidhan, the harassed ministers turned to face other enemies. The chief of these was Haidar Ali, but Mudhoji Bhosle and the Raja of Kolhapur had also taken advantage of the dissensions at Poona, and Nizam Ali was merely waiting on events. In 1776, Haidar Ali reduced the strong fort of Gooti, the fief of Murarirao Ghorpade. On the fall of his fortress, Murarirao Ghorpade became the prisoner of Haidar Ali and soon ended his days in the fort of Kabaldurg. After his success at Gooti, Haidar Ali openly espoused Raghunathrao's cause, and, crossing the Tungabhadra, ravaged the Maratha possessions between that river and the Krishna. To meet this southern invader the ministers sought the alliance of the treacherous Nizam Ali. The allies agreed to invade Mysore with a considerable army, while a force was sent under Konherrao Patwardhan to relieve Savanur, then beleaguered by Haidar Ali. But Mahomed Ali, in command of Haidar Ali's advance troops, met the relieving force at Sansi. He adopted a plan of battle that the Marathas had themselves often practised with success. He made a reconnaissance in force, followed by a pretended flight. This simple ruse led the Marathas to pursue him until they fell into an ambush and were shot down with great slaughter by concealed cannon. A vigorous charge by Mahomed Ali completed the rout, and Pandurangrao Patwardhan, the second in command fell into the hands of Mahomed Ali. In the cold weather of 1776 and 1777 a Maratha army thirty thousand strong under Parashrambhau Patwardhan assembled at Miraj. An even larger force, estimated at forty thousand men and

commanded by Ibrahim Beg Dhonsa, was sent by Nizam Ali. The plan of the allied governments was that they should converge on Mysore and effect a junction within the frontiers of that kingdom. But Parashrambhau Patwardhan, who was made over-cautious by the memory of Konherrao's defeat and by the condition of his army, whose pay was several months in arrears, retired behind the Krishna without engaging the enemy. Ibrahim Beg, deserted by his allies, was glad to accept a present from Haidar Ali's agent, and also retired behind his master's frontier. The ministers determined to make a fresh effort during the cold weather of 1777, and sent an army of sixty thousand men under the joint command of Hari Ballal Phadke and Parashrambhau Patwardhan. They had reached the Tungabhadra when they were rendered powerless by the same weapon that had secured the retreat of Ibrahim Khan. With Haidar Ali was Bajirao Barve, a Konkanasth Brahman, a connexion of Raghunathrao's first wife. Barve succeeded in corrupting Manaji Sindia, surnamed Phakde, with a bribe of six lakhs of rupees. Manaji agreed to desert with ten thousand men during the first general action. As soon as they had crossed the Tungabhadra, Haidar Ali attacked the Marathas. Manaji Phakde's treachery was discovered too soon to be effective, and his force, with the exception of the traitor himself and thirty horsemen, were surrounded and cut to pieces, before it could desert. Hari Phadke no longer felt strong enough to engage Haidar Ali; for, the more he enquired, the wider proved to be the ramifications of Manaji Sindia's treason. Even his own personal servants had been bribed to seize their master during the confusion of the battle. He arrested several of his leading officers and blew from a gun one of the most deeply implicated, Yashwantrao Mane of Mhaswad. He then withdrew, harassed all the way, across the Krishna. Haidar Ali reduced Kopal and invested Dharwar; but in May 1778, artfully deceived by rumours spread by Hari Phadke as to the arrival of another great army from Poona, he paid Hari Phadke a sum of money to obtain an armistice.

The submission of Kolhapur and Mudhoji Bhosle was obtained with less difficulty. Ever since the death of Sambhaji, the policy of the Kolhapur state had been to annoy its

suzerain by plundering expeditions on land and piracy at sea, and by an alliance with Nizam Ali when at war with Poona. The author of this policy was the imperious Jijibai, Sambhaji's widow. In 1762, two years after her husband's death she adopted Shivaji Bhosle, the son of Shahaji Bhosle, Patil of Khanwat village in the Indapur taluka, and carried on the government in his name. She was alike jealous of Tarabai and hostile to Balaji Bajirao, and she showed her displeasure in the manner described. Madhavrao had punished her by taking from the Kolhapur state several districts and giving them to the Patwardhan family. On the murder of Narayanrao, Jijibai openly espoused the cause of Raghunathrao, and not only recovered the forfeited lands, but stripped the Patwardhans of others also. The ministers asked for help from Tukoji Holkar, which he refused. At last with the greatest difficulty and by offers of large grants of land in Central India, Madhavrao Sindia was induced to march against Kolhapur. Before his arrival, however, Ramchandra Ganesh Kanade, at the head of a body of Poona troops, had won at Hingangaon a signal victory over the Kolhapur army, commanded by Yesaji Sindia. On Madhavrao Sindia's arrival, the Peshwa's troops overran the raja's territory and then besieged Kolhapur. At last the pride of Jijibai was broken. She agreed to restore her conquests, to break her alliance with Haidar Ali and Raghunathrao, and to pay twenty lakhs by way of indemnity to the Peshwa (January 1778).

Mudhoji Bhosle was easily dealt with. Janoji Bhosle had been present at Theur when Madhavrao died; and, shortly before the great Peshwa's death, he obtained leave to adopt Raghuji, his brother Mudhoji's eldest son. After performing this important act, he went on a pilgrimage to Tuljapur, where he died in May 1773.¹ On his death, Mudhoji, as the natural father of Raghuji, and Sabaji as the full brother of Janoji, claimed, both with some show of right, the guardianship of the newly adopted boy. Mudhoji Bhosle after the murder of Narayanrao took the side of Raghunathrao.

¹ Grant Duff, vol. II, p. 9. Mr. Sar Desai gives the date of Janoji Bhosle's death as 29th April, 1771; but that date does not seem to fit in with the rest of the story.

Sabaji took the side of the ministers and on their victory they appointed him regent of the Nagpur state. On the 26th February, 1775, Mudhoji and Sabaji Bhosle fought a pitched battle. Mudhoji's troops were already in full flight, when their leader was so fortunate as to shoot his brother Sabaji dead. Instantly victory changed sides and the ministry hastened to recognize Mudhoji Bhosle as regent. On Raghunathrao's flight into Guzarat Mudhoji professed himself an adherent of the ministry ; but, when the English allied themselves to Raghunathrao, Mudhoji again favoured his cause. The ministry called upon Nizam Ali to punish this unstable feudatory. Nizam Ali readily agreed and sent Ibrahim Beg Dhansa, the commander bribed by Haidar Ali, to invade Berar. This he did and reduced it with little or no opposition. At first Mudhoji was required to surrender his principal fortresses, but afterwards, on Mudhoji's abject submission and payment of a fine of ten lakhs to the Poona Government, his many treacheries were forgiven him.

The question of the Gaikwad's succession was settled by the nomination of Fatehsing on payment of ten and a half lakhs of arrears of tribute and a present of six lakhs. Of the six lakhs one lakh went to Sakharam Bapu and to Nana Phadnavis. The remaining five lakhs went into the state treasuries (February 1778).

While the ministers were thus struggling successfully to restore order throughout the Maratha state, several deaths occurred too important to be omitted. In July 1777, Gangabai, widow of the ill-starred Narayanrao, died of a malignant fever.¹ Her last act was to plead successfully for the release

¹ Grant Duff asserts (vol. 2, p. 70) that she died of a miscarriage wilfully brought about to conceal the effects of her intimacy with Nana Phadnavis. This assertion has been hotly traversed by modern Indian writers. Grant Duff does not quote any authority for it and I have not been able to find any. On the other hand Mr. Khare, (Adhikar Yog, p. 70) quotes a contemporary letter to the following effect :—

“ The Peshwa's mother Gangabai contracted navajwar (nine days fever). On the eighth day of the attack, namely, Ashad Sud 7, a little before noon she died. It is a terrible calamity. The Peshwa is very young. His mother was his protector. It is a most terrible thing to have happened.”

of Ramchandra Naik from prison. A hardly less important death was that of the unhappy Ramraja on the 12th December 1778. So long as Tarabai lived, his life, at one time so full of fair promise, had been rendered miserable; but the generous-hearted Madhavrao had softened the rigours of his captivity and allowed him to move freely all over Satara fortress. He also permitted him to manage his private estates in the Poona district. Indeed he would probably have given him wider powers, had he not found Ramraja's mind no longer fit to do more than play at administration. At Madhavrao's death, Ramraja seems to have shown a momentary energy. The commandant of Raygad had betrayed his charge to the Sidi of Janjira. Ramraja, stirred by the insult to his heroic ancestor, cancelled the appointment of the commandant and pressed on the new Peshwa Narayanrao its recovery. This was soon effected and the garrison of the Sidi put to the sword. Ramraja had two daughters, who were respectively married to Madhavji Naik Nimbalkar and Durgaji Mahadik Taralekar.¹ In 1777, Ramraja fell ill and he was pressed to adopt a son as he had no male issue. His choice fell on Trimbakji Bhosle, Patil of Vavi, a village in Nasik district, which formed part of the Bhosles' private domain. Trimbakji Bhosle was descended from Vithoji, the brother of Maloji Bhosle and uncle of Shahaji, the great king's father. On the boy's adoption, his name was changed to that of Shahu Maharaj. He is known in Maratha history as Dakhte Shahu or Shahu the Younger.

In this connexion too, the following extract from Grant Duff's letter to General Briggs, dated 28th February 1854, is interesting:—

“I could not now lay my hand on the notes of evidence as to the matter you mention. . . . That the ministers had several women carried up, to make sure of a successor somehow, was also generally believed, and that Nana Phadnavis was much too intimate with Narayanrao's widow; but nevertheless no one of any consequence expressed any suspicion as to the legitimacy of the child born at Poorundhar (sic).”

Grant Duff's authority seems to have been the gossip of Poona, not always a trustworthy source.

¹ Chitnis Bakhar, p. 32.

CHAPTER LX

MOROBA PHADNAVIS' CONSPIRACY AND THE ENGLISH INVASION

IN Chapter lvii, I have related how Moroba Phadnavis tried unsuccessfully to seize in Raghunathrao's interest the persons of Parvatibai, Gangabai, the young Peshwa, Sakharam Bapu and Nana Phadnavis. Moroba remained unpunished and, jealous of his cousin Nana Phadnavis, continued to plot for Raghunathrao's return. He was closely in touch with all Raghunathrao's avowed well-wishers, Bajaba Purandare, Sakharam Hari Gupte and Chinto Vithal Rairikar. Tukoji Holkar was won over to Raghunathrao's cause because of his jealousy of Madhavrao Sindia, and Sakharam Bapu because of his dislike for Nana Phadnavis. In 1778, the conspirators approached the Bombay Government and invited them to march on Poona and restore Raghunathrao. The Bombay Government, smarting under the treaty of Purandar, and indignant at the deference paid by Nana Phadnavis to St. Lubin, a French adventurer who posed as an envoy of the French king, were ready and willing to comply. The English, however, asked for a written invitation from Sakharam Bapu, which he was too wary to send. While the negotiations were proceeding, Nana Phadnavis, who was fully aware of them, tried to seize Moroba Phadnavis, who escaped arrest and took refuge in the camp of Tukoji Holkar. It was now Moroba's turn. Secure in the midst of Holkar's soldiery, he conspired with Sakharam Bapu to arrest Nana Phadnavis ; but the latter artfully eluded his enemies and fled to Purandar.¹ Thence he

¹ One tale of the attempted arrest of Nana Phadnavis is as follows : Sakharam Bapu and Moroba Phadnavis had concentrated troops round Poona, intending to arrest Nana Phadnavis directly the evening gun was fired. Sakharam Bapu was to keep Nana Phadnavis engaged in conversation until a few minutes before. Nana knew of the plot and warned the officer on duty not to fire the evening gun until he heard the report of five guns fired from Purandar. The result was that, after

sent urgent letters to Madhavrao Sindia in front of Kolhapur, and to Hari Ballal Phadke in the Carnatic, to bring their armies to his assistance. Some delay ensued, for directly Sindia struck his camp the Raja of Kolhapur showed signs of disavowing his recent treaty, and Hari Ballal Phadke could not leave the Carnatic until he had tricked Haidar Ali into asking for an armistice. In the meantime Nana Phadnavis successfully cajoled Moroba. He proposed that Moroba should be minister-in-chief and that the other ministers should be Sakharam Bapu, Bajaba Purandare and Nana Phadnavis. The latter's powers were to be greatly curtailed and he was to remain at Purandar in charge of the young Peshwa. Moroba accepted the proposal and assumed supreme power. But since his liking for Raghunathrao only grew out of his envy of Nana Phadnavis, he no sooner became chief minister than, as his astute cousin had foreseen, he lost all enthusiasm for the return of Raghunathrao. He broke off negotiations with the English and proceeded to rule the state himself and enjoy to the full all the fruits of office. His pleasant dream was soon disturbed. When Hari Ballal Phadke was free to leave the Carnatic, he joined Madhavrao Sindia at Miraj. Then, leaving Miraj by separate routes, they joined each other again at Purandar on the 6th June, 1778. Nana Phadnavis with their help was once again master of the situation; and on the 22nd June, Hari Ballal Phadke and Parashram Chate Patwardhan surrounded Moroba's house and arrested him. He was ordered to resign all his offices, to disband his troops and to retire into private life; but he did not observe the terms imposed on him. As he was again found engaged in treasonable correspondence with the English, he was on the 22nd July, arrested and imprisoned in Ahmadnagar fort. There he remained for twenty-two years. Two of the other ministers were treated with similar severity. Bajaba Purandare was imprisoned in Wandan fort, close to

Sakharam Bapu had left, so as to allow the troops to seize Nana Phadnavis, the latter rode as fast as he could out of the city. The officer on duty did not fire the evening gun until Nana Phadnavis had reached Purandar and had fired five guns from there. The soldiers then rushed in, but their prey had escaped. (Khare's *Life of Nana Phadnavis*, chapter vii.)

Satara. Sakharam Hari Gupte, one of the heroes of Rakhshasabhavan, was thrown heavily chained into Rudramal and afterwards removed to Ghangad, where he died fourteen months later staunch in his fidelity to his unworthy master.¹

Raghunathrao and his English allies in Bombay heard with dismay of the return of Nana Phadnavis to power; but they did not abandon their intention to march on Poona. Raghunathrao was anxious to recover the Peshwa's office, and the Bombay Government feared Nana Phadnavis' designs on the island of Salsette. In August, the Bombay Government received a direct order from the Supreme Council that they were not to engage in war with the Marathas unless as a defensive measure. As the Governor-General was negotiating with Mudhoji Bhosle, the Bombay Government resolved to ignore the order, but, while determined to march eastwards directly the weather permitted, they made little or no preparations for the invasion that they contemplated. They obtained from Raghunathrao a renewal of the offers made by him at Surat,² and on the 22nd November, 1778, sent six companies of sepoys and some light artillery to seize the Bhor Ghat. This operation was successfully effected by the officer in command, Captain James Stewart.

It is a matter of great regret that so little is known of this remarkable man. Yet such had been his gallantry on various occasions of field service, that his own men had nicknamed him Ishtur Phakde or the Heroic Stewart. This honourable title had been accepted by the Peshwa's army and the Peshwa's government; and to-day no Englishman's name is so well known to the ordinary Brahman of the Deccan or the Konkan

¹ I cannot resist quoting the fine passage from Grant Duff, vol. 2, p. 77, which describes the end of this brave man:

"He (Sakharam Hari) was chained in irons so heavy that although a very powerful man, he could scarcely lift them; his food and water were insufficient to allay his hunger or quench his thirst; but he survived fourteen months; and, when so emaciated that he could not rise. 'My strength is gone and my life is going' cried the dying enthusiast; 'but when voice and breath fail my fleshless bones shall still shout 'Raghunathrao! Raghunathrao!''"

² The new treaty was dated 24th November, 1778. See Forest Selections (Maratha Series) i. 334-8.

as Ishtur Phakde. Indeed his presence with the attacking force was regarded by them as a presage of victory and by the Maratha forces as an omen of defeat. It was his duty to hold Khandala at the head of the pass until the arrival of the main army, and this he performed with great skill, successfully defeating Maratha detachments sent to dislodge him. On the 23rd December, 1778, the English army arrived, three thousand, nine hundred strong, accompanied by Raghunathrao, his adopted son Amratrao, and Chinto Vithal Rairikar, who had fled to Bombay and had been appointed Raghunathrao's diwan. With Raghunathrao were two thousand cavalry, and an equal body of disciplined infantry. The English commander, Colonel Egerton, who had as yet met no serious resistance, was confident of a rapid and successful end to the campaign. He was quite unaware of the vast preparations, that had been made for his reception. Nana Phadnavis had for months past known the intentions of the English, and so admirable was his system of espionage that the most secret debates of the Bombay Council were accurately reported to him. While the Bombay Government organized their tiny army, Nana Phadnavis had from every quarter received large contingents. Tukoji Holkar was present at Poona with 6,000 men; Sindia with 1,500 men; Bhivrao Panse with 3,000, and other feudatories with between 5,000 and 6,000. These contingents together with the Peshwa's army enabled him to send forty thousand men against the invaders. At the same time he removed Sakharam Bapu from office and placed him under a guard of Sindia's troops. He ordered Balaji Govind Bandela,¹ commandant of Sagar in Central India, to resist all attempts of the Supreme Council to send reinforcements overland from Bengal. This order was so well obeyed that Colonel Leslie, who was leading an army from Bengal, was never able to pass through Central India, and, after several months of useless fighting there, died of fever on the 23rd October, 1778.

Colonel Egerton advanced so slowly that he spent eleven days in marching the eight miles that separate Khandala from Karli, the little village known to residents of Bombay

¹ A son of Govind Bandela killed in the Panipat campaign.

and Poona because of its wonderful Buddhist caves. On the 4th January, 1779, the English army lost its most daring spirit. According to the Peshwa's Bakhar, Captain Stewart climbed a tree to reconnoitre the enemy's position. His commanding figure was recognized and the entire Maratha front resounded with the cry of "Shabash, Ishtur Phakde." At the same time the Maratha batteries concentrated on the tree which sheltered Stewart, and a moment later the tree and its burden were swept away in a storm of cannon shot. The same chronicle relates a curious tale how the death of the gallant Stewart was announced to the Poona ministers. While Nana Phadnavis and other ministers were seated anxiously in the little Peshwa's room, awaiting news from the front, the boy prince started from his seat and asked them why they looked so careworn. "The English will not give way", was the reply. The little boy sent for his toy sword, fastened it on, and said, "The Englishman is dead." There was only one Englishman who mattered and a few hours later a messenger brought the news that Ishtur Phakde was no more. By some strange telepathy the death of the English hero had reached the Brahman prince faster than the steed of the galloping messenger. Captain Stewart's command devolved on Captain Hartley, a brave and skilful officer but without the inspiring qualities of the dead soldier; and the latter's death greatly depressed the invaders and cheered the defending army. On the 9th January, the English reached Talegaon Dabhade, the beautiful spot which the gallant Khanderao Dabhade loved above all his other possessions. They found it in flames and they learnt that Nana Phadnavis had ordered the destruction of Chinchvad and other townships on the road to Poona and, should the English reach so far, the destruction of Poona itself. For this purpose, indeed, he had filled the rooms of the Shanwar Wada with masses of straw and hay. The English had counted on finding supplies at Talegaon, more especially since they learnt that a Maratha force had swept the Konkan as far as Panwel, cutting their communications with Bombay. Their commanders should have advanced by forced marches on Poona to prevent its destruction; for they had with them several days' supply of food and the capital was only eighteen miles away. No

steps taken by Nana could in so short a time have stripped Poona bare. The English would have found supplies there and Raghunathrao numerous adherents. But from undue elation the invaders fell into uncalled-for despair. They contrasted their present situation with the easier conditions of Guzarat, and they fretfully complained to Raghunathrao and Chinto Vithal that they had falsely promised the adhesion of Tukoji Holkar and other allies. Holkar had sent word that he had no intention of deserting to a force so small that its defeat was certain; and this message increased the gloom of the English high command. In spite of the protests of Raghunathrao and the advice of Captain Hartley, the English resolved to retire. At 11 p.m. on the night of the 11th January, the army that was to have forced Raghunathrao on an unwilling people began its retreat. The heavy guns were thrown into the tank at Talegaon, whence they were afterwards recovered by the Marathas.¹ All around the English army had been stationed patrols, who at once reported the retreat of the invaders. The Marathas attacked them from all sides with greater vigour and fuller confidence. On the 12th and 13th, the English army struggled back the way it had come; but on the 13th, it was hemmed in at the village of Wadgaon, some five miles from Talegaon. The English sent a Mr. Farmer to negotiate. The Maratha Government demanded as a preliminary to negotiations the surrender of Raghunathrao; but the latter, grasping the hopeless situation of the English, had already deserted to Sindia's camp together with Chinto Vithal Rairikar and Kharaksing, one of Narayanrao's murderers, and three hundred cavalry, some fifteen hundred disciplined infantry and thirteen pieces of artillery. Sindia received Raghunathrao with courtesy, but arrested Chinto Vithal and Kharaksing. The Maratha Government next demanded the cession of Salsette and the acquisitions of the East India Company in Surat and Broach. The English commanders at first demurred on the

¹ A letter from Shivajipant quoted by Mr. Khare (Adhikar Yog, p. 125) runs as follows:

The English have been beaten. They have lost from 400 to 500 men killed. Seven cannon have been taken and two thousand muskets, etc., are included in the booty.

ground that they had no authority to make such cessions ; but afterwards they sent Mr. Holmes, a junior member of the Civil Service, with full power to agree to their enemies' demands. He ceded all that the East India Company had acquired in the Konkan since 1773, bestowed privately the English share in Broach on Madhavrao Sindia, and promised Rs. 41,000 to various members of his staff. At the same time he undertook to countermand the advance of reinforcements from Bengal. The English army was then allowed to return unmolested to Bombay ; but Mr. Farmer and Lieutenant Charles Stewart, a nephew of the gallant Ishtur Phakde, remained behind as hostages.

On the arrival of the troops at Bombay, the Bombay Government repudiated the convention of Wadgaon as made wholly without authority, and dismissed the officers who were parties to it. The Bengal Supreme Council directed General Goddard, the successor of Colonel Leslie, to march with all speed to the western coast. This duty General Goddard performed with consummate skill, disregarding the countermand received from Bombay. On the 26th February, 1780, he reached Surat, evading twenty thousand Maratha horse sent to intercept him. From Surat he took ship to Bombay.

The Maratha army remained encamped at Talegaon for a month, and the Maratha Government were extremely annoyed at the repudiation by the Bombay Government of the convention of Wadgaon, a repudiation which robbed them of the fruits of their victory. Nevertheless they treated Messrs. Farmer and Stewart, with kindness and courtesy, probably out of affectionate admiration for Ishtur Phakde, and devoted themselves to the uprooting of sedition at home. Sakharam Bapu had been allowed to go to Wai to celebrate the marriage of his daughter with the Pant Sachiv ; in his absence Sindia extorted from Chinto Vithal two similarly worded letters written by Sakharam Bapu to Chinto Vithal and Raghunath-rao.¹ They clearly proved his treachery and on his return

¹ The letters ran as follows : " This is my request. I have made the suggestion to the South (i.e. to Haidar Ali). I am now sitting down and waiting on events. In these circumstances the sooner you act the better." (Adhikar Yog, p. 128.)

from Wai he was arrested and imprisoned in Sinhgad. Kharaksing was executed, and Chinto Vithal ended his days in a hill fortress. The real culprit, however, escaped.

After some sharp discussion between Sindia and Nana Phadnavis, the Maratha Government agreed to let the former keep Raghunathrao in his custody at Jhansi, and to allot to Madhavrao Sindia lands worth four to five lakhs a year, so that the pretender might be suitably lodged and attended. Raghunathrao was allowed to march towards Jhansi with the cavalry and infantry that had gone over with him to Sindia's camp. To watch his movements Sindia detailed one of his staff, Hari Babaji with two thousand men. On the road Raghunathrao learnt that Sindia had no intention of spending the revenues allotted to him to enhance Raghunathrao's dignity and comfort. He meant on arrival at Jhansi to shut up the fugitive in Jhansi fort and to brigade his troops with his own army. To this fate Raghunathrao was determined not to submit. In the confusion of crossing the Narbada, he attacked Hari Babaji's two thousand men, cut them to pieces, and escaped to Broach, where he was received with honour by his English friends.

The victory over the English was deemed a fitting occasion for the Peshwa's Munj or thread-girding ceremony.¹ The Peshwa was now in his sixth year and on the 12th May the ceremonial festivities began. Hitherto Madhavrao through fear of Raghunathrao's various plots had always been kept in Purandar or Sasvad. He was now taken to Poona and he was admitted to the dignity of the twice-born. All the feudatories including Sindia and Holkar were present and the whole countryside was white with the tents of the visitors and of their military escorts. The ceremonies were splendid, but were not unduly prolonged, as Nana Phadnavis guessed that in no long time the Marathas and English would be again at war.

¹ See vol. II, p. 135.

CHAPTER LXI

RENEWAL OF THE ENGLISH WAR

WARREN HASTINGS, the Governor-General of Bengal, was determined to wipe out the disgrace of Wadgaon. He directed Goddard to take supreme command of all troops in Bombay and if possible to restore the credit of the English arms. On the other hand, Nana Phadnavis entered into an alliance with Haidar Ali and Nizam Ali. After some fruitless negotiations General Goddard resolved to conduct the war in Guzarat rather than in Maharashtra. In Guzarat he hoped to receive help from Fatehsing Gaikvad; Surat, too, formed a convenient base, while the Maratha armies would necessarily be hampered by long and arduous land communications. In January, 1780, Goddard's army moved from Surat. On the 20th January, 1780, he took by storm Dabhai and occupied other towns garrisoned in the Peshwa's interest. On the 26th January, he signed an offensive and defensive alliance with Fatehsing. Agreeably to the treaty, he laid siege to Ahmadabad, which he took by storm on the 15th February, 1780. The Maratha Government had called on Sindia and Holkar to drive out the invaders, and, crossing the Narbada on the 29th February, they halted near Baroda with twenty thousand cavalry. On the 6th March, Goddard crossed the Mahi river and offered them battle; but the Marathas retreated after chivalrously releasing Messrs. Farmer and Stewart. Some time passed in idle negotiations; at last Goddard, on the night of the 2nd April, surprised Sindia's camp, without, however, inflicting on him any serious loss.

Madhavrao Sindia's strategy in refusing a general action was essentially sound. He wished to draw Goddard farther and farther from his base, while the Poona Government acted against Surat and Bombay. In March, 1780, Ganeshpant Behare, the Peshwa's commander in the northern Konkan, invaded Guzarat, intending to cut Goddard's communications

with Surat. Goddard was forced to send a detachment under Lieutenant Welsh, who surprised, defeated and wounded Ganeshpant Behare,¹ and thereupon reduced the three forts of Parner, Bagwada and Indragad. About the same time one of Sindia's detachments was surprised on the banks of the Narbada. Nevertheless Sindia's strategy was justified elsewhere; for in the Konkan the Marathas won an important success. An English detachment, which under Ensign Fyfe had pushed rather rashly as far as the Ghâts, was cut off and its guns taken; and a Maratha assault on an English post at Kalyan on the 24th May, 1780, was only just frustrated by the arrival of a relief force under Colonel Hartley.

In the meantime the skill of Nana Phadnavis' diplomacy was soon to become manifest to the English of Madras. The Government of that city had succeeded in estranging at the same time Haidar Ali and the Nizam. In spite of their offensive and defensive alliance with the former, the Madras Government had refused to send him any help against the Marathas, and had without his permission recently marched an

¹ Grant Duff writes that Ganeshpant Behare was mortally wounded. This is not correct. Four years later Ganeshpant Behare was fighting against Tipu Sultan. It is interesting to contrast the English and Maratha accounts of this action.

The following is Mr. Welsh's account :

DEAR SIR,

I have the pleasure to acquaint you that I rode on at the head of the regiment and Candahars and reached Gane Pant's camp at four o'clock this morning, when I took his camp standing, bazar and three guns, killed ninety and wounded fifteen. I have only lost one daffedar and two troopers wounded, one Candahar killed. In short there was nothing wanting to complete this matter, but sending you in Gunesh Punt's head. I don't think he has much to brag of now. The inhabitants of the village seem exceedingly happy and are coming in from all quarters.

I am, Dear Sir,
Your very obedient humble servant,
Thomas Welsh.

The following is an extract from a letter written by Nana Phadnavis :

The English surprised Ganeshpant Behare. A slight action followed. The said officer received two or three wounds. He made a careful retreat to Hatgad.

(*Parasnis Collection*).

armed force through his territories. They had enraged Nizam Ali by occupying his district, Guntur, and by binding themselves to support against him his brother Basalat Jang. Both princes, therefore, listened readily to Nana Phadnavis' overtures. To Haidar Ali Nana Phadnavis offered to cede all the lands actually occupied by his troops between the Krishna and Tungabhadra rivers. To Nizam Ali he offered important tracts of land between Daulatabad and Ahmadnagar. Nana Phadnavis' offers were accepted, and both Haidar Ali and Nizam Ali allied themselves with the Marathas against the English. Nizam Ali's help was of little value, for on the restitution of Guntur he refused to move a man ; but Haidar Ali's attack on the English was of the most formidable kind. In July, 1780, eighty-three thousand disciplined troops, led in many cases by gallant French adventurers, assembled suddenly at Bangalore. Without a word of warning this mighty force poured through the southern passes into the English possessions. The first news of the invasion was conveyed to the Madras Government by the sight of flaming villages nine miles from Madras. Isolating that capital, Haidar Ali sought out the English armed forces. On the 10th September he fell upon a body of 3,700 men under Colonel Baillie, and destroyed or captured the entire detachment.

Fortunately for English dominion in India, Warren Hastings was Governor-General in Calcutta. He heard of the disasters with unruffled calm and met the confederacy with its own weapons. He formed an alliance with the Rana of Gohad in Central India, who was a subject ally of the Peshwa. The Rana of Gohad declared himself independent and received Captain Popham with three thousand men, horse and guns. The combined forces crossed the Jamna and, routing the Maratha covering troops, took successively the forts of Lahar and Gwalior (4th August, 1780), thus seriously disquieting Madhavrao Sindia, to whom Gwalior belonged. To meet the dangers that threatened Madras, Warren Hastings despatched Sir Eyre Coote, who, although sixty years of age, proved able to check the impetuous advance of Haidar Ali.

The monsoon, which falls with intense violence in the Konkan, checked operations until October, when Colonel Goddard, leaving a considerable garrison in Surat, Broach

and Ahmadabad, began to march southwards from Surat to invest Bassein. On the 1st October, Colonel Hartley, who had been sent from Bombay to prepare for the arrival of the main army, took by storm Bawa Malang, known familiarly as the Cathedral Rock, ten miles south of Kalyan. It had been unsuccessfully attacked on the 4th of August, but now fell into the hands of the English. On the 13th November, General Goddard arrived before Bassein and carefully reconnoitred it. On the 28th November, the siege began. The Maratha Government strained every nerve to relieve Bassein, but the invasion of Central India partially paralysed Sindia, whose guns failed to arrive in time. On the other hand, contingents under Parashrambhai Patwardhan and Anandrao Raste¹ were at once placed at the disposal of Ramchandra Ganesh. He successfully harassed Colonel Hartley's covering force and compelled it to move from its advanced post and to fall back on Goddard's besieging army. On the 10th December, Ramchandra Ganesh made a most resolute attempt to destroy Hartley's corps. Throughout the 10th and 11th his attacks continued without abating. At last, at 9 a.m. on the 12th December, 1780, Ramchandra Ganesh, taking advantage of a thick fog, tried to surprise an eminence on Hartley's right flank. Had he carried it, he would probably have been able to drive Hartley from his camp. The scheme failed through no fault of the Maratha captain. As the Maratha vanguard neared the English outposts, the fog suddenly cleared away, destroying all hopes of a surprise. The outposts fired rapidly and were so fortunate as to kill Ramchandra Ganesh and to wound his second in command, a Portuguese mercenary officer named Noronha. The Maratha troops, dispirited at the loss of their leaders, broke off the

¹ The original family name of the Rastes was Gokhale, and the founder of the family was Gangadharpant Gokhale, a money-lender of Velneswar in the Ratnagiri District. He and his descendants earned the name of "Rasade" through furnishing "Rasad" or supplies to the Bijapur troops. The family had a great reputation for honest dealing, and Shamji Rasade was invited by king Shahu to settle at Satara as an army contractor. There, the king, highly pleased with him, changed his name from "Rasade" to Raste or the honest man Shamji Raste's granddaughter was Gopikabai, the wife of the third Peshwa, Balaji Bajirao.

action and retired. In the meantime Bassein had surrendered. The siege had not been a long one. Early on the 9th December, the English had opened fire from their batteries and had continued it without intermission during the 9th and 10th December. At 10 a.m. on the 11th a message came from the garrison offering its surrender, but the city held out until the following day, when the garrison, four thousand in number, marched out, laid down their arms and were allowed to depart unmolested. The inhabitants were allowed to retain their private property, but all public property was appropriated by the English. The rapidity with which they took the famous stronghold was due to two causes, namely, the excellence of their artillery, which not only destroyed the Maratha defences, but blew up their powder magazines, and the skilful dispositions of their engineer, Captain Theobald.¹ The English losses were only twelve killed and wounded.

The fall of Bassein and the repulse and death of the gallant Ramchandra Ganesh were deeply felt by Nana Phadnavis. Bassein was highly prized by the Maratha Government in memory of the great siege and of the gallant exploits of the noble Chimnaji Appa. Kalyan and the surrounding country were the scenes of the earliest deeds of an even more splendid hero, the great king himself. Nevertheless the minister's lofty mind learnt the disasters without dismay; and he and Hari Ballal Phadke employed every means to raise funds and to increase their armies. Warren Hastings begged Mudhoji Bhosle to forward to the Poona Government terms of peace, but to Mudhoji's letter Nana Phadnavis returned no answer. On the 18th January, 1781, General Goddard took the fort of Arnala, a small island off Bassein, together with the garrison of five hundred men. General Goddard then sent direct to Nana Phadnavis Warren Hastings' offer of peace, which the minister firmly declined. At the same time he took steps for the destruction of the English army. He sent the Peshwa to Purandar and Parashrambhau Patwardhan into the Konkan to cut the English lines of communication. At the head of

¹ A full account of the capture of Bassein is given in General Goddard's despatch of 12th December, 1780, printed in Forest's Selections (Maratha series), vol. 1, pp. 430-2.

a great army and accompanied by Hari Ballal Phadke and Tukoji Holkar, he marched up the Indryani valley to meet Goddard. The calm energy of the minister soon obtained the desired result. On the 16th March, Parashrambhau at Chauk, a village immediately below Matheran, fell suddenly on a detachment under Mackay, that was returning from Panwel, and inflicted on it heavy loss. Mackay succeeded in reaching the main army, but the gravity of the danger determined Goddard to fall back from the Sahyadris to Panwel. Before he could effect this manoeuvre, a second detachment under Colonel Browne was fiercely attacked by Parashrambhau.¹ On the 1st April, three battalions of sepoy, ten guns and a large body of horse left the main army for Panwel to bring back a big convoy of grain and stores. On the journey they were repeatedly attacked, and lost one hundred and six men killed and wounded, several thousand bullocks, several hundred muskets, and quantities of stores. They were indeed only saved from annihilation by the garrison of Bombay, who hastened to their relief and succeeded in bringing them in safe. On the 19th April, General Goddard, finding his position no longer tenable, decided to retreat. From that moment his misfortunes began. On the 20th April, Hari Ballal Phadke, swooping down from the heights of the Sahyadris, carried off a quantity of his baggage and ammunition. The English camped at Chauk and on the 21st April fought their way to

¹ Nana Phadnavis thus describes this action :

“On the night of the third Rabilakar, four battalions with guns and other warlike material started well-armed for Panwel to bring supplies. Parashrambhau, who had received information, attacked the same night and immediately an action followed. The Pindharis were close by. About a hundred or a hundred and fifty of the enemy were killed and about two hundred wounded. From three hundred to four hundred muskets, ten to twelve camel cartloads of ammunition, tents of various kinds, and four thousand to five thousand bullocks, were carried off. At daybreak they (the English) halted near Barwai in a difficult position. On the following night, when they commenced to march, they were again attacked by Parashrambhau and from fifty to a hundred were killed. A thousand bullocks were captured. We fired rockets which exploded their ammunition and burnt several of their men. That very night they retreated to Panwel.”

(*Parasnis Collection*).

Khalapur. On the 22nd, the dispirited army rested and on the 23rd renewed the march. Harassed all day, they contrived that evening to reach Panwel after losing four hundred and fifty-six in killed and wounded, of whom eighteen were English officers. The Maratha Government had thus cleared the Konkan of the English, and by a series of successes had restored the moral of their own army. Nana Phadnavis had every ground to hope that in the following cold weather a combined attack on the English, both in Bombay and Bengal, would compel them to accept peace on his terms. Unhappily for the Maratha cause, before the monsoon of 1781 had passed, both Madhavrao Sindia and Mudhoji Bhosle, on whose active aid the minister counted, had made separate treaties with the English.

The reason for Madhavrao Sindia's defection was due to the defeats suffered by him in Central India. Captain Popham after taking Gwalior cleared the Gohad territories of the Marathas. At the same time another force under Colonel Carnac took Sipri and on the 16th February, 1781, appeared before Seronj. Here Colonel Carnac was heavily attacked and surrounded by Sindia. He managed to extricate himself, and on the 24th March surprised and defeated Sindia's army by a skilfully prepared night attack. Thereafter during the rainy season he occupied Sindia's lands and so wasted them that on the 13th October, 1781, Sindia bound himself not only to remain neutral, but also to negotiate, if possible, a peace between the English and the Poona Government. About the same time Mudhoji Bhosle was detached from the Maratha confederacy by the promise of a considerable sum in cash and of assistance in acquiring the districts of Karra and Mandela, which had been in the possession of the Peshwa's officers since the campaign of Balaji Bajirao in 1742. After these diplomatic achievements, the English deputed first Captain Weatherstone and afterwards Mr. David Anderson to negotiate a peace with the Poona Government. Sindia pressed also on Nana Phadnavis the advantage of accepting the English offers. The news, too, from his ally in the south was not such as to encourage the minister. During the monsoon of 1781, Haidar Ali had been repeatedly beaten by Sir Eyre Coote—at Porto Novo in July, at Pollilore in August,



RAGHUNATHRAO BALAJI, PANDIT PRADHAN,
PESHWA OF THE MARATHA EMPIRE

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and at Sholingur in September. At last on the 17th May, 1782, was concluded the treaty of Salbai. By its terms the English undertook no longer to support Raghunathrao, who was to reside in Sindia's dominions and to receive a maintenance of twenty-five thousand rupees a month. The Peshwa was to form no alliance with the French or any other European nation, hostile to the English. He was also to compel Haidar Ali to restore his conquests from the English and the Nawab of Arcot. The English were to retain Salsette, but to restore all other conquests since the treaty of Purandar. Ahmadabad and other possessions of the Gaikwad were to be restored to Fatehsing, who was to pay the usual tribute to Poona. Lastly, Broach was bestowed on Madhavrao Sindia as a reward for his conduct at Wadgaon and for his treatment of Farmer and Stewart.¹ The treaty of Salbai extinguished the last hopes of Raghunathrao. That unfortunate pretender accepted, because he could do nothing else, the terms of the treaty. He chose, as the spot wherein to end his days, Kopergaon on the banks of the beautiful Godavari river. Thither he went accompanied by his wife, Anandibai, to whose furious ambition he owed his many misfortunes. With them went also their adopted son Amratrao and their real son Bajirao, for whom fate was preparing adventures hardly less romantic than those of his father. By the sacred stream Raghunathrao affected to become a *sanyasi*. But the son of the great Bajirao could not control his thoughts. They strayed from battle-fields by the Indus to leaguers in the

¹ The treaty of Salbai was concluded on the 17th May, 1782, was ratified on the 6th June, 1782, and was formally exchanged on the 24th February, 1783.

The following letter from Tukoji Holkar to Nana Phadnavis mentions the death of Raghunathrao: "After compliments—Please continue to communicate your news and be so good as to receive mine. I received your letter and was deeply grieved to hear the news of Shrimant Dada Sahib's (i.e. Raghunathrao's) death on Thursday the 3rd of the dark half of Margshirsh at about six 'ghattis' after sunset. He was ill for some time. But he had recovered his strength. None can go against destiny. The will of God prevails. We were glad to hear that you have sent Visaji Appaji to condole with Anandibai and her son Shrimant Bajirao. What more shall I say? Be kind."

(Parasnis Collection).

Carnatic ; and his enforced idleness sapped his strength. On the 24th February, 1784, eleven months after the formal exchange of the treaty of Salbai, Raghunathrao died. In the course of the year 1784, his widow gave birth to a posthumous son, Chimnaji Appa. Nana Phadnavis treated the family with kindness, but the beautiful widow never forgave one whom she regarded as the cause of her husband's failures ; and she brought up her son Bajirao to look upon Nana Phadnavis with a hatred so malignant, that to avenge his father he was ready to ruin his country.

English historians, notably Mr. Vincent Smith, have written of the treaty of Salbai with well-founded pride ; for on three fronts against superior forces the genius of Warren Hastings and the valour of his soldiers yielded nothing to the enemy. Nevertheless the real honours of the war lay, not with the English, but with the great man who controlled the Maratha Empire. The war was waged to decide whether Raghunathrao or Savai Madhavrao should sit in the seat of the Peshwas.

The treaty of Salbai not only settled the succession in favour of Savai Madhavrao, but yielded Raghunathrao into the hands of his rival. Thus in spite of dissensions at home, faithless friends and treacherous allies, Nana Phadnavis reached his goal. His serene but enduring spirit accepted victory without insolence and defeat without despair ; from the barren plains of the Deccan and the wild hills of the Konkan his tireless energy raised ever new armies and fresh resources, until at last he wore out the patience of the English, led them to surrender their conquests and won the strategic victory, which alone he sought, namely, the throne of Poona for the boy-prince entrusted to his devoted care.

APPENDIX A

The following is an extract from a letter from Nana Phadnavis to Madhavrao Sindia. It shews with what feelings he regarded the English.

“ We were never ambitious to conquer the Company’s lands. We never did them any harm. It was they who declared war against us and caused us heavy losses for six whole years. They have attempted to weaken the framework of our empire by trying to win over the Gaikvad and Bhosle, two pillars of our state. If we let them act as they wish, we shall only bring calamity on ourselves and subvert our empire. We shall neither give nor ask for favours, but make a treaty of peace with the greatest caution and care. We must not only insist on the reparation of our wrongs, but we must try to recover that part of the Carnatic conquests of the great Shivaji which is now occupied by the English. We shall certainly achieve our aims at Delhi without sacrificing our interests to the English. They can never establish their supremacy at Delhi, if the Marathas act vigorously and in union.”

APPENDIX B

TREATY OF SALBAI

TREATY OF PEACE WITH THE MARATHAS, 1782

Treaty of perpetual friendship and alliance between the Hon'ble the English East India Company and the Peshwa Madhavrav Pandit Pradhan, settled by Mr. David Anderson, on the part of the Hon'ble Company, in virtue of the powers delegated to him for that purpose by the Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council, appointed by the King and Parliament of Great Britain to direct and control all political affairs of the Hon'ble English East India Company in India ; and by Maharaja Soubahdar Madhavrav Sindia, as plenipotentiary on the part of the Peshwa Madhavrav Pandit Pradhan, Ballaji Pandit, Nana Fadanavis, and the whole of the Chiefs of the Maratha nation, agreeably to the following articles, which shall be ever binding on their heirs and successors, and the conditions of them to be invariably observed by both parties.

ARTICLE I

It is stipulated and agreed to between the Hon'ble the English East India Company and the Peshwa, through the mediation of Madhavrav Sindia, that all countries, places, cities, and forts, including Bassein, etc., which have been taken from the Peshwa during the War that has arisen since the treaty settled by Colonel Upton, and have come into the possession of the English, shall be delivered up to the Peshwa ; the territories, ports, cities, etc., to be restored, shall be delivered within the space of two months from the period when this treaty shall become complete (as hereinafter described), to such persons as the Peshwa, or his Minister Nana Fadanavis shall appoint.

ARTICLE II

It is agreed between the English Company and the Peshwa, that Salsette and three other islands, viz., Elephanta, Karanja and Hog, which are included in the treaty of Colonel Upton, shall continue for ever in possession of the English. If any other islands have been taken in the course of the present war, they shall be delivered up to the Peshwa.

ARTICLE III

Whereas it was stipulated in the fourth article of the treaty of Colonel Upton, " that the Peshwa and all the Chiefs of the Maratha State to agree to give the English Company, for ever, all right and title to the city of Broach, as full and complete as ever they collected from the Mogals or otherwise, without retaining any claim of chauth, or any other claims whatsoever, so that the English Company shall possess it without participation or claim of any kind " ; this article is accordingly continued in full force and effect.

ARTICLE IV

The Peshwa having formerly, in the treaty of Colonel Upton, agreed by way of friendship to give up to the English a country of three lakhs of rupees, near Broach, the English do now, at the request of Madhavrav Sindia, consent to relinquish their claim to the said country in favour of the Peshwa.

ARTICLE V

The country which Sayaji and Fattasing Gaikawar gave to the English, and which is mentioned in the seventh article of the treaty of Colonel Upton, being therein left in a state of suspense, the English, with a view to obviate all future disputes, now agree that it shall be restored; and it is hereby settled that, if the said country be a part of the established territory of the Gaikawar, it shall be restored to the Gaikawar; and if it shall be a part of the Peshwa's territories it shall be restored to the Peshwa.

ARTICLE VI

The English engage that, having allowed Raghunathrav a period of four months from the time when this treaty shall become complete to fix on a place of residence, they will not, after the expiration of the said period, afford him any support, protection, or assistance, nor supply him with money for his expenses: and the Peshwa on his part engages, that if Raghunathrav will voluntarily and of his own accord repair to Maharaja Madhavrav Sindia, and quietly reside with him, the sum of Rs. 25,000 per month shall be paid him for his maintenance, and no injury whatever shall be offered to him by the Peshwa, or any of his people.

ARTICLE VII

The Hon'ble English East India Company and the Peshwa being desirous that their respective allies shall be included in this peace, it is hereby mutually stipulated that each party shall make peace with the allies of the other, in the manner hereinafter specified.

ARTICLE VIII

The territory which has long been the established jaghir of Sayaji Gaikawar and Fattasing Gaikawar, that is to say, whatever territory Fattasing Gaikawar possessed at the commencement of the present war, shall hereafter for ever remain on the usual footing in his possession; and the said Fattasing shall, from the date of this treaty being complete, pay for the future to the Peshwa the tribute as usual previous to the present war, and shall perform such services and be subject to such obedience, as have long been established and customary. No claim shall be made on the said Fattasing by the Peshwa for the period that is past.

ARTICLE IX

The Peshwa engages, that whereas the Navab Hyder Alli Khan, having concluded a treaty with him, hath disturbed and taken possession of territories belonging to the English and their allies, he shall be

made to relinquish them ; and they shall be restored to the Company and the Navab Mahomed Alli Khan. All prisoners that have been taken on either side during the war shall be released, and Hyder Alli Khan shall be made to relinquish all such territories belonging to the English Company and their allies, as he may have taken possession of, since the ninth of Ramzan in the year 1181, being the date of his treaty with the Peshwa ; and the said territories shall be delivered over to the English and the Nawab Mahomed Alli Khan within six months after this treaty being complete ; and the English, in such case, agree that, so long as Hyder Alli Khan shall afterwards abstain from hostilities against them, and their allies, and so long as he shall continue in friendship with the Peshwa, they will in no respect act hostilely towards him.

ARTICLE X

The Peshwa engages, on his own behalf as well as on behalf of his allies, the Navab Nizam Alli Khan, Raghoji Bhonsla, Syna Saheb Soubah, and the Navab Hyder Alli Khan, that they shall, in every respect, maintain peace towards the English and their allies, the Navab Asoph-ul-Dowlah Bahadur, and the Navab Mahomed Alli Khan Bahadur, and shall in no respect whatever give them any disturbance. The English engage on their own behalf, as well as on behalf of their allies, the Nawab Asoph-ul-Dowlah, and the Navab Mahomed Alli Khan, that they shall in every respect maintain peace towards the Peshwa and his allies, the Nawab Nizam Alli Khan and Raghoji Bhonsla, Syna Saheb : and the English further engage on their own behalf, as well as on behalf of their allies, that they will maintain peace also towards the Navab Hyder Alli Khan under the conditions specified in the 9th Article of this treaty.

ARTICLE XI

The Hon'ble East India Company and the Peshwa mutually agree that the vessels of each shall afford no disturbance to the navigation of the vessels of the other ; and the vessels of each shall be allowed access to the ports of the other, where they shall meet with no molestation, and the fullest protection shall be reciprocally afforded.

ARTICLE XII

The Peshwa and the Chiefs of the Maratha State hereby agree that the English shall enjoy the privilege of trade, as formerly, in the Maratha territories, and shall meet with no kind of interruption ; and, in the same manner, the Hon'ble East India Company agree that the subjects of the Peshwa shall be allowed the privilege of trade, without interruption, in the territories of the English.

ARTICLE XIII

The Peshwa hereby engages that he will not suffer any factories of other European nations to be established in his territories, or those of the chiefs dependant on him, excepting only such as are already

established by the Portuguese; and he will hold no intercourse of friendship with any other European nations: and the English on their part agree that they will not afford assistance to any nation of Deccan or Hindustan at enmity with the Peshwa.

ARTICLE XIV

The English and the Peshwa mutually agree that neither will afford any kind of assistance to the enemies of the other.

ARTICLE XV

The Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council of Fort William engage that they will not permit any of the chiefs, dependants or subjects of the English, the gentlemen of Bombay, Surat or Madras, to act contrary at any place to the terms of this treaty. In the same manner, the Peshwa Madhavrav Pandit Pradhan engages that none of the chiefs or subjects of the Maratha State shall act contrary to them.

ARTICLE XVI

The Hon'ble East India Company, and the Peshwa Madhavrav Pandit Pradhan having the fullest confidence in Maharaja Soubahdar Madhavrav Sindia Bahadur, they have both requested the said Maharaja to be the mutual guarantee for the perpetual and invariable adherence to both parties to the conditions of this treaty; and the said Madhavrav Sindia, from a regard to the welfare of both States, hath accordingly taken upon himself the mutual guarantee. If either of the parties shall deviate from the conditions of this treaty, the said Maharaja will join the other party and will, to the utmost of his power, endeavour to bring the aggressor to a proper understanding.

ARTICLE XVII

It is hereby agreed that whatever territories, forts, or cities, in Gujrat were granted by Raghunathrav to the English, previous to the treaty of Colonel Upton, and have come into their possession, the restitution of which was stipulated in the 7th Article to the said treaty, shall be restored, agreeably to the terms of the said article.

This treaty consisting of 17 articles is settled at Salbai, in the Camp of Maharaja Soubhadar Madhavrav Sindia, on the 4th of the month of Jammadul Saany, in the year 1197 of the Hygera, corresponding with the 17th of March, 1782, of the Christian era, by the said Maharaja and Mr. David Anderson: a copy hereof shall be sent by each of the above named persons to their respective principals at Fort William and Poona and, when both copies being returned, the one under the seal of the Hon'ble East India Company and signature of the Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council of Fort William shall be delivered to Maharaja Madhavrav Sindia Bahadur, and the other under the seal of the Peshwa Madhavrav Pandit Pradhan, and the signature of Ballaji Pandit, Nana Fadanavis, shall be delivered to Mr. David Anderson,

this treaty shall be deemed complete and ratified and the articles herein contained shall become binding on both the contracting parties.

(Written in the Marathi character of RAGUBHAU DIVAN). "In all 17 articles on the fourth of Jemmad-ul-Akher or fifth of Jesht Adhik, in the Shuklapaksh, in the year 118... (torn)."

(Subscribed in the Marathi character of MAHADJI SINDIA). "Agreed to what is above written in Persian."

Witnesses :—

(Sd.) JAMES ANDERSON.

(Sd.) DAVID ANDERSON.

(Sd.) W. BLAINE.

CHAPTER LXII

WARS AGAINST TIPU

BEFORE the treaty of Salbai had been finally exchanged between the contracting parties, the great Haidar Ali had died of cancer in the back on the 7th December, 1782. His son and successor Tipu had inherited some of his splendid talents and all his savage qualities. He derived his unusual name from the shrine of Tipu Mastan Auliah, whither his mother Fakrunnissa had, to obtain a blessing, gone shortly before her delivery. He was now in the full vigour of his faculties, and one of his first acts was, in March, 1784, to outwit the English of Madras and to obtain from them the treaty of Mangalore. Thereby the English agreed to restore to Tipu all the places they had recently conquered, thus nullifying the clause in the treaty of Salbai which bound the Marathas to help to recover the provinces seized by Haidar Ali from the Nawab of Arcot. Another cause of war, however, between the Marathas and Tipu, was soon forthcoming.

Among the Maratha chiefs who held lands between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra rivers was a Chitpavan Brahman named Bhave, who was Desai of Nargund. As the price of his alliance, Haidar Ali had asked for and obtained from the Marathas the cession of all the territories between the two rivers. He thus included Nargund in his dominions. The Desai had submitted and Haidar Ali had fixed his dues at the same figure as those paid by him to the Peshwa. Tipu, who wished to confiscate the Chitpavan's holding, raised his tribute to a larger sum than he could pay. Bhave appealed to Nana Phadnavis, who represented with justice to Tipu that the transfer of the Peshwa's rights between the two rivers left all other rights unaffected. The Desai, therefore, was not bound to pay more to Tipu than he had paid to Poona. Tipu replied discourteously that from his own subjects he could levy what he chose. And in March, 1785, he sent a force to reduce Nargund. Nana Phadnavis sent to the relief of Nargund a

body of troops under Ganeshpant Behare and Parashrambhau Patwardhan. But Burhan-ud-din, the officer in command of the besieging army, raised the siege and advanced to meet the Marathas. After some desultory fighting in which the Mysore troops had the advantage, Burhan-ud-din, on the 5th May, 1785, carried the fort of Ramdurg, a position of great importance for the continuance of the siege of Nargund. Nana Phadnavis ordered Tukoji Holkar to march at once to reinforce Parashrambhau. Tipu had resort to artifice and expressed himself anxious for peace. Nana was for once deceived. On the promise of two years' tribute he made peace with Tipu, who bound himself to accept from the Desai of Nargund the same tribute as Haidar Ali had done. But as soon as the Maratha armies had re-crossed the Krishna, Tipu renewed his preposterous demands on the Desai, and his siege operations. The unfortunate Desai resisted as best he could, but he was soon reduced to despair. Before he surrendered he asked for Tipu's personal guarantee that no harm would come to him ; which was readily granted. When Bhave descended from the fort, the unprincipled adventurer denied his oath and seized him and his family. One daughter he selected for his harem. The rest he sent to the fort of Kabaldurg, where they died in prison. Shortly afterwards Tipu by similar treachery made himself master of Kittur, a town 26 miles south-east of Belgaum ; and to crown his iniquities he failed to pay the promised tribute and circumcized large numbers of the Hindu population between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra. Nana Phadnavis was alike angry at the faithlessness of Tipu and shocked at his treatment of the Hindus, two thousand of whom committed suicide to escape conversion to Islam. At the same time he was aware of the excellent discipline of Tipu's battalions, often commanded by French officers, and he hesitated to attack him until reinforced by English and Moghul contingents. The English declined the alliance. Nizam Ali, who was deeply offended at Tipu's recent assumption of the title of Sultan, promised his support. And the allies undertook to reduce Tipu's kingdom entirely and divide it between Nizam Ali, the Peshwa, Sindia and Holkar. In April, 1786, the confederate army converged on Badami, now a village in the Bijapur district. On the 20th May, Badami was

brilliantly carried by assault. In the meantime Tipu had laid siege to Adoni, wherein lived the ladies of the seraglio of Basalat Jang, who had died in 1782. He failed, however, to carry it, and the garrison was relieved and the fort evacuated. Tipu razed it to the ground. Hari Ballal Phadke, in command of the Poona corps, obtained possession of the fort of Gajendragad, now a town in the Ron taluka of Dharwar, by bribing the commandant, and shortly afterwards took Bahadur Benda. This, however, was his last success. Tipu, who was a skilful general and enjoyed the immense advantage of an undivided command, crossed the Tungabhadra and threatened Phadke's communications. In this way he forced the Maratha army to retire, and recovered Bahadur Benda and seized Savanur, the Nawab of which had joined the Marathas. Cholera, too, broke out in the Maratha army and their supplies ran short. On the whole the advantages of the campaign of 1786 rested with Tipu. Nevertheless, early in 1787, the Sultan offered terms of peace, and in April, 1787, he agreed to cede to the Marathas Badami, Kittur and Nargund, and to restore Adoni to the Nizam. He also paid to the Marathas thirty lakhs in cash and promised to pay fifteen lakhs more. The motive for conduct so unexpected was to be found in certain other designs of the Sultan of Mysore. The Marathas he disliked as rivals, but he neither feared them nor the Nizam of Haidarabad. There was, however, one power that he both hated and feared, namely the English; and for some time past he had been engaged in diplomatic schemes to bring about their downfall. He had extorted from the foolishness of the Madras Government the peace of Mangalore in 1784; but he was too sensible not to realize that its favourable terms did not represent the real situation of the parties. In 1785, he sent an embassy to Constantinople to induce the Sultan of Turkey to join him and the French, in a league against the English. As the Sultan of Turkey had never even heard of Mysore, his reception of the envoys was more than chilling and they returned to India in a fury. Nothing daunted, Tipu sent an embassy under one Mahomed Darwash Khan to the court of Louis XVI. That unfortunate monarch had so many troubles of his own, that he could do no more than give the ambassadors a few excellent dinners and a few vague

but gracious promises. The envoys, however, returned dazzled by the splendours of Versailles and assured the Sultan that troops and supplies would soon reach him from France. Tipu believed their assurances and looked about for the most convenient spot at which to receive the French transports. This was unquestionably the extreme south-west of India. It was in the possession of the Raja of Travancore, and Travancore was under the protection of the Madras Government ; but Tipu hoped to be able to subdue Travancore and at the same time cajole the members of the Madras Council, of whose weakness and timidity he had already had a gratifying experience. On the 28th December, 1789, Tipu with fourteen thousand men appeared before the Travancore lines, a series of fortifications thirty miles long erected originally to protect Travancore from the Zamorin of Calicut. Tipu hoped to carry them by a sudden assault and to overrun all Travancore before the English could intervene to save their feudatory. Unhappily for his schemes, his assault was repulsed with a loss of two thousand men. The news reached Calcutta and the Governor treated the unprovoked attack on his ally as an act of war.

In December, 1787, Nana Phadnavis had proposed, through Malet, the English ambassador, an offensive and defensive alliance against Tipu ; but at that time, as I have said, Lord Cornwallis was not disposed to accept the offer. Nana Phadnavis, on hearing of Tipu's attack on the Travancore lines, renewed his proposal and undertook to obtain Nizam Ali's adhesion to a triple alliance. On the 1st June, 1790, Mr. Malet, on behalf of the Company, and Nana Phadnavis, both on behalf of the Peshwa and Nizam Ali, signed an offensive and defensive treaty of alliance in the Shanwar palace.¹ A painting in the Ganeshkhind palace of the Governor of Bombay still commemorates this brilliant scene. It is by the artist Wales, and portrays the signing of the treaty by the British Envoy.

In the meantime, Tipu had been continuing his attacks on Travancore. Smarting from his repulse before the Travancore lines, he sent for a train of siege guns from Seringapatam, and recommenced the campaign. The batteries were erected

¹ For the terms of the treaty see Appendix A.

in March, 1790, and a month later the Mysore armies, having breached the lines, poured through the breach and carried fire and sword through the northern part of the state. Near Alwai, however, Tipu was checked by the skill of the Diwan Kasava Pillai, who kept the Sultan at bay until the monsoon broke with the severity usual on the Malabar coast. Tipu had failed in his object, which was to overrun Travancore and get a firm hold on the south-western coast before the rainy season; and, realizing that he must soon face a combined attack from the Moghuls, Marathas and English, he withdrew his army northwards, losing heavily in his retreat. He thus had lost the prize and had now to suffer the punishment of his unprincipled policy (June, 1790).

The object of the Maratha Government was to recover their former possessions between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra rivers, which Haidar Ali had occupied. The capital of the province was Dharwar, and to take that city was the first object of the Marathas. On the 11th August, the Maratha army under Parashrambhau Patwardhan crossed the Krishna. When the various contingents had reported their arrival, their numbers rose to twenty thousand men, of which half were cavalry. With them were an English corps consisting of the 8th and 11th native infantry and one company of European artillery under the command of Captain Little. On the 18th September, 1790, Parashrambhau reached Dharwar. It was strongly held by an experienced officer of Tipu, named Badar-ul-zaman, and a garrison of ten thousand men, and its defences were of the strongest. Two ditches, each twenty-five to thirty feet wide, encircled it, and a minor fort known as the Peta enfiladed the approaches. On the 30th October, 1790, Captain Little stormed the Peta, but it was afterwards retaken by a sally of the garrison. Finally, on the 15th December, it was taken and held by a Maratha storming party. Nevertheless the main fortress defied the besiegers for twenty-nine weeks and it was not until the 4th April, 1791, that the gallant Badar-ul-zaman capitulated. He was allowed to march out with the honours of war, but was subsequently taken prisoner with his men for having broken the terms of his capitulation. After the fall of Dharwar the Maratha army rapidly overran the province of which it was the chief town,

and on the 22nd April, 1791, crossed the Tungabhadra. Another Maratha army thirty thousand strong had on the 1st January, 1791, left Poona under the command of Hari Ballal Phadke. This force took the fortress of Sira and marched south-west into Tipu's country, while Parashrambhau marched south-east. On the 24th May, 1791, they united and marched to Mailghat.

In the meantime the English had been heavily engaged with Tipu. In December, 1790, General Medows had reduced Coimbatore, but had been foiled by the Sultan's military skill and had advanced no farther. On the other hand Colonel Hartley and General Abercromby defeated Tipu's general, Hussein Ali, and drove his troops from the entire Malabar Coast. In January, 1791, Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General, personally relieved General Medows of his command, and, taking Kolar and Hosakot, marched on Bangalore. This city has now a population of 180,000 and is the second city in the Mysore State; while owing to the salubrity of its climate it is a great favourite with European residents. It was originally a mud fortress built by Kempe Gauda or the Red Chief; but in 1761, it was by order of Haidar Ali enlarged and strongly rebuilt in stone. After a stubborn defence by the commandant, Bahadur Khan, the town fell on the night of the 20th March, 1791. From Bangalore, Lord Cornwallis marched to Seringapatam. After a successful action outside the great fortress, fortune turned against the English general. His cattle died for want of fodder; his communications had been cut and his starving troops were unable to haul the guns of which the bullocks had died. At last Lord Cornwallis abandoned all hope of a successful siege. He destroyed his siege train, threw his shot into the Cauveri river and on the 26th May, 1791, retreated towards Bangalore. As his army marched, the monsoon burst, and, harassed as they were by Tipu's irregulars, their situation grew worse and worse. At last they came in sight of Mailghat. As they drew near to the town swarms of light cavalry poured from the gates. Thinking that they had fallen into an ambush, the English stood to their arms, resolved, if they could not cut their way through, to die where they stood. When the leading squadrons came within gunshot, they declared themselves to be

friends and allies. They were the cavalry of the two Maratha armies, of whose vicinity—such was the activity of the Mysore light horse—Lord Cornwallis had been unaware. The English army were now as elated as they had a few minutes before been dispirited; and Hari Ballal Phadke did all in his power to alleviate the distress of his allies.¹

The united armies halted for ten days to allow the English soldiers to recover their health and strength, and then again moved in different directions. The Marathas besieged Chitaldurg and Madgiri, without success but in December reduced Simoga. The English joined the Moghul army, that was in vain besieging Garramkonda and took all the strong places between that fortress and Bangalore. In February, 1792, the armies of the three allies concentrated in front of Seringapatam. On the 6th February, the allies carried the outworks and prepared to bombard the capital. At this point Tipu made overtures for peace. There were several conflicting interests in the councils of the allies. The English wished to destroy Tipu's power, which had been usurped by his father and had been a constant menace to the Madras Government. Nana Phadnavis desired to reduce Tipu's power, but at the same time to maintain him at Seringapatam. Hari Ballal Phadke wished to finish the war before the arrival of Madhavrao Sindia, who was advancing south to join the allied confederate forces. Eventually Lord Cornwallis was induced to accept the terms offered by Tipu, who ceded half his territories, and agreed to pay an indemnity of three crores and thirty thousand rupees and to release all prisoners. The ceded territories included the province of Coorg. The allies divided the spoils. To the Marathas fell the western towns and districts between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra, and also Bellari, south of the Tungabhadra. To the Nizam were allotted Gooti and Kadapa and the eastern towns and districts between the Tungabhadra and the Krishna, including Mudkal and Kopal. Coorg, Malabar, Dindigul, now included in the Madura district, and Baramahal, the north-eastern portion of

¹ The distress must have been considerable; for the author of the Peshwa's bakhar observes "Such was the scarcity of food that the English had been forced to eat cattle and, so it is said, even children."

the Salem district, passed into the hands of the English. By the end of March, 1792, the allied armies struck their camps and started separately for their frontiers. Hari Ballal Phadke reached Poona on the 25th May. But Tipu shewed his ingratitude by harassing Parashrambhau all the way from Seringapatam to the Tungabhadra.

APPENDIX A

TREATY BETWEEN THE MARATHAS AND ENGLISH AGAINST TIPU

Treaty of offensive and defensive alliance between the Honourable United English East India Company, the Peshwa Savai Madhavrav Narayan Pandit Pradhan Bahadur and the Navab Nazim Alli Khan Asof Jah Bahadur, against Fatte Alli Khan, known by the denomination of Tipu Sultan, settled by Mr. Charles Warre Malet, on the part of the said Honourable Company, with the said Pandit Pradhan, by virtue of the powers delegated to him by the Right Honourable Charles, Earl Cornwallis, K.G., Governor-General in Council, appointed by the Honourable the Court of Directors of the said Honourable Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies.

ARTICLE I

The friendship subsisting between the States agreeable to former treaties shall be increased by this.

ARTICLE II

Tipu Sultan, having engagements with the contracting parties, has, notwithstanding, acted with infidelity to them all, for which reason they have united in a league that to the utmost of their power they may punish him and deprive him of the means of disturbing the general tranquillity in future.

ARTICLE III

This undertaking being resolved on, it is agreed that, on Mr. Malet's annunciation to Pandit Pradhan of the actual commencement of hostilities between the Honourable Company's forces and the said Tipu, and on Captain Kennaway's announcing the same to the Navab Asof Jah, the forces of the said Pandit Pradhan and Navab Asof Jah, in number not less than 25,000 but as many more and as much greater an equipment as may be, shall immediately invade the territories of the said Tipu, and reduce as much of his dominions as possible before and during the rains; and after that season the said Pandit Pradhan and Navab will seriously and vigorously prosecute the war with a potent army, well appointed and equipped with the requisite warlike apparatus.

ARTICLE IV

The Navab Asof Jah being furnished with two battalions of the Honourable Company's forces, Pandit Pradhan shall have an option of being joined by equal force, on the same terms, during the present war

against Tipu. The pay of the said battalions to be made good by Pandit Pradhan to the Honourable Company, in like manner as settled with the Navab Asof Jah.

ARTICLE V

On the said two battalions joining the Maratha army, Pandit Pradhan agrees to allot 2,000 horse to remain and act in concert with them. But, in the event of urgent service on which cavalry alone can be employed, 1,000 of the said cavalry may be detached thereon, 1,000 remaining constantly with the battalions, whose pay shall be defrayed regularly, in ready money, every month in the army or in Poona, at the option of Mr. Malet.

ARTICLE VI

From the time of the said battalions entering Pandit Pradhan's territories, an Agent on the part of the said Pandit Pradhan shall be ordered to attend the Commander to execute such service as may occur.

ARTICLE VII

If the Right Honourable the Governor-General should require a body of cavalry to join the English forces, Pandit Pradhan and the Navab Asof Jah shall furnish to the number of 10,000, to march in one month from the time of their being demanded by the shortest and safest route, with all possible expedition to the place of their destination, to act with the Company's forces ; but, should any service occur practicable only by cavalry, they shall execute it nor cavil on the clause, " To act with the Company's forces." The pay of the said cavalry to be defrayed monthly by the Honourable Company, at the rate and on the conditions hereafter to be settled.

ARTICLE VIII

If in the prosecution of the war by the three allies, the enemy should gain a superiority over either, the others shall, to the utmost of their power, exert themselves to relieve the said party and distress the enemy.

ARTICLE IX

The three contracting powers having agreed to enter into the present war, should their arms be crowned with success in the joint prosecution of it, an equal division shall be made of the acquisition of territory, forts, and whatever each Sirkar or Government may become possessed of, from the time of each party commencing hostilities ; but, should the Honourable Company's forces make any acquisitions of territory from the enemy previous to the commencement of hostilities by the other parties, those parties shall not be entitled to any share thereof. In the general partition of territory, forts, etc., due attention shall be paid to the wishes and convenience of the parties, relatively to their respective frontiers.

ARTICLE X

The underwritten Polygars and Zamindars being dependent on Pandit Pradhan and the Navab Asof Jah, it is agreed that, on their territories, forts, etc., falling into the hands of any of the allies, they shall be re-established therein, and the Nazarana that shall be fixed on that occasion shall be equally divided amongst the allies, but in future Pandit Pradhan and the Navab Asof Jah shall collect from them the usual Khandani and Peshkush which have been heretofore annually collected. And, should the said Polygars and Zamindars act unfaithfully towards Pandit Pradhan or the Navab, or prove refractory, in the discharge of their Khandani and Peshkush, the said Pandit Pradhan and Navab are to be at liberty to treat them as may be judged proper. The Chief of Savnur is to be subject to service with both Pandit Pradhan and the Navab, and, should he fail in the usual conditions thereof, Pandit Pradhan and the Navab will act as they think proper.

List of Polygars and Zamindars

Chittledurg	Keychungunde
Annagundy	Cunnaghwarry
Harponelly	Kittur
Bellari	Hannur
Rodurg	

The district of Abdul Hakim Khan, the Chief of Savnur.

ARTICLE XI

To preserve, as far as possible, consistency and concert in the conduct of this important undertaking, a Vakil from each party shall be permitted to reside in the army of the others, for the purpose of communicating to each other their respective views and circumstances; and the representations of the contracting parties to each other shall be duly attended to consistent with the circumstances and stipulations of this treaty.

ARTICLE XII

After this treaty is signed and sealed, it will become incumbent on the parties not to swerve from its conditions at the verbal or written instance of any person or persons whatever, or on any other pretence. And, in the event of a peace being judged expedient, it shall be made by mutual consent, no party introducing unreasonable objections; nor shall either of the parties enter into any separate negotiations with Tipu, but on the receipt of any advance or message from him, by either party, it shall be communicated to the others.

ARTICLE XIII

If, after the conclusion of peace with Tipu, he should molest or attack either of the contracting parties, the others shall join to punish him; the mode and conditions of effecting which shall be hereafter settled by the three contracting powers.

ARTICLE XIV

This treaty consisting of fourteen articles, being this day settled and concluded by Mr. Malet, with the Peshwa Savai Madhavrav Narayan Pandit Pradhan Bahadur, Mr. Malet has delivered to Pandit Pradhan one copy of the same, in English and Persian, signed and sealed by himself, and Pandit Pradhan has delivered to Mr. Malet another copy in Marathi and Persian executed by himself ; and Mr. Malet has engaged to procure and deliver to Pandit Pradhan in seventy-five days a ratified copy from the Governor, on the delivery of which the treaty executed by Mr. Malet shall be returned.

POONA, }
1st June, 1799. }

(Sd.) C. W. MALET,
President.

The
Company's
Seal.

True Copy.

Sd. C. W. MALET.

Ratified by the Governor-General in Council, at Fort William in Bengal, the 5th day of July, 1790.

(Sd.) CORNWALLIS.
(Sd.) CHARLES STUART.
(Sd.) PETER SPEKE.

L.S.

CHAPTER LXIII

CAREER AND DEATH OF MADHAVRAO SINDIA

FROM the treaty of Salbai onwards, the ruling house of Sindia have been independent princes. Nevertheless, for the proper grasp of subsequent events, it is necessary briefly to sketch the story of Madhavrao Sindia from the point where we left the affairs of Delhi in chapter lvii.

On the recall of Visaji Krishna and the Maratha army in 1773, by Narayanrao for the conquest of Mysore, Najaf Khan regained his supreme position in the emperor's councils and with occasional intervals retained it until his death on the 22nd April, 1782. His adopted son Afrasiab Khan succeeded him as Amir-ul-Umra, the premier noble; but from this favoured position he was ousted by one Mahomed Beg Hamadani, the Governor of the Agra province. Afrasiab Khan invited the help of Madhavrao Sindia. The latter accepted the invitation and joined Afrasiab Khan at Agra. There Afrasiab Khan was assassinated, and Madhavrao Sindia removed Mahomed Beg Hamadani by sending him to reduce the fortress of Raghogad in Khechiwara. It belonged to the Kechi clan of the Chauhan Rajputs, who claimed descent from the immortal Prithvi Raj, and it blocked the way from Gwalior to Delhi. In this way the Maratha chief became the first power in the imperial city. He refused the title of Amir-ul-Umra, but accepted on the Peshwa's behalf that of Vakil-ul-Mutalik or sole director of the empire. Shah Alam resigned into his hands the command of his army and all his territories, namely, the district and town of Delhi. In return Sindia settled sixty-five thousand rupees a month on the emperor, over whom he stationed a Maratha guard.

Unhappily Sindia's resources were not equal to his ambitions. He soon found that he could pay regularly neither the emperor nor his own troops. To find money he confiscated the feudal estates of a number of Musulman feudatories and

tried to exact tribute in the emperor's name from the chiefs of Rajputana. He succeeded in obtaining in person a considerable sum from the Raja of Jaipur ; but when in 1787 he sent a Maratha officer, known as Rayaji Patil, to collect a further sum, the latter was attacked and defeated. Madhavrao Sindia marched in person against Jaipur, but the Raja of Jodhpur hastened to his brother Rajput's help. Next Mahomed Beg Hamadani, who had joined Sindia after the capture of Raghogad, deserted to the enemy and in the severe action that followed, Sindia was overwhelmed and eventually pursued as far as Gwalior. Sindia's defeat freed Shah Alam from the Maratha chief's tutelage ; but it also robbed the emperor of Maratha protection, as he was soon to learn by the most bitter experience. In January, 1785, Zabita Khan, the son of Najib-ud-Daula, the Rohilla chief, died, leaving a son called Ghulam Kadir, a young man of ability and energy. Seeing Shah Alam unprotected at Delhi, he determined to march on the capital and by seizing the emperor's person to extort from him the office of Amir-ul-Umra. To his aid he invited Ismail Beg, the nephew of Mahomed Beg Hamadani. The small Maratha garrison left there by Sindia evacuated Delhi at his approach. Shah Alam after a show of resistance invested Ghulam Kadir with the desired office. The latter then, after taking Aligarh from the Marathas, joined Ismail Beg, who was besieging Agra, held in the Maratha interest by Lakhwa Dada, an experienced Shenvi officer. Sindia tried to relieve the city by sending a force under his officer Rana Khan,¹ but the relieving force was defeated. A second attempt was more successful. On the 18th June, 1788, Rana Khan with his army strongly reinforced again advanced. Ghulam Kadir, whose skill and daring had won the former battle, had left Agra to defend his own dominions from a Sikh incursion. Ismail Beg, deprived of the Rohilla soldier's help, fought a gallant battle among the ruins of Fatehpur Sikri. He charged the Marathas with the utmost fury, but was completely defeated ; and, severely wounded and almost alone, he made

¹ Rana Khan was at one time a bhisti or water carrier, and was said to have saved Madhavrao Sindia when wounded in the flight from Panipat.

his way to the camp of Ghulam Kadir. The officer who bore the chief part in this great Maratha victory was a Frenchman named Benoît de Boigne.

The story of this Frenchman might well have been told of one of the paladins of Charlemagne. Born in Chambéry in Savoy in 1751, he was forced when still a lad, to flee the country, because of a duel with a Sardinian officer. The year 1768 saw him an ensign in the Irish brigade of the French king, a corps open to adventurers of all nations and famed throughout Europe for its discipline and valour. Not finding there the promotion which he desired, he resigned in 1774 the French service and obtained a captaincy in a Greek regiment in the pay of the Empress Catherine. Taken prisoner by the Turks in an attack on Tenedos, he was sent to Constantinople and sold as a slave; but he succeeded in communicating with his parents, who ransomed him. Returning to the Empress Catherine, he won that amorous lady's transient affections and was made a major. When his volatile mistress tired of the young Savoyard, she sent him on a cruise among the islands of the Grecian archipelago. There he met some European merchants just returned from India, whose descriptions of the country so fired his imagination, that he at once resolved to go there. He tried to reach his destination overland, but failed owing to a war between Turkey and Persia. From Aleppo he set sail for Alexandria. There his ship was wrecked off the mouth of the Nile and he was taken prisoner by some Arabs. He expected to be sold again as a slave, but the kind-hearted nomads, instead of selling him, helped him with their own money to reach Cairo. There he met friends, who enabled him to take ship for Madras. Sorely reduced in circumstances, he accepted an ensign's commission in the 6th Regiment of Madras Native Infantry. Wearying of the English army and not over well treated, he offered his services in turn to the Rana of Gohad and the Raja of Jaipur. Eventually he accepted the pay of Madhav-rao Sindia, who had learnt from the fighting against General Goddard and the loss of Gwalior the immense value of European discipline and European tactics.

After the battle of Fatehpur Sikri, de Boigne left the service of Sindia and became a business man in Lucknow. Sindia,

satisfied with his victory over Ismail Beg and possibly rendered irresolute by the departure of de Boigne, did not march on Delhi, but stopped at Mathura. This gave Ghulam Kadir and Ismail Beg an opportunity of immortalizing themselves by their wickedness and cruelty—an opportunity of which they fully availed themselves. Collecting the fugitives from Fatehpur Sikri, the two confederates marched on Delhi. The emperor refused them admittance, but Ismail Beg won over the garrison and he and Ghulam Kadir entered the citadel. They first pretended to have come as partisans of Shah Alam, but, once masters of the palace, they resolved to plunder both the emperor and his capital. The former task was assigned to Ghulam Kadir and the latter to Ismail Beg. Ghulam Kadir had, it would seem, been told by the emperor's nazir, a eunuch in charge of the household expenditure, that Shah Alam had a hidden treasure. As the emperor would not or could not surrender it, Ghulam Kadir deposed him and enthroned in his place Bedar Bakht, a son of the Emperor Ahmad Shah. He then starved and flogged the inmates of the palace, of both sexes, in order to secure the phantom millions of the emperor. As this procedure effected nothing, he flogged and blinded Shah Alam by digging the emperor's eyes out with his own dagger, and caused to be outraged in his presence the ladies of the imperial family.¹ These excesses lasted for some weeks, until at last Ismail Beg, thoroughly disgusted with his accomplice, called in the help of Madhavrao Sindia. The Maratha army at once marched from Mathura to Delhi. Ghulam Kadir on learning of Ismail Beg's defection evacuated the palace and took refuge in Meerut, which Sindia at once invested. After a two months' siege Ghulam Kadir fled from Meerut; but, falling from his horse, he was captured by some peasants and brought to Sindia. Ghulam Kadir's punishment did not err on the side of undue leniency. With blackened face he was sent round Mathura on a jackass. He was then blinded,

¹ Ghulam Kadir was a typical Rohilla. After reading of his atrocities, one turns with some amusement to Macaulay's remark in his essay on Warren Hastings, "The only natives of India to whom the word 'Gentleman' can with perfect propriety be applied are to be found among the Rohillas." The historian Keene has described Ghulam Kadir as a "harem page", but this is doubtful.

mutilated and hanged and his lands were occupied by a Maratha force.

Sindia had regretted the departure of de Boigne ; and his regrets were heightened by the departure of two other officers about the same time—Médoc, who went back to France, where he was killed in a duel, and Lestineaux, who vanished with the jewellery found on Ghulam Kadir. He now begged de Boigne to return ; this de Boigne did, finding soldiering more to his taste than business. Sindia authorized him to raise three brigades of disciplined infantry, some field artillery and a few squadrons of horse. This force was fit for service by 1790, and Sindia sent it against Ismail Beg, who, tired of inaction, had become the ally of the Jaipur and Jodhpur Rajputs. On the 19th June, 1790, was fought the bloody battle of Patan, when de Boigne, to use his own words, “realized all the expectations of Sindia”. After resisting throughout the day the tremendous charges of the Rathor cavalry, he led his men to the assault of the batteries. Before night fell Ismail Beg had lost his guns, his elephants and his baggage. Next day his army deserted in a mass to the Marathas.

On the 21st August, 1790, de Boigne entered Ajmir, the town which Bijaysing had ceded to Raghunathrao but had retaken during the subsequent disorders in the Maratha state. Near Ajmir is the great stronghold of Taragad or the star fortress. De Boigne invested it ; but before he could take it, the Maharaja of Jodhpur marched to its relief with thirty thousand men. On the 10th September, de Boigne attacked the Maharaja near the town of Merta. In spite of the most reckless gallantry on the part of the Rathors, and their complete defeat of the Maratha horse, de Boigne had by 10 a.m. stormed the Rajputs' camp and dispersed their army. Merta surrendered next day and Taragad shortly afterwards.

On the 18th November, 1790, the Maharaja Bijaysing of Jodhpur, the murderer of Jayappa Sindia, opened the gates of Jodhpur to the general of Jayappa's kinsman. Partabsing the Maharaja of Jaipur, after a feeble resistance, followed the example of Bijaysing and submitted. So, too, did the lordly chief of Mewar, the Maharana of Udaipur.

Madhavrao Sindia was delighted with his general's successes and bade him increase his regular infantry to eighteen

thousand men, to raise bodies of light troops, and to add to the number of his field-pieces. The reorganization was complete by 1791, and this was the army that Sindia wished to send against Seringapatam. Nana Phadnavis, jealous of Sindia's power, declined his assistance, and Hari Ballal Phadke induced Lord Cornwallis to make peace with Tipu before de Boigne's arrival.

Outwitted by Nana Phadnavis, Madhavrao Sindia determined to go to the Deccan and, if possible, substitute himself for the Brahman minister in the favour of the young Peshwa. On the expulsion of Ghulam Kadir, the unfortunate Shah Alam had been restored to the throne of Delhi. He renewed the Peshwa's patent of *Vakil-i-Mutalik* and in 1790, after the battle of Patan, made it an inalienable, hereditary office. In June, 1792, Sindia made this a pretext for a visit to Poona. As deputy *Vakil-i-Mutalik* it was his duty to convey to his master's own hands the emperor's sign-manual. Nana Phadnavis urged the Peshwa to refuse the title; but the young prince was attracted by the honour and formally obtained from the Raja of Satara leave to accept it. Nana Phadnavis on this changed his tactics. He arranged that the ceremony should be held with the greatest pomp and circumstance. He called on Sindia, who received him with magnificent courtesy in what is now the Sangam garden, the official residence of the judge of Poona. On the following day the Peshwa received Sindia, who affected a calculated humility. On approaching the Peshwa's tent, he descended from his elephant and, leaving his bodyguard behind, walked alone to the tent and took his station below all the other officials. When the Peshwa entered, Sindia refused to be seated and from a bundle produced a pair of new slippers. "This" he murmured "was my father's occupation and it must also be mine". Reverently removing the Peshwa's slippers, he put on his feet the new ones from the bundle. Having thus shown his gratitude and loyalty to the heir of his benefactor, he showed his own wealth and power by bestowing on the prince the richest and rarest gifts of Hindustan.

Next day the ceremony took place of handing to the Peshwa the imperial patent. Within a splendid tent Sindia had erected a throne, the emblem of the absent emperor. On it

lay the imperial orders, the dresses of honour and the insignia of the new office. The Peshwa approached the throne, bowed three times before it, offered to it a hundred gold mohurs and then seated himself to its left. A Persian on Sindia's staff asked permission of the Peshwa to read aloud the imperial grant as well as a decree highly gratifying to the Hindus present. By it Shah Alam forbade throughout India the slaughter of cows and bullocks. After the documents had been read, Sindia bestowed on the prince the nine robes of honour, the jewels, the sword and shield, the seal, the pen-case, the inkstand, the fan of peacock feathers, the gilded sedan chair, the palanquin, the horses, the elephants, the imperial standard, the crescents, the stars, and the orders of the Fish and the Sun, bestowed by the emperor on his perpetual viceregent. The Peshwa donned the robes of honour, received the nazars or offerings of the high officers of state, and returned to Poona seated in the gilded sedan-chair. As he went, Madhavrao Sindia and Hari Ballal Phadke fanned him with the imperial peacock fans. In the palace at Poona, the second part of the ceremony was enacted, and the Peshwa as Vakil-i-Mutalik bestowed on his deputy, Madhavrao Sindia, the robes of honour and gifts due to him on his investiture. The whole ceremonial was most carefully organized by Nana Phadnavis and Madhavrao Sindia, and was the most splendid that Poona had ever seen. It completely captivated the imagination of Madhavrao the Peshwa. Nevertheless it was only preliminary to a sustained effort on Sindia's part to oust Nana Phadnavis. Hunting, hawking, sports of every kind, were arranged to gratify the prince's boyish tastes, and Sindia beguiled the tedium of the hours between by tales of fights on the Jamna and the Ganges, and of cavalry actions among the wild valleys of Rajasthan and the broad plains round Delhi.

Nana Phadnavis saw clearly the aims of Madhavrao Sindia and sought for a suitable weapon with which to drive him from Poona. This he found ready to his hand in Tukoji Holkar. As his mistress Ahalyabai grew old, she spent more and more time in the building of temples, the repetition of prayers and the practice of penances; and she left the work of administration almost wholly to her adopted son Tukoji.

That distinguished soldier had seen with bitter jealousy the victories of de Boigne and he resolved to hire another Frenchman to raise a similarly disciplined army. The man on whom his choice fell was a Breton gentleman known as the Chevalier du Drenec. Du Drenec was a native of Brest and came of a good family, his father being a commodore in the French navy. He ran away from his ship, took service with Médoc's corps at Delhi, left Médoc for Reinhardt, and now accepted Tukoji's offer and a monthly salary of Rs. 3,000. Du Drenec did his work well and had soon trained four battalions of infantry and a small body of artillery. While thus preparing himself for war, Tukoji Holkar secretly allied himself to Ismail Beg, who had taken refuge with the widow of Najaf Khan, Ghulam Kadir's sister. That turbulent lady had established herself in Kannad, a strong place on the borders of Bikanir. It was surrounded by sandhills, and tamarisk scrub, which afforded neither food nor water to a besieging army and was almost impassable for siege-guns. Before Ismail Beg could take any definite course, de Boigne sent against him his second in command, another Frenchman, named Perron, who had come to India as a common sailor but had joined the corps of Sangster, a mercenary officer in the pay of the Rana of Gohad. Afterwards he took service under Sindia, and when Lestineaux vanished with Ghulam Kadir's jewellery, he was given the command of a battalion and after the defeat of Ismail Beg the command of a brigade.

This capable officer made his way through the dry and difficult country round Kannad, defeated Ismail Beg in an action outside the fortress and in a short time forced him to surrender. Having despatched Ismail Beg to a prison in the Agra fort, de Boigne was able to give his full attention to Tukoji Holkar. He took the field with nine thousand infantry, on whose banners danced the emblem of his own native country, the white cross of Savoy. He effected a junction with Lakwa Dada, another general of Sindia, who commanded a large body of Maratha cavalry. On the 20th September, 1792, de Boigne came upon Tukoji Holkar at the Lakheri pass in the territory of the Kotah state, on the road from Kannad to Ajmir. The battle was obstinately disputed. Du Drenec did for his master all that a gallant and experienced French officer

could do. Indeed, fortune seemed at first to smile on Holkar. As de Boigne advanced, his columns, unprotected by his own fire, were mown down by Holkar's batteries. When he hastened up his guns to protect his infantry, a lucky shell blew up a dozen carts of ammunition. In the midst of the ensuing confusion, great masses of Holkar's cavalry charged de Boigne's wavering infantry. An ordinary man might have thought that by a retirement alone could the army be saved. But de Boigne was no ordinary man. Cool and collected in the midst of danger, he re-formed his regiments under cover of a wood and poured volley after volley into Holkar's squadrons. As they paused, he charged them with his small body of disciplined cavalry, and followed the charge with a general advance up the Lakheri pass. Du Drenec with one thousand, five hundred men held the pass bravely and well; and it was not until nearly all the officers and men of his newly formed battalions had fallen side by side, that de Boigne captured the pass and thirty-eight guns. Holkar's routed army fled the field and revenged themselves by sacking Sindia's capital, Ujjain.

The failure of Holkar rendered Nana Phadnavis impotent; and the arrival of Parashrambhau Patwardhan with two thousand horse in the minister's interest only furnished Madhavrao Sindia with an excuse for summoning M. Perron with a brigade of disciplined infantry. At the same time Sindia began to interfere openly in the administration. When Nana Phadnavis on behalf of the young Peshwa assumed the charge of the lands of the Pant Sachiv, still a minor, Sindia drove out Bajirao Moreshwar, Nana Phadnavis' agent, and restored his possessions to the young noble. At last the situation became so acute that the minister made a personal appeal to his master. He related the efforts by which he had guarded the young prince's throne, how he had fought Raghunathrao, the English, the Nizam and Tipu, one after the other and all successfully. In Sindia he saw a more dangerous and insidious enemy—one who would not only remove the minister but the Peshwa himself from his office, and, in the name of the fainéant Raja of Satara, govern the Maratha Empire in his own interests. If, however, he (Nana Phadnavis) no longer retained his master's confidence, he would gladly resign his

burden and, as befitted a Brahman in the decline of life, would become an anchorite on the banks of the Ganges. The eloquence of the minister and the recollection of his many kindnesses and his past loyalty moved the generous-hearted boy to tears. He begged his old servant's forgiveness and promised to repay his services by unabated trust. Victorious for the moment, Nana Phadnavis resumed his labours; but Sindia also renewed his intrigues, and would in all probability have succeeded in his aims, had he not succumbed to an enemy more formidable even than Nana Phadnavis. Early in February, 1794, he fell suddenly ill of fever. After a few days' illness he died in his camp at Vanavdi, a spot just outside the eastern limits of Poona.

The author of the *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari* has told a fantastic story of Sindia's murder by the agents of Nana Phadnavis; but, although the tale has found credence with one or two English writers, it is quite unfounded. The life of Madhavrao Sindia had been spent in the camp and the field. His brothers had fallen one by one in action, and he himself had been so severely wounded at Panipat that, but for timely aid he would have bled to death. His life had been passed in ambitious schemes and arduous labours. He had recently suffered a diplomatic defeat at the hands of Nana Phadnavis. There was nothing strange that his frame, worn out by toil and cares, should have proved unable to throw off a malignant fever.

That Madhavrao Sindia was a great man none can deny, and in the wars against the English he did valuable service to his country. But his conduct after the peace of Salbai was not in the interests of the Poona Government. He had no desires save for his own advancement; and his affected humility in the Peshwa's presence merely cloaked his designs to usurp the Peshwa's office and to govern in his place, as the viceregent both of the emperor of Delhi and of the Raja of Satara.



MADHAVRAO SINDIA



BALAJI PANDIT NANA PHADNAVIS

APPENDIX A

Letter from the Peshwa Madhavrao Narayan to the Chhatrapati of Satara, asking leave to invest Sindia with the office of deputy viceroy.

To Shrimant Chhatrapati, the Ornament of the Kshatriya Race, with respectful compliments from Madhavrao Narayan, doing well under the auspices of Your Majesty.—While Ghulam Kadir was in the service of the Emperor at Delhi, actuated by a spirit of turbulence he made many secret plots against the Emperor, and in violation of all bonds of loyalty he even went to the length of incarcerating the Emperor. At this juncture in the history of the Empire, Mahadaji Sindia gave a strong and effective rebuff to the rebellious spirit of Ghulam Kadir and his accomplices, and, restoring order in the kingdom, and liberty to the Emperor, reinstated him again on the throne. Thereupon the Emperor, being greatly gratified, said that Mahadaji Sindia had taught a bitter lesson to the rebel chieftain for his miscreant spirit and had restored order in the kingdom, which so many of His Majesty's servants could not do. This is a service unique in itself. In appreciation of the Pant Pradhan's services, the Emperor expressed his wish to confer upon Sindia the titles of Mutalik and Mirbakshagiri. After the Emperor's talk with Mahadaji Sindia regarding this, he immediately passed orders to that effect, and handed over to Sindia the robe of honour, the badge of distinction and a significant reward. These Sindia has brought with him here, as we learned from him when he saw us very recently. But we solicit orders from Your Lordship in this connection, without which we cannot invest him with the new honour.--With this we respectfully subscribe,

(Parasnis' Collection).

CHAPTER LXIV

WAR AGAINST NIZAM ALI. DEATH OF SAVAI MADHAVRAO

THE death of Madhavrao Sindia left Nana Phadnavis without a rival in the Maratha Empire. The Peshwa fell once more under the dominion of his commanding mind, and a successful foreign war raised to an even higher point the minister's fortunes. Nizam Ali had for many years taken advantage of the disorders at Poona, to withhold the Maratha dues of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*. In 1791, Nana Phadnavis directed the Maratha envoys at the Nizam's court, Govindrao Kale and Govindrao Pingle, to demand the appointment of commissioners to settle the Nizam's debt. The Nizam appointed commissioners; but they produced a set of figures so ridiculously inaccurate as to show the Poona Government to be in debt to Nizam Ali. Nana Phadnavis examined them carefully and refuted them item by item. The Nizam was silenced and promised to settle the Maratha claims on the close of the war against Tipu. On the conclusion of that war the Nizam again delayed a settlement and rapidly added to his army. To effect this measure he employed a French officer named François de Raymond. This gallant adventurer was born in Gascony in 1755. In 1775, when twenty years of age he became a sub-lieutenant in the service of Haidar Ali. In 1783, he was given a commission in the French army and served as aide-de-camp to de Bussy. In 1786 he entered the service of Nizam Ali and raised a regiment, first three hundred and afterwards seven hundred strong. His bravery and skill in the war against Tipu caused his command to grow to five thousand. He was now ordered to increase his force to one of twenty-three battalions. The Nizam, his preparations completed, rejected contemptuously the Maratha claims and informed Govindrao Kale that, so far from his owing anything to the Marathas, they

owed him twenty-six million rupees. The Nizam's diwan, Mashir-ul-Mulk, added that, if Nana Phadnavis wished for further explanations, he should attend the Nizam's court; and that if he did not do so he would be brought there by force. Such an insult was one that no ambassador could suffer, and Govindrao Kale and Govindrao Pingle left Haidarabad and returned to Poona. Both Governments prepared for war.

The Nizam, who placed the utmost confidence in Raymond's battalions, expected the rapid subjugation of the Maratha Deccan. His confidence spread through his army, which assembled at Bedar, and his captains talked openly of sacking and burning Poona. But the chief braggart was the diwan Mashir-ul-Mulk, who, with a fine taste in rhetoric, declared in open darbar that the Moghuls would now be freed from Maratha encroachments; that they would recover Bijapur and Khandesh, and that they would never grant the Marathas peace until they had sent the Peshwa off to Benares, with a cloth about his loins and a pot of water in his hand, to mutter incantations on the banks of the Ganges.¹

The preparations of Nana Phadnavis were such as to cause Nizam Ali to reflect gravely. They were on a gigantic scale. Daulatrao Sindia, Madhavrao's great nephew and successor, and Tukoji Holkar were already in Poona and at once offered contingents; of these Sindia's numbered twenty-five thousand and Holkar's sixteen thousand. Govindrao Gaikwad, who, on the successive deaths of his younger brothers, Fatehsing and Manajirao, had on the 19th December, 1793, become sole ruler of Baroda,² sent a large force from Guzarat. Raghuji Bhosle, who on his father Mudhoji's death in 1788 had become autocrat of Nagpur and Berar, joined in person with fifteen thousand horse and foot. Besides these great Maratha captains there were present other lesser Maratha feudatories. Nimbalkar, Ghatge, Chavan, Daphle, Powar, Thorat and Patankar, and the Brahman chieftains, Malegaonkar, Vinchurkar, the Pratinidhi, the Pant Sachiv and the Rastes were all fittingly represented. In all, the Maratha army numbered no less than 130,000 cavalry and infantry

¹ Grant Duff, vol. II, p. 243.

² He was officially regent on behalf of his imbecile brother Sayaji.

and ten thousand Pindharis or irregular horse. The Peshwa's household troops were commanded by Ramchandra, commonly called Baburao Phadke, the son of Hari Ballal Phadke. The latter fell ill of dysentery shortly after the death of Sindia, and, resigning his offices, he bade the Peshwa farewell and retired to Siddhatik, at which holy spot he devoted his last days to the worship of Ganpati. His piety, unhappily, did not cure his disease, and he died in June, 1794, leaving a high reputation as a valiant and skilful commander.

The Maratha army was under the supreme command of Parashrambhau Patwardhan. Hearing on the 10th March that Nizam Ali was marching towards Kharda, a town fifty-six miles south-east of Ahmadnagar, the Maratha generalissimo sent Baburao Phadke ahead to attack the Moghuls in the Mohri pass. Baburao had neither his father's skill nor experience and was driven back with heavy loss. The Moghuls camped that night at Kharda and next morning marched towards Parinda. On the march they met a reconnaissance in force led by Parashrambhau Patwardhan in person. A body of Afghans in the Nizam's service charged the Marathas and, wounding the commander-in-chief, dispersed the whole Maratha vanguard. The action spread to the main armies, and the severest fighting took place between Raymond's regular battalions and those of Perron, who was in command of Sindia's disciplined troops. Nizam Ali had been in his youth a daring man ; but success and prosperity seem to have sapped his courage. Suddenly and for no apparent reason he ordered a general retirement on Kharda. The Moghul retreat filled the Marathas with confidence, and by the time the Moghuls had reached Kharda they were a beaten army. During the night their depression became acute and the discharge of a sentry's musket produced a universal panic. The Moghul army that had hardly suffered in the field fled from their camp in terror ; and morning found the Nizam with only ten thousand men cowering inside Kharda fort, round which was strewn far and wide the wreckage of the vanished army. The Marathas without delay encircled Kharda. It was but a little fort commanded by hills, and soon a glass of water was selling for a gold mohur. The horses and cattle all died for want of forage and in a few days the Nizam was forced to

sue for peace in the most humiliating fashion.¹ He sent his envoy with his seal and dagger to put them at Nana Phadnavis' feet and implored him to name his own terms of peace. Nana Phadnavis remembered how the unscrupulous Nizam had cajoled Raghunathrao and then turned his enemy ; and the terms that he imposed were by no means easy. First and foremost, Nana Phadnavis demanded the surrender of the vainglorious Mashir-ul-Mulk, who had so grossly insulted the Peshwa. To this the Nizam agreed, although with great reluctance. Mashir-ul-Mulk was handed over and escorted to the Maratha camp by two hundred Maratha horse. In addition the Nizam ceded :—

(1) The fort of Daulatabad and all the territory from the Tapti river to the fort of Parinda to the Peshwa.

(2) Lands worth Rs. 3,18,000 annually to Raghuji Bhosle.

(3) The Nizam also agreed to pay Rs. 3,00,00,000 to the Peshwa by way of indemnity and arrears of tribute, and Rs. 29,00,000 by way of arrears to Raghuji Bhosle.

This victory was justly prized by the Marathas as one of the greatest that they had ever gained. With a loss of barely a hundred men, they had defeated and dispersed an army of over a hundred thousand men ; they had taken vast quantities of plunder, and, besides killing and wounding fifteen thousand of the enemy in the pursuit, they had extorted from the Nizam concessions of the greatest value. The merit of the achievement rests wholly with the great regent. He alone had the influence that could overawe and control the Peshwa's turbulent feudatories. Daulatrao Sindia was his subservient ally. Tukoji Holkar, whose mind and body were rapidly decaying, was the minister's creature. Raghuji Bhosle was devoted to his cause. Govindrao Gaikwad had suffered too much in the past to risk a quarrel ; and the Chitpavan jaghir-dars honoured Nana Phadnavis as a caste-fellow. For a few months after the battle of Kharda Nana Phadnavis was the foremost figure in India ; then from the cloudless sky fell a thunderbolt.

¹ Grant Duff says the siege lasted for two days. The Chitnis Bakhar says it lasted for seventeen days.

The cause of the terrible disaster that overtook the Maratha state on the 25th October, 1795, must be traced to the family of Raghunathrao, who had during his lifetime brought such misfortunes on his country. Raghunathrao had chosen, as already mentioned, the little town of Kopargaon on the Godavari, some miles downstream from Nasik. Some time after his death his widow asked for and obtained leave to move, for reasons of health, from Kopargaon to a small village nearer Nasik, which, called after her, is still known as Anandvali.¹ Thither she took her two sons Bajirao and Chimnaji Appa and her adopted son Amratrao. The change did her health no good and she died there in April, 1794. When war broke out between the Maratha Government and the Nizam, Nana Phadnavis had the three boys taken from Anandvali to the fort of Shivner, where the Great King had been born. This was a necessary precaution; for Bajirao was on the threshold of manhood and the partisans of his family, although long inactive, were still numerous. A rising headed by the son of Raghunathrao at a time when the Maratha army had gone on field service might have had the most disastrous results.

The war concluded, Nana Phadnavis kept the boys prisoners at Shivner. This was really a violation of the treaty of Salbai; but in the minister's opinion state reasons justified his action. Raghunathrao's partisans, however, made much of it and stigmatized Nana Phadnavis' conduct as faithless and unprincipled. At the same time they drew a glowing picture of Bajirao's personal attractions. The young prince was then nineteen years of age. His face was conspicuously handsome. His person was tall and pleasing and his skill as a swordsman, as a horseman, and as an archer was the talk of Poona. Nor was his mind less finely formed than his body. He was deeply learned in the Sanskrit tongue, and his address had the triple charm of grace, learning, and intelligence. In 1795, the Peshwa Madhavrao was in his twenty-first year and his wives and servants had long been urging him to seize the

¹ At Anandvali the curious visitor will still be shown spots where, according to the local legend, Anandvali tried to build houses. Unfortunately her wickedness was such that the houses all fell down before completion.

power that was his by right. Indeed, Madhavrao had once or twice tried to assert himself, notably in the matter of Gashiram Kotwal.

This man was a Kanoja Brahman and thus of the same caste as the depraved Kalasha. He was a man of great energy and ability and had thereby won the good will of Nana Phadnavis, who appointed him kotwal or superintendent of the Poona Police. Once in an independent post he took advantage of it to indulge in a series of abominable crimes. His practice was to seize strangers who came to Poona and to rob and murder them. Nana Phadnavis heard rumours about his conduct, but could not believe that a man whom he had known personally as a trustworthy and hardworking public servant could so misuse his position. One day Ghashiram Kotwal seized some Telangi Brahmans who had come into Poona in the hope of getting *dakshina* or alms. Why he should have victimized these men is hard to understand, for as religious beggars they could hardly have had much money. Nevertheless he threw them into prison, where he slowly starved them. Their caste-fellows in Poona came to hear of their situation and informed Manaji Sindia, better known as Manaji Phakde. He gathered a band of men, broke open the doors of Ghashiram Kotwal's dungeon and rescued the dying Brahmans. The mob rushed off to the Peshwa's palace, where the minister and the prince were closeted together. Nana Phadnavis still refused to believe that Ghashiram could be guilty, and would have taken no action; but Madhavrao insisted that the proofs were overwhelming, and ordered Ghashiram to be handed over to the Telangis, who at once stoned him to death.¹

Madhavrao now tried to assert himself on behalf of his cousins, in whom he was deeply interested, as the only surviving members of his family.

He asked Nana Phadnavis to release them, but the minister knew well that with the beautiful face and personal charm of

¹ Grant Duff. Moor's version is rather different. According to him Ghashiram or Ghyanshiram was a Gor Brahman of Aurangabad. He arrested thirty-four Brahman revellers one night; but unfortunately the place where the police put them was so small and hot that twenty-one died in the night (see Parasnis' Poona in Bygone Days, p. 106).

Bajirao went a nature as wicked and coldly cruel as that of his mother Anandibai. He dwelt on the crimes and treachery of Raghunathrao, who had murdered his nephew, Madhavrao's own father, and had called in the English to drive Madhavrao himself from the throne. Madhavrao retorted that in his father Raghunathrao's wickedness Bajirao had had no share, and that the friendship of Chimnaji Appa and Bajirao I had been marred neither by jealousy nor ambition. The minister was in despair. He had no son of his own and he loved Madhavrao better than anyone else in the world. It was for him, so he thought in his paternal affection, to stop his beloved ward from rushing on to his own destruction. Forgetful that the years, which had produced but little change in himself, had turned Madhavrao from a child to a man, the minister treated the prince as if he had been a naughty boy. He had him closely watched, and confined Bajirao more strictly than before. His measures proved vain against the malignant charm of the captive prince. His jailors were Raghopant Godbole and Balwantrao Nagonath and the latter Bajirao soon won over to his cause. Balwantrao Nagonath contrived to convey to the Peshwa a message full of respect and attachment, adding that he was in confinement at Shivner, and Madhavrao under the control of his minister; that their condition as prisoners was similar, but that their minds and affections were free, and that they should love each other as cousins should; that, just as their ancestors had won glory in the past, he (Bajirao) hoped they also would together win glory in the future. To this message Madhavrao sent an affectionate reply, and a regular correspondence between the cousins ensued. At length its existence was betrayed to Nana Phadnavis. For once the minister lost his self-command. He upbraided the Peshwa in terms quite unsuited to their respective positions. Loading Balwantrao Nagonath with chains, he threw him into a hill fortress, and still further increased the severity of Bajirao's imprisonment. The Peshwa was deeply hurt and the wound to his feelings aggravated a malady, which, looking to his family history, must have been consumption.

He suffered from a fever, which legend has attributed to a magic amulet sent him by his cousin Bajirao, but which is a

common symptom of tuberculosis. He grew weaker and weaker and had frequent fainting fits, especially during the month of Bhadrapad or September, after the fatigues of the Ganapati festival of the 4th Bhadrapad. Early in Ashwin or October he often lay for hours unconscious ; but on the 10th of the bright half of Ashwin (the 22nd October, 1895), he roused himself for the arduous task of celebrating the great national festival of the Dasara. The story runs that at one time the sage Kautsa came to the court of King Raghu of Ayodhya, the great grandfather of the divine Ramchandra. The sage begged of the king fourteen crores of rupees, which he owed to his teacher Vartantu. The king, who at a recent sacrifice had given away all his wealth to Brahmans, could bestow nothing on Kautsa. He resolved to obtain the money by raiding Amraoti, the capital of the god Indra. When the news of the intended raid reached Indra, he called to his help the god of wealth, Kubher. The latter on the night of the 9th of the bright half of Ashwin, showered gold for some hours on a giant shami ¹ tree in Raghu's courtyard. In this way Raghu was able to redeem his honour and give Kautsa the money that he needed. In memory of this event the hero Ramchandra had chosen the 10th of the bright half of Ashwin for the day on which to set out for the conquest of Lanka ; and the Rajput princes had always begun on that day their winter campaigns. By Madhavrao II's time the Dasara festival had become the occasion of a great ceremonial display. On the 22nd October, 1795, the Peshwa rose early, performed his customary worship, reviewed his troops, received the ambassadors of foreign powers, distributed robes of honour to his feudatories and nobles, and in the evening set out on a gorgeously caparisoned elephant to lead a procession round Poona. The procession was not expected to return until after dark ; but the young prince was tired out. He had a high fever and could not keep his seat in the howdah ; indeed, he was only prevented from falling by Appa Balwant Mehendale, who tied the Peshwa to himself with a scarf. The procession could no longer go on ; and, instead of returning

¹ *Mimosa serma*. I heard this tale from the lips of an old Sanskrit scholar of Poona many years ago.

by torchlight, it came back before the sun had set. The multitude were dismayed at the untoward end to the Dasara celebrations. Two days later their dismay was deepened by the terrible calamity that overtook the unhappy young man. On the 12th of the bright half of Ashwin (the 25th October, 1795), he fell from the balcony of the Ganpati hall on to a fountain in the courtyard below. The fall fractured his thigh, disfigured his face and caused him severe internal injuries. No event in Maratha history has in recent times been more discussed than this, save perhaps the death of Afzul Khan. Grant Duff (vol. II, p. 254) has observed "He (Madhavrao) deliberately threw himself from a terrace in his palace", and on the authority of this great writer English historians have without exception adopted the view that the prince committed suicide. Even some Indian writers have accepted it, notably Mr. Khare in his *Life of Nana Phadnavis* and Mr. Khadilkar in his powerful drama, "The death of Savai Madhavrao".¹ The latter, indeed, has suggested that the prince committed suicide, because his cousin Bajirao's agent poisoned Madhavrao's mind by making him believe that both he and his wife Yasodabai were the offspring of Nana Phadnavis' criminal intrigues. But the dramatist's suggestion has no more historical basis than the death of Schiller's Joan of Arc in battle. In spite of the high authority of Grant Duff, there is, as it seems to me, grave reason to doubt the theory of suicide. The boy was very ill and could easily have thrown himself off the terrace in the delirium of fever. This is the view both of the author of the Peshwa's bakhar and the author of the Chitnis bakhar. It is also supported by the following passage from a letter of Mr. Uhtoff, the Assistant Resident, to the Governor-General, dated the 27th October, 1795 :—

"Reports are various as to the cause of this melancholy affair ; scarce one even of the most moderate considering it merely accidental, but at least originating in imprudence. Some say that the Peshwa was sitting astride on the balus-

¹ Madhavrao II was called Savai Madhavrao or Madhavrao and a quarter, in the hope that he might surpass his great namesake Madhavrao the Great,

trade, a parapet wall of a terrace or upper room, and, losing his balance, fell outwards into the basin of a stone fountain. The most prevalent account is that the Peshwa, in a temporary fit of delirium or derangement, jumped or fell from an upper room or terrace into a fountain below. However strange this may appear, I assure you, Hon'ble Sir, that I do not trouble you with it on mere vague rumours, but from accounts through many different channels. It is even added by some that the Peshwa had been out of order for two or three days."

On the other hand Tukoji Holkar, in a letter to his son Kashirao, discovered by Mr. Vasudev G. Apte and quoted at p. 222 of Mr. Burway's *Life of Ahalyabai Holkar*, has described the death of the Peshwa as due to an accident. He was sitting with his back leaning against the railing, so wrote Tukoji. His grandmother Tai Sathe and several servants were in the room, when the Peshwa, feeling faint, got up suddenly. Not seeing what he was doing, he overbalanced and fell over the railing upon the fountain below. Another letter from Jivaji Baburao, the Poona agent of Holkar to Kashirao, written about a fortnight after the occurrence, ascribed the fall to a sudden stroke (*vayucha upadrava houn*). Although these three letters differ as to the cause of the fall, not one of them attributes it to suicide. It is also, as it seems to me, unlikely that, if the Peshwa had in his right mind wished deliberately to kill himself, he would have acted as he did. He could easily have poisoned himself with opium, a pleasant and painless death. To throw himself from the terrace was the act of a man not in his proper senses. The probabilities as well as the evidence of contemporary documents point to accident or illness rather than to wilful suicide as the cause of the Peshwa's death.

The fall rendered the young prince unconscious; but a sweeper, who was cleaning the courtyard, raised piercing shrieks, which brought a crowd of servants to the spot, and they at once carried the injured man inside. A surgeon was sent for, who dressed the wounds. In the meantime the news spread like wildfire and quickly reached Nana Phadnavis, who, in his hurry to rush to Madhavrao's help, stumbled and fell heavily over the doorstep—a fall which, so it was said afterwards, presaged his own subsequent fall from power.

Everything that careful treatment and nursing could do was done for the injured prince, but he was beyond human aid. After three days, spent in great pain, he passed away on the 25th October, 1795, in the arms of Baburao Phadke, to whom he expressed his dying wish that his cousin Bajirao should succeed him as Peshwa.

APPENDIX A

Letter from Madhavrao Narayan in the handwriting of Nana Phadnavis to Chhatrapati of Satara, describing the battle of Kharda.

To Shrimant Maharaj Chhatrapati, the ornament and glory of the Kshatriya Race, with respectful compliments from Madhavrao Narayan the minister, doing well under the auspices of Your Lordship.—We have already written in our last, that Nawab Nizam Ali Khan Bahadur has not been regularly and properly paying our claims of suzerainty, and that several of his movements and designs appear to be intended to involve the State in trouble. To meet him proper steps have been taken, prompt measures being necessary. We sent our advice to the Nawab in a formal manner and begged him to free his mind from prejudice, to pay off the outstanding dues to the State, and not to bring matters to a crisis. Notwithstanding our advice, his minister, without prudence or forethought, instigated the Nawab and with regular marches commenced an advance from Bidar with an army of fifty or sixty thousand cavalry assisted by forty thousand disciplined troops. Being thus drawn into a situation to meet the advances of the foe, our army made its advance and by regular marches encamped itself at the Sein. Even thence, we urged the Nawab to mend matters, with which injunction "His goodself" was not pleased to comply. Upon this his army crossed the Moharighat and made a halt at the river Khar. Observing these movements of the enemy, with a view to give battle, we sent to Ghodegaon a force, composed of the Huzur forces under Parashram Ramchandra and Ramchandra Hari, the contingent of Vithal Ballal of Raghoji Bhosle Senasaheb Subha, and the army of Jivaji Ballal in the services of Daulatrao Sindia, together with the troops drilled and trained after the Western model and the forces of Krishnarao Holkar and Bapujirao Holkar belonging to Tukoji Holkar. These encamped themselves at a distance of 4 kos from the Khar. A division of the Nawab's army advanced to attack. Both sides exchanged fire. Thereupon the Nawab crossed the Khar and advanced towards Parande, on which our army got ready and took part in the fight. Seeing this the Nawab's army stopped the advance towards Parande and made a direct attack upon our forces. The battle began. The artillery fire continued till 3 o'clock in the afternoon. On this occasion the troops of the Huzur stayed the Nawab's onward march and greatly distinguished themselves in hand to hand fighting with the result that the centre of Nawab's army was completely routed. The Maharaja's army won the day. The number of the killed and wounded in men, horses and elephants, in the Nawab's

army, is very large. Two or four of his prominent Sardars are amongst the killed and wounded. Guns, drums, and camels, have been captured. The rabble of his army have been plundered. Men and horses in our army received wounds and injuries. Parashram Ramchandra has received a slight sword wound. The troops of the Huzur and Messrs. Bhosle and Jivaji Ballal on behalf of Sindia and Holkar cut a good figure in the battle. After this, the Nawab's army betook itself to the fort of Kharda. We chased them immediately to the spot and besieged the army. Thus circumscribed, they were unable to hold out any longer, and so made overtures of peace. His minister Mondoula managed somehow to insinuate himself into our favour, and, leaving the Nawab's camp, joined ours. The occasion really favoured us for the complete destruction of the Nawab's army. But, in view of our long friendship with him, we decided to make a treaty with him, by which he agreed to give to us a jahagir of twenty lakhs, and the fort of Daulatabad, and to pay off all the outstanding arrears of the right of suzerainty. The Nawab returned to Bidar by regular marches. We your humble servants returned to Poona with our army, in regular marches. We have written this for Your Majesty's information. With this we respectfully subscribe,

(Parasnis Collection.)

CHAPTER LXV

THE ACCESSION OF BAJIRAO II

ALTHOUGH Madhavrao's dying wish had been that his cousin Bajirao should succeed him, Nana Phadnavis knew well the venomous hatred with which the son of Anandibai regarded him. On the 28th October he summoned to Poona Raghuji Bhosle and Daulatrao Sindia, and proposed to them the adoption of a son by Yasodabai the child-widow of the late Peshwa. Baloba Tatya Pagnis, Sindia's minister at first demurred, but afterwards consented, and they drew up a deed, in which they recorded and approved the proposal. The fortunes of Bajirao now seemed desperate ; but he used his charm of manner on Baloba Tatya, who from the first had been disposed in his favour, and soon won him to his cause. Through Baloba Tatya's aid and an offer of territory worth four lakhs a year, he secured the adhesion of Daulatrao Sindia. It was agreed that the latter should march on Shivner and release Bajirao. But the agreement was no sooner drawn up than it reached the ears of Nana Phadnavis. He sent for Parashrambhau Patwardhan, who, marching with the greatest expedition from Tasgaon to Poona, saw Nana Phadnavis. The soldier and the statesman decided to anticipate Sindia by releasing Bajirao themselves. Parashrambhau made a forced march to Shivner, and offered the throne to Bajirao. Amritrao pressed his brother to stand by his promise to Sindia ; but Bajirao was tempted by the immediate chance offered to him. He broke his agreement to Sindia ; and, after making Parashrambhau go to the little temple erected by Jijibai to Parvati under the name of Shivai Devi, he made him hold a cow's tail and swear by the holy Godavari river that he meant no treachery. Thereafter he agreed that he and his brother Chimnaji Appa should go back with Parashrambhau to Poona. Amritrao was kept in prison at Shivner. At Poona Nana Phadnavis waited on the prince

and both agreed to forget past enmities. Bajirao was to be made Peshwa and was to appoint Nana Phadnavis as his first minister.

Baloba Taty Pagnis, who had looked forward to governing the Maratha state through Sindia, was furiously angry at the conduct of Bajirao. He induced Sindia to march on Poona. Parashrambhau Patwardhan would have stood his ground and fought ; but Nana Phadnavis was better informed as to the discipline and training of de Boigne's battalions, and knew that a battle with them would merely make Sindia sole master of the state. Nana Phadnavis left Poona for Purandar, while Sindia's troops occupied Poona. Baloba Pagnis, to punish Bajirao for his treachery, proposed to set him aside in favour of his younger brother Chimnaji Appa. To make the latter's claims superior to those of his elder brother, he was to be adopted by Yasodabai. This proposal Parashrambhau approved after consulting Nana Phadnavis. The latter, although he made no objection to it, at once evolved another scheme of his own. He would free the new Raja of Satara, Shahu II, and, restoring him to the throne of Shivaji, would govern as his first minister. The Raja, however, made difficulties, and Nana Phadnavis at last abandoned his own scheme and gave his genuine support to the proposed adoption of Chimnaji Appa. He received from the Raja's hands the state robes for Chimnaji Appa's investiture as Peshwa. These he forwarded to Poona ; but he did not go there himself in spite of a pressing invitation from Bahiropanth Mehendale, as he had grounds for believing that Sindia and Baloba Pagnis intended to imprison him if a favourable opportunity offered. Bajirao was unaware of the proposal to depose him in his brother Chimnaji Appa's favour ; and, when he was invited by Sindia to visit him, he unsuspectingly went to his camp and was at once secured. Chimnaji Appa was then taken from Bajirao's camp to the city, where much against his will he was adopted as Yasodabai's son. On the 26th May, 1796, he was formally invested as Peshwa.

Baloba Pagnis now desired above everything to secure Nana Phadnavis' person. But that astute statesman fully realized his danger. He fled from Wai up the valley of the Krishna, crossed the Mahabaleshwar plateau near Old Mahabaleshwar,

and went down what is now known as the Fitzgerald ghat to the town of Mahad, and put a strong garrison into the great fort of Raygad. After his flight his lands were seized and his house sacked ; but his treasure he had hidden so artfully that to the present day its hiding-place is unknown. The common misfortunes of Bajirao and Nana Phadnavis brought them together. A certain Balaji Kunjar, a servant of Bajirao, acted as a go-between ; at the same time Nana Phadnavis could count on the support of Tukoji Holkar, while he used one Sakharam Ghatge of Kagal to win over Sindia, behind the back of Baloba Pagnis. The bait that Sakharam Ghatge held out was the hand of his daughter, whose beauty was famous, and whose birth, as a lady of the house of Kagal, was superior to that of Sindia himself. Nor were these the only efforts of Nana Phadnavis. He promised Mashir-ul-Mulk, the Nizam's diwan, his liberty if he won over his master ; and he promised to the Nizam the return of all the lands ceded after the battle of Kharda. In this way he secured valuable help from Nizam Ali. Manaji Phakde, the veteran warrior guilty of treachery in the Carnatic, openly adhered to the cause of Bajirao and raised ten thousand men. Lastly, Raghuji Bhosle promised his assistance. So skilfully was the plot concealed that Daulatrao Sindia was able on the 27th October to arrest Baloba Pagnis without difficulty, and Parashrambhau Patwardhan, after escaping from Poona was captured at Shivner. On the 4th December 1796, Bajirao, released from confinement, was once more invested by Raja Shahu with the office of Peshwa. The adoption of Chimnaji Appa was declared invalid, as being that of an uncle by his nephew's widow, and Nana Phadnavis was restored to his office as first minister.¹

The misfortunes that had united Bajirao and Nana Phadnavis had no sooner disappeared, than their old hatred revived. Bajirao refused to sanction Nana Phadnavis' treaty with Mashir-ul-Mulk and in August 1797, Nana Phadnavis' faithful friend and supporter, Tukoji Holkar died. He left two legitimate sons, Kashirao, who was half-witted, and Malharrao, a

¹ Chitnis Bakhar, p. 67. The relationship was really that of first cousins once removed.

man of some intelligence, as well as two illegitimate sons, Jaswantrao and Vithoji. Their quarrels gave Daulatrao Sindia an excuse for interference. At Kashirao's request he tried to arrest Malharrao Holkar, who, refusing to surrender, was killed. His infant son Khanderao was taken prisoner. Jaswantrao Holkar fled to Nagpur and Vithoji Holkar to Kolhapur. Sindia, as champion of Kashirao and guardian of Khanderao, became for the time being the master of the Holkar domain. In the break-up of the party attached to Nana Phadnavis' fortunes, Bajirao saw the opportunity of revenge. In his plot against his minister, Sindia, Govindrao Kale, Amritrao the Peshwa's adopted brother and Sakharam Ghatge were Bajirao's accomplices. Nana Phadnavis was induced by the safe conduct of Michael Filoze, a Neapolitan muleteer who had risen to the command of eight infantry battalions, to visit Sindia's camp. There he was at once seized by Sakharam Ghatge together with his retinue. Ghatge took the opportunity to plunder the houses of Nana Phadnavis' adherents, and Bajirao imprisoned his friends, of whom Baburao Phadke and Appa Balwant Mehendale were the principal. Nana Phadnavis was confined at Ahmadnagar.

Bajirao had wreaked his vengeance on his enemy, but in doing so had made Daulatrao Sindia all-powerful. To secure Sindia's help he had promised him twenty million rupees ; but he was quite unable to make good his promise. Sindia, who could not pay his troops, would take no denial ; so the prince and his feudatory deputed Sakharam Ghatge to extort it from the citizens of Poona. Sakharam Ghatge's information was supplemented by that of Balaji Kunjar, and for several days Poona suffered at the will of its own prince horrors similar to those suffered by Delhi at the hands of Nadir Shah. Every one suspected of wealth, no matter what his politics, was tortured until he disgorged it. Amritrao, in whose nature cruelty found no place, remonstrated with Bajirao and begged him to seize Sindia, on whom Bajirao threw all the blame. It was impossible to do so openly, so it was proposed to invite him to a darbar, and then detain him, thus paying him out for his own treachery to Bajirao. The scheme progressed favourably up to a certain point and would have wholly succeeded but for Bajirao's cowardice.

Sindia accepted the invitation to the darbar. When he attended it, the Peshwa publicly upbraided him for the conduct of Sakharam Ghatge, and ordered him to withdraw his troops to Jangaon. Sindia courteously answered that he would do so as soon as the Peshwa paid him his debts. Amrit-rao at this point wished to signal to Aba Kale, the commander of one of the Peshwa's household regiments, to arrest Sindia ; but, although there would have been no difficulty in making the arrest, Bajirao's heart failed him and he let Sindia go unmolested.

While these dissensions prevailed in Poona, the Raja Shahu resolved to make a bid to recover the empire of the Bhosles. Indeed, Bajirao, when struggling against Nana Phadnavis, had promised to restore the Raja to the position of Shahu I. This promise Bajirao had left unfulfilled and the Raja now called on him to keep his word. At the same time he collected troops and successfully attacked Madhavrao Raste, who had been sent to Satara with such forces as the Peshwa could spare from Poona. At this point Parashrambhau Patwardhan, who was in confinement at Wai, offered to reduce the Raja to submission. Bajirao gladly accepted his offer, and Parashrambhau Patwardhan, after raising a large body of troops and joining Raste, successfully forded the Yenna, then in high flood, and surprised the Raja's camp. The Raja's bands were dispersed ; his brother Chatursing escaped to Kolhapur, and the Raja took refuge in Satara fort. It was not provisioned, so after a short investment it had to surrender. The Raja was reduced to his former subordinate place, and Parashrambhau was received back into favour on a promise to pay ten lakhs of rupees.

Sindia, whom we left all-powerful in the Maratha state, was early in 1798 brought to the brink of ruin by a quarrel with the widows of Madhavrao Sindia. Daulatrao had promised to look after Madhavrao's four widows and he, no doubt, would have done so as befitted their position, but for his vast military expenditure. As it was, he cut down the ladies' allowances to the lowest point, and they retaliated by charging him with an incestuous intrigue with Bhagirthabai, the youngest and comeliest of the four. Sindia's next move was to try treacherously to immure them in Ahmadnagar

fort ; but the ladies, informed of his intention, succeeded in escaping to the camp of Amritrao, who happened to be marching to Junnar. They sought and obtained his protection. Sakharam Ghatge, after openly attacking Amritrao's camp without success, surprised and plundered it. This was a direct insult to the Peshwa, who at once signed with Nizam Ali a defensive and offensive alliance for Sindia's overthrow. Sindia had but one resource left, namely to release Nana Phadnavis. Not long afterwards Nizam Ali repudiated his alliance with Bajirao and once more Sindia was in the ascendant. Bajirao reconciled himself with Sindia and Nana Phadnavis, while Sindia, weary of Sakharam Ghatge's cruelty, put him under arrest. On the 15th October 1798, Nana Phadnavis assumed again the office of first minister, but he never regained his confidence in Bajirao. In the meantime events of the highest importance were happening in the south of India.

Ever since the disastrous treaty of February 1792, Tipu Sultan had thirsted for revenge against the English. To attain his vengeance he sought allies. In 1795, he induced Ali Jah, a son of Nizam Ali, to rebel against his father, hoping that in this way he might have the resources of the Nizam's dominions on his side instead of against him ; but the rebellion was promptly suppressed by M. Raymond and his French contingent. In 1796, Tipu sent an embassy to the court of Zaman Shah, ruler of Afghanistan, but without success. In 1797, he became, as a desperate measure, a French citizen, and sent an embassy to Mauritius, asking the Governor for forty thousand troops, of whom ten thousand should be pure French and the rest negroes commanded by French officers. The Governor of Mauritius was quite unable to furnish such a force, but a hundred French citizens volunteered for the Sultan's service. The despatch of these embassies was perfectly well known to the English Governor-General, Lord Mornington, afterwards the Marquess of Wellesley, and he determined to dispel the danger of further trouble in the south, by destroying Tipu's power once and for all. He declared war on the Sultan, and called on the Nizam and the Peshwa, as his allies, to send contingents. Bajirao was doubtful what policy to pursue and, waiting on events, did nothing. The



TIPPOO SULTAN.

*From an original Picture in the possession of
Mr. Thomas Webster.*

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Nizam sent some sixteen thousand men, which raised the number of the invading army to thirty-seven thousand men. Tipu's army was nearly fifty thousand strong, but was far inferior in quality and in armament. He was outgeneralled, beaten in the field and on the 2nd May 1799, killed at the storming of Seringapatam. A large treasure fell into the hands of the victors and the state was at their mercy. Its revenues were estimated at three million kantharai pagodas or nine million rupees. It was resolved to partition the conquered country as follows: The British Government and the Nizam were each to receive lands yielding annually 5,37,000 pagodas or 16,11,000 rupees. To the Peshwa were to be given lands worth annually 2,64,000 pagodas or 7,92,000 rupees. The remainder, after the deduction of a certain portion for the maintenance of the family of Haidar Ali, was formed into a kingdom for the infant son of Chamraj¹ the last Hindu king of Mysore, who had died in 1796. The widow of Chamraj gratefully accepted the offered kingdom, ceded the island of Seringapatam to the English, and bound herself and her son's descendants to consider themselves as under English protection, "while the sun and moon continued".

The news of the death of Tipu and the conquest of Mysore fell like a thunderbolt on the court of Bajirao. The Nizam had in 1798 dismissed his French officers and converted his French contingent into an English subsidiary force of six battalions. He now ceded all the lands apportioned to him from Mysore to pay for the upkeep of the former six battalions and of two fresh regiments. The Nizam was thus completely under English influence. Tipu, on whom Bajirao had counted as a possible ally if he quarrelled with his English friends, was dead; and the Hindu state that had arisen on the ruins of his government was bound to the English by the strongest ties of gratitude. Even the territory that had been set aside for the Peshwa never became his. After protracted negotiations, during which the English and the Marathas successively rejected each other's proposals, it was divided between the English and the Nizam; but the Nizam gave back his share in it to the English as a further payment

¹ Bowring's Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan, p. 202.

towards the upkeep of the subsidiary force. It was thus clear to every far-sighted observer that the English, at once lords of the rich lands of Bengal and in control of the whole vast country from the Vindhya to Rameshwaram, would in no long time be masters of the whole of India.

CHAPTER LXVI

CIVIL WARS AND WARS AGAINST THE ENGLISH

AFFAIRS in the Maratha state were rapidly drifting from bad to worse. The quarrelsome widows of Madhavrao Sindia had left Amritrao's camp for Kolhapur, where the Raja espoused their cause. Lakwa Dada, a Shenvi by caste, and a skilful general in Sindia's service, had been confined by Daulatrao and had made his escape. He was now ravaging Sindia's provinces in Central India. Jaswantrao Holkar had left Nagpur, and, collecting a band of freebooters, was sweeping through Malwa. De Boigne had returned to France in 1796, and his successor, M. Perron was quite unable to drive away the invaders. The Raja of Kolhapur, as the protector of the turbulent widows, was at open war with the Peshwa. Chatur-sing, brother of the Raja of Satara, successively defeated the Pratinidhi and Parashrambhau Patwardhan, mortally wounding the latter in a fight at Pathankudi in the Chikodi taluka ; although the legend that the Raja of Kolhapur cut Parashrambhau to pieces with his own sword seems to be quite unfounded. To crown the misfortunes of the Maratha state, Nana Phadnavis died on the 13th March 1800.

Ever since his confinement at Ahmadnagar, his health had been gradually failing. For some months before his death, he had hardly left his house ; nevertheless his dauntless spirit enabled him still to attend to the needs of the administration. In January 1800, he began to suffer from intermittent attacks of fever. A fortnight before his death the Peshwa himself came to see him, but death was already stamped on the minister's countenance, and at midnight on the 13th March 1800 he died amid the widespread grief of the Maratha people. "With him" to use the words of Colonel Palmer, "departed all the wisdom and moderation of the Maratha Government."

It cannot be denied that Nana Phadnavis was a great man, judged by almost any standard. It has been said that he lacked physical courage ; but such a charge is easily brought and with difficulty refuted. It rests chiefly on Nana Phadnavis' refusal to join Parashrambhau Patwardhan in an attack on Sindia's army. But such an attack would have ended in certain defeat and to court certain defeat is not true valour. The minister's political courage and foresight have rarely been surpassed, and his life was spent in guarding the throne of his young master. By the tragic irony of fate, he overshot his mark and by excessive care brought about indirectly the death of the young prince, whom he loved like his own son. In private life Nana Phadnavis was truthful and kindly, frugal and generous. His time was regulated with the utmost care, and the amount of business, both public and private, transacted by him far surpassed the limits of ordinary human capacity. Like Metternich, Nana Phadnavis was fond of the fair sex and in the course of his life he was married no less than nine times. On his death he left two widows, Bagabai and Jiubai ; the former was fourteen years old and the latter only nine. He left no children, although his first wife had borne him a son and his third and his sixth wife had each borne him a daughter ; but his children all died young. Bagabai died fourteen days after her husband's death. Thus all that survived of Nana Phadnavis' family was the little Jiubai. The funeral ceremonies of the great minister were marred by an untoward incident. The pay of his Arab guards was in arrears, so they manned the walls of his house and refused to allow anyone to enter or leave it. The Peshwa paid them off and discharged them, and then attached Nana Phadnavis' estates, forcing Jiubai to live in a room in the Shanwar palace. There she remained until Jaswantrao Holkar released her and sent her to Lohgad fort, which Dhondurao Ballal Nitsure, an officer of Nana Phadnavis, continued, in defiance of Bajirao, to hold in the interests of his dead master. Two years later the English made her surrender Lohgad, but forced Bajirao to settle on her a yearly pension of twelve thousand rupees. She lived for sixteen years under English protection at Panvel. On the fall of Bajirao, Mountstuart Elphinstone invited her to Poona and

gave her besides her pension the townships of Menvali and Belbag. In 1827, she adopted the youngest son of Ramkrishna Gangadar Bhanu and gave him on adoption the name of Madhavrao. On the death of Jiubai her allowance was stopped, but the townships of Menvali and Belbag were continued by the English to Madhavrao and his descendants.

Both Sindia and Bajirao wished to seize the treasures of the deceased Nana Phadnavis. These, however, were never discovered. Mortified at his failure, Bajirao imprisoned Nana Phadnavis' friends and resolved to plunder the Patwardhans. In this plan the Raja of Kolhapur readily joined, and the Patwardhan estate was soon stripped of everything worth carrying away, and their houses were all burnt. But the death of Nana Phadnavis, so far from freeing Bajirao from tutelage, only delivered him again into the bondage of Daulatrao Sindia. The Peshwa turned his attention to Jaswantrao Holkar. The latter, a man of great capacity, had contrived by a series of successes to raise a considerable army. The illegitimate son of Tukoji Holkar, he affected to be acting solely on behalf of Khanderao Holkar, his legitimate nephew confined in Poona. He invaded at Bajirao's suggestion Sindia's dominions, defeated and then bought over du Drenec and his disciplined regiments. Sindia was unwilling to leave Poona to meet this formidable adversary, for to do so was to give up his favoured position at the Poona court. But at last the situation grew so serious that Sindia, after extracting forty-seven lakhs of rupees from the reluctant Bajirao, marched northward to meet Jaswantrao. The latter won a brilliant victory near Ujjein, but was checked near Burhanpur and severely defeated near Indore.

Rid for the time being of Sindia, Bajirao indulged to the full in the pleasures of revenge. His victims were the families who had opposed his father. The most prominent were the Rastes. Madhavrao Raste was treacherously seized and imprisoned in Raygad; others less important were killed or thrown into dungeons. Vithoji Holkar, the other illegitimate son of Tukoji Holkar, and a friend of Nana Phadnavis, was captured near Bhamburda at the head of a body of horse. He was tied to the foot of an elephant and dragged about the streets of Poona until he died, while Bajirao gloated over his

sufferings.¹ This act was not only a crime but an error. Jaswantrao, who had been deeply attached to Vithoji, abandoned his designs against Sindia and, vowing revenge, marched straight on Poona. Sindia sent Sadashivrao Bhaskar after him; but Jaswantrao Holkar skilfully evaded Sindia's troops and on the 23rd October 1802, encamped between Loni and Hadapsar, a few miles to the north-east of Poona. Sadashivrao effected a junction with such troops as the Peshwa could muster, and on the 25th October a bloody battle was fought, in which Jaswantrao Holkar was completely victorious. Sindia's battalions disappointed their master, save four who had been once commanded by de Boigne. The spirit of that great soldier still animated them, and, just as they would have done had he been present in person, they stood their ground to the last, until cut to pieces by furious charges of cavalry led by Jaswantrao Holkar in person.

The Peshwa, who had taken no part in the battle, fled to Sinhgad on hearing its result, and thence to Raygad, and finally to Mahad, whence he wrote to the English imploring their protection. When it was granted, he embarked on an English ship at Rewadanda and sailed to Bassein, which he reached on the 6th December. The flight of the Peshwa left the government of the Maratha state in the hands of Jaswantrao Holkar. Wise enough to know that a bastard of the house of Holkar could never hope to rule it in permanency, he sent for the Peshwa's adopted brother Amritrao and had him appointed Peshwa. Having settled the form of government, he devoted himself to the plunder of Poona. In this he shewed such zeal that the inhabitants looked back almost with regret to the days of Sakharam Ghatge.

In the meantime Bajirao had resigned his independence to the English by a document known as the treaty of Bassein.² On the 25th March 1803, the English, led by the greatest general of the age, Arthur Wellesley, assembled ten thousand strong on the northern frontier of Madras. To Wellesley's

¹ Vithoji's widow committed sati on the bank of the Mulla river. A temple has been erected in her honour and has given her name to Holkar's bridge.

² See Appendix A.

standard flocked the troops of several families who adhered to Bajirao's cause, notably the Patwardhans, Bapu Ganesh Gokhale, Appa Desai Nipanikar, the Patankars and Vinchurkar the grandson of Vithal Shivdev. On the 20th April, 1803, General Wellesley entered Poona. It had been previously evacuated by Amritrao, to whom several of the important Maratha chiefs rallied. Sindia, who had fought for the Peshwa, deserted him now that he had sought the help of the English, and so, too, did Raghuji Bhosle. Jaswantrao Holkar, strangely enough, held aloof. He hated both the Peshwa and Sindia too much to join either of them.

The English had profited enormously by the conquest of Bengal and Mysore. Their Governor-General, Lord Mornington, had abilities hardly less inferior to those of his brother Arthur. The two brothers seized the opportunity and devoted the whole of their vast resources to make the English power paramount. The English field force was raised to no less than fifty thousand men, disciplined and led by English officers. The forces of Sindia and of Raghuji Bhosle were double that number, but only thirty thousand of them were regular infantry. The Nizam took no part in the struggle. Ill for a long time, he died on the 6th August, 1803, three days after the English had declared war on the Maratha confederacy; and his son Mirza Sikandar Jah was too busy making good his claims to the throne to take any part in the impending hostilities.

On the 10th August 1803, General Wellesley opened the campaign by attacking the great fort of Ahmadnagar, and obtained its surrender on the 12th. On the 21st September, 1803, General Wellesley with a force of eight thousand men, of whom four thousand, five hundred were English, came up near the village of Assaye with the forces of Sindia and Raghuji Bhosle, fifty thousand strong. Although General Wellesley was expecting the arrival of Colonel Stevenson with seven thousand men, he, with the inspiration of a great captain, decided to attack the enemy in the face of tenfold odds. The Maratha troops were led by inexperienced commanders, who fled from the field very soon after the battle had joined. The cavalry followed the example of the commanders; but eight of de Boigne's old battalions and the

Maratha artillery fought well. The battle of Assaye ended in a complete victory for the English, who took ninety-eight guns and a large number of prisoners. The battle of Assaye was followed by the capture of Burhanpur and Asirgad, one of the strongest fortresses in India. Raghuji Bhosle would not accept the defeat of Assaye as conclusive, and encamped at Argaon together with a body of Sindia's cavalry, in the Akola district of Berar. On the 29th November 1803, General Wellesley attacked Raghuji Bhosle's army and inflicted on it a defeat even more severe than Assaye. The fortress of Gavalgad in the Satpuras surrendered, and news reached Raghuji Bhosle that he had lost all his possessions in Bengal, which had been conquered by Colonel Harcourt between the 14th September and the 14th of October. These disasters convinced Raghuji Bhosle of the hopelessness of continuing the struggle; and on the 17th December 1803 he signed the treaty of Devgaon. By it he ceded the province of Cuttack in Bengal and all his territories and revenues to the west of the river Wardha. He renounced all claims of *chauth* and *ghasdana* on the Nizam. He bound himself to engage no subject of any European or American country at war with the British, without the British consent.

In the meantime Sindia, too, had been suffering other disasters elsewhere. On the 29th August 1803, a detachment under Colonel Woodington stormed Broach, and on the 17th September 1803 took Champanir and the tremendous fortress of Pavangad. About the same time General Lake won several important successes in Hindustan. On the 4th September, he stormed with ten thousand men the fortress of Aligarh, an event that led to the desertion of General Perron and several other French officers in Sindia's service. The English army then marched on Delhi, where they came up with Sindia's army under an old officer of de Boigne called Bourquin, who had been in 'turn a seaman, a cook, a manufacturer of fireworks, and a soldier. The Maratha army was totally defeated. The French officers surrendered, and among the spoils of victory were the town of Delhi, the person of the poor, blind, old emperor Shah Alam, and the town and fortress of Agra with its treasure, arsenal and 162 cannon. There still remained of Sindia's armies a considerable

fragment under du Drenec. General Lake sought him out ; and on the 1st November, 1803, was fought the decisive battle of Laswari, wherein the remainder of Sindia's disciplined battalions were destroyed. Bandelkhand, too, had been invaded by Colonel Powell and completely reduced by the 13th October. This succession of calamities convinced Daulatrao Sindia that in submission lay his only hope. On the 30th December 1803, he also abandoned the war. By the treaty of Surji Anjangaon he ceded his lands between the Jamna and the Ganges, and nearly all his territories in Rajputana. He surrendered the fortresses of Ahmadnagar and Broach, his claims for *chauth* and *ghasdana* on the emperor and the Nizam, and all his money demands on the Peshwa and the Gaikvad. This treaty was supplemented by the further treaty of Burhanpur, by which Sindia became a subordinate ally of the British (27th February 1804).

Jaswantrao Holkar had remained neutral, not through any kindly feelings for the combatants, all of whom he disliked, but in the hope of making the best possible bargain by joining one side or the other at the most critical moment. His plans were confounded by the rapid successes of the English and, so far from making a profitable bargain, he began to fear for the safety of his own possessions. Nevertheless, had he maintained his neutrality, he would have survived the crisis. Unfortunately he lost his head: he executed three Englishmen in his service, Vickers, Dodd and Ryan, because they were unwilling to fight against their own countrymen. At last his conduct and his demands became so outrageous that the Governor-General ordered Generals Wellesley and Lake to attack him. It must be admitted that, if his statesmanship was short-sighted, his generalship was of a high order. Colonel Monson, who commanded five battalions of sepoy and three thousand irregular horse, had been detached to keep Jaswantrao in check, while General Lake in alliance with Daulatrao Sindia conquered his possessions in Guzarat. Colonel Monson ill-advisedly exceeded his instructions and entered Holkar's territories in Central India by the Mukund Dara pass in Rajputana, some thirty miles to the south of Kotah. Having thus, to use the words of Arthur Wellesley, advanced without reason, he retreated in the same

manner. On the 7th July, he found that he had only two days' supplies left, and he started to go back the way he came. On the 8th July, he sent ahead his baggage and stores, and followed with his infantry, leaving the irregular horse as a rearguard. When the infantry were ten miles distant Jaswantrao Holkar suddenly fell on the irregular horse and destroyed them. On the 11th July, Colonel Monson's infantry were vigorously attacked in the Mukund Dara pass. Monson repulsed the attack and struggled on as far as Kotah. There he was refused admittance, but managed to struggle on to Kushalgarh, which he reached on the 25th August. There he rested for a night, and eventually succeeded in fighting his way to Agra on the 31st August, but with the loss of his guns, his supplies and his baggage. General Lake with the promptitude of a skilful general sent reinforcements to Agra without delay. Jaswantrao Holkar, unable to take Agra, tried to seize the person of the emperor. Failing in this, he attempted to raid on a grand scale the territories of the East India Company. He was followed, pursued and forced to fight at Dig, where he was severely defeated. Some of his troops took refuge in Bharatpur, where they successfully resisted Lake's attempt to storm it.

The Jat Raja, however, lost heart and on the 10th April he sued for peace. Jaswantrao Holkar then, after an ineffectual effort to win Sindia to his cause, marched in September 1805 to the Sikh country, hoping to rouse them against the English. The Sikhs gave him neither men nor supplies, and Lord Lake with five regiments of cavalry and four battalions of infantry set out after him in full pursuit. On the banks of the Bias Jaswantrao Holkar sued for peace and on the 14th December 1805 he was given very favourable terms. Nevertheless by binding himself never to engage Europeans in his service without the Company's leave, he, too, became a subordinate ally of the English. Jaswantrao's end is one that excites compassion. His defeats preyed upon his mind, and shortly after the signature of the treaty symptoms of insanity showed themselves. He murdered his nephew Khanderao and his brother Kashirao, and on the 20th October 1811 died a raving lunatic. He was a bold, fearless man with no small capacity as a general. He could endure severe fatigue

and great pain. In the hour of success his energy was boundless, and he bore adversity with no little fortitude. On his death Malharrao Holkar, a boy four years old, and the son of Jaswantrao by a concubine, was adopted by Tulsibai, the deceased's favourite mistress; and in the child's name Amir Khan, a leader of Pindharis or irregulars, and ancestor of the present chief of Tonk, carried on the Holkar Government.

APPENDIX A

Treaty with the Peshwa commonly called the Treaty of Bassein, 31st December, 1802.

Treaty of perpetual and general defensive alliance between the Hon'ble English East India Company and His Highness the Peshwa Bajirav Raghunathrav Pandit Pradhan Bahadur, his children, heirs, and successors, settled by Lieutenant-Colonel Barry Close, Resident at the Court of His Highness, by virtue of the powers delegated to him by His Excellency the Most Noble Richard Marquess Wellesley, Knight of the Most Illustrious Order of St. Patrick, one of His Britannic Majesty's Most Hon'ble Privy Council, Governor-General in Council, appointed by the Hon'ble Court of Directors of the said Hon'ble Company, to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies.

Whereas, by the blessing of God, the relations of peace and friendship have uninterruptedly subsisted, for a length of time, between the Hon'ble English East India Company and His Highness Rav Pandit Pradhan Bahadur, and have been confirmed at different periods by treaties of amity and union, the powers aforesaid, advertng to the complexion of the times, have determined, with a view to the preservation of peace and tranquillity, to enter into a general defensive alliance, for the complete and reciprocal protection of their respective territories, together with those of their several allies and dependants, against the unprovoked aggressions or unjust encroachments of all or any enemies whatever.

ARTICLE I

The peace, union, and friendship, so long subsisting between the two states, shall be promoted and increased by this treaty and shall be perpetual. The friends and enemies of either shall be the friends and enemies of both ; and the contracting parties agree that all the former treaties and agreements between the two states, now in force and not contrary to the tenor of this engagement, shall be confirmed by it.

ARTICLE II

If any power or state whatever shall commit any act of unprovoked hostility or aggression against either of the contracting parties, or against their respective dependants or allies, and after due representation shall refuse to enter into amicable explanation, or shall deny the just satisfaction or indemnity which the contracting parties shall have required, then the contracting parties will proceed to concert and prosecute such further measures as the case shall appear to demand.

For the more distinct explanation of the true intent and effect of this agreement, the Governor-General in Council, on behalf of the Hon'ble Company, hereby declares that the British Government will never permit any power or state whatever to commit with impunity any act of unprovoked hostility or aggression against the rights and territories of His Highness Rav Pandit Pradhan Bahadur, but will at all times maintain and defend the same in the same manner as the rights and territories of the Hon'ble Company are now maintained and defended.

ARTICLE III

With a view to fulfil this treaty of general defence and protection, His Highness Rav Pandit Pradhan Bahadur agrees to receive, and the Hon'ble East India Company to furnish, a permanent subsidiary force of not less than six thousand regular Native Infantry, with the usual proportion of field-pieces and European artillerymen attached, and with the proper equipment of warlike stores and ammunition, which force is to be accordingly stationed, in perpetuity, in His said Highness's territories.

ARTICLE IV

For the regular payment of the whole expense of the said subsidiary force, His Highness Rav Pandit Pradhan Bahadur hereby assigns and cedes, in perpetuity, to the Hon'ble East India Company, all the territories detailed in the schedule annexed to this treaty.

ARTICLE V

As it may be found that certain of the territories ceded by the foregoing article to the Hon'ble Company may be inconvenient from their situation, His Highness Rav Pandit Pradhan Bahadur, for the purpose of rendering the boundary line of the Hon'ble Company's possession a good and well-defended one, agrees that such exchanges of talukas or lands shall be made thereafter, on terms of a fair valuation of their respective revenues, as the completion of the said purpose may require. And it is agreed and covenanted that the territories to be assigned and ceded to the Hon'ble Company by the 4th Article, or in consequence of the exchange stipulated eventually in this article, shall be subject to the exclusive management and authority of the said Company and of their officers.

ARTICLE VI

Notwithstanding the total annual expense of the subsidiary force is estimated at twenty-five lakhs of rupees, His said Highness hath agreed to cede, by Article IV, lands estimated to yield annually the sum of twenty-six lakhs of rupees, the additional lakh being intended to meet possible deficiencies in the revenues of the said lands, and save the Hon'ble Company from loss.

ARTICLE VII

After the conclusion of this treaty, and as soon as the British Resident shall signify to His Highness Rav Pandit Pradhan Bahadur, that the

Hon'ble Company's officers are prepared to take charge of the districts ceded by Article IV, His Highness will immediately issue the necessary parwanas or orders to his officers, to deliver over charge of the same to the officers of the Hon'ble Company. And it is hereby agreed and stipulated, that all collections made by His Highness's officers subsequently to the date of this treaty, and before the officers of the Hon'ble Company shall have taken charge of the said districts, shall be carried to the credit of the Hon'ble Company, and all claims to balances from the said districts, referring to periods antecedent to the conclusion of this treaty, shall be considered as null and void.

ARTICLE VIII

All forts situated within the districts to be ceded as aforesaid shall be delivered to the officers of the Hon'ble Company with the said districts ; and His Highness Rav Pandit Pradhan Bahadur engages that the said forts shall be delivered to the Hon'ble Company without being injured or damaged, and with their equipment of ordnance, stores and provisions.

ARTICLE IX

Grain and all other articles of consumption and provisions, and all sorts of materials for wearing apparel, together with the necessary numbers of cattle, horses and camels, required for the use of the subsidiary force, shall be entirely exempted from duties ; and the commanding officer and officers of the said subsidiary force shall be treated in all respects in a manner suitable to the dignity and greatness of both states. The subsidiary force will at all times be ready to execute services of importance, such as the protection of the person of His Highness, his heirs and successors, the overawing and chastisement of rebels or excitors of disturbance in His Highness's dominions, and the due correction of his subjects or dependants who may withhold the payment of the Sarkar's just claims ; but it is not to be employed on trifling occasions, nor like Sibandi to be stationed in the country to collect the revenues, nor against any of the principal branches of the Maratha Empire, nor in levying contributions from Maratha dependants in the manner of Mulukgiri (revenue collection by armed force).

ARTICLE X

Whereas much inconvenience has arisen from certain claims and demands of the Maratha state affecting the city of Surat, it is agreed that a just calculation shall be made of the value of the said claims by His Highness Rav Pandit Pradhan Bahadur and the Government of Bombay ; and in consequence of the intimate friendship now established between the contracting parties, His Highness Rav Pandit Pradhan Bahadur agrees, for himself, his heirs and successors, to relinquish, for ever, all the rights, claims and privileges of the Maratha state affecting the said city of Surat, and all collections on that account shall cease and determine from the day on which this treaty shall be concluded ; in consideration of which act of friendship the Hon'ble East India Company

agrees that a piece of land, yielding a sum equal to the estimated value of the said claims of the Maratha state, shall be deducted from the districts ceded by Article IV ; and on the same principle, and from similar considerations, His Highness further agrees, that the amount of the collections made for the Poona state, under the title of Nagabandi, in the parganas of Chorrasi and Chickli, shall be ascertained by an average taken from the receipts for a certain number of years, or by such other mode of calculation as may be determined on, and His said Highness doth further agree, for himself, his heirs and successors, to relinquish, for ever, the Nagabandi collections aforesaid, and they shall accordingly cease from the conclusion of this treaty. And it is agreed and stipulated, that a piece of land, yielding a sum equal to the amount of the said Nagabandi collections, shall be deducted from the districts ceded by Article IV, in the same manner as stipulated in regard to the Chauth of Surat.

ARTICLE XI

Whereas it has been usual for His Highness Rav Pandit Pradhan Bahadur to enlist and retain in his service Europeans of different countries, His said Highness hereby agrees and stipulates, that in the event of war breaking out between the English and any European nation, and of discovery being made that any European or Europeans in his service, belonging to such nation at war with the English, shall have meditated injury towards the English, or have entered into intrigues hostile to their interest, such European or Europeans, so offending, shall be discharged by His said Highness and not suffered to reside in his dominions.

ARTICLE XII

Inasmuch as, by the present treaty, the contracting parties are bound in a general defensive alliance, for mutual defence and protection against all enemies, His Highness Rav Pandit Pradhan Bahadur consequently engages never to commit any act of personal hostility and aggression against His Highness the Navab Asoph Jah Bahadur, or any of the Hon'ble Company's allies or dependants, or against any of the principal branches of the Maratha Empire, or against any power whatever, and in the event of differences arising, whatever adjustment the Company's Government, weighing matters in the scale of truth and justice, may determine, shall meet with full approbation and acquiescence.

ARTICLE XIII

And whereas certain differences, referring past transactions, are known to subsist between the Sarkar of His Highness Rav Pandit Pradhan Bahadur and the Sarkar of His Highness the Navab Asoph Jah Bahadur, and whereas an amicable adjustment of those differences must be highly desirable for the welfare and benefit of both the said Sarkars, His Highness Rav Pandit Pradhan Bahadur, with a view to the above end, agrees and accordingly binds himself, his heirs and successors,

to fulfil and conform to the stipulation of the treaty of Mahad ; and His Highness Rav Pandit Pradhan Bahadur further agrees, that on the basis of the fulfilment of the said treaty of Mahad, and of the claims of His Highness the Nawab Asoph Jah Bahadur to be totally exempted from the payment of Chauth, the Hon'ble Company's Government shall be entitled to arbitrate and determine all such points, as may be in doubt or difference between the Sarkars of their Highnesses aforementioned ; and His Highness Rav Pandit Pradhan Bahadur further agrees, that in the event of any differences arising between his Government and that of His Highness the Nawab Asoph Jah Bahadur, at any future period, the particulars of such differences shall be communicated to the Hon'ble East India Company, before any act of hostility shall be committed on either side, and the said Hon'ble Company, interposing their mediation, in a way suitable to rectitude, friendship and union, and mindful of justice and established usage, shall apply themselves to the adjustment of all such differences, conformable to propriety and truth, and shall bring the parties to a right understanding. And it is further agreed, that whatever adjustment of any such differences the Company's Government, weighing things in the scale of truth and justice, shall determine, that determination shall, without hesitation or objection, meet with the full approbation and acquiescence of both parties. It is however agreed, that this stipulation shall not prevent any amicable negotiation which the Hon'ble Company and the Courts of Poona and Hyderabad, respectively, may be desirous of opening, provided no such negotiation shall be carried on between any of the three parties without full communication thereof to each other.

ARTICLE XIV

Whereas a treaty of friendship and alliance has been concluded between the Hon'ble Company and the Raja Anandrav Gaikawar Bahadur, and whereas the said treaty was meditated and executed, without any intention that it should infringe any of the just rights or claims of His Highness Rav Pandit Pradhan Bahadur affecting the Sarkars of the said Raja, His said Highness adverting thereto, and also to the intimate alliance now established between the contracting parties, doth hereby formally acknowledge the existence of the said treaty between the Hon'ble Company and Raja Anandrav Gaikawar Bahadur, and inasmuch as, by reason of certain unfinished transactions, the conclusion of which has been suspended from time to time, various demands and papers of accounts are found to subsist between the Government of His Highness Rav Pandit Pradhan Bahadur and the Sarkar of the Raja aforementioned, His said Highness, placing full reliance on the impartiality, truth, and justice of the British Government, doth hereby agree that the said Government shall examine into and finally adjust the said demands and papers of accounts, and His said Highness further stipulates and binds himself, his heirs and successors, to abide by such adjustment as the British Government shall accordingly determine.

ARTICLE XV

The contracting parties will employ all practical means of conciliation to prevent the calamity of war, and for that purpose will, at all times, be ready to enter into amicable explanations with other states, and to cultivate and improve the general relations of peace and amity with all the powers of India, according to the true spirit and tenor of this defensive treaty. But if a war should unfortunately break out between the contracting parties and any other power whatever, then His Highness Rav Pandit Pradhan Bahadur engages, that with the reserve of two battalions of sepoys, which are to remain near His Highness's person, the residue of the British subsidiary force, consisting of four battalions of sepoys with their artillery, joined by six thousand infantry and ten thousand horse of His Highness's own troops, and making together an army of ten thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry, with the requisite train of artillery, and warlike stores of every kind, shall be immediately put in motion, for the purpose of opposing the enemy; and His Highness likewise engages to employ every further effort in his power, for the purpose of bringing into the field, as speedily as possible, the whole force which he may be able to supply from his dominions, with a view to the effectual prosecution and speedy termination of the said war. The Hon'ble Company in the same manner engage on their parts, in this case, to employ in active operations against the enemy the largest force which they may be able to furnish over and above the said subsidiary force.

ARTICLE XVI

Whenever war shall appear probable, His Highness Rav Pandit Pradhan Bahadur engages to collect as many brinjaris¹ as possible, and to store as much grain as may be practicable in his frontier garrisons.

ARTICLE XVII

As by the present treaty the union and friendship of the two states is so firmly cemented that they may be considered as one and the same, His Highness Rav Pandit Pradhan Bahadur engages neither to commence nor to pursue, in future, any negotiations with any other Power whatever without giving previous notice and entering into mutual consultation with the Hon'ble East India Company's Government; and the Hon'ble Company's Government, on their part, hereby declare that they have no manner of concern with any of His Highness's children, relations, subjects, or servants, with respect to whom His Highness is absolute.

ARTICLE XVIII

Inasmuch as, by the present treaty of general defensive alliance, the ties of union are, with the blessing of God, so closely drawn, that the interests of the two states are become identified, it is further mutually

¹ A caste specially skilled in army transport.

agreed, that if disturbances shall at any time break out in the districts ceded to the Hon'ble Company by this agreement, His Highness Rav Pandit Pradhan Bahadur shall permit such a proportion of the subsidiary troops as may be requisite to be employed in quelling the same within the said districts. If disturbances shall, at any time, break out in any part of His Highness's dominions contiguous to the Company's frontier, to which it might be inconvenient to detach any proportion of the subsidiary force, the British Government, in like manner, if required by His Highness Rav Pandit Pradhan Bahadur, shall direct such proportion of the troops of the Company as may be most conveniently stationed for the purpose, to assist in quelling the said disturbances within His Highness's dominions.

ARTICLE XIX

It is finally declared that this treaty, which, according to the foregoing articles, is meant for the support and credit of His said Highness's Government, and to preserve it from loss and decline, shall last as long as the sun and moon shall endure.

Signed, sealed, and exchanged at Bassein, the 31st of December, Anno Domini 1802, or the 5th of Ramzan, Anno Hijri 1217.

(Sd.) B. CLOSE,
Resident at Poona.

The Seal of Pradhan

(The Peshwa's signature).

CHAPTER LXVII

THE REIGN OF BAJIRAO II

THE English had now become the foremost power in India, and, had Bajirao been wise, he would have acquiesced in the position of a subordinate ally. After all they had high claims on his gratitude. But for them he would never have recovered Poona and the throne ; nevertheless, his feudatories had no sooner been reduced by the English than he began to intrigue with his feudatories against his protectors. At the same time he took advantage of his favoured position to concentrate his troops and to sequester the estates of some of the Maratha nobles. The first estate to come into his hands was that of the Pratinidhi, then quite a young man. The Peshwa induced the Pratinidhi's mother to confine her son in Mhaswad, a town in the Satara district. The young man's mistress, a *telin* or oil-seller and a woman of great spirit, raised a band of followers and rescued him. The Pratinidhi then became an outlaw but was reduced by Bapu Gokhale, a nephew of Dhondupant Gokhale, a Chitpavan Brahman of Chiplun. Dhondupant had joined Parashurambhau Patwardhan in 1791, in the campaign against Tipu. He was killed in action in 1799. Of his two nephews, Appa fell beside his uncle. The other, Bapu Gokhale was wounded, but served with General Wellesley in 1803, 1804 and 1805. He was killed at Ashta on the 17th February, 1818. His descendant, Sardar Gokhale resides at Poona. The Pratinidhi was stripped of his estate save a small portion reserved for his bare maintenance. The Peshwa next tried to secure Savantvadi, which was at war with Kolhapur, but in this he was unsuccessful. He was more fortunate in securing the person of Baburao Phadke, the son of the gallant Hari Ballal Phadke. He confined Baburao in Bassein fort, where he died, and confiscated his property. Madhavrao Raste was his next victim. He was bound under the terms of his fief to furnish a fixed number of cavalry. He failed to do so and was deprived of his entire estate.

The Gaikvad's domain seemed to offer a fair field for the Peshwa's activities. It will be remembered that, on Damaji Gaikvad's death, first Govindrao was appointed his successor, an appointment that was subsequently set aside in favour of Fatehsing as regent for the imbecile Sayaji, who of all Damaji's sons had the best claim. On the 21st December, 1789, Fatehsing Gaikvad, a ruler of considerable talents, fell from the upper storey of his palace and died. Govindrao now felt certain that he would at least succeed to the regency ; but he was once more disappointed and the Poona Government appointed his brother Manaji. The latter agreed, as the price of the Peshwa's favour, to pay sixty lakhs in instalments spread over four years. On the 1st August, 1793, Manaji died and this time fortune smiled on Govindrao. Nana Phadnavis demanded as the price of his recognition the cession of all the Gaikvad's estates south of the Tapti river and his share in the Surat customs. This the English forbade, relying on the Treaty of Salbai, which guaranteed the integrity of the Gaikvad's territories. On the other hand, the minister demanded Rs. 43,62,000 in cash, and extorted from Govindrao all the money, jewels and clothes in the palace of Baroda.

Govindrao was a man of little or no ability. He had a temper as vindictive as Bajirao's, and, instead of governing his little principality properly, he spent his time paying off old scores. He turned out of office all Fatehsing's friends and put in their places Prabhus from Poona, of whom the most conspicuous were his new diwan, Ravaji Appaji, and his brother Babaji Appaji. Govindrao Gaikvad was recognized as Sena Khas Khel and ruler of Baroda on the 19th December, 1793 ; but in the meantime his own illegitimate son Kanhoji had thrown himself into Baroda with two thousand Arab and six hundred Pathan mercenaries. After a short siege Kanhoji Gaikvad was betrayed by his own men and imprisoned. On Nana Phadnavis' death the Peshwa extended to Guzarat his vindictive hatred of the minister's agents. He deprived Aba Shelukar, Nana Phadnavis' nominee, of his post of Deputy-Governor of the Peshwa's lands in Guzarat, and appointed in his place Govindrao Gaikvad. This appointment added to the Gaikvad's revenues, but it also added to the Peshwa's claims against him.

Govindrao died on the 19th September, 1800, and his state was once more plunged into disorder. He left four legitimate and seven illegitimate sons. His eldest legitimate son Anandrao succeeded, with Ravaji Appaji as his first minister. Anandrao was a man of feeble intellect, and, to make matters worse, Kanhoji escaped from prison and, winning over his brother Anandrao, became the real ruler of the state. Ravaji Appaji appealed to the English, who gave him their support and by 1803 had restored order. These civil wars brought the finances of Baroda to the lowest ebb. The contending parties had engaged bands of Arab and Afghan mercenaries; and the East India Company required a substantial reward. They paid off the arrears of the mercenaries but, as payment for their services, they took the Gaikvad's share of the Surat *chauth*, the talukas in Surat known respectively as the Chaurasi pargana and the Athavisi; and they required the Gaikvad to subsidize in lieu of Arab mercenaries two thousand British sepoy and a battery of English artillery. To pay for the subsidized force, Anandrao Gaikvad on the 18th February, 1803, ceded Dholka, Nadiad, Vijapur and Kadi, lands worth annually Rs. 7,80,000. For the arrears paid by the English to the Arab mercenaries, Anandrao pledged the revenues of the Baroda, Koral, Sinor, Petlad and Ahmadabad parganas.

Order had hardly been restored when a new personage appeared on the scene. Govindrao Gaikvad had for some reason devoted one of his younger sons, Fatehsing Gaikvad, to the service of the god Khandoba of Jejuri. In 1802, Fatehsing had been taken prisoner by Jaswantrao Holkar. In August, 1803, he escaped and entered Guzarat at the head of a body of Pathans. He at first tried to seize Baroda but afterwards confined himself to a demand for fifty thousand rupees, his alleged ransom due to Jaswantrao Holkar.

On the 2nd October, 1804, the Peshwa had renewed the lease of his Guzarat estates to the Gaikvad, but a rising of Kolis in February, 1805, and further military aid from, and fresh cessions to the English rendered the Gaikvad unable to pay Bajirao anything. To make matters worse Anandrao became completely unfit for the administration, and Fatehsing was

given a share of it.¹ To the Peshwa's demands he merely made frivolous counter-claims. The Peshwa thought the opportunity favourable for the resumption of at least a part of the Gaikwad's fief. The English had indeed previously objected, relying on the treaty of Salbai. But since then they had themselves occupied large tracts of the Gaikwad fief, so they would hardly press that objection again. As a preliminary he called on the Baroda Government to send an agent to settle the accounts. Eventually it was agreed that the Baroda Government should send as their envoy Gangadhar Shastri, an able man who had a large share of power. The English Government, anxious that the dispute should be ended, guaranteed his safety. The Peshwa disliked Gangadhar Shastri, whom he believed to be a partisan of the English, and it was not until 1814 that the Peshwa agreed to receive him. In the meantime his agents were actively engaged in increasing the disorders of the Baroda state. The Peshwa received Gangadhar Shastri with his usual charm of manner and tried to win him to his cause, but the envoy would not betray his master's interests, and, after some months of fruitless negotiations, Gangadhar Shastri decided to return to Baroda and invite the arbitration of the English. To this course the Peshwa took the strongest exception, for the East India Company, already in occupation of a large share of Guzarat, could hardly be expected to be impartial. The Peshwa, as his last throw, offered to appoint Gangadhar Shastri as his own minister and to give the hand of his sister-in-law to Gangadhar's son. The envoy at first gladly accepted the proposed marriage, but afterwards he hesitated, for fear it might be thought of him that he was neglecting his master's interests for his own. This conduct, highly honourable to Gangadhar, was bitterly resented by the prince, who determined to revenge himself. He found a ready tool in one Trimbakji Dengele. This man had at one time been a common despatch runner, and had succeeded in

¹ Before Fatehsing could be given a share of the administration he had to be ransomed from the god Khandoba. He was weighed against gold and silver and the precious metals sent to the god. Elliott's *Rulers of Baroda*, p. 82.

attracting the Peshwa's favour, first by his speed as a runner and afterwards by his daring and ability. He disliked Gangadhar Shastri as a possible rival in his master's affections, and he devised the following scheme for his destruction. The Peshwa was going on a pilgrimage to Pandharpur, to be present on the great day when crowds from all parts of the Deccan go carrying orange-coloured flags and on foot to visit the god Krishna.¹ Trimbakji Dengle with the assent of Bajirao pressed Gangadhar Shastri to join the party. The flattered ambassador readily accepted the invitation and went with the Peshwa and his suite to the holy city. On the 14th July, the Peshwa asked Shastri to visit with him the temple of the god. Such an invitation it was impossible to refuse, for the 14th July corresponded with the 11th of the bright half of the Hindu month of Ashad, the holiest day in the whole year. Gangadhar Shastri went to the temple, worshipped at Krishna's shrine, paid his respects to the Peshwa, and started homewards. A few hundred yards farther on, at a spot still pointed out to the curious visitor, a band of cut-throats, hired by Trimbakji Dengle, fell on Shastri and cut him to pieces.

The British Government, who had guaranteed the safety of the envoy, were greatly incensed at his murder and demanded the surrender of Trimbakji Dengle. The Peshwa with great reluctance gave him up, and the miscreant was confined in Thana fort. He was closely guarded by English soldiers, but Trimbakji was a bold, active man; and, with the Peshwa's secret assistance and the active help of a groom of one of the English officers, he escaped (12th September, 1816).

Having broken out of prison, Trimbakji Dengle began to collect troops under the orders of Bajirao, who was by now thoroughly tired of his English friends. With the Resident Bajirao affected to be on the best of terms; but he was secretly negotiating with Sindia, the Raja of Nagpur and Amir Khan, the Pindhari chief, who controlled the Holkar Government. The English Resident, Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone complained about Trimbakji Dengle's levies, but the Peshwa pretended to ignore all his doings. The Resident

¹ See vol. I, p. 107.

then called on the Peshwa to act against an admitted rebel. Bajirao agreed, but did nothing. At last the Resident formally demanded the arrest of Trimbakji Dingle within one month, and the surrender of Sinhgad, Purandar and Raygad as pledges. Bajirao refused to comply until Elphinstone on the 8th May surrounded Poona with British troops. He then made a virtue of necessity and signed what is known as the treaty of Poona. He issued a proclamation for the arrest of Trimbakji Dingle, and surrendered the forts and several members of Dingle's family as hostages. That was not all. He agreed to have no communication with any foreign power, limited his territorial claims to the country between the Narbada and the Tungabhadra, and ceded land yielding annually thirty-four lakhs of rupees, instead of the military contingent that he was bound to furnish by the treaty of Bassein. The tract of ceded land included Ahmadnagar, Ahmadabad and the northern Konkan. He restored his estate to Madhavrao Raste and Mailghat to the Nizam. He resigned all his claims on the Gaikvad in return for four and a half lakhs a year.

Up to the time of this humiliating treaty, the Peshwa had felt jealousy of and dislike for the English. He now became consumed with hatred against them. At the same time the English Government formed the resolve to establish their supremacy over India, if only to suppress the anarchy that was spreading like a cancer over the whole sub-continent. Thugs, Pindharis, bandits of every description, roamed unmolested, save by the English, over the length and breadth of the country; and as the lands became depopulated forests grew, and wild dog, tiger and panther dwelt in the fields once cultivated by human beings.

Bajirao, in order to deceive the Resident, had pretended to dismiss his troops by giving all of them leave on full pay. In July, 1817, he went to Mahuli, the spot where King Shahu and Sakhwarbai had been burnt. There he met Sir John Malcolm, the political agent to the Governor-General, and completely misled him by his professions of love and goodwill towards the English. Malcolm obtained for Bajirao the restoration of the three ceded fortresses, Sinhgad, Purandar and Raygad, and permission to raise troops and join in the expedition that the English Government were contemplating

against the Pindharis. Having obtained these indulgences, Bajirao stayed on at Mahuli and with Bapu Gokhale's help organized a fresh army. At the same time he tried actively to seduce the Indian troops of the English Government, and in some cases the English officers. His conduct was soon known to Elphinstone, whose secret service was excellent. On the 19th October, the Peshwa celebrated the Dasara festival. The celebration was a splendid one ; but the attitude of the Maratha troops towards the English was so threatening, and the reinforcements that the Peshwa called in so large, that on the 30th October, 1817, the Resident withdrew his troops to Khadki, or the rocky village, now known as the railway station of Kirkee. The Resident himself stayed on at his house, the Sangam, with a guard of two hundred and fifty men, but he ordered a light battalion and some auxiliary horse to come into Poona from Sirur, forty miles away. The Peshwa believed that the withdrawal of the English troops was due to fear, and resolved to overwhelm them before the reinforcement from Sirur could reach them. On the 5th November, 1817, Bapu Gokhale moved out of Poona with twenty-six thousand men. The Resident, seeing the Maratha advance, crossed the Mulla river close to the Residency, and with his guard joined the main body of his troops at Kirkee. Directly Elphinstone had reached Kirkee, the little English army, who numbered only two thousand, eight hundred men, marched under Colonel Burr to the attack. Bapu Gokhale opened the battle by sending six thousand cavalry to destroy the 1st battalion of the 7th Regiment, who in their eagerness to engage had advanced too far. Happily for the sepoys of the 7th, a deep quagmire unknown to either side protected their front. Just as the French cuirassiers fell headlong into the sunken road at Ohain, so the Maratha horse were hopelessly entangled in the swamp between them and their objective. As they strove to ride clear, the sepoys of the 7th Regiment poured volley after volley into them with appalling effect. The losses incurred were so heavy that Bapu Gokhale's plans were entirely upset. His army, which consisted largely of new levies, lost all spirit, and as the English advanced the Marathas fell back on Poona. Colonel Burr in turn fell back on Kirkee and awaited reinforcements. That

evening the light battalion and the light horse from Sirur joined him. General Smith, who with the 4th Division had been in the Chandor Hills near Nasik, arrived on the evening of the 13th November, and on the 17th November the English entered Poona without opposition, for Bajirao had fled to Satara, where he seized Pratapsing and several other members of the Bhosle family. On the 22nd November, General Smith began the pursuit of the Peshwa. That unhappy prince now doubled back to join Trimbakji Dingle north of Junnar. General Smith followed him; but, fearing that the Maratha army might slip past him into the Konkan and overwhelm the small English detachment there under Colonel Prother, he directed Colonel Burr to send reinforcements to Colonel Prother and to call in from Sirur the 2nd Battalion of the 1st Regiment. Colonel Burr acted on these instructions, and, on receiving their orders, the 2nd Battalion of the 1st Regiment, five hundred strong, and three hundred irregular horse, accompanied by two guns and twenty-four English artillerymen, set out for Poona at 8 p.m. on the 31st December, 1817. Their commander was Captain Francis Staunton. The troops marched all night and reached the high ground above the Bhima river about 10 a.m. Across its bed, almost dry in the cold weather, they saw twenty-five thousand Maratha cavalry awaiting them. Bajirao advancing on Poona had heard of the near approach of Staunton's detachment and had determined to intercept it. Captain Staunton made a skilful feint, as if about to cross the river, then suddenly turned and took post at Koregaon, a little village on the Bhima's eastern bank. It was surrounded by a low wall; and two temples, of Bahiroba and Maruti, to the west and a large house from the north-west formed convenient spots from which to enfilade an attack from the river. Captain Staunton posted his two guns, one to guard the road from Sirur and the other to guard an approach from the Bhima river. The Peshwa did not attack at once, but awaited the coming of five thousand picked infantry, who were some distance ahead.

On the arrival of the infantry the attack on Koregaon began. Three bodies of Arab and Maratha foot, each three hundred strong, crossed the Bhima river under cover of a shower of rockets and a vigorous cannonade. A feigned

attack was at the same time made from the Sirur road. The Peshwa's infantry were not lacking in courage and by noon they had carried the two temples that were the main out-works of the village. The attacking columns were constantly reinforced and the single gun on the riverside was captured, and eleven out of the twenty-four English artillerymen killed. The detachment fought with the greatest bravery, but the men had marched all night and were wholly without food, while four of their English officers—Wingate, Swanston, Pattinson and Conellan—lay dead or wounded on the ground. It seemed as if nothing could save the survivors, and even the English artillerymen appealed to Staunton to surrender while they still could. But in the bosom of Staunton beat one of the bravest hearts that ever found a place within a human breast. While he lived, he said, there would be no surrender. His intrepid spirit fired the defenders and a moment later help came to them, as it were from beyond the grave. Pattinson, the adjutant of the 2nd Battalion of the 1st Regiment, was one of those who lay wounded on the ground. He was a man of gigantic stature, but, mortally stricken, he had been left for dead. At this supreme crisis his heroic spirit returned once more to its earthly tenement. His men, who idolized him, fancied that to save them he had come back from another world, and followed him joyfully to the counter-attack. So inspired, it carried everything before it. In vain the Arabs refused to quit the captured gun. They were bayoneted where they stood. The gun was retaken and fired point blank into the advancing reinforcements. Pattinson was again shot down, but his men, uplifted by his example and the dauntless soul of their commander, successfully defended the hamlet until after dark. Next morning the attack was not renewed, and Captain Staunton the following evening marched back with his wounded and with his weary but unbeaten detachment to Sirur.¹ He had achieved a great and enduring

¹ When Judge of Poona, I often visited Koregaon. The wall which Staunton defended so gallantly has disappeared, but the two temples, Maruti's and Bahiroba's still stand. A tomb marks the spot where the English officers and men were buried. Across the Bhima, where the Peshwa watched the battle, the Bombay Government have erected a

success. He had not only defended himself against odds of more than thirty to one ; but he had broken the moral of the Maratha army. A grateful Government showered honours upon him, but he did not live many years to enjoy them ; and on the 25th June, 1825, Colonel Staunton, C.B., died off the Cape of Good Hope and was buried at sea. As their reward the 2nd Battalion of the 1st Regiment were created grenadiers, as the 1st Battalion of the same regiment had been for the defence of Mangalore. They still bear the name of Koregaon on their banner, and they still celebrate with befitting revelry the immortal anniversary.

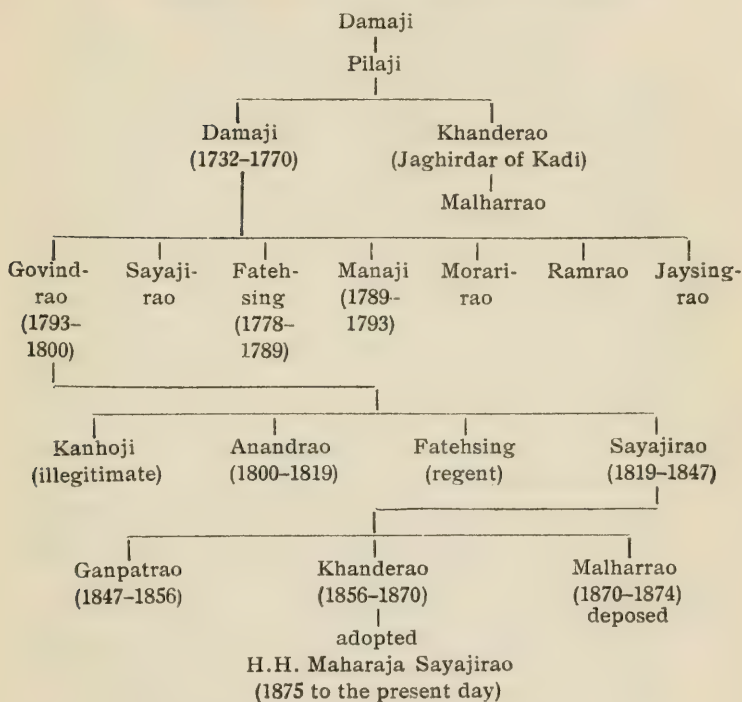
triumphal column. On it are inscribed both in English and Marathi the names of the officers and men who fell in the action. Besides their names are also inscribed the following words :

This Column

is erected to commemorate the defence of Koregaum
by a detachment commanded by Captain
Staunton of the Bombay Establishment
which was surrounded on the 1st January, 1818,
by the Peshwa's whole army under his
personal command,
and withstood throughout the day a series of
the most obstinate
and sanguinary assaults of his best troops.
Captain Staunton
under the most appalling circumstances,
persevered in his desperate resistance,
and, seconded by the unconquerable spirit of
his detachment,
at length achieved the signal discomfiture of
the Enemy,
and accomplished one of the proudest
triumphs
of the British Army in the East.

APPENDIX A

Genealogical Tree of the Gaikvads of Baroda



CHAPTER LXVIII

THE END OF THE CHITPAVAN EPIC

FROM Koregaon Bajirao, deeply mortified, fled towards the south. There he all but met Monro. Hearing of Monro's vicinity, the Peshwa recrossed the Krishna, evaded General Smith and reached Sholapur. Generals Smith and Pritzler now met, and on the 7th February, 1818, their combined divisions gave up the pursuit of the Peshwa, and reduced the fort of Satara. First the English colours were hoisted and then the Bhagwa Jhenda, as it was intended to make Satara the capital of a new Bhosle kingdom. General Smith was then directed to renew the pursuit of the Peshwa and General Pritzler was appointed to reduce the Poona forts. On the 14th February, General Pritzler set out from Satara for Sinhgad. It resisted stoutly from the 24th February to the 2nd March, when it surrendered. On the 11th March, General Pritzler was in front of Purandar. After a three days' bombardment Purandar hoisted the white flag. In the meantime Chakan had fallen to another detachment on the 26th February, Visapur on the 4th March and Lohgad on the 5th March. By the 3rd May, General Pritzler had made himself master of every fort in the neighbourhood of Poona.

While his fortresses were falling one after another into the hands of General Pritzler, Bajirao himself was fleeing, without any definite plan, from General Smith. On the 19th February, Smith overtook the Maratha army at Ashta, a village in the Sholapur district, fifteen miles from Pandharpur. Bapu Gokhale was by this time sick unto death at the loss of his son in action,¹ at his master's taunts and at his country's calamities. He charged the 7th Regiment of British cavalry, as they were crossing a dry river-bed, and, although he caused some disorder in their ranks, his command was in turn

¹ He had fallen in a skirmish in the hills a few days before and his wife had committed *sati* (Peshwa's Bakhar).

attacked by the 22nd Dragoons. Bapu met a soldier's death, being sabred in the fighting, while the unworthy Peshwa galloped off the field. The English captured a quantity of baggage and above all the Raja of Satara, Pratap Sing, with his mother and brothers. Shahu II had died on the 3rd May, 1808, and his eldest son Pratapsing had succeeded him. Chatursing, the gallant brother of Shahu II was still alive but a prisoner in Kanjuri fortress, eleven miles south-east of the town of Mahad. In 1812 he had been treacherously captured by Trimbakji Dengle.

The capture of the Raja of Satara was of the utmost value to the English, for it enabled them to pose as fighting on behalf of the successor of the great king, and several of Bajirao's jaghirdars, including the Patwardhans, at once left his standard. Bajirao, hopeless of success and tortured by fears for his own safety, sought to take refuge in Nagpur. But he was not destined to find a shelter there. Mudhoji Bhosle had died on the 19th May, 1788, and had left, besides Raghuji, two sons, Khandoji and Vyankoji.¹ Raghuji, although the adopted son of Ranoji did not become the ruler of Nagpur until his natural father Mudhoji's death. Khandoji² died shortly after his father and Vyankoji remained loyal to his brother, whom he predeceased. Raghuji died on the 22nd March, 1816, leaving an idiot son called Parsoji. The only possible candidate for the regency was Vyankoji's son Mudhoji, whom it will be convenient to call by his better known name, Appa Sahib. He was a young man of some capacity and had commanded the Bhosle's troops at the battle of Argaoon. To secure himself as regent Appa Sahib on the 27th May, 1816, signed a treaty with the English. He undertook to pay them annually Rs. 7,50,000, as the cost of a regiment of cavalry and of six thousand infantry officered by Englishmen. Appa Sahib also undertook himself to keep up three thousand cavalry and two thousand infantry. After the treaty had been signed Appa Sahib established his authority

¹ Panipat Prakaran, p. 282.

² Khandoji was also called Chimna Bapu and Vyankoji was also called Manya Bapu. Mudhoji Vyankoji's son was usually known as Appa Sahib.

over the Nagpur dominion. On the 2nd February, 1817, he had his cousin Parsoji strangled and plunged actively into the anti-English intrigues of Bajirao. He concealed his treachery until the Peshwa's rupture with the English, when he prepared to destroy the Resident, Mr. Jenkins. The latter's force consisted of two and a half battalions of Madras infantry, two English regiments, three squadrons of Bengal cavalry and four guns. On the 26th November was fought the battle of Sitabaldi hill, a low range, which separated the English Residency from Nagpur town. The English, although outnumbered by at least six to one, repulsed Appa Sahib's attack. His position was now hopeless, for English reinforcements kept pouring into Nagpur, and on the 15th December the unlucky prince surrendered. Appa Sahib's army made some slight resistance, but by the 24th December the war was over. Thus, long before Bajirao could have reached Nagpur, his hoped-for haven had fallen into the hands of his English enemies.¹

Baulked of a shelter in Nagpur, the ill-fated Peshwa fled back to Kopargaon, the spot where he had passed his childhood, and thence to Chanda. He was now being hunted down from all sides. Colonel Adams took Chanda by storm, and when Bajirao escaped from it General Doveton took up the pursuit. At last, on the 3rd June, 1818, the great grandson of Balaji Vishvanath surrendered to Sir John Malcolm at Mhow near Indore.

After the re-establishment in 1802 of Bajirao II at Poona, Amritrao had tried to make his peace with his adopted brother. But the foolish Peshwa neither forgot nor forgave, and rejected all Amritrao's overtures. The latter then joined General Wellesley, and was so fortunate as to obtain from the British Government a pension of eight lakhs a year. He went to Benares, where he lived until his death in September, 1824. Bajirao asked for and obtained from Sir John Malcolm a

¹ The subsequent treachery of Appa Sahib led to his arrest and imprisonment. On the 13th May, however, he escaped from prison and joined Chitu, a well-known guerilla leader. After carrying on a guerilla warfare for some months he sought the protection of the Sikhs. After his flight the widow of Raghuji was allowed to adopt Parsoji's minor son, who on adoption took the name of Raghuji also.

promise that his pension should not be less than Amritrao's, as the Company had proclaimed their intention of annexing his kingdom. The prince promised in return to help in the capture of Trimbakji Dengle, a promise that he did not keep. This, however, was of little importance, as the fugitive was not long afterwards seized in Khandesh. Sir John Malcolm's promise was confirmed by the Governor-General, Lord Hastings, and Bajirao was asked where he would like to reside, as he could not be permitted to live in any part of his former possessions. The prince chose Brahmavarta or Bithur on the banks of the Ganges, and the Company bestowed the town on him in jaghir. A beautiful site about six miles in circumference was assigned for the Peshwa's residence, and its boundaries were marked by sixteen stone pillars. The Company appointed a special Resident to his court. His name was Captain Lowe. He was thus by a curious coincidence the namesake of the officer appointed to guard the far more eminent exile, who since 1815 had been eating his heart out at St. Helena. But there the resemblance ended. At Longwood petty persecution, hateful surroundings, an incommodious residence, the vicinity of an odious and narrow-minded jailor, embittered the last days of the greatest of Europe's rulers. At Bithur Bajirao was given the widest indulgence. An ample pension, a vast palace surrounded by a gigantic demesne and cooled by the breeze from India's mightiest river, consoled the last Peshwa for the loss of a power that he had never learnt properly to wield. It is no wonder that the behaviour of the captives differed as widely as the manner of their captivity. For six years Europe resounded with the complaints of the unfortunate Corsican. But so happily passed the years of the Bithur exile that history, English and Indian alike, has entirely forgotten the last part of his existence. Indeed there was little or nothing to record. Day after day of the exile's life glided by in a luxurious dream. He loved women; and on his palace walls hung vast mirrors framed in gold, which constantly reflected the rounded and charming forms of the most beautiful dancing-girls in Asia. His tables groaned beneath their massive load of plate. His park swarmed with every kind of deer and wild-fowl that India could furnish. Singers, either

players, wrestlers, jugglers, strove with one other for the privilege of soothing the tedium of the most urbane of princes. And some eight thousand guardsmen, armed with every kind of useless weapon, recalled to Bajirao the days when his generals could lead thirty thousand men across the Muta river towards Kirkee.

Such was the curious mental standpoint of the Peshwa that, much as he loved pleasure, he yet loved religion still more. Bajirao experienced his keenest joy when he distributed gifts and alms to pious Brahmans. From the Deccan and Benares, from Allahabad and Gwalior, indeed from every spot which on one ground or another had a claim to sanctity, there poured into Bithur a never-failing stream of learned but poverty-stricken savants. At Bithur, provided they knew Sanskrit—for the deposed prince was an excellent scholar—they were certain of a gift and a welcome. Much as Bajirao loved the society of his dancing-girls, he was even more deeply attached to the married state. While at Poona he married no less than six young ladies, and five more while at Bithur; but his many marriages did not bring the Peshwa what he most desired, a son. His eldest wife, the Lady Waranashibai of the Phatak family, bore him a boy, but the child died within fifteen or twenty days of its birth. His sixth wife, the Lady Saraswatibai of the Pendse family, bore him two daughters. One of these two, Bayabai by name, married the son of Sardar Babasahib Apte of Gwalior. She outlived her husband, was made a sardar of the Deccan and was alive until a few years ago. On the 6th June, 1827, Bajirao adopted Dhondupant, the son of one Madhavrao Narayan Bhat, a poor priest that lived at Venegaon near the Bhor Ghat. Subsequently he adopted Dhondupant's two brothers, Sadashivrao and Gangadharrao. Dhondupant was the notorious Nana Sahib of the Mutiny of 1857. Bajirao himself died in 1851 at the ripe age of eighty. At the time of his death he was on the most friendly terms with the English. On one occasion he lent the Company six lakhs of rupees. During the Sikh war he equipped at his own expense two regiments—one of infantry and one of cavalry—for the Company's service. In fact, the life that the Company compelled him to lead for over thirty years was probably the

one best suited to his pleasure-loving nature. Once the first shock had passed, Bajirao probably regretted rarely, if ever, the loss of his unstable throne. He seems to have had none of the qualities that befit a ruler. He was physically timid, short-sighted in politics, treacherous and vacillating. His most remarkable quality was his exquisite charm of manner ; and Sir James Mackintosh, at one time Recorder of Bombay, has left on record that he had met three sovereigns—George III, Napoleon I and Bajirao II—and of the three he far preferred the sovereign of Poona.

In the meantime the reduction of Bajirao's other strong places had progressed rapidly. Vasota in the Koyna valley fell on the 5th April, and Badami and Sholapur fell in the same month. Raygad surrendered on the 7th May. The most obstinately defended of the Maratha forts was Malegaon in Khandesh. It fell on the 13th June.

The reduction of the country was followed by its settlement. To the old Maratha aristocracy, the contemporaries of the great king, the Company restored their lands without distinction. We have thus to this day the Nimbalkars of Phaltan, the Daphles of Jath, and the Ghorpades of Mudhol. To the Pant Sachiv of Bhor, the Pratinidhi of Aundh, and the Raja of Akalkot, all of whom had left the Peshwa's cause early, their entire jaghirs were given back. The Patwardhans were treated with similar forbearance.

Bajirao had made every effort to win Daulatrao Sindia to his cause. He went even so far as to write him the following letter :—

“ Your father Madhavrao Sindia, agreeably to the orders of the Sarkar, went to Delhi, was made a vazir and acquired a high reputation. He served us with his heart and soul. When you became his successor, you entered into an alliance with the English : thus you govern in Hindustan and thus you show us your gratitude. In thus serving us, it befits you to put bangles on your arms and sit down like a woman. After my power is destroyed, is it possible that yours should stand ? ”

Daulatrao Sindia felt Bajirao's reproaches deeply, but he remained loyal to the English alliance. In acting thus he shewed the truest political wisdom and preserved his state

intact for his successors. He died without either natural or adoptive heirs, and his widow, the famous Baizibai, the daughter of Sakharam Ghatge, adopted with the leave of the Governor-General a boy called Mugatrao Sindia, who on adoption took the name of Ali Jah Jankojirao Sindia (27th June, 1827). Jankojirao Sindia died on the 7th February, 1843. His widow Tarabai adopted Bhagirathrao Sindia, who succeeded as Jayajirao. In the Mutiny Jayajirao Sindia remained loyal to the English, although his troops revolted. On the 20th June, 1886, Jayajirao Sindia died, leaving behind him a son, Madhavrao Sindia. This splendid prince still rules over Sindia's dominions and the honours conferred on him are too numerous to record.¹

The House of Holkar was not so fortunate as the House of Sindia. Instead of an experienced chief, the boy prince Malharrao was the nominal ruler, while the regent was Tulsibai, a former concubine of Jaswantrao, and the mistress and tool of Holkar's hereditary diwan, Ganpatrao. The result was that the Peshwa's party prevailed and war ensued with the English. On the 28th December, 1817, the army of Holkar attacked the English at Madhidpur and were completely defeated. The remains of Holkar's army were attacked by General Browne and destroyed on the 10th January, 1818, at Rampur. In the meantime Tulsibai had been murdered by her own troops, and on the 6th January, the young Holkar had made his peace with the English by the treaty of Mandasor and become their subordinate ally.

He gave up his lands south of the Narbada and abandoned all his claims over Rajputana, while the English undertook to maintain a sufficient field force to protect his state. This force still exists and is the Mhow garrison.

The English appointed a resident at Holkar's court, and Tatyajogh became the boy prince's administrator. By 1826,

¹ The following are some of His Highness' titles : General His Highness Mukhtar-ul-Mulk, Azim-ul-Iktidar, Rafi-ush-Shan, Wala Shikoh, Mohtar Sham-i-Dauran, Umdat-ul-Umara, Maharaja Adhiraj, Ali Jah, Hisam-us-Sultanat, Maharaja Shrinath, Mansur-i-Zaman, Fidivi-i-Hazrat-i-Malika-i-Muazzana-i-Rafi-ud-Din-Darja-i-Inglistan G.C.S.I., G.C.V.O., LL.D., and A.D.C. to H.I.M. the King-Emperor, (Gwalior Gazetteer).

when Tatya Jogh died, he had raised the state revenues to thirty lakhs. Malharrao Holkar died in 1833, at the age of twenty-eight, and was succeeded by Harirao, who died in 1843. His successor was Tukojirao Holkar II, a boy adopted by Ma Sahiba Kesaribai, one of Jaswantrao's widows. Tukojirao II remained loyal during the Mutiny, although his troops revolted, and protected at his own risk in his palace a number of Christians, English and Indian. He died in 1886, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Shivajirao. The latter's administration had little merit. In 1903, he abdicated in favour of his only son, H.H. the Maharajadhiraja Raja Rajeshwar Sawai Tukoji Holkar Bahadur, the present ruler.

The great state of Kolhapur was not only preserved intact, but increased in size. In 1772, Jijibai, the widow of Sambhaji of Kolhapur, died. She had administered the state since her husband's death in the name of her adopted son Shivaji. She died leaving him surrounded by enemies, and for ten years the state, attacked from all quarters, was on the brink of ruin. During the dissensions of the last Peshwa's court Shivaji, Raja of Kolhapur, offered a shelter to Chatursing the brother of Shahu II, then Raja of Satara. In 1799, Shivaji defeated and killed Parashrambhau¹ Patwardhan at Pattankudi. The latter's son Ramchandra retrieved his father's defeat and besieged Kolhapur, but on the death of Nana Phadnavis he was deserted by Bajirao, and forced to raise the siege after suffering heavy losses.

On the 24th April, 1812, Shivaji, Raja of Kolhapur, died, leaving two sons, Shambhu and Shahaji. Shambhu succeeded to the throne and in 1817 loyally supported the English. He received in return for his help the districts of Chikodi and Manoli, for which he and the Patwardhans had been continually fighting. In 1821, Shambhu was murdered. He left an infant son who died soon afterwards. His brother Shivaji then succeeded. He died of cholera in 1837. His son Shivaji succeeded and ruled until 1866, remaining staunch to the English all through the Mutiny. He was followed on the throne by his adopted son Rajaram, a youth of rare promise,

¹ See Appendix C for account of Parashrambhau's death.

who unhappily died at Florence on the 30th November, 1870. His widow was allowed to adopt a son, who also took the name of Shivaji. Unhappily his mind failed and he died at Ahmadnagar. On the 17th March, 1884, his widow adopted Yashwantrao, the eldest son of the Chief of Kagal. After a long and prosperous reign, Sir Shahu Chatrapati, Maharaja of Kolhapur, died loaded with every honour that His Majesty the King-Emperor could bestow on a loyal ally.

The Company's most interesting experiment was the creation of a kingdom for the heir of the great king. Under a treaty dated the 25th September, 1818, Pratapsing was formally installed as Maharaja of Satara and ruler of a territory that included the whole of the present district of Satara except the sub-division of Tasgaom, which then belonged to a branch of the Patwardhans. Besides the Satara district the Maharaja received the sub-divisions of Sangola, Malsiras and Pandharpur in Sholapur, the city of Bijapur and a considerable tract of land in its neighbourhood. To help the young chief with his advice the Government appointed Captain James Grant Duff, who will live in men's minds as the historian of the Marathas rather than as the Political Agent of Satara. So long as that able, learned, and sympathetic man was there to guide Pratapsing all went well, and the relations between the Maharaja and the Bombay Government could hardly have been better. Grant Duff's successors lacked his tact and knowledge, and friction ensued, which a little patience and discretion on their part might have avoided. At last the Maharaja seems to have been led by his attendants and hangers-on into ridiculous plots against the English Government. On the 5th September, 1839, the Court of Directors took the serious step of deposing Pratapsing and of putting in his place his younger brother Shahaji. Both Pratapsing and Shahaji were excellent administrators; and probably in all India the English had no truer friend than the Maharaja Shahaji. During the Kabul War of 1841-42 Shahaji offered his troops to the English, and during the insurrection that spread through Kolhapur in 1845 he sent a contingent to assist the English to put it down. His expenditure on public works was munificent, and the bridges built by him across the Yenna and the Krishna are still admired by engineers. His

palace is now the court-house of the Judge of Satara, and the present writer, who for some time officiated in that office, can himself testify to the noble proportions of the building. Had the Maharaja asked the Governor-General for leave to adopt, his request could hardly have been refused. Unhappily in March, 1848, he was suddenly taken ill. There was no time to correspond with the Governor-General, and in the presence of Dr. Murray, the Civil Surgeon, the dying Maharaja adopted a boy named Vyankoji Bhosle of the house of Shedgaon, which traced its origin to Sharifji, the uncle of the great king. The Resident, Mr. (afterwards Sir Bartle) Frere strongly pressed on the Bombay Government the recognition of the adoption. Sir George Clerk, the Governor of Bombay, took the same view as the Resident. Unfortunately the Directors ruled otherwise and the East India Company took back the little kingdom that they had made over in gift.

While the Company thus regulated the future of the Deccan nobles, the settlement of the rest of the conquered territories engaged still more anxiously their attention. To describe in detail the administration of the Peshwas would be to go far beyond the scope of this work ; but a sketch of its more salient features may not prove uninteresting. The base on which the administrative pyramid rested was the village system. The headman of the village was called the patil. The post was hereditary and could be sold. But such was the honour in which it was held that no family sold it save when in the direst indigence. The patils were generally of ancient descent and could point to *watanpatras* or deeds conferred on them by the emperors of Delhi or the Rajas of Satara, and confirmed by the Peshwas. The patil's primary duty was to ascertain and to collect the Government dues, to punish trifling offences, to redress wrongs, to maintain order and to settle the villagers' disputes. The more serious offences he referred to his superiors. Civil matters he referred to the panchayat or council of village elders. The patil received a small stipend, but paid a *dahakpatti* or tax every twelfth year, equal to a year's salary ; and the dignity that attached to his office was his real reward. Fined and imprisoned he sometimes was for neglect of duty ; but he was seldom

removed from his office save for treason or other serious crime.¹

The patil's chief assistant was the village accountant or kulkarni. He was a Brahman, who could write up the village records and accounts. The most important state account books were five in number: (1) the general measurement and description of the village lands; (2) the list of the fields with the name, size and quality of each, the terms by which it was held, the name of the holder, the rent to which he had agreed, and the highest rent ever yielded by the field; (3) the list of all the villagers, whether cultivators or otherwise, with a statement of the dues from each to Government, and the receipt and balance in the account of each; (4) the general statement of the instalments of revenue; and (5) the detailed account, in which each branch of revenue was shown under a separate head, with the receipts and balance of each. The administration paid the kulkarni either by fees or by a grant of land; and he added to his official earnings by keeping the landholders' accounts, drawing up their agreements, and even writing their private letters.

Directly under the patil were the bara balutas or twelve village servants: (1) the carpenter, (2) the blacksmith, (3) the washerman, (4) the barber, (5) the potter, (6) the silversmith, (7) the Gurav, or idol-dresser, (8) the water-carrier, (9) the shoemaker, (10) the ropemaker, (11) the watchman, (12) the Musulman mullah. Besides these there were the Brahman astrologer and the Brahman priest.

(1) The carpenter kept in repair all wooden field tools, the landholder supplying the wood. He furnished the marriage stools on which the village bridegrooms and brides were bathed. He supplied travellers with pegs for their tents and for picketing their horses. His annual reward was two hundred sheaves of corn and twenty-four seers of grain for every thirty bigas² under tillage. He was also given his food while engaged in mending tools.

(2) The blacksmith made and mended sickles, hoes, and

¹ My authorities for this passage are Part 2 of the Poona Gazetteer, Chapter 8, Forrest's Elphinstone, and Colebrooke's Life of Elphinstone.

² A biga is rather less than acre. Thus thirty bigas = 22½ acres.

other iron field tools, and the iron locks and chains with which the villagers secured their doors. He put tyres on cart-wheels and shod the horses of villagers and travellers. He received in lieu of salary eighteen seers of grain out of every thirty bigas.

(3) The washerman washed the clothes of male villagers; the women washing their own. He spread clothes for the bridegroom to walk on at marriage processions, and for parties to sit on at marriages and other festivals. He received no grain allowance, but was paid by presents of money.

(4) The barber shaved the villagers once a fortnight on a lucky day and cut their nails. On holidays he kneaded the muscles and cracked the joints of the patil and kulkarni. He was at once the village surgeon and the village musician, playing on the fife and drum at weddings. When the bridegroom came to the village to take away the bride, the barber led his horse, and received a turban as a reward. He trimmed the tails of oxen before the sowing season, and was paid by presents of grain.

(5) The potter supplied the villagers with all their earthen vessels, their tiles and their bricks in return for their market price. At weddings he beat a drum and recited verses in honour of the goddess Parvati. At harvest festivals it was his duty to prepare a huge dish of *barabat* or stewed mutton.

(6) The silversmith, or Potdar, tested the coins paid in as taxes. For this duty he received a small salary from Government, which he eked out by fashioning ornaments out of silver supplied by the villagers.

(7) The Gurav or idol-dresser was the attendant of the village gods. Every morning he poured water over the images of Hanuman and Bahiru, marked their brows with sandalwood and oil, and dressed them with flowers. He swept the temples, neaped them with cowdung once every eight days, and lit their lamps every night.

(8) The water-carrier, a Koli by caste, had to keep the drinking-vessels at the village office always full of water for the use of Hindus. He also supplied water to travellers at marriages and festivals. He lit the lamps every night at the

village office, and every eight days neaped it with cowdung. If the village was on the bank of a river, he pointed out the ford to travellers. When the river was not fordable, he took passengers across on a raft, buoyed up by gourds and earthen pots.

(9) The shoemaker, or Chambhar, made water-bags, and thongs for the cartmen's whips, mended shoes and bridles, and each year supplied the patil and kulkarni with a pair of new shoes. The skins of all sheep killed in the village were his perquisite, and like the carpenter, he received two hundred sheaves of corn and twenty-four seers of grain for every thirty bigas under cultivation.

(10) The ropemaker, or Mang, made hemp ropes and hide ropes, muzzles for oxen treading the corn, castrated the bulls, and carried out death sentences. He was an outcaste and was not allowed to live in the village.

(11) The watchman or Mahar was also an outcaste, although somewhat higher in the social scale than a Mang. He lived in the maharvada outside the village. He ran errands, kept in his head the boundaries of fields, so that he might settle boundary disputes, provided firewood on Holi, Dasara and Diwali festivals, and also carried at funerals the firewood for burning the dead. He had other duties too numerous to mention. In return the village Mahars had a plot of land outside the village, and each family received forty sheaves of corn and four seers of grain for every thirty bigas. It was the Mahars' duty to remove all dead animals from the village, and the carcasses were their perquisite.

(12) The mulla killed the sheep at sacrifices and festivals. He received petty allowances of grain and straw. He also enjoyed the plot of land attached to the village mosque.

The Brahman astrologer cast nativities, and the Brahman priest conducted the religious ceremonies.

Between the patil or headman and the Government were the latter's representatives—the subhedar or collector and the sarsubhedar or commissioner. The land revenue taken by Shivaji from Poona and its vicinity was fixed according to the *tankha*, the system introduced by Malik Ambar into the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. It was a low permanent settlement calculated at one-fourth of a good year's produce, and was

levied by way of a lump sum on the whole village. As the price of money fell, the assessment fixed by Malik Ambar dropped to about one-seventh of the village output ; and the administration imposed a variety of cesses, so as to increase the revenue. Balaji Bajirao's shrewd mind saw the wastefulness of this method of taxation, and he made a new settlement based on a fresh and elaborate measurement. His system was known as the *kamal*, and on an average doubled the contributions assigned to each village. To see that these contributions were not evaded, Balaji Bajirao created the offices of subhedar and sarsubhedar. As is still the case, the subhedar's office was harder worked and more responsible than that of his nominal superior.

The subhedar's salary was calculated at one per cent on the revenue of his charge, and varied from five to six thousand rupees a year. He was appointed from year to year, and he had to pay in advance to Government the *kamal* assessment due from the villages in his charge. Sometimes he appointed subordinates of his own, known as mamlatdars ; sometimes he himself went to the villages under him and ascertained how much land was likely to be cultivated during the year. To watch and safeguard his interests he appointed kamavisdars and karkuns, whose duties corresponded with those of circle inspectors and talatis. In conjunction with the patils he checked the sum due from each village and left its collection to them. The revenue was collected sometimes in three, sometimes in four instalments ; when the instalment fell due the subhedar sent a messenger to warn the headman. The latter summoned the villagers, who paid in their dues one after another. As they did so, the village silversmith tested their coins and the accountant granted them a receipt. When the total had been collected, the patil sent it by a Mahar and the chaughula or assistant patil, together with a letter, to the subhedar. The interests of the Government were watched by a set of hereditary officials, known as the diwan or minister, the phadnavis or registrar, and the potnis or treasurer. They were expected to report any evil deeds done by the subhedar. The interests of the villagers were watched by the desh mukh and desh pande, hereditary officers whose original duties had been to a large

extent usurped by the subhedar. This system worked at its best during the regency of Nana Phadnavis, whose untiring brain found no toil too arduous and no detail too minute.

After the treaty of Bassein, Bajirao II, secured from foreign invasion and internal disorders by British protection, found the superintendence of the state revenues too serious an encroachment on his daily pleasures. For Balaji's *kamal* system he substituted the practice of farming the revenue for short terms to the highest bidder. This practice was not without its advantages. It relieved the central Government of a vast and unceasing labour, and it shifted on to the revenue farmer and the villagers all losses caused by floods or drought. On the other hand all intercourse between the villagers and Government ceased, and the former became the victims of greedy and unscrupulous contractors. In their anger they were loud in their complaints against the pleasure-loving prince, who no longer protected them. It must not, however, be supposed that the English found the Peshwa's dominion a waste and ruined land. In spite of the faulty method of taxation, British protection and uninterrupted trade with Bombay had enabled the cultivators to recover from Holkar's invasion, and the Peshwa before his downfall had accumulated more than five crores of rupees. The English had the double advantage of displacing an unpopular Government and of assuming charge of a prosperous country.¹

The administration of the conquered provinces was entrusted to Mountstuart Elphinstone, the former Resident at Poona. It was first intended that the new acquisitions should form part of the Presidency of Bengal; but in 1819, Lord Hastings, upon Elphinstone's nomination to the Governorship of Bombay, resolved to incorporate them in that presidency, the size and dignity of which were thereby greatly increased.² The decision was a fortunate one not only for Bombay but for the Deccan, which thus continued under the wise and sympathetic rule of the former envoy.

¹ See Elphinstone's Proclamation at Satara (Forrest's Elphinstone, p. 53).

² See Lord Hasting's letter to Mr. Elphinstone, dated 2nd July, 1819, at p. 102, vol. II, Colebrooke's Elphinstone.

The conquest had been achieved with little difficulty because of the general indifference of the Maratha population; but none knew better than Elphinstone the dangers that lay ahead. It was unlikely that the queenly city on the banks of the Muta river would cease to brood over the days when her victorious armies brought back in triumph through her gates the captured flags of Delhi, of Portugal and of England; and when in her palaces treaties were signed that shook thrones on the Jamna and fortresses on the Cauvery. She was the capital of a proud and warlike people, who, if by any cause united, might prolong a guerilla war of independence for so many years that the East India Company might through sheer weariness return to them their freedom. There were two innovations that Elphinstone especially dreaded—the establishment of English law courts, and the attempt to spread Christianity. It is difficult at the present time fully to understand the hatred with which even in England the English law courts were regarded; but the phrase “In Chancery”, still applied in boxing circles to the worst position in which a pugilist can find himself, may help to give the modern reader some idea of the popular antagonism. The English lawyers had evolved so intricate and unintelligible a system that Bentham, not without justice, compared the common law of England to a poisonous parasite fastened to an oak, and asserted that it was stifling the very life out of the country to which it clung. By the exercise of caution and a determination never to invoke legal aid, an Englishman might hope to escape the perils of his own jurisprudence. But the unfortunate Indian had no such safeguard. He understood far less of English law than the Englishman, and he was so misguided as to think that from its provisions he might obtain justice. He was soon disillusioned on that score. The Company’s courts in Bengal, partly because of the laws that they administered, partly also because of the incompetence of the judges appointed to preside over them, became mere centres of chicane, barratry, and corruption. The Indian who was so unfortunate as to get entangled in a lawsuit might deem himself lucky if, with a single rag to cover his nakedness, he lived long enough to see its conclusion. The popular horror of this terrible legal system

spread from Bengal all over the peninsula, until at last a traveller in Upper India, riding through a village, saw its population fleeing panic-stricken into the jungle. He assumed that they dreaded the expected arrival of Lake's forces. The peasants assured him that it was not so. It was something much worse. It was the "Adalat" that was coming. They could have borne with stoic resignation the approach of British arms; but they were fleeing, shrieking and unmanned, at the rumoured advent of British justice.¹

Any active attempt to convert the Marathas to Christianity Elphinstone feared more. It was not that he doubted its truths; but he realized that any effort to force a new religion on the most orthodox among Hindus would unite the entire nation against its foreign rulers. It is impossible to state his views better than he himself has done in a passage quoted by his biographer Colebrooke (vol. II, p. 95):

"I have left out of account the dangers to which we should be exposed by any attempt to interfere with the religious prejudices of the natives. These are so obvious that we may hope they will never be braved. The numbers and physical force of the natives are evidently incalculably greater than ours. Our strength consists in the want of energy and the disunion of our enemies. There is but one talisman that, while it animated and united them all, would leave us without a single adherent: this talisman is the name of religion. . . . I do not point out the danger now from any apprehension that Government will ever attempt to convert the natives, but to impress upon it the consequences that would result from any suspicion that it was disposed to encourage such a project. While we enjoy the confidence of the natives our boldest innovations are safe; but, that once lost, our most cautious measures would involve us in danger. It would not then be necessary that we should go so far as we do now; the most indifferent action would suffice to excite that fanatical spirit, the springs of which are as obscure as its effects are tremendous."

Both the dangers that Elphinstone dreaded were happily averted. The religious danger proved illusory, for no

¹ See Colebrooke's Elphinstone, vol. II, p. 131.

attempt was made to convert the Marathas. The legal peril proved more real. As commissioner for the conquered provinces and afterwards as Governor of Bombay, Elphinstone retained so far as he could the old principles of administration. The chiefs and principal sardars were given full criminal and civil jurisdiction over their estates. Subhedars he converted into collectors, borrowing the name from Madras. He made them not only revenue officials, but gave them also jurisdiction as judges and control over the police. Subordinate to the collectors, he appointed mamlatdars in charge of subdivisions. The collectors and assistant collectors were Englishmen; the mamlatdars were either Deccan Brahmans or officials from Madras. He pressed upon the collectors to leave, so far as possible, civil litigation to the panchayats or councils of village elders. In towns the arbitrators were paid officials called amins. Important questions of law were referred through the commissioner to expert Hindu scholars known as shastris. This system worked admirably, but was regarded with jealous eyes by the English lawyers of Bombay. Matters came to a head in 1823, when a Supreme Court was created to take the place of the old Recorder's Court. Almost from its creation it sought to extend its jurisdiction. But Elphinstone steadfastly resisted its encroachments, and his successor, Sir John Malcolm, after a long and acrimonious dispute with the Chief Justice, Sir Peter Grant, obtained the approval of the law officers of the Crown to his predecessor's policy. As time passed the evils of the English law courts brought about their own remedy. Even the insular arrogance of the English Bar could not indefinitely ignore the fact that many countries on the Continent enjoyed an admirable jurisprudence, created by the genius and industry of the First Consul. Indeed it became clear that the choice lay between a reform of the laws and the adoption of the Code Napoléon. The latter alternative was so repugnant to the jurists of England, that they were driven to adopt the former. To do them credit, they were equal to the occasion; and the noble labours of Eldon, Brougham and a host of fellow-workers produced the still imperfect, yet practical and intelligible system, on which have been founded the Indian codes of to-day. While the laws became simpler, the Maratha

nation became more accustomed to English ways of thought. The existing courts of law were introduced with the approval of the people ; and the strongest proof of Elphinstone's wisdom is the entire absence to-day of any animosity against either the established law courts or the Christian religion.

It was impossible to continue farming the land as Bajirao had done ; so it was decided to revert to the old method in which the revenue officers of the Government settled the assessment of each village in conclave with the village headman. This was done yearly by the mamlatdars in conjunction with or under the supervision of the collector. But the mamlatdars were often venal, and the collectors had not the necessary knowledge or time to check their frauds. It was, therefore, decided to survey and assess the Deccan, village by village, on a permanent basis. With this object Mr. Pringle, Assistant Collector of Poona, was in 1825 appointed to survey and revise the assessment of Poona district. This was the beginning of the first great survey settlement, still well known as Pringle's Survey.

The police also engaged the attention of this great administrator. In the Peshwa's times the patil was the unit of the police force. He was responsible for law and order in his village. He was helped by the chaughula, the kulkarni, and generally by the main body of the villagers. But his chief resource lay in the village watchman or Mahar. It was the latter's duty to keep watch at night, scrutinize strangers, and report suspicious individuals to the patil. When a theft was committed, it was the Mahar's duty to detect the thief. And, as he was always moving about the village either to collect his share of grain or his fees, there was little therein that escaped his observation. He was also a skilled tracker and could often follow the footsteps of the criminal to his home or hiding-place. If the thief's footprints led to another village, the watchmen of that village had to take up the pursuit, and the last village to which the footprints could be traced was held responsible for the losses caused by the theft. Over the headman was the subhedar, who kept up a force of *sibbandis*, or irregular infantry, and a small body of irregular horse. They were, however, intended to oppose violence rather than to detect crime. This system, rudimentary although

it seems, worked admirably until the times of Bajirao II, when the disorders of the kingdom strained it to breaking point. To remedy the weakness of the district police, Bajirao created a body of officials known as *tapasnavises*, who corresponded with the modern Criminal Investigation Department, and whose duty was not only to detect crime, but to prevent it by superior vigilance. This arrangement worked well, and, as Elphinstone has admitted, violent crimes were rare and few complaints reached him of the insecurity of property.

For the Maratha system, Elphinstone substituted bodies of district police, both mounted and unmounted, commanded by English officers and controlled by the collector. Out of these bodies of district police has grown the admirable and loyal force that is now under the orders of the Inspector-General. Yet many years of strenuous toil were needed before the Superintendents of Police appointed by Elphinstone reached the standard of efficiency reached in the days of the Peshwas. The result of Elphinstone's reforms cannot be better appraised than in his own modest language :

“ To sum up the effects of our revenue, police and judicial systems, we have in revenue lighter and more equal and more certain assessment, less speculation and consequently less profit to the agents of Government. In police more attention and more vigour and, so far, less efficiency. In civil justice, the great change is that Government has taken on itself the whole responsibility of protecting people's rights, but there is more form, more system, more scruples, more trials, more acquittals, more certain punishment for all crimes except robbery, and for that less certain and severe.” ¹

Just as the roads built by Marshal Wade to connect the lowlands with the highlands did more than aught else to bring together the plainmen and hillmen of Scotland, so perhaps the chief factor in accustoming the Maratha people to the rule of an English king was the great road up the Bhore Ghat from Bombay to Poona. It was projected by Elphinstone, but was not completed during his governorship. In course of time the railway was added to the carriage road ;

¹ Forrest's Elphinstone, p. 372.

and the passenger who now travels in four hours from Poona to Bombay or from Bombay to Poona finds it difficult, if not impossible, to believe that little more than a hundred years ago the only highway between the English and the Maratha capitals was a steep and stony cart track, soaked repeatedly with the blood of contending armies.

This brings me, somewhat abruptly perhaps, to the end of the task that I began eleven years ago. I have endeavoured, however feebly, to trace the history of a great people from the earliest times to their conquest by a foreign power. I have shown how, largely through a religious movement, they were able, while under the yoke of Delhi, to maintain their national feeling and customs. The rise of an almost super-human genius enabled them to throw off the Musulman yoke and become aggressors in turn. The structure erected by Shivaji was shaken to the ground, not by the arms of an invader but by the domestic quarrels of his successors. But the country that had given birth to the great king was not yet exhausted; and the house of Bhat rebuilt on its old foundations the fallen edifice. As time passed, the Chitpavan prince-ministers were ruined by the same cause as the Maratha kings had been, namely, their own family disputes. As the power of their rulers waxed or waned the fortunes of the Maratha people rose and fell, until at last they lost their independence; for, as it was once said in the greatest of all epic poems :

“It is the king that createth the *Krita*, the *Treta*, the *Dwapara*, and the *Kali* age; for it is the king who is the cause of the era, and not the era the cause of the king.”¹

But in becoming the subjects of an English monarch, the Maratha people did not lose the qualities that had made them the foremost nation in India. Of them is Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, the greatest archæologist of his time. Of them also were Gokhale, the first of Indian orators, Telang, the most eloquent of Indian advocates, and Apte, the most charming of Indian novelists; so too were Ranade and Chandavarkar, conspicuous among Indian judges. Under English officers the Maratha regiments have repeatedly proved their worth.

¹ Mahabharata : Udhogparva.

They stopped the rush of the Soudanese Arabs at MacNeill's zariba. And, so long as the Indian army endures, its officers will remember with gratitude the valour of the Maratha sepoy in the many battles, fought in Irak on the banks of the Tigris, and on the banks of the Euphrates. In commerce, it must be admitted, the Marathas have not prospered as their friends could have wished. The trade of Bombay is in the hands of Guzaratis, once the spoil of their bow and spear; and thousands of Maratha peasants toil daily in the mills to swell the profits of millionaires from Broach, Ahmadabad and Surat. We can only hope that in no distant time the earnings of Maratha workers may go into Maratha hands. But that is in the future, and of the future no man can tell. The time has come for me to lay down my pen. I lay it down with regret, but lay it down I must; for alike are over the epic of the Bhosles and the epic of the Chitpavans.

“ Stop !—for thy tread is on an empire's dust !

An Earthquake's spoil is sepulchred below !

Is the spot mark'd with no colossal bust ?

Nor column trophied for triumphal show ?

None ; but the moral's truth tells simpler so,

As the ground was before, thus let it be ;—

How that red rain hath made the harvest grow ! ” ¹

¹ Childe Harold.

APPENDIX B

NOTE ON RAM SHASTRI AND JUSTICE UNDER THE
PESHWAS

by Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis

Before the conquest of the Deccan by the Marathas there were no regular courts of justice except the village council or panchayat, which was the most ancient and time-honoured institution in the country and worked well against injustice and oppression in every village. This was the only institution that survived revolutions and disturbances in the country, and lived through all the changes that had taken place since the downfall of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar. It was based on sound principles of law and agreeable to the religion, habits and customs of the people. An English authority has aptly remarked that the panchayat system resembled the English jury system, which survived in England notwithstanding all the violent efforts of the Norman conquerors to supersede it by substituting for it trial by battle. The Mahomedan rulers of the Deccan seem to have interfered little with the administration of justice beyond shifting the seats of government. Their laws and regulations, founded on the Koran, referred mainly to their own class. The village council or panchayat continued in force, except that the names of the village and district officers were changed to patil and deshmukh respectively. Shivaji established his rule in Maharashtra about the middle of the 17th century, and, though he hardly found the time to improve the administration, he created the post of Nyayadhish or Chief Justice in 1661, and bestowed it on Niraji Raoji. The Nyayadhish was a member of his Ashta Pradhan or Council of Eight, and the office was continued till the death of Raja Shahu in 1749. His Prime Minister, or Peshwa, Balaji Bajirao, introduced several changes in the administration at Poona and established a separate department for justice and law, and appointed Balkrishna Shastri Gadgil as Nyayadhish or Chief Judge. But the real reform in the judicial department was introduced in the time of Madhavrao I, who appointed the celebrated Ram Shastri as Chief Justice of Poona and gave him a separate establishment and full authority to frame laws and regulations for the better administration of justice.

Ram Shastri, surnamed Prabhune, was a Deshastha Brahmin and hailed from Mahuli, a village on the river Krishna near Satara. It is said that he served first as a *shagirda* or personal attendant to the Peshwa Balaji Bajirao, but owing to a sharp rebuke from the Peshwa he left his service and went to study at Benares, the chief seat of Sanskrit

learning. There he spent a few years, and returned to Poona a well versed and learned shastri. The Peshwa Balaji, pleased with his high spirit and superior talents, appointed him as one of his shastris in 1751, on a pay of Rs. 40 per month and half a *dakshina* or religious gift of Rs. 500 during the month of Shrawan, and a dress of honour worth Rs. 551. Two years later he was favoured with the gift of a horse, for which he received a monthly allowance of Rs. 15. After the death of Balkrishna Shastri in 1759 he was selected as Nyayadhish or Chief Justice and was given the distinction of a palanquin, which brought with it an allowance of Rs. 1,000 a year. Ram Shastri earned a great reputation for his learning, character, and virtues in the reign of Madhavrao I, who treated him with great respect and honour. Ram Shastri took special pains to instruct the Peshwa in law as well as in general administration.

The following anecdote of Ram Shastri is most instructive and throws light on the admirable characters of both the Peshwa Madhavrao and the learned Ram Shastri. Madhavrao was once so much influenced by the erudite and religious discourses of some learned Brahmins that for a time he began to perform the various rites and occupy himself with the meditations that the Shastras strictly enjoin upon devotees. Ram Shastri saw that this would come in the way of his duties as a Peshwa ; but he saw also the futility of dissuading the Peshwa by arguments which might perhaps make a man of Madhavrao's character more firm in his resolution. One day Ram Shastri happened to go to the palace to attend upon the Peshwa when the latter was engaged in meditation ; and the Shastri had to return. The next day the Shastri went to the Peshwa and formally resigned his office, expressing his desire to retire to Benares to lead the spiritual life enjoined by the Shastras. Madhavrao immediately apologized for the apparent impropriety of his conduct the day before ; but excused himself by saying that he was engaged in meditations, as every Brahman ought to be. Ram Shastri replied that only those Brahmins who renounced all worldly advantages could afford to spend long hours in thought. Those Brahmins who had not discarded the material world for the spiritual but had assumed the duties of kings should devote their time more to the good of their subjects. That was the only way to justify their changed lives. " Your duty," said Ram Shastri, " is to attend first to the welfare of your people ; but, if you prefer your duties as a Brahman to those of a king, resign your throne and come with me and pass your life as strictly as the Shastras enjoin a Brahman to do ". Madhavrao, fair-minded as he was, recognized the justice of the rebuke and gave up his religious exercises.

Soon after the death of Madhavrao I, Ram Shastri's sterling qualities as a judge were put to the test when the Peshwa Narayanrao was murdered in 1774. It was generally suspected that Raghunathrao was privy to the murder ; and he asked Ram Shastri what was the penalty for the act. Ram Shastri not only declared that capital punishment was the only penalty for this offence, but declined to serve any

longer under a Peshwa who had murdered his own nephew. He left Poona to lead a retired life at Pandav Wadi near Wai. Later on, in 1777, Nana Phadnavis induced Ram Shastri to return to Poona to resume his work as Nyayadhish, with an annual salary of Rs. 2,000 and an allowance of Rs. 1,000 for his palanquin.

Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone has given an elaborate account of the judicial system of the Peshwas, particularly the proceedings before Ram Shastri, in his report on the conquered territories of the Peshwas. Another authority, Dr. Coates, who was Residency Surgeon in Poona, contributed in 1819 some valuable notes on the administration of justice in Poona to the Literary Society of Bombay. He wrote :

“ A sort of ecclesiastical court and one for the administration of criminal justice were acknowledged in the city. A learned shastri, assisted by other shastris supposed to be acquainted with Hindu law, was at the head of the first. It took cognizance of all offences against the ordinances of religion, and breaches of rules of caste. It was also referred to for judgment in intricate criminal and civil cases, particularly when Brahmans were the parties concerned. Disputes, etc., in castes were permitted to be settled by their own bodies : appeals, however, were always open to the shastris, and, it is said, were encouraged.

“ The criminal court was composed of a Brahman president, some Brahman clerks, and a shastri. Its mode of proceeding, if the accused were professed thieves or old offenders, was summary, and had something of a sanguinary character. It was always essential to conviction that the offender should confess his guilt, and the investigation turned much on this. The facts and evidence were all taken down in writing by *karkuns* (clerks), and persuasion and threats were used from time to time to obtain confession. If this failed, and when from the evidence recorded there appeared little doubt of the fault of the accused, torture was employed and he was flogged, the chilli bag was put to his nose, etc. If he persevered in his declaration of innocence, he was sent back to prison, put in the stocks, and allowed only a very scanty subsistence ; and after an interval was brought forward again and again to try to get him to confess. This refers chiefly to Ramoosis, Mangs, and persons of bad character. In other cases the proceedings were conducted with more deliberation and forbearance ; and there were probably few instances where those entirely innocent were made to suffer. Persons accused of robbery and theft were readily admitted to bail, if the bondsman made himself responsible for the lost property in cases of conviction. Murder was not bailable, unless a compromise was made with the friends of the deceased. The accused might summon what evidence they pleased, but were not allowed to have any intercourse with them. When the offender had been convicted on his own confession, the president, the shastri, and the Brahmans of the court, in ordinary cases, awarded the sentence ; and in intricate cases this was done by a body of learned shastris, sometimes in the presence of the

Peshwa. No severe punishment was inflicted till the case had been submitted to the Peshwa for his approval. Brahmans, of course, whatever their crimes, were never put to death, or subjected to any punishment considered ignominious. For small crimes they were often merely reprov'd, ordered to dispense charities, and perform religious penances ; or were subjected to slight fines, imprisonment, or flogging ; for those of a deeper die they were heavily fined, or confined in hill forts, sometimes in irons, where the climate and their scanty and unwholesome food commonly soon put an end to them ; and their property was sequestrated, and their sins visited on the children. Gangs committing murder, highway robbery, and house-breaking, were punished by death, and their bodies hung up on the sides of roads ; other professed incorrigible thieves were punished, according to the extent of their crimes, by the cutting off of a finger, or hand, or foot, or both, and left to their fate. Perjury was punished by the perjurer being made to make good the loss that depended on his false oath, and paying a fine to Government. Forgery, by the Hindu law, ought to have been punished by the cutting off of the right hand ; but this, like almost every crime at Poona, was commutable for money. Women were never punished by death for any crime. Turning them out of their castes, parading them on an ass with their heads shaved, cutting off their noses, etc., were the usual punishments.

“ Civil causes when men of rank were the suitors, or which involved much property, were generally referred to the ministers, and submitted to their arbitration, or tried by panchayat. Small crimes and disputes in the villages were within the jurisdiction of the patel, who punished the former by reproof or stripes, but was not permitted to levy fines. The latter were settled on his authority, or, if the parties demanded it, by panchayat. Disputes of greater importance, if the parties belonged to different villages, were referred to the revenue officer, who again settled them on his authority, or by a panchayat constituted of members from the neighbouring villages. The shets and mahajans, and the civil officers of trading towns, were supposed to have the same authority within their divisions as the patels had in the villages ; but their power had been curtailed. Sirdars and men of rank, besides administering justice to their immediate servants and dependents, were often called on by their neighbours ; and many disputes were equitably adjusted in this way.

“ Together with these different chances that the people had of getting justice, custom in many instances allowed them to take the law into their own hands. This was especially the case in the recovery of debts. Debtors were seldom submitted to imprisonment, but the modes of annoyance resorted to by the creditor were perhaps more effectual in bringing them to a speedy settlement.

“ Causes that could not be satisfactorily settled simply by the authority they were referred to were tried by panchayat. A panchayat assumes in the eye of Hindu law a sacred character, whence it is termed also *panch permeswer*, or the god of five persons. No oath is

administered to the members of a panchayat ; but, before proceeding to try a cause, they are reminded of the sacredness of the character they have to maintain, and the punishment that awaits them in the next world should they violate it by acting contrary to their consciences. A panchayat may consist of from two to twelve members or more ; but four is the usual number. It was optional with the disputants to nominate the members themselves, or to leave this to the Government, but even in the latter case they had the right of challenge. These public calls, however, seem seldom to have been considered a hardship : custom had rendered them familiar, and the selection was thought a mark of distinction. The trial by panchayat was pretty uniform, and went in a great measure on the principle of deciding on the case as represented by the parties themselves”.

“ The panchayats ” writes Elphinstone, “ were more frequently named by the parties than the judge, but Ram Shastri and his deputies seem frequently to have presided at the trial, the panchayat performing nearly the same functions as a jury in England. A good deal of the investigation seems to have been entrusted to Ram Shastri’s *karkuns*, who reported to him and the panchayat, and in the decree the names of the members of the panchayat are not mentioned, even when it is merely a repetition of their award. The decision was always in the Peshwa’s name, and in all cases of magnitude required his signature ; all cases relating to land were of this description, and the same holds good all over the country where claims to land are considered more immediately under the superintendence of Government. It was not unusual in the country as well as in Poona for a Government officer to receive the complaint and answer, with the documents and the written evidence of witnesses, and lay the whole in this shape before the panchayat, who could call for more evidence if they required it. Much time must have been saved by this arrangement ; but it gave the officer of Government considerable opportunities of imposing on the panchayat. The members of the panchayat received no fee, but when they had much trouble the winner of the suit made them openly a present for their pains.

“ A sum of money was likewise levied for the Government from the winner, under the name of *harki*, which means congratulatory offering, and from the loser under the name of *gunhegari* or fine. These *gunhegaris* varied with the means of litigants, but from the revenue accounts I observe that one-fourth of the property is always put down as the price paid for justice by the plaintiff when he wins his cause. The plaintiff losing his cause was obliged to pay the expenses of the defendant, if the latter were poor.”

Such was the judicial system that prevailed in Poona and in the country at the time of the Peshwas, and, though there was no regular procedure, it is said to have worked very well in those days ; and there were far less acts of injustice and violence under this irregular system than one might suppose. The reason for this, according to Dr. Coates, “ is chiefly to be looked for in the mildness and abhorrence of cruelty in

the dispositions of the people produced by many of their religious maxims". In Poona the system distributed equal justice under the able judge Ram Shastri, who after his return in 1777 held the post of the Nyayadhish till his death in the year 1789. The Government of the Peshwas appreciated the services of this eminent judge in various ways, and, lastly, as a mark of respect to his memory, gave a donation of Rs. 2,000 towards his funeral expenses.

Ram Shastri left behind him a son named Gopal Shastri, who used to get Rs. 3,200 as an annual grant from the Peshwas' Government. His descendants are still living at Mahuli, and are well known for their Vedic learning.

There are many stories still current about Ram Shastri's skill as a judge, his fearless independence, and his upright character, his extreme truthfulness and his sound knowledge. Such a noble character as his was bound to make a mark, and few people equalled Ram Shastri in the influence he wielded over the public and the respect he received from all. For weight and soundness his opinions were universally admired and his learned judgments in the panchayat were considered precedents for future guidance. Grant Duff has paid a glowing tribute to Ram Shastri's work, and the estimate which the great historian has formed of the man shows how much of the good in the administration of the Peshwas was due to Ram Shastri. "The first person" writes Grant Duff, "who held this situation of Nyayadhish was Ram Shastri. He was, I believe, appointed by the First Madhavrao, whose character as an upright judge stands higher than that of any other Peshwa. But even after the death of his patron, Ram Shastri continued to uphold the duties of this situation with becoming dignity and high honour; his memory is revered throughout the country, and many of the good acts of Nana Phadnavis are believed to have originated in the weight and respectability of Ram Shastri's opinions. Such a public character under a corrupt Government is beyond all praise, and a succession of such examples, even if they had stood alone in their generation, would have prevented the general debasement of morals which Bajirao and his court effected so rapidly in Poona."

On the death of Ram Shastri, his right-hand man, Ayya Shastri, who was equally learned and upright but rather weak, was appointed Nyayadhish in his place. He conducted the duties, until, growing disgusted with Bajirao's interference in the judicial administration, he ran away from Poona and then became a sannyasi. Bal Shastri Tokekar was nominated to the office, but, owing to the inferior state of the administration, the system, which till then with all its defects had proved successful, lost its prestige and importance.

"The late Peshwa" writes Grant Duff, "had a better opportunity than any of his predecessors of amending laws or of fixing whatever was considered equitable by the generality of his subjects, but the Prince possessed neither ability nor inclination for a task of the kind. During the last twenty years, matters in this respect were probably worse than at any former period. Bajirao raised mean men for disgraceful acts,

and ruined respectable persons who had any value for their own and the fair reputation of their families. Decisions, therefore, in most cases depended on the will of unprincipled individuals, who cared little for public opinion and who had few restraints either upon their caprice or their avarice. Bajirao listened to no complaints, much less redressed them. Every rich man and every man in office, however insignificant his place, assembled panchayats and decided civil suits. These decisions, however, were often reversed, or new panchayats ordered at the pleasure of any greater man. The Nyayadhish (Bal Shastri) did not interfere with the panchayat convened by any powerful man, lest a superior influence to his own should occasion the loss of his situation. The duties of the office called Nyayadhish were latterly exercised in Poona by a shastri who was appointed by Bajirao with a considerable establishment. This establishment cost the Government nothing : there was no salary and the whole was supported by enrolment neither authorized nor forbidden. To remark what Bajirao was is superfluous, but the course of events affords a useful lesson, and I cannot help thinking that, had Bajirao been a better prince, he would have never dared to commit in any case acts which impunity in smaller crimes led him to perpetuate."

APPENDIX C

Letter, dated 22nd September 1799, giving the news of the death of Parashrambhau Patwardhan.

To Shrimant Rajeshri Dhanisaheb. From Bhaskar Rao. After compliments :—The news from this side is as follows :—The Maharaja of Kolhapur with his army crossing the Vedaganga, encamped near Hamadwada, while Shrimant Bhausahab arrived near Pattan Kudi with his infantry and artillery. There was a distance of five or six miles between the two camps ; and every day there was reconnoitring. On Tuesday, the 4th of Bhadrapad dark fortnight (September 18, 1799), the Maharaja of Kolhapur attacked that place. Bhausahab was prepared to face the enemy. Shrimant Ramchandrapant Appa, the eldest son of Bhausahab, made an assault on the enemy. In the beginning a bombardment of guns took place, after which there was a hand-to-hand fight with swords. Ramchandrapant Appa showed the utmost bravery. More than once the attacks of the Kolhapur army were repulsed and they had to retreat. A bullet, passing through the right arm of Ramchandrapant Appa, wounded him. The fortune of battle took a sudden unfavourable turn. Shrimant Bhausahab received severe wounds and departed from this world, while performing his duties in the cause of his master. Divine dispensations could not be avoided.

(Parasnis' Collection.)

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