

3 H F

HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN of SHAH-AULUM,

THE PRESENT EMPEROR OF HINDOSTAUN.

IONIAINING

THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE COURT OF DELHI,
AND THE NEIGHBOURING STATES, DURING A
PERIOD OF THIRTY-SIX YEARS:

INTERSPERSED WITH

GEOGRAPHICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL OBSERVATIONS ON
SEVERAL OF THE PRINCIPAL CITIES OF HINDOSTAUN.

WITH AN

APPENDIX,

Of the **PAINING THE FOLLOWING** **TRACTS**, **Viz**

I An Actounini *Mb Itjn Delhi.*
II A Nativ" iLj late Revolution at Ram-
fore, in KobiLun u f 94-
Hi 7 Unfldtio o* i Lcttn, wntn in the 7Vr-
fian Language > Inm t t Pn ice Mirza Jwvaun
šukbt "JibLvucL SA/? , dtldl Son of the King of

D , -> his Majesty **George the Third, King**
Gnat Britain, in the Year 1785 : with **a Copy of**
the Original.

IV. Tranflation in Verfc of **an Elegy, written by**
the King of *Delhi* after the **Lofs of his Sight.**

BY W. FRANCKLIN,

Cdfjpiagfir* the Honourable EafUndia Company's Service, Bengal Efteblishment ; Member of
Hie Afiatic Society ; and Author of a Tour to Perfia*

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1798.

[<Entrcbat Stationer#' alL]

TO
THE HONOURABLE
THE COURT OF DIRECTORS,
FOR CONDUCTING THE AFFAIRS
OF THE
EAST INDIA COMPANY,
THIS HISTORY
OF THE
REIGN of SHAH-AULUM
IS INSCRIBED,
WITH THE UTMOST RESPECT,
BY THEIR MOST OBEDIENT
AND FAITHFUL HUMBLE SERVANT,
THE ALMIRAH

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P R E F A C E .

THE work offered to the public is the result of fevcrai ycart>application, during the author's relaxation from his profeffional duties, and the avocation of his leifure hours.

■ An account of the tranfadlions al the court of Delhi during an interelling and e\entful period, and the incidents and occurrences which have marked the decline ot power of the race oi Timoor under the turbulent reign of the ill-fated Shah-Auluin, (in all probability the laft of that family

who will fit on the throne of Ilindoftaun) cannot, it is presumed, fail to prove acceptable to a British reader.

A long residence in India has afforded the author frequent opportunities of acquiring much local information; and most of the geographical remarks were obtained by him on the spot, while on a survey, ordered by the Bengal government, through the Doon and adjacent countries in 1793-4; and on a similar occasion through the province of Rohilkund in 1795-6'.

The perusal of the several Persian manuscripts named in the Appendix, and particularly the Shah Aulum Namell, (a history of the reign of the present king) written by Gholaum Ali, a learned

* A country lying betwixt the rivers Ganges and Jumna,

PREFACE.

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native, afforded the author ample materials for relating such transactions as took place within the authority and influence of the court at Delhi: and to his friends, on various occasions, he is happy to acknowledge his grateful obligations.

To Major Charles Reynolds, surveyor-general of the Bombay establishment, Mr. Johnston of Lucknow, Major Kirkpatrick, Colonel Palmer, and Capt. Salkeld, of the Bengal establishment, he begs leave to offer his hearty acknowledgements for the readiness with which they supplied him with a variety of interesting documents for the present work.

Such are the materials from which the History of the Reign of Shah-Aulum has been compiled; conscious, that notwithstanding the pains and care which have been bestowed on it to attain perfection.

numerous errors and inaccuracies may have crept in, the author trusts that the authenticity of the matter it contains, will, in a great measure, counterbalance its defects, and he therefore cheerfully delivers it to the public, with the diffidence naturally attendant on a first attempt in this arduous branch of literature.

*London,
Bedford Street, Bedford Square,
March 15, 1798.*

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Shah Auhim..

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HISTORY

OF THE

EMPEROR SHAH-AULUM.

CHAP. 1.

*/ ACnj/r; // the principal Occui rentes and Revolutions of tin
C(/Ult oj Sil AHJEHAN ABAD fro))l tbc Rc/gH of MAHMUD
Sil All.*

IN the last year of the reign of Mahmud Shah i a. d. 1747) Ahmud Shah¹, the king of the Abdallccs, invaded Lahoor, which province he claimed by inheritance from Nadir Shah-fc Mahmud Shah lent a large army againft him under the command of his fon, Ahmud Shah, attended by the vizir Cummcr-o'decn Cawn, and his fon, Mohim

* Ahmud Shah Dooranee, or Abd.dke , Shahilhahan, (or King of Kings).

+ By the treaty made between Nadir Shah and Mahmud Shah, the former was to poflefs all the countries lying well of the river Attoc, betides the revenues of the provinces of Lahoor, Guzzcrat, Multan, and Cabul, on the other fide, which were to be colledcd by the officers of the Hindoftaun court.

ool Moolk. The Abdallce was worfled, and obliged to fly to his own country. Cummer-o'dccn being flain in this war, his fon, Mohim ooj Moolk, was left Subahdar of the province of Lahoor, and the prince returned to Shahjehanabad. On his arrival at Pannecutt*, he received the news of his father's death, and immediately catifed hirafclf to be proclaimed king. He conferred the vizarut on Munsur Allee Cawn, the nibahdar of Owd, who conflituted Gazooddccn Cawn, buxey of the empire. The new king being arrived at the city, gave himfelf up to his plcafures, leaving the affairs of ftate to his vizir, who ruled with abfolute authority. The nobles, jealous of his power, and difplcafcd with his adminiftration, formed a confpiracy againft him, and refolved to raife Intezamo Dowla k to the vizarut. The king, who had great caufe to be offended at the conduct of his minifter towards him, joined in the defign. The vizir difcovering the florin which was brewing againft him, determined to evade it by depofing the king. He accordingly furrounded the palace fuddenly with an armed force; but not being able immediately to effedl his attempt, Gazooddccn Cawn, who was the leader of the oppofition, and had already levied a confiderable force, had time to come to the king's refcuc. A war enfued, in which, after various fucccfcs, the vizir was at length worfled, and retired into the country of the Jauts, who were his friends. Intezam o' Dowla was now created vizir in the room of Munsur Allee Cawn, and dreading, perhaps, the growing influence of Gazooddccn

* Forty-two cofe, or 85 miles, from Shahjehanabad.

t The youngeft fon of Cummer-o'dccu Cawn, and uncle, by the mother's fide, tG (Iazooddeen Cawn.

Cawn, persuaded the king to accept of the mediation of the Jauts in favour of Munfur Allee Cawn, who sued for pardon. This was accordingly granted him, and a khillut, or drefs of honour, with a fhookka*, or letter under the privy seal, pardoning his past offences, and confirming him in his fubafhip, was sent to him from the king. Gazooddeen Cawn relenting that the king should take such a flop without his concurrence or knowledge, and at a time when he was near reaping the fruits of his success, exasperated at the vizir for his ingratitude, and with the Jauts for having interfered, resolved upon revenge. Leaving the pursuit of Munfur Allee Cawn, he invaded the country of the Jauts, and subdued them entirely excepting only a strong fortress which they possessed in the borders of the country adjacent to Acbarabad. As he had no artillery with him, and the place could not be taken without it, unless by famine, Abdul Mcjced Cawn, one of his officers, was dispatched to Shahjehanabad to request that the royal artillery might be sent him; but the vizir refused to part with it, and shut up all the bullocks and elephants within the walls of the palace, to prevent their being seized by force, which was actually intended. Incensed as Gazooddeen Cawn was at this affront, he was not yet in a sufficient capacity to resent it.—Malhar Row, a Marhatta chief, being at that time in the country of the Rajpoots, where he had been employed in reducing their Rajah Jeyfing, Gazooddeen Cawn invited him to his assistance; which the Marhatta instantly complied with, being (besides the advantages which must naturally accrue to the Marhatta power from these divisions) strongly urged to take the part of Gazooddeen Cawn, from

* When lent by any of the prince, it is called Rukaa.

history of

, *heteed which he bon lo the Jnuts*, ,vbo bad Hain his fon IK accordingly joined Gazooddecn Cawn with his forces; and a lolcmn treaty was made between them, Malhar Row fwcaing to icgaid Gazooddecn Cawn as his fon, and the latter to look upon the Ma rietta as his father. Every thing being conceited between them, they began their march towards the capital, and were met in the way by the king and vizir, who gave them battle, and were debated. The conquerors proceeded to the city, whither the king and the vizi; had retired, and had flint thcmclcvcs within the wall of the pal.uc with a few followers, their lall, but pool, iclouitc 7 h< chief officers of the city, whom Gazooddecn Cann's good fortune had made his friends, readily obeyed an order from him to furiound the palace till his arrival, when he commanded the wretched kint? to be deprived of his fight, and imprifoned togethci with Im minifler. A prince of the name of Azeczooddecn, being the next in defeent of the race of Timur, was taken out of the palact, and proclaimed king by the title of Aulumghecr the Second, Gazooddecn (awnaffuming the vizarut. This happened about the month ot November 1755.

The new vizir being thoroughly cflablhlhed in his authority, Malhar Row returned to his own country, leaving Junkoojcc, one of his generals, and a considerable part of his army, to prevent frclh mfurrcct'ions, and to colled. the revenues affigned as a recompence for his late fervices.

The king, who was railed to the throne only as an infrument of Gazooddecn Cawn's ambition, was kept bv him in a Rate of the

moil flavifh dependance, being furrounded by the vizir's creatures, and not allowed to flir out without his leave. In order to extricate himfclf from inch a confinement, he privately wrote to the Abdallec, deiirinj?-him to come to his afliftance. Invitations were fent him at the fame time by Munfur Allee Cawn, the Jauts, and the Rohillas, The zXbdallee readily embraced an occafion that promifed him fuch evident advantages. An ftccidcut happened at the fame rime that greatly favoured the enterprife. Mohim o<4hioolk, the lubahdai of Lahoor, received a fall fiom his boric in hunting, wliic.iipui an end to his life. His begum, a lady of gnat fpirit, had intcrefl enough amongit the chiefs *of* the province to procure hair nomination of*her to the lubahdairee in the place of her de ciand huiband.

The affairs, f the empire were in this flatc, when the Abdallec invaded it. The Marhattas were mailers of the greateil part of Hin-Joflaun; a nominal king fat on the throne; the adminiilration was ufurped by a man who derived his influence and cflablifhment entirely from a foreign power; the chiefs of the empire had already declared their rdolution of joining the invader; and Labour, the key of 1lindoftaun, was governed by a woman.

The Abdallec having marched as far as Lahoor, fummoned the princefs to furrender; and upon her refufal, befieged the place.—After a very gallant defence, he at length became mailer of the city and of the prinecis's perlon, whom he treated with great refpedl, beflowed the higheft encomiums on her valour and conduit, as will as on the virtues of her late hufband; and adopting her formally at

his daughter, confirmed her in the fubahdarree. He left however a naib with a small force at the city, and proceeded towards Shahjehanabad. The vizir, unable to cope with such an adversary, went out with the king and all the nobles, and met the Abdallee at Panneputt, from whence he was conducted in great haste to Shahjehanabad.

As soon as he had entered the city, letters were dispatched to all the states of the empire; and the vakeels residing at the court were all summoned to pay obedience to the King of Kings, and to deliver a tribute suitable to the income of each several province. All obeyed the summons excepting the Jauts, against whom he resolved to turn his arms. Before he left the city, he removed Gazooddeen Cawn from the vizarut; and leaving the king the choice of his own ministers, that prince constituted his eldest son, Aafce Gowher, naib of the empire, a post equal in power to the vizarut, but differing in the name, in respect to the quality of the possession.

Leaving a garrison for the defence of the city, and officers to collect the revenues, the Abdallee marched out against the Jauts, who were well prepared for his reception. In two engagements (probably not general) the Jauts had the better. Gazooddeen Cawn, who attended the camp under a guard of Naffuckchees, represented to the Abdallee, that if he would entrust him with the command of the van of his army, he would answer with his life for the success. It is not related what arguments were used to persuade the Abdallee to accept of a proposal seemingly so chimerical and dangerous. It is said he consented; and Gazooddeen Cawn leading the army, at-

tacked the Jauts with fucces equal to his promifes. It is certain that they were entirely defeated, and obliged to fhut themfelvcs up within the walls of their fortrefs, and to fue for peace; which, upon their fubmiffion, and the payment of a large fum of money, w^as granted. The Abdallec, pleafed with the bravery and conduct of Gazooddeen*Cawn, rcfolved to reward his fervices by rcRoring him to the vizarut, and wrote 4o the king his intention, requiring him to comply with it. The king unwilling to difplace his own fon for the fake of a man whom he hated and feared, remonftrated againft fuch a proceeding. To remonfirate was all he could do ; but his haughty patron difdaining an appearance of opposition to his Will, immediately Tent his NaiTuckchees to feize and bring before him the four fons of the king, and feizing the eullumdaun* from Allee Gowher, gave it to Gazooodden Cawn. The princes rem..med with him in the hands of the NaiTuckchccs, About this time news arrived, that the king of Balkh had invaded the territories of the Abdallec. This obliged him to return home. Leaving therefore Nejeeb Cawn, the Rohilla, who by his recommendation had been appointed buxey of the Empire, with the charge of collecting his revenues, he departed with his army, and an immenfe treafure, the fruits of his great fucccffes. He had no fooner palfed the frontier of Hindoftaun, than Gazooddeen Cawn, who now became as abfolute as before, of his own authority diffolvcd the office of collector, which the Abdallec had conferred on Nejeeb Cawn, and deprived him likewife of the buxey-ghccree, which poll: he conferred on Ahmud Cawn of the Bungelh race

* The ftandifh, the badge of the vizarut.

Nejeeb Cawn, upon this quitted the court, and retired to his government at Seharunpore.

The three youngst sons of Aullumghcer, who were enlarged upon the Abdallee's departure, returned to the royal palace: but *Allei Gowber**, not chusing to put himself in the power of his professed enemy, fled to Jedger, his jagheer, and raised forces to defend himself against any attempts upon his person. The vizir entreated him, with professions of the greatest attachment, to return; and the king was compelled to set his hand to the same invitation; but without effect. At length the vizir solemnly swearing upon the Koran, to attempt nothing against his life and person, he submitted and came back to the city. A house without the Availsof the palace was allotted him for his present residence; and the vizir frequently solicited him to go and dwell in the palace with his father and the rest of the royal family. But the prince, knowing that the vizir fought only to get him into his power, evaded the snare by various pretences. This artifice failing, the vizir had recourse to violence, and one morning by day break the prince suddenly found himself surrounded by an armed force. With the few attendants and guards which were about his person he stood upon his defence, and repulsed the first attacks; after which the assailants surrounded the palace, waiting either for fresh orders, or succour from the vizir. The prince seeing no hopes but in flight, found means to gain over Mchdce Coolke Cawn, who guarded one of the avenues to his palace; and fighting his way through the other

* T'Jio prei'eni I penn

guards, made his escape out of the city. Eetal Row, a Marhatta general, lay encamped on the opposite banks of the river Jumna. To him the prince fled for protection, and was kindly received, Eetal Row swearing by the water of the Ganges not to betray him, or deliver him up to the vizir.

The Marhatta continued faithful to his engagements; and notwithstanding the repeated felicitations of the vizir, kept the prince in his camp five or six months.

At length, fearing either a rupture with the vizir, or that he might attempt to surprisethe prince whilst he remained so near, he persuaded him to return to Jedger. The prince saw the necessity of taking such a step, and consented. He was accordingly conducted by a strong escort hunt the Marhatta to that country. Here he continued a few months; but not judging himself safe in such a situation, he accepted of an invitation from Nejeeb Cawn, and repaired to him at Sehaunpore. Nejeeb Cawn allotted him a monthly income of 50,000 rupees for his expences; and treated him with all the respect which his birth, and the similarity of their fortunes, naturally demanded from him. He had not forgot the injury which he suffered from Gazooddeen Cawn; and thought he had now a favourable opportunity to repent it. He accordingly sent letters to Seyed Oolla Cawn, Hafiz Rahmut Cawn, Doondee Cawn* and the other Rohilla chiefs, to Rajah Soorajmul, the chief of the Jauts, and Sujao Dowla; inviting them to join him in redressing the cause of the injured prince, and freeing the king from the tyranny of the vizir; but the dread of the Marhattas obliged them to decline engaging in

fo dangerous a scheme. Frustrated in his designs, and unable to maintain the prince any longer, or to protect him against the vizir, who was actually preparing to send a Marhatta army against him, Ncjeeb Cawn persuaded him to seek for refuge with the nabob Shujao Dowla. In consequence of this advice, the prince, after a twelvemonth's residence with Ncjeeb Cawn, took leave of him, and marched with a slender train to Lucknow. He was received by Shujao Dowla with the greatest honours, and presented with elephants, horses, tents, and all manner of necessaries suitable to his state, with a present (a nezeranna) of 3 lacks of rupees. The power of the vizir was too firmly established, and the Marhatta name too formidable, to admit of the nabob's assisting the prince openly, unsupported as he must be by any other power. To entertain him at his court could answer no end, and must necessarily draw upon himself the resentment of the vizir. All the service he could afford him was to support him privately, and wait a fitter opportunity to act more publicly in his favour. The best expedient, therefore, that immediately occurred, and which promised the surest success, was to attempt the conquest of Bengal. All appearances concurred to favour such a design. The province of Bahar belonged to him as the lawful Subahdar, a prescriptive right of the eldest son of the king.® Jaffer Allee Cawn, the Subahdar of Bengal, and actual governor of the three provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, had been raised to that dignity by the assistance of the English, by whose influence alone he continued to possess it. His government was generally disliked. His behaviour had drawn on him the hatred of the greatest part of the country. His Jemadars, most of whom were once his equals, could not brook the distance with which they

were now treated, and were equally obnoxious to him from the little rcfpcCL which they put on in their behaviour to him. The Scapoys, a numerous rabble, were in arrears even from the pay due to them in the time of Serajah Dowla: the Zemindars of both proyincCs were ready for a revolt whenever they could do it with faifty; and had already appeared in arms again': the Nabob in that, of Bahar, the revenues of which were infufficient to defray its own current expences. With thefc advantages a more powerful argument yet concuircd, which was, the name of the prince, and the veneration which the perfon of the heir apparent of the empire naturally drew from the fubjccts of fo defpotic a flatc; and which was now heightened by his diftreffes. The conqueft of thofe provinces being thus eifured, would facilitate the attainment of his grand objedl, the freedom of his father, and the fecurity of his own right to the fucceilion, b' die acqnifition of fo great a revenue, the increafe of his force, and the influence this fuccefs would give to his name.

1'ivory thing being concerted for effecting this enterprife, Shujaa Dow la aflifted him with a party of hisTown forces under the command of his kinfman, Mahmud Coolly Cawn, the Subahdar of Allahabad. The prince folemnly fwore to beftow the vizarut upon Shujaa Dowla, whenever he came to the throne, as a reward for his loyalty, and departed.

Towards the conclufion of the year 1758, the prince croffed the Currumnafla *, and entered the province of Bahar; where he was

* A river which divides the province of Bahar from the Zemindaree of Benares

foons joined by a number of malecontents, and the disbanded Seapoys of Jafier Allee Cawn. The success of his first attempt is too well known to need a particular relation. Repulsed in his attacks upon the city of Patna, and not daring to stand the approach of Colonel Clive, whose name, and the rapidity with which he marched to meet the prince, already seemed to denounce his certain defeat, he retired with precipitation back to the province of Allahabad; whither it was deemed, in the then-unsettled situation of the Nabob's affairs, imprudent to follow him, as a rupture in that case must unavoidably have ensued with Shujaa Dowla. After this disappointment, he made a proposal of throwing himself upon the protection of the English; which was rejected. He therefore remained at Mukkunpoor, on the borders of the province of Allahabad, forsaken by most of his followers, and waiting, without any determined plan, for what a better fortune might throw in his way.

Whilst the prince was pursuing his projects in Bengal, a storm broke out which threatened to overwhelm his ancient friend and protector, Nejeeb Cawn, against whom the vizier sent Junkoojee, the Marhatta general, with a large force. At the same time Dettajee 'Toppul, another Marhatta chief, was detached against Lahoor, which he reduced, and drove the Abdallee's Naib out of the country.—Nejeeb Cawn finding himself incapable of any long opposition against so formidable an enemy, called his old allies, Sujaa Dowla, and the Rohilla chiefs, to his assistance; and at the same time solicited the Abdallee to return; who was likewise invited by the other leaders of the same party.

Before his allies could join him, the Marhattas had entered his country. He met them, and gained some inconsiderable advantages over them, sufficient however to gain time till he was strengthened by the junction of his friends, who were already on their march towards him. Junkoojec, fearing lest his enemies should be too powerful for him, and hearing of the arrival of the AbdJlee at Lahoor, sent advice to the vizir of his situation, and desired him to come to his assistance. The vizir replied, that he was unable to obey the summons, having no forces with him sufficient to be of any service, nor money to levy others. Junkoojec immediately sent him five lacs, with which the vizir now assembled his people together, and prepared to take the field.

Fearing to leave the king behind him at the city, and suspecting that he had leagued with his enemies, and intended to restore Intezamo Dowla in his absence, he desired the king to accompany him on the expedition, which he refused; and the vizir in consequence resolved to rid himself at once of his fears by putting him to death. This bloody resolution being taken, he affected to be satisfied with the king's excuses, marched out of the city, and encamped a few miles beyond it; where he waited the execution of his plot, which was effected in the following manner:

Ballabaffrow, an emissary of the vizir, went to the king, and informed him that a fakir of great sanctity had taken up his quarters at the tower of Feroz Shah; and partly by persuasion, and partly by force, carried the deluded king to see him, and in the way caused him to be murdered. The vizir having thus accomplished his exe-

crable defign, ordered the palace to be plundered, and the Ions and relations of the dceafed monarch to be fripped of all their jewels, which were converted into money for his urgent ncefftics. Mehdiv Colccc Cawn and Coja Buffent were left with the chaige of the kcl'a, or fort. The former, by the directions of his mailer, tool; a grandfon of Cambukfh, the youngefl fon of Atirengzccb, out of the palace, and proclaimed him king, by ti:e name of Shahjehan the Second.

The vizir now proceeded towards j ' nc. and joined him about the fame time that Nejceb Cawn':. ffdcdla dks ' re arrived to his afliflance; and Nejeeb Cawn reached the bordcis' of NcjubCawn's country, ■where he met with a detachment of Mariettas that had been fent round to cut off the fupplies of provifions coming to the Rohilla camp, and put them to the rout. After this he pn.pofed an accommodation between the contending parties; and a negotiation enfued, which he contrived to protract till the Abdallee wcie advanced as near as Panneeputt, when the vizir was obliged to march back with precipitation to prevent their feizing the city and Shuja Dowla, who thought his prefence no longer necclfary, returned to his province. The vizir caufed a flrong entrenchment to be throe, u acrofs the road leading from Panneeputt to Shahjehanabad, and encamped behind it, waiting the approach of the enemy. In the mean time Dettajec Toppul, whom the Abdallee had lately driven from Labour, was detached with part of the army to obflruCt the enemy's march, and fell in with the van, commanded by Jehan Cawn, by whom he was attacked, and his army routed, himfelf being ilain in the flight. Jehan Cawn continue' his march, whilll the Abdallee,

quitting the direct road by the advice of Ncjeeb Cawn, turned off to the left, in order to favour the junction of the Rohillas, who were battenning to him through the defiles of Coonjpoora. Then passing by the vizir, he suddenly arrived at the capital, of which he took possession without opposition.

The vizir, intimidated by this unexpected stroke, durst not (land the enemy, but fled to Akbarabad. The Abdallee leaving Yacoob Alice Cawn to command in the city, and to put a stop to the disorders committed there by his people, pursued the vizir and cut to pieces many of the Marhattas and Mogul troops in their flight. — From Akbarabad the vizir fled to the Jauts, with whom he had made peace a little before the entrance of the Abdallee. The conquering army continued the pursuit to that city, and, taking possession of it, halted there. The vizir and Junkoojec sent advices of the unhappy turn of their affairs to Malhar Row, and entreated him to come to their relief; he instantly obeyed the summons, and marched to them. During this time the Abdallee having recruited his people, left Akbarabad, and advanced towards the enemy, who declined coming to action, and shut themselves within a strong fortification, being longed to the Jauts.

Notwithstanding the expected union of Malhar Row, the vizir saw that he should still be in little capacity of withstanding the power of the Abdallee. He, therefore, sent a vessel to the Rohillas to desire their mediation with the Abdallee for obtaining a peace; and if they approved of the motion, that Hafiz Rahmut Cawn might come and settle the conditions. The Rohillas con-

consented, and sent Hafiz Rahmut Cawn to the vizir. The demands of the Abdallee were limited to two crore* of rupees, which the vizir consented to pay, offering to give thirty lacks upon the spot, and assignments on the country for the remainder. At this interval Malhar Row arrived, and annulled the treaty. Both armies therefore prepared to renew the war. The vizir continued in the fortrefs, and the Marhattas marched out to meet the Abdallee.—Malhar Row commanded the van of the former, Jehan Cawn led on the latter. They met the Marhattas, were defeated, and fled to Jeypore, a country of Rajepoots, governed by Raja Jeyfing ; the vizir followed.

The season being far advanced, and the Abdallecs used to a more northern climate, being unable to sustain the severe heats which now came on, the army returned to Annoopfhehr, a place on the borders of Nejeeb Cawn's territories, and not far distant from the capital, where quarters were provided for them by Nejeeb Cawn, on the north-east side of the Jumna. On their way they besieged the fort of Sabitgher, and took it

From Annoopfhehr the Abdallee sent his Naffuckchees with letters to Allee Gowhcr and Shuja Dowla, offering the throne to the former, and the vizarut to the latter. They arrived first with Shuja Dowla, who dismissed them with letters of his own to the prince, pressing him to seize the occasion, and return to Hindostan.

* Two million sterling.

This prince had, notwithstanding his defeat last year, thought himself in a capacity this to renew his attempts upon the province of Bahar; and being invited by Camgar Cawn, the Zetnindar of Mev, who had lately escaped from imprisonment, and other malcontents, advanced as far as Safl'eram, when he heard of his father's death, he immediately claimed a throne to be made, and assumed the imperial dignity, taking upon him the name of Shah-Aulum. He wrote to all the potentates of the empire, requiring them to acknowledge his title; and sent a khillut for the vizir to S'u) Dowla, That Nabob accepted of the honours conferred upon him, Ikuck comes in the name of Shah-Aulum, and wrote to the vizir in behalf of the new king.

Soon after the Naffuckchees arrived at the prince's camp with the letters from the Abdallce and Shuja Dowla. He returned a suitable answer to the former; and to the latter he replied, that after the reduction of Bahar and Bengal, he would return to take possession of the throne; but that he would never depart till he had wiped off the disgrace which his honour had suffered in those provinces.

Shitla Dowla, who waited only to learn the prince's resolution, as soon as he had received his answer, left him to prosecute his designs on Bengal, and set out with his forces for the camp of the Abdallce, who had lent him repeated summons to attend him. As soon as he was near Annoopfhehr, the Abdallec sent forwards his own vizir to meet him, and bring him in haste to the camp; where he was received as the vizir of the new king, and presented in person with a khillut for that purpose.

Malhar Row, after his defeat, had written to Ballajee, representing the necessity of his coming himself in person, or sending a large army to retrieve the Marhatta power in Hindostan. Ballajee was then at war with Salabut Jung, the Subahdar of Deccan, whom he had reduced to great distress. But upon the news of Malhar's illness, he accepted of a composition from Salabut Jung, who ceded to him a considerable part of the province of Aurungabad; and a peace was concluded between them.

Ballajee being now at liberty to pursue the war with greater vigor in Hindostan, raised a vast army of 100,000 men, and sent it under the command of his own son, Biffawar. His illegitimate brother, Shemseer Bahader, Sedafhewrow, Ibrahim Cawn Garder, Antajee Mankeer, Appajee, Jeyajee, and Rogojee, were the principal men that attended Biffawar. They proceeded directly to the country of the Jats, and were met by the vizir, Malhar, and the Jats, on the banks of the river Beas. The river Jumna, which lay between the two armies, being swollen to a great height by the rains, they were obliged on each side to remain inactive.

During this interval Biffawar proposed to the Abdallee a peace upon the same conditions which were formerly made with Nadir Shah. The Abdallee rejected these offers with disdain, and on his part demanded that the Marhattas, whom he reproachfully styled the Zemindars of Deccan, should return to their own territories, nor advance beyond the river Nerbudda, which was to be the boundary of their jurisdiction: that his own power should extend as far as Panneputt and Carnal: and that the revenues of the empire should

be collected by the officers of the crown, who should duly pay the Marhattas their chout; in the collection of which the Marhattas should have no concern. As neither side would recede from their own conditions, the negotiations had no other effect than to take up the time which they could not make use of to a better advantage.

The city of Shahjehanabad was still in the hands of Yacoob Allee Cawn, the governor left in it by the Abdallee with only 2000 men, of which about 500 were Abdallees. Biffwaffrow no sooner learnt the weak state of the garrison, than he besieged the city, of which he soon became master, and deposed Yacoob Allee Cawn, without any other injury than stripping him and his people of their effects. He was no sooner master of the city, than he dispossessed all the officers appointed by the vizir, and treated him with so much neglect, that he left the army in disgust, and encamped with a few followers at Carna-pahrcc, about two miles from the Marhatta camp.

It is probable that at this time they had entered into private engagements with Shuja Dowla, to acknowledge him vizir. He arrived shortly after at the camp of the Abdallee; who, by the advice of the Rohillas, sent him to the Marhattas with fresh proposals of peace; and the Jaats were desired to act as mediators. He was received in the character of vizir, and with marks of friendship, by Biffwaffrow, who immediately dismissed Rajah Dileer Sing, Gazooddeen Cawn's vackeel, from his presence and from the camp.—Gazooddeen Cawn being thus rejected by all parties, and deprived

of all hopes of redrefs, retired into the country of the Jauts, who afforded him a subsistence.

The particulars of the negotiation, carried on by Shuja Dowla are not well known. Two months were consumed in various conferences, without any nearer prospect of peace. It appears, however, that he was not altogether idle, from what passed during this interval. Each of the powers that sided with the Abdallee were guided by their own separate interests. In one thing they all concurred, which was an universal enmity to Gazooddeen Cawn. Besides this, Shuja Dowla had other material points in view, the success of the cause in which he had engaged with the prince Allee Gowher, and his own confirmation in the vizarut. Gazooddeen Cawn was already removed. The prince's title was publicly acknowledged by the Abdallee: nothing was wanting to establish his authority but the concurrence of the Marhattas. To obtain this seems to have been the business of Shuja Dowla's private conferences with the Marhattas. The result was, that Biffwaffrow declared Allee Gowher king, and placed his son on the koorfee*, as regent of the empire, during his father's absence. One condition on which this appointment was made, was a present of five lacks to Biffwaffrow⁷, for which the mother of the young prince gave her jewels in pledge to the Marhattas. This step could not but alarm the Abdallee, who was incensed against Shuja Dowla as the promoter of it. Another circumstance which happened presently after, served to add to his suspicion of Shuja Dowla. Coonjpoora is a strong fortified city belonging to the Kohillas, situated about seven days journey to the

* A chair of state

north-west of Shahjchanabad. Abdooflummut Cawn, the Phojdar of Panneeputt, rcided here on the part of the Abdallee, and Kootiib Cawn on that of the Rohillas. The Marhattas marched againft this place, intending to beficge it, and were met by Abdooflummut Cawn, and Kootub Cawn, who gave them battle, but were defeated, and retreated to the city. The Marhattaj, without allowing them time to recover from the effects of their defeat, entered the place by ftorm, and put the garrifon and inhabitants to the fword, and became mailers of the city, wherein was found an immenfe booty. The two chiefs were taken prifoivrs, and font to Biifwafl'row, who flew Abdooflummut Cawn, and imprifoned the Rohilla. The Abdallee no fooner heard of this lofs, than he flew into the moft violent rage. The river which was ftill very high preventing him from attacking his enemies, he vented his refentment on Shnja D~>wla, whom he acculed'as a traitor and an incendiary, and commanded him to depart from his army. By the interceffion of the Rohillas, he was foon prevailed upon to pardon and recall him; but as his fidelity was ftill fufpeded, he would not fuffer him to encamp within his lines. The lofs of a place of fo much confequencce, and the mortification of feeing his enemy carry on his fucccfles with impunity, determined him upon immediate revenge. He mounted his elephant, and rode dircdly into the river, refolvcd to di(cover if poffible fome part where it was fordable; but the water, wherever he attempted a paffage, rofe higher than the elevated trunk of the elephant. Impatient of longer delay, he commanded his army to follow him, and puihing into the midft of the fream, he fwam over to the oppotite bank. His troops, animated by the example of their leader, did the fame, and in a few

hours the whole army was safely landed on the other side of the river, with very little loss, which fell chiefly to the share of Shuja Dowla.

As soon as he had ranged his forces in order, he marched without delay to the capital, hoping to seize it before the Marhattas could arrive to its relief; but he found it so well garrisoned, that, having no artillery, he was obliged to desist from the attempt, and turn his attention towards Biffwaflrow, who was advancing towards him. They met, and the Marhattas were defeated. It does not appear that this engagement was very decisive. Some accounts even make it terminate in favour of the Marhattas; but this is hardly probable. From this period nothing of consequence happened till the beginning of January. Both armies continued in their encampment. The Abdallee at Schaleh, four miles east of Panneeputt, and the Marhattas at Segher, close to Panneeputt. About the month of December a reinforcement of 15,000 men joined the Abdallee, and the Marhattas received a supply of treasure, said to be thirty-seven lacks, conducted by an escort of 8,000 men from Deccan. The Marhattas were now so much inferior to the Abdallee and his allies, that they durst not stir from their camp, but kept themselves confined within a strong entrenchment; whilst the Abdallee remained master of the country round them, and cut off all their supplies of provisions.

Dckel Cawn Rohilla, the Zemindar of Coonjpoora, the capital of which still remained in possession of the Marhattas, marched into that country, and sacked all the villages, from whence the enemy might receive any supplies; whilst other detachments committed the

like ravages in other parts; the Marhattas all the time lying inactive, nor daring to oppose them. They were at length reduced to the greatest freights; their provision was wholly consumed, and the people and cattle daily wafting away by famine. In this distress, which every day rendered more deplorable, Birlawrow attended the chiefs, and it was unanimously resolved to trust to the desperate hazard of a battle, rather than thus to perish by hunger. This being determined on, the whole army marched out of the entrenchments, and on the morning of the 14th of January advanced towards the enemy. They were now within two miles of the camp of the Abdallee, when he marched out to receive them. When both armies came in sight of each other, they cannonaded one another till towards noon, when they came to close engagement with their battle-axes. The fight was maintained with great obstinacy, and various success, till towards the close of the day, when the advantage seemed to be on the side of the Marhattas, who had penetrated even to the Abdallee's camp. At this juncture, a body of Fackees in the service of Shuja Dowla rushed in amongst the foremost of the Marhattas with such intrepidity and success, as gave a turn to the battle. The Marhattas, unable to withstand so fierce a conflict, gave back. The assailants pursued their success, and soon after the rout became universal. Many thousands of the Marhattas were slain in the fight, and in the pursuit, which was continued the next day; and the rest, dispersed about the country, were massacred and plundered by the Zemindars, or seized and joined by degrees their several commanders. Shemseer Bahader, and Ibrahim Cawn Garder, with most of his people, being on foot, were slain. Sheddahrow, the principal officer under Birlawrow, poisoned his

women to prevent their falling into the hands of the conqueror, and fled towards Narnowl in the road to Deccan. Biflwaflow, Malhar Row, Junkojee, and other chiefs of note, are said to have been amongst the slain; but this is not certain. All accounts concur in representing the Abdallce's vidory as complete. Shuja Dowla, to whose bravery and conduct the success was chiefly owing, was honoured by the Abdallce with most signal marks of his approbation. That monarch embraced him after the battle, filed him in form ibisfon, and caused the vidory to be proclaimed and regiflered in his name. On the 16th of January, by the command of the Abdallce, proper officers were sent by Shuja Dowla and Najeeb Cawn to take possession of the Marhatta Camp at Segher, and to take an account of the plunder, which was invaluable, consisting of the whole artillery, tents, elephants, horses, camels, and other cattle and baggage, with a vast treasure.

Naroo Sankar, the Marhatta governor of Shahjehanabad, fled the day after the action towards Akbarabad, with all his effects and treasure; the latter of which must have been very considerable, as his government had been a continued scene of rapine and extortion. It is said, that he was stopped in the way by order of Soorajmul the Jr.i, stripped of all his ill-gotten wealth, and left to pursue his journey, in equal distress and terror, to Akbarabad. The next day, a detachment sent by Shuja Dowla entered the city, and took possession of the place; and Jahan Cawn, the former Subahdar, who had gained the affections of the people by his moderate and just administration, was expedited there shortly in the same capacity. On the 16th, Mirza Bawber, the son of Allee Gowhar, rode out.

attended by his court; to visit the Abdallee, and congratulate him on his victory.

It will be proper now to take a short sketch of the affairs of Bengal. The prince assembled an immense army, defeated Rajah Rammarain, who then commanded the forces of Jaffer Ally Cawn in Bahar; but was soon after attacked and worsted by the young Nabob and Major Caillaud. By the advice of Camgar Cawn, he suddenly retired, by the young Nabob, and entered the province of Bengal by the passes of the mountains; but was so closely pursued, that despairing of success, he returned by the same road, and without losing time laid siege to Patna, which was gallantly defended by the English garrison, till the arrival of Captain Knox with a detachment of Europeans and Scapoys, who relieved it. The prince immediately raised the siege and retired to Tekarree, where he passed the rains. The young Nabob and Major Caillaud arrived soon after. Sometime was spent in the pursuit of Khoudim Husein Cawn, Naib of Purnea, who had sided with the prince. But the campaign was put an end to sooner than was intended by the sudden death of the young Nabob who was struck by lightning. The troops took up their quarters in Patna. In the month of October the Nabob Jaffer Ally Cawn resigned his government to his son-in-law Coflim Ally Cawn, and retired to Calcutta.

After the rains the two armies again took the field. A treaty of peace was set on foot; but broke off through the means of Camgar Cawn. At length, Major Carnac, who commanded the English forces, marched against the prince* on the 15th of January, and

attacked and beat him, taking M. Law and the French party prisoners. He pursued the prince very closely for some days, till the latter found himself so frightened, that he offered to throw himself upon the protection of the English, which was accepted; and on the 8th of January he joined the English camp, and proceeded with them to Patna,

The province of Allahabad, including the district of Corah, estimated at the yearly revenue of twenty-two lacks of rupees, was assigned him in guarantee by the Company; and, in addition, to render his establishment splendid, the British governor, in behalf of the Company, agreed to pay into his majesty's treasury the annual sum of twenty-five lacks of rupees from the revenues of Bengal.—In return for these concessions, Shah-Aulum directed a firman to be made out, constituting the English East-India Company perpetual Dewan of the rich and fertile provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, affording a revenue of three millions sterling.

The city of Allahabad was selected for his majesty's residence, where he kept his court in great splendour.

The provision thus made for Shah-Aulum was certainly ample, and the terms dictated by a spirit of confident liberality.

Surrounded by his most faithful servants, in the bosom of his family, and under the generous safeguard of the British nation, had Shah-Aulum properly appreciated his situation, he might no doubt have passed the remainder of his days in tranquillity and comfort.

It would appear, however, that this prince's disposition and capacity has been imperfectly understood by his contemporaries.—The early part of his life had been active and enterprising; and his conduct in extricating himself from the violence of Gazoodeen exhibited a spirit of great gallantry and energy of mind. But weak, effeminate, and irresolute, he suffered himself to be wholly ruled by the will of others. Though apparently satisfied in his exterior behaviour, Shah-Aulum, even from the moment of his settlement at Allahabad, sighed in secret for the pleasures of the capital, and was ambitious of re-ascending the throne of his ancestors; under this impression, he unhappily suffered himself to be buoyed up by the promises of the Marhatta chiefs, and by the unworthy advice of his own counsellors, who, big with the hope of ruling with uncontrolled sway, urged their sovereign to throw off this dependence on the English, assert his own rights, and march to Delhi.

Accordingly, after an unquiet residence of five years at Allahabad, the emperor ventured on an ill-judged rash experiment, which proved a source of incessant misfortune to himself and family; and which the woeful experience of twenty-fix years of anxiety, sorrow, and trouble, has but too fatally demonstrated.

Not, however, to anticipate the series of events detailed in the following volume, we proceed to relate the particular circumstances that gave rise to this extraordinary resolution of Shah-Aulum*.

* As ample details of the transactions, from the decease of Mahmud Shah until 1765, have been given by Colonel Dow and Captain Jonathan Scott, the author has deemed it eligible to treat of those events with brevity.

CHAP. II.

Shahi-Aulum resides at Allahabad — Nejeeb Al Dowlau at Delhi — Succinct Account of the Marhattas — The Mariattas invite the King to return to Delhi — Negotiations— King Jets out— Arrival at Delhi.

i

SHAH-AULUM, thus eligibly flattered, in the bosom of his family, and surrounded by some of his most faithful servants, might now have secured himself a safe and honourable asylum for the remainder of his days. But it was the misfortune of this prince to be swayed by the counsels of designing persons, who, on the king's return to his capital, foresaw a renewal of their own consequence, and an opportunity afforded for the gratification of their ambitious views.

Buoyed up by the flattering prospect of ascending the throne of Timour, and enjoying the luxury and splendour of the capital, Shah-Aulum was persuaded to listen to the overtures which, about this time, were made him by the Marhatta nation. The power of this nation, though slowly recovering from the effects of the fatal defeat at Panneputt, was still formidable. Their dominions, in 1770, were bounded on the west by the country of the Rathore Rajpoots; and to the south west, including the fertile province of Ctizcrat, extended to the Indian ocean. Their eastern confine touched the extremity of Bahar and the Cuttack province, bounded on that side by

the Soobanreeka*. On the north by the Chumbul, a large and majestic river which rises in the central parts of the Rathore mountains, and, after traversing some of the most fertile parts of Hindoostan, discharges itself into the Jumna on the confines of Binde.

Within this widely-extended circuit were included the ancient kingdoms of Baglana and Beejapore, acquired by the valour of Sevajee, founder of the empire, the provinces of Berar and Bundelcund, Malwah, Cundeith, and Guzerat.

Poonah, a large and opulent, but unfortified, city, distant too miles north of Bombay, is the present capital of the Marhatta nation.

In the latter years of the reign of Shambhaji, *Scwajee*, a noble Marhatta, who drew his lineage from the ancient sovereigns of Deccan, laid the foundation of his country's grandeur. Through a series of bold operations, attended by uncommon success, he baffled every attempt of the great Aurengzeeb to depress his power, - and, during the reign of that prince, he enlarged and extended his territory; and died in the plenitude of his power and sovereign sway over some of the richest provinces in Deccan*. His son and successor, Sambajee, was weak and diffident; but Rajah Sahoo, the

* A river which divides Bengal from the Cuttack province.

t In this brief detail of the Marhatta history, the author has principally followed the interesting reports of the select committee of the house of commons on the first and second Marhatta wars. Mr. Orme's valuable historical fragments have also been consulted occasionally.

third of the family, enjoyed a long and successful reign. Under his auspices the Marhatta leaders, issuing from their strong holds in the mountains, descended into the plains of Hindoostan ; and by a succession of rapid and brilliant victories, overwhelmed the tottering fabric of the Mogul power, and shook the throne of Timoor to its foundations.

On the death of Sahoo, the authority of Serajee's family first exhibited symptoms of decline. The great lords of the empire took advantage of the situation of an infant sovereign; and, assuming an independent authority, eroded the famous office of *Paishwah*, or Director-general of the affairs of the empire: which, in time, embraced every department of the state, and totally eclipsed the influence of the royal family.

Bajerow Balajee, the first Paishwah, was a man of great abilities. To the bravery of an intrepid soldier and skillful general, he added political sagacity; and after a long and successful administration, had the singular good fortune to transmit his authority unimpaired, and his influence undiminished, to his family and descendants.

A succession of Paishwabs after Bajerow continued to direct the affairs of the Marhatta state, until the middle of the present century. During this period the representative of the royal line of Scvajee, immured within the fortrefs of Sittarah, exhibited only the pageant of a sovereign. The idle ceremony of investing each successive Paishwah in his office, the only act of royalty which he was per-

mitted to exercise, served but to render him an object of pity and degradation in the eyes of the princes of Hindostan.,

The great Jagheerdars, or hereditary landholders, among the Marhattas, possessed on their own estates a kind of sovereign authority; and the terms by which they held their domains bore striking similarity to the ancient feudal system of many countries in Europe.

In times of war, indeed, when the public exigencies of the state required, these chiefs were obliged not only to furnish their quota toward the general flock, but also to appear in the field at the head of their followers, to defend the great banner of the empire. When the time of that service expired, they returned to their Jagheers what they enjoyed in perpetuity, converting the revenues solely to their own use. Nor would they, though frequently called upon by the Paishwah's ministers, consent to any diminution therein.

Conscious of their own strength and internal resources, these hardy chiefs were satisfied with paying a nominal allegiance to the commands of the Paishwah; and as they increased in numbers became more daring, till at length they threw off the yoke; and the energy and activity which the first Paishwahs had displayed causing, the Jagheerdars established themselves in independence of the court of Poonah.

This so far reduced the influence of the Paishwah family as to give the Marhatta nation the appearance of a great military republic,

united by general intciefls, but divided and diflinft in the operation of its various executive branches, in which filiation it remains to the prelent day. At the period now commemorating, Madhoo Row Nerrain held the office of Paifhwah at the court of Toonah. By an early application to bufinefs, he contrived to uphold his authority againft the intrigues of his numerous enemies, and to render his authority refpefted.

On the other hand, three powerful families in the Rate were focrectly endeavouring to undermine the authority of the Paiihwah, and ereft their own on its ruin. i. The family of Bhonfelah, rulers of the province of Berar, -which they held in jaghire from Rajah Sahoo. Moodajec Bhonfelah at this time ruled over that province, and is well known to the Britifh nation. Allied by blood to the royal family of Sevajec, this chief was confidered with the bigheft refpeft by the whole Marhatta nation; and having eftablifhed his authority on a found bails, he is looked up to by all parties as a proper counterpoife to the influence and over-weening ambition of the court of Poonah. 2. Pillagcc Guicawar, or the herdfman, whose anceftors wrefled from the Mogul Furrok Seer all the country at the foot of the Balah Ghaut mountains, and from Ahumudabad, the capital of Guzzerat, to the port of Damaun on the coaft of Conkan. This family (whose jaghire was likewife a grant from Rajah Sahoo) formed an alliance with the Britifh government during the fecond Marhatta war*. 3. Tookajee Holkar and Madhajee Sindia, who jointly fhared the Malwah province.

* See reports of the feled committee, &c.

The Marhatta force when united might amount to 150,000 men, the major part of which being horfemen, were accuflomcd to a defaultory and predatory mode of warfare, entirely deflitute of fcience or difemline, but formidable from their numbers and energctick method of attack. The Marhattas then, as already remark ed, having recovered in a great meafure the flock fufhuned* in their late defeat, appeared ready to renew their efforts, and inter pole in the tranfadtions of the court of Delhi. Three chiefs of note, Toohajee, Sindiah, and Befagee, had for fome time part taken a favourable politico with a large force to the northward of the river Chumbul, in the vicinity of the town of Futtah Pore. Nujeeb Al Dowla, who had been placed at the head of the adminiftration at Delhi, continued in that fituation v.ith meat credit to himfelf and benefit to the flate. An able politician, a valorous foldier, and pleafant and affable in his manners and demeanour, he gained the confidence of the Delhians, and his influence was found fufficient to uphold the royal authority in the fmall portion of authority wk.ch it flill retained. Nujeeb Al Dowla, who was equally defirou.> with tire king's friends for bis majefly to return to Delhi, readily entered ,nto the eicws of the Marhattas on that head. He had moreover a more forcible argument to infpire him with that refolution. The [iuh, v,ho, notu ithflanding their late difafler in the lufs of Sooruj Mull, their favourite chief, had made head again under his fun and iucceffor, Jouaher Sing, and threatened Delhi with the horrors of a iiegc. In.this critical fituation, the minifler entered into an alliance with tlie Marhafta leaders, and in concert with them, invited Shah-Aalum to return to his capital. The Marhattas who had an army tonfifling of 30,000 horfe, if fincere in their profeflions of

meliorating the king's situation, certainly possessed the means, totally independent either of the British or any other nation in Hindostan. But it cannot be denied that their chief aim in uniting with the minister, and a concurrence with the king's inclinations, were not dictated by a generous regard for his interests, but entirely with a view to their own aggrandisement.

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They expected when Shah-Aulum, through their assistance, should be established at Delhi, the whole management of affairs would be placed in their hands, and were determined that neither Nujeeb Al Dowla nor any other minister should possess influence in the State. This intention, indeed, appeared manifest throughout the negotiations ; conformably to the traditional policy of their nation, they intrusted their agent to announce to the king the reward they expected for their interference, in the present critical state of affairs, and made a previous, though secret, stipulation for the cession of the provinces of Corah and Allahabad to be delivered over to them for ever,

To these demands, however exorbitant, Shah-Aulum, impatient of his confinement at Allahabad, and eager to set out on his intended journey, yielded a ready assent. Nujeeb Al Dowla, when he wrote at this time to the king, recapitulated the circumstances that led to the present offers of the Marhatta leader, and carnalily preferred the prospect of his speedy appearance at the capital. “ By this step,” said he, “ the designs of your enemies will be frustrated, and the rebels punished; and I shall have the singular satisfaction of seeing your majesty, before I die, seated on the throne of your illustrious ancestors, and restored to imperial authority.”

/Xlew da)s alter writing the above letter, this able miniflcr, at an advanced age, having laboured under a complication of diforders, expired, to the great detriment of the king's interccls, and the general regret of the inhabitants of Delhi, who Rill continue to fpcak of his adminillration in terms of respectful gratitude. This occurrence, however untoward, made no alteration **in** the plan laid down; on the contrary, the king appeared more eager than before to commence Iris expedition; and notwithstanding the falutary advice of the Englifh government, the intreaties of the vizir, or the rcmonfrances of fuch of his fervants who were attached to his real mtercHs, he pcrfilled in his defign.

Previous to Shah-Aulum's departure, his minifler, Munecr Al Dowlah, who bad already made two journeys into Deccan to concert mcasures with, toe Marhatta chiefs, was now for the lad time fent by the king to Calcutta to demand the approbation of the Britim government on his intended movement. But here he met v.:th a politivc refufal; convinced of the imprudence of die flop his m.deity was about to take, the council ftrifigly rcmonftrated again!; it; they told Munecr Al Dowlah that the king was throwing awe- d e fubllancc to grafp a fhadow, and facrificing his folid and fubihmtial interefe to the vain and idk gratification of refiding in the imperial palace; they warned him againff the impolicy of placing confidence in. the Marhattas, the very people whose perfidious conduct and infatiable ambition had already proved fo fatal to many of his augull family. They finally predicted that the prefent meafure was equally dangerous and deftructive to his real benefit, as it would undoubtedly hereafter prove difhefling to his recollection. With thefe fenti-

ments, certainly honourable to themselves, the council of Calcutta dismissed Muneer Al Dowlah. But though the British government declined to sanction the king's departure from their protection, they permitted him to retain in his service six battalions of Seapoys which had been trained and disciplined after the European method, having first, however, withdrawn their own officers. With theft and other aids, particularly a large supply from the vizir, and the exertions of the Mogul nobles, Shah-Aulum was enabled in the spring of 1771 to assemble an army of about 16,000 men. At his departure, Shuja Al Dowla, the vizir, presented a magnificent paishculli, or offering, with four lacks of ruppes in specie. He likewise, in concert with the commander in chief of the British force, accompanied his majesty to the frontiers of the Corah province; when having again renewed their felicitations to detain the king, but without effect, they took their leave.

On the road, intelligence was received of the death of Ahmad Khan Bungeih, the Navvauh of Ferookhabad: on which the army halted, and a message was sent by the king's ministers to the guardians of the infant Nawaub, Muzaffur Jung, to demand the arrears due as paishculli to the royal treasury for several years.

This action, considering the unprotected state of the young Nawaub, was considered as oppressive and unjust; but it was vehemently defended by the ministers, on the principle of his majesty's want of ability to enforce his right until the present period.

Haffam Al Dowlah and other noblemen had a conference with

the guardlans of the joing Nawaub ; at which it was agreed that paifhetuh of four lacks of rupees fhould be given on the part of Mu/ullui Jung ; for whicli he was honoured by his njajefty with a klidlut, and other marks of didinflion; and a {latent was direfled to be jibed from the chancery ofocc, confirming him Nawaub of die dilltifl.

The periodical rains being now fet in, the king ordered his army .0 canton at Nabbee Gunje, a town thirty miles well of lurooka-Lad, end in the big.li road to Delhi. At this place Annnt Row, a xMarhatta vakeel, waited the- arrival of the royal army. lie was charged with the follow ing proportions for the king's conhderation :

1. That whatever balance of *Cbou*/* was due from the crown to the Paifhwah. f. mily fince the time of Mahmud Shall, fhould be faithfully difch.ngcd. That whatever plunder might be acquired during the war fhould be equally divided between the Marhattas anil the Mogul troops.

2. That on the king's arrival at Delhi, the Marhatta leaders fhould ;>? tcnfirmed in the poffcllion of their refpeflive jaghccrs: and, 'iuallv, 1 r the purpofe of carrying on the war againft the fauts and others, th? fum of firn-lacks of rupees fhould be; immediately advanced from the king's treafury.

* The Chout is the tribute impofed by the Marhattas upon every part of Hindoftaun that (dine under their authority fincc their firft irruptions. It lignifies one fourth part <f the net revenue of any hate or province.

These proposals, at a time when his majesty was so near his capital, caused him extreme disgust. He perceived too well the arrogant spirit by which they were dictated; but conscious of his own inability to resist or evade the full compliance, he acquiesced in the demand. The vakeel was graciously received; and a few days after the Nawaub Mujud Al Dowla and several of the nobility arrived in the camp from Delhi, to visit and congratulate his majesty on his approach. They brought with them from the Marhatta chiefs a variety of costly presents; and many foldiers of fortune and adventurers having joined the royal standard, the court exhibited a gay and splendid appearance.

The arrival of the Marhatta chiefs enhanced the general satisfaction; and on a day appointed, Sindiah, Holkar, and Bectajcc, were introduced into the king's presence, and received with marks of distinguished respect.

Every thing being now settled, the army continued its march; and on the 25th of December, 1771, Shah-Aulum made his entry into the capital with much pomp and splendour, and amidst the acclamations of all ranks of people.

CHAP. III.

Proceedings againjl Zabita Khan — The Mark attas refujc to divide the Plunder — Nujuef Khan in high Favour — He quarrels vntb the Marti attas — His Defeat — Pardoned — Ceffion of Corah and Allahabad to the Mark attas — SnujA Al Dowla marches againjl the Marh ATTAS — Mark attas letire to Deccan.

THE firft object to which Shah-Aulum directed his attention after a few⁷ days repofe, was the punifhment of Zabita Khan, fon to the late miml'.cr, Nujeeb Al Dowlah. At the time of his father's death, this nobleman refided at Schaurunpore, the capital of the province of the fame name.

This province, fituated in the upper parts of the Dooab*, in the vicinity of the *tSevealick* hills, in the latitude of 28-29. N. long. 77. 50. W. and about 70 miles Eaft of Delhi, was the jaghcer bellowed upon Nejeeb Al Dowlah, as a reward for the many fcrvices rendered by him to the hate. It commences under the Sewalick hills, and is bounded on the north by the fortrefs of Ghofe Ghur, call by Sakcrtaul on the Ganges; weft by the Purgannah of Seam lee; and fouth by the town of Meerut. The foil is fertile and

* The country lying betwixt the rivers Ganges and Jumna.

luxurious, producing grain, sugarcane, and tobacco, in the greatest abundance: and until injured by the various internal commotions which occurred during the turbulent reigns of Aurangzeb's successors, it was esteemed one of the most fertile parts of the empire.

Zabita Khan, not equally inclined to support the royal cause as his father had been, deemed the confusion of the king's affairs a fit opportunity to facilitate his own ambitious views; and when his father expired, when he applied himself to raising troops, who were chiefly Afghans of his own tribe, and in fortifying the strong holds in his dominions. Among these was the post of Sakertaul, situated fifty miles from the capital, on the western bank of the Ganges. This place was selected by Zabita Khan as the most eligible to make an advantageous stand. He threw up strong entrenchments; and having assembled a numerous body of veteran Pathans, resolved to wait the attack of the royal army, now on the way to punish his rebellion.

The king commanded in person, and under him was the Nawab Mirza Nujuf Khan, who began about this time to be noticed with marks of particular regard by the Emperor, which was the foundation of his future power. The Mughal forces were sent on as an advance guard, and the king and Nujuf Khan followed with the remainder of the troops.

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Intelligence of the approach of the royal army being conveyed to Zabita Khan, he thought it better, by making a spirited effort to overcome his enemies in the field, than availing behind his entrench-

ments. He accordingly advanced a few miles in front of his camp, and offered battle to the king's troops. The contest was bloody, and for some time doubtful; the rebel chiefs, Sadut Khan and Syud Khan, led on their troops with great spirit; but the former being unfortunately slain by a cannon ball, the Rohillas, dispirited at that event, began to give way. Zabita Khan perceiving the disaster, ordered a retreat, and was soon compelled to leave the field of battle with precipitation. The Marhatta force, advancing with great rapidity, commenced the pursuit of the flying enemy on all sides, and entering the camp along with the fugitives, they soon got possession of it, which rendered their victory complete. In the camp they found a fine park of artillery, together with an immense plunder of money, stores, and valuable effects of every kind; and the whole of the family of Zabita Khan were made prisoners.

This first essay augured favorably for the success of his majesty's arms; but the avarice exhibited by the Marhattas in the moment of victory caused great discontent among the king's troops, and laid the seeds of internal discord and animosity. Notwithstanding the stipulations already recorded, which were entered into at Nubbee Gunj, the Marhattas appropriated the greater part of the spoil taken on this occasion to their own use. They secured the whole of the treasure, amounting to a crore of rupees, without offering to make the smallest distribution with their gallant colleagues. The king, incensed at this conduct, complained of it with warmth to the Marhatta leaders, but without effect. He found their present influence too great to be set aside, and therefore dissembled; but the Mogul nobility nourished a secret hatred against

them, which they resolved to make manifest on the first opportunity that was afforded them.

Meanwhile the army advanced, and took possession of Sehaurunpore, together with other strong places in the neighbourhood; so that, excepting the fort of Ghose Ghur, the whole of the province acknowledged the king's authority. The family of Zabita Khan, who had been taken in his camp, were by order of Shah-Aulum set at liberty, and sent with a strong escort to the fort of Ghose Ghur, it being an inviolable maxim throughout Hindoostan, and in general most religiously observed, to respect the honour of the Haram.

Having appointed a person to command in Sehaurunpore, and settled the affairs of the province, Shah-Aulum returned with the army to Delhi.

The conduct of the Marhatta chiefs in refusing to make a fair distribution of the spoil acquired by the late victory, made a deep impression on the mind of Shah-Aulum. The presence of persons who had insulted his authority was irksome to him; and, in order to be released from the restraint which they imposed, he requested them to march their forces against the Jauts, who had again assembled in arms under the command of their chief, Rajah Nuwil Sing. The Marhattas obeyed the order, and departed; but had not been gone many days, when the king received authentic information that they were in league with the rebel, Zabita Khan, who had cajoled

* The Haram signifies any females of the family, whatever may be their rank or condition.

them into his views, and were actually on the point of concluding a treaty with that nobleman.

Shah-Aulum, determined to make one effort to destroy their iniquitous cabals, asked advice from Nujuff Khan. He proposed to augment the Mogul army, and to raise new levies with £11 possible expedition. The king, who knew his ability, and was convinced of his attachment, relied entirely on his exertions; and to give proof of his confidence, he publicly bestowed on him the office of Paymaster General of his forces.

Nujuff Khan in a short time assembled a considerable body of troops; and to animate their zeal on the occasion, he declared it was for the sole purpose of protecting the person of his majesty against the insolent menaces of the Marhatta chiefs.

These precautions were sufficiently justified by the conduct of the Marhattas, who, on their arrival in the country of the Jauts, instead of prosecuting the war, were employed in settling the terms of a treaty with Zabita Khan. On the arrival of that chief in their camp, it was stipulated that, on his advancing a large sum of money, they would return to Delhi, and on their arrival, in concert with him, insist not only on a pardon for his offences, but the investiture of the office of Ameer Al Omrah*, which his father had enjoyed. Conformably to this agreement they struck their tents, and marched towards Delhi. When arrived in the neighbourhood of that city,

♦ Chief of the nobility, an office of the highest rank in Hindostan.

they sent a messenger to his majesty to require his compliance with the demands aforementioned; but Shah-Auhim relying on the attachment of the Mogul troops, and the fidelity of Nujuff Khan, assumed a bolder tone, and dismissed the messenger with a positive refusal.

Meanwhile the minister by the king's order led out his troops to battle. He took post near the monument of a Mahomedan devotee without the walls of the city, opposite the gate called Ajmere. His army was well appointed, having a numerous artillery commanded by a French officer. The Marhattas, who outnumbered their opponents, were confident of success, and the attack commenced with great fury on both sides, but an accident which happened to Nujuff Khan, by the blowing up of an ammunition waggon, and which caused a considerable loss among his troops, turned the fortune of the day in favour of the enemy, and with great difficulty the minister was enabled to draw off a part of his army under shelter of a flight entrenchment thrown up in haste by the French commandant of artillery. The Marhattas desirous to attack the entrenchment, suddenly wheeled off and attacked the gate of the city which was near them, hoping to carry it; but Hufam Al Dowlah, who was stationed in that place, repulsed them with great intrepidity, till finding they could not effect their purpose, they suddenly withdrew their army, and retired to a small distance from the city.

From the issue of the preceding day, the king saw too plainly he could not hope to prolong the contest; and, at a consultation which he held with his Mogul officers, they with reluctance advised him

to accommodate matters with the enemy, and a negotiation, accordingly commenced. The Marhattas were again invited to court, whither they repaired the enfiling morning, accompanied by Zabita Khan, who was pardoned, and moreover gratified with a khillut, reinflated in his government of Sehaurunpore, and finally, appointed to the long-expcded office of Ameer Al Omrah. It has been judged by many that thefe conceffions fo degrading to the king, were not wholly occafioned by his inability to refill, but partly from the intrigues of Huffani Al Dowlah, who, though he had behaved gallantly in the late attack, was known to be in the intereft of the Marhattas. Their triumph was now complete; and to cllablifli it in the eyes of all Hindoflaun, they afked and obtained from his majefty *funnuds* * for the province of Corah and Allahabad, which had by a folemn treaty already been granted to the Englifh.

Though Shah-Aulum acceded to this degradation with indignation and difgufl, rigid impartiality demands that to his own weaknefs, effeminacy, and indolence, be afcribed the real caufes of his difgrace. His total want of energy in judging for himfelf, made him always a ready and cafy prey to the defigns of the info- lent or ambitious. Huflam Al Dowla, who had long been the perfonal enemy of Nujuff Khan, took this opportunity of perfecuting that nobleman to the utmoft. Supported by the Marhatta chiefs, he publicly accufed Nujuff Khan as the foie advifer of the late pernicious meafures in effecting a breach betwixt his majcfly and his faithfid adherents the Marhattas, and, that owing to his councils, the

* A grant.

affairs. When the state had fallen into disorder; he inflicted therefore on his immediate execution. The king, though well convinced of the attachment of Nujuff Khan, was incapable of affording him any protection at the present juncture; being entirely at the disposal of the triumphant party, he would therefore have fallen a victim to the malice of his enemies, had not his own resolute spirit defended him.

When the aforementioned negotiation commenced, Nujuff Khan, who foresaw the gathering storm, had retired prudently to his own palace; there, animated by a generous indignation at the unworthy treatment he had received, he collected his friends and dependants around him, and thus to the number of 3,000, determined with their lord to share his fortunes. Inflamed by Hufam Al Dowla, the Marhatta forces were ordered to assault Nujuff Khan in his palace; the affair began to wear a very serious aspect, as from the known bravery of the general, he could not be taken without a desperate resistance and much bloodshed. This, however, was prevented by the interference of Trojakce Holkar; admiring the intrepidity of Nujuff Khan, and ashamed of the part his countrymen were acting, this generous chief offered his mediation, which was accepted, and Nujuff Khan directed to repair to court in order to receive his pardon. Accordingly, still attended by his faithful adherents, who refused to quit him, he repaired to the imperial palace, where he was graciously received by his majesty, honoured with a khillut, and appointed to the command of the army. For this last favour, he was indebted more to the complexion of affairs than the inclinations of his enemies.

During the late commotions within the province of ~~Delhi~~ others of a very ferious nature had arifen from an oppofite quaij ff/; The Rohillas were on the eve of a memorable conteft, in whfpithe intcrefts of the Vizir Shuja Dowla, as likewife thofe of the king, were materially involved. The Marhattas, who during the two preceding years had committed every fpecies of violence and opprefliqn, laying wafte the countries through which they palled, and infulting the inhabitants, had, among other places, made irruptions into the fine province of Rohilcund, and by a barbarous fpecies of warfare in deftroying the produce of the country, excited in that warlike tribe a juft indignation. Not being of themfelves fufficicntly numerous to refill the enemy, they applied to the vizir for afiiftance, who, in concurrence with the commander-in-chief of the Britifh forces, agreed to unite and expel the invaders. Hafiz Rchumut Khan, chief of the tribe, on this occafion, formed a treaty with the vizir and the Englifh, in which he agreed, in return for the afiiftance offered, to pay at the end of the war the fum of forty lacks of rupees to the vizier. In thefe tranfactions, Shah-Aulum had fccrectly born a confiderable part. Pending the treaty, he had privately confulted with the agents of the vizir, and had moreover informed the Britifh government⁺ it was now as much his earneft defire to be rid of the thraldom in which he w'as kept by the Marnattas, as he had before been partial to them. He added, likewife, that every exertion flould be made on his part to counteract their defigns by conftantly giving intimation of their intended movements.

In confequence of thefe engagements, the forces of Shuja Al

* See fclcdt reports, *paffim*.


 Dowry, accompanied by the English brigades, joined the Rohilla army who were stationed on the frontiers. Previous to this event, a very large Marhatta army commanded by Holkar and Bheem had crossed the Ganges, and laid waste great part of the country; they were however soon repulsed and driven back across the river with the utmost precipitation. The remainder of the Marhatta army under Sindiah, attended by Nujuff Khan, who, as already mentioned, had been reinstated in his appointment, not arrived, but finding the ill success of their allies, and observing the countenance of the British troops, they held a consultation upon their future operations. Finding the situation of affairs hostile to their views, and knowing the king's mind was now entirely estranged from them, they resolved for the present to return to Deccan, determined to renew their ambitious schemes as opportunity should offer. Agreeably to this resolve, Sindiah and Holkar first, and Bheem afterwards, withdrew their respective troops, and taking the route to Jyepore, quitted Hindostan. Nujuff Khan returned to Delhi with the Mogul troops.



Mirza Nujulf Khan Zulhcar al Dowlah.

//('nt mt i'n nun nt (foe Prtit'jwn <('Jenalhtut Sn>lt J t')

CHAP. IV.

Administration of Nujuff Khan — Conquests in the Jaut Country — Rupture betwixt Shuj a Al Dowla and the Reijillas — Reduction of Rohilcund — Description of that Country — Death of Shuj a Dowla — Account of the Oude Family.

THE retreat of the Marhattas afforded Shah-Aulum the highest satisfaction: freed from the vexations occasioned by their insolent demeanour, he hoped he should once more be enabled to maintain his authority in the state, and bring his affairs into a better train.— He was resolved to place his whole confidence on Mirza Nujuff Khan, who in every respect was well qualified for the important trust. High spirited, and an active, equally a valiant commander, as of courteous and obliging manners, he conciliated the esteem of every one; and by his unremitting attention to business, he preserved regularity, and restored order throughout every department.

The king, to give public proof of his opinion of this nobleman's attachment, thought proper, as a preliminary step, to dismiss his rival, Haflam Al Dowlah, from all his employments. His majesty had long beheld the predilection which that minister had entertained for the Marhattas, whose interests he had dared to prefer to those of his lawful sovereign; and resolved to punish him for his presumption. He was degraded from his nobility, and all his estates confiscated to the royal treasury. His appointments were conferred on

NuffiMWhan. who was at the fame time created Captain General* of thflwes of the empire, and dignified with other titles*.

The treafures taken from Ilaffam Al Dowla, which had been amaffcd by oppreffive means, afforded a fund fufficient to anfwer the expenses of a war with the Jauts, who, during the late difputcs at court, had again made head, and were exciting freih ddlurbances in order to embarrafs the king's government.

About this time, Mujud Al Dowla, a nobleman of confidcrable eminence, was appointed to the office of Dewaun : and the king, to encourage his army, caufed it to be fignified to the troops that the plunder acquired during the intended expedition, ffiould be divided amongft them.

The country of the Jauts, fo frequently mentioned, is fituated on both tides of the river Jumna, and comprehends a trad of 150 miles in length, by about 60 in breadth. It extends from the vicinity of Gwalior, a large tower 60 miles weftward of Agrah, to the fkirts of the capital; and contains within its limits many flrong fortreffes and other holds. Towards the clofc of the reign of Aurcngzeeb, this lingular tribe firft attraded notice. Emigrating from a remote

* His titles at length were, Khan Sipahi Sillar Hindoftaun, Ruftum Al Doula, Ruftumi Hind, Zullicar Al Douh, Mirza Nujuff Khan Behadur, Ghalib Jung.—In Engl'fh thus:

Lv"Jer of the armies of Hindofhun, Splendour of the State, Ruftum of India, Swoid of fhc Empire, Mirzi Nujuff Khan victorious in battle#

t ColkClor of die revenues.

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spot on the banks of the Indus, in the lower parts of the Jodhpur province, and accustomed to the humble occupations of Mewar, they were allowed to settle themselves peaceably in the British confidence. In the course of a few years becoming numerous, they ventured to attack the caravans proceeding to Delhi with supplies for the royal army; and having met with unexpected success on their first attempts, at length became so formidable as to require the presence of the imperial troops to overawe them.

Their future progress was inconceivably rapid; and amid the civil wars carried on by Aurungzeeb's successors, the Jats found means to secure a large portion of *country* to themselves, in which they built forts, and accumulated great wealth. Their natural propensity to plunder, which accompanied them in their emigration, has communicated itself to their posterity, and they are still a most notorious and daring banditti.

Chura Mun, one of their first chiefs, was an intrepid foldier, and remarkably fortunate in his encounters with the imperial troops, who were frequently compelled to retire with precipitation before this daring tribe. In later times, Suruj Mull, who fell in an ambuscade a few years since, was one of the most respectable of their leaders. He, in 1756, having been dignified with the title of Rajah, or Prince, kept his court with great splendour. But with his death their power, in a great measure, expired. His eldest son, Nuwil Sing, who now commanded the tribe, was not equal to contend with the ability of Nujuff Khan; but being a man of great personal courage, he determined to risk the issue; and for this pur-

port, besides augmenting his army, he had fortified in the strongest manner the towns of Deig, Bullum Ghur, and other places within his jurisdiction.

Zulficar Al Dowla having received his instructions from the king, put his troops in motion, and marched towards the Jauts. In his way he reduced several refractory Zemindars, whom the late disturbances at court had tempted to revolt from their allegiance. On these he imposed heavy fines, and by this means enriched his treasury to a considerable amount. In the mean time the Jaut Rajah hearing of the success of the captain general, was fearful he might make an attack upon the fort of Deig, one of his strongest holds, which, if successful, would undoubtedly put an end to the war, and prove utter destruction to his affairs. To prevent this, he resolved to hazard an action; and, agreeably to his determination, threw himself in the way of the royal army. A sharp engagement ensued; but Nujuff Khan's good fortune prevailing, the Jaut Rajah was totally defeated, and compelled to quit the field of battle with very few of his foldiers. He took refuge in the fort of Deig, which he resolved to defend to the last extremity.

The plunder of Nuwil Sing's camp, which was immense, prevented an immediate pursuit: and Nujuff Khan, elated with his victory, sent an account of it to Delhi without delay. The news of success, so important, was received at court with the highest satisfaction; and rewards and honours were conferred on the captain general and his army by the king's express command. He sent the general a letter of thanks, written with his own hand, and recom-

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mended a vigorous purfuit of the enemy, which it WjHraSoped would bring the conteft to a fpeedy and favourable iffue. From the field of battle, NujufF Khan led the army to Ag h which place he inverted on all fides; but not having a fufficient train of artillery, he was compelled to turn the fiege into a blockade, which, indeed, is the more general method adopted by the armies of Hindoftaun.

During the fiege, he fent detachments to different parts of the furrounding country, by which means, feveral of the refractory Zemindars were induced to fubmit themfelves to the king's authority.

About this time, the Vizir Shuja Al Dowla, advanced into the Doo Ab with a confiderable army. That prince, whole ambition was great, deeming the retreat of the Marhattas favourable to his defigns, refolved to appropriate fome of their poffeffions to his own ufe. He accordingly laid fiege to Etawah, a city on the frontiers, from whence he expelled the Marhattas, and placed a garrifon therein on his own part. From Etawah he proceeded to Agrah, then befieged by NujufF Khan, whom he affifted with an increafe of force, and feveral fine cannon, which enabled the captain general to carry on the fiege with vigour. The garrifon, threatened by a dearth of provifions, were, without difficulty, perfuaded to capitulate, and accordingly delivered up the fort and its dependencies to NujufF Khan. A meffenger was immediately difpatched to the capital with the important intelligence, and carried with him the keys of the fort to be laid at his majefty's feet.

Shujk. Al Dowla at the same time sent Illuj Khan his favourite, to wait^{وایستد} the king, and, in his name, compliment him on the late successes.' But that nobleman was charged with a matter of a more important nature. It was to engage the king's consent to the designs which he now meditated against the Rohillas, and, in the event of conquest, to participate with his majesty in sharing the country between them. The jealousy with which the vizir had long beheld the Rohilla power, and his alarm at the extension of their influence, so contiguous to his own dominions, determined him, though contrary to strict justice and sound policy, to quarrel with that nation; and, that a pretext might not be wanting in his favour, he urged the infraction of the late treaty, and complained loudly of the treacherous conduct of the Rohillas in delaying payment of the stipulated sum.

The violation of a treaty made under such circumstances, and by which the Rohillas had certainly received material assistance in the expulsion of the invaders of their country, cannot indeed be justified by any principle of common honesty, though at the same time the inordinate ambition of the vizir, and his enterprising spirit, were grounds of alarm, sufficient to persuade the Rohilla Sirdars to counteract and curb it by any means within their power.

Illuj Khan, on his arrival at court, consulted with Mujid Al Dowla on the foregoing points; and, as he brought a large sum of money with him, he found less difficulty in succeeding in his object. A secret treaty was at length formed, by which the vizir bound himself not only to defray the expenses of the war, but, at its conclusion,

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his majesty should participate in the distribution of the ^{plunder} as well as a share in the conquered province, or, if more agreeable, have an equal proportion of country more contiguous to Delhi. On the part of the king, he was to lend the army under Nujuff Khan to the assistance of the vizir, who was preparing, in concert with the British forces, to take the field. Shah-Aulum appeared to listen to their proposals with much complacency; yet, as an ingenious historian * has justly remarked, he did not heartily concur in the measure, being averse to aggrandizing the vizir at the expense of the Rohillas. Whatever were his real sentiments, the captain-general was recalled from Agra, and directed to march the army towards Rohilkund, and the king prepared to take the field, but indisposition, whether real or pretended, prevented him from attending the army, which set out under the command of Nujuff Khan.

The memorable battle of Cutterah, and the termination of the Rohilla war which soon followed, are too well known to require any comment in these transactions. It may however gratify curiosity to take a view of the then situation, soil, climate, and productions, of that celebrated province.

Rohilkund, called in Sanskrit *Cuttan*, comprehends that tract of country called the Ganges, between the 26th and 28th latitudes, and from 76 to 80 longitude. Commencing in the vicinity of Loh Dong, at the foot of the Kumbhow Lil'-, it extends easterly to the town of Illibet; on the northward, it

* Captain Jonathan Scott,

is bounded by the Ganges, and to the south, by the district of Mahomedyi in the dominions of Oude.

The soil of Cuttack is in general a rich black mould, intermixed in many parts with sand and red earth; it is uncommonly fertile, and capable of the highest cultivation, abounding in all sorts of grain, sugar-cane, and tobacco. Few countries have, in truth, more natural advantages than this; it is well supplied with several large rivers, besides numerous smaller streams. Among the first, are the Ramganga, and Dewah, (or Gambhra.)

The Ramganga, taking its rise between the first and second range of mountains to the north-east, flows forth into the plains of Hindostan at the foot of Colly; and after travelling the greatest part of Rohilkund, in a south and south-westerly direction, and fertilizing the lands, is joined in its progress by other rivers, and finally, discharges into the Ganges in the vicinity of Kinnouj. This majestic river, until late years imperfectly known, is navigable for seven months in the year; its stream is broad and rapid, and its banks are adorned with many large and populous villages. On the eastern side, the Dewah issuing from the same mountains, runs by the town of Pillibct. Here are embarked the finest Saul, Sissoo, and fir timbers, the produce of the neighbouring forests that skirt the foot of the Kummow hills. At the city of Shahjahanpore, the Dewah joins the Gamberah, whose name it assumes, and after washing the towns of Sandy, Jhoun, and other places, meets the Ramganga near its junction with the Ganges. The smaller streams are the Cofilah, Nahul, Byghul, Dakra, Bukrah, Beefrah, and

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Yarwufadar; thefe likewife contribute highly to the cultivation of the country, and by means of refervoirs, fluices, canals and acqueducts, difperfe their waters throughout the corn fields in every direction, but more particularly fo in the jaghecr of the late Fyzoolah Khan.

Another property peculiar to Cuttair, is the facility with which water is procured; excluivc of the rivers and freams before enumerated, the foil is fuch, that by digging a few feet from the furface of the earth in any part of the country, water is procured in abundance.

So happily fituated by nature, Rohilcund has in all times been deemed of great political importance. In the early times of the empire, commerce tiourifhcd. The great cities of Shahabad, Shah-jehanpore, Bareilly, Biflowlee, Bedaon, Oulah, Mooradabad and Sumbul, formerly kept up a conflant intercourfe with the caiavans of the north. Dy them were exported into Cuttair, the products of Lahoor, Cabul, Caihmire, Candahar and Podia, rubies, precious tioncs, tutencage, copper, iron, tin, lead, borax, drugs, Calhmeian fhawls, Carmamm wool, mules, hollos a.d camels; in return they received, coarf, cloths, fiigar, grain and tobacco.

During the reign of the Patau Dynafly in Ilindoflaun, many princes of that family kept their courts for a fcries of years in the antient city of Bcdaon. There, as in many parts of Cuttair, arc to be ken the remains of magnificent edifices, palaces, gardens, mofqucs, colleges and mauoleums. Among the firfl-rate cities of

modern days are to be placed, Owlah, BiiTowLee, Bareilly and Pillibet, which having been the residences of those Rohilla chiefs who founded a new empire in Cuttair within half a century back, demand on this occasion particular attention.

The city of Owlah, situated in the centre, and in one of the finest parts of Rohilkund, is built on an eminence, having a commanding view of the adjacent country. The river *Nuzwub Nuddi* runs along the south-western side of the city. The town is of considerable extent, and adorned with many handsome buildings, most of which are now in ruins. Enough however remains to discover the former grandeur of the place, and to regret the fatal ravages of destructive ambition. On the summit of the eminence is the fort built of brick. It was created about fifty years since by Ali Mahomed, founder of the Rohilla government in Cuttair, and here he kept his court. Within the fort is the palace of Ali Mahomed, a cathedral, and several other public buildings. In the environs of Owlah are ruins of palaces, gardens, and mosques; the adjacent country is by nature beautiful, but the total want of cultivation renders melancholy the prospect. Owlah is fifteen miles N. W. of Bareilly, from Biffowlee fourteen, and about equal distant from Delhi and Pillibet. At Biffowlee are likewise to be seen evident traces of the former splendour of the Rohilla government; and it is moreover remarkable for being the burial place of several of the family of Ali Mahomed.

Bareilly, situated on the banks of the united streams of Jooah and Sunkra, is a large, handsome, well-built city. It was the

capital of Hafiz Rchumut, and a place of confidcrable trade. It is diflant from Lucknow 150 miles, and from the Ganges 120.— Lally, the town of Pillibeet. This place, thirty-fix miles to the north-call of Bareilly, was peculiarly feledled by the diferiminative forefight of Hafiz Rchumut Khan, as of great importance in its commercial refourecs. For the encouragement of trade.that prince built a fpacious Shehr Punnah, or Pettah, which is four miles in circumference. It is furrounded by a brick wall, and within the enclosure is crcfld a magnificent mofque. Admirably fituated on the banks of the Dewah, Pillibeet, during the Rohilla government, was an emporium of commerce. Its flaples are Saul, Seflbo, and fir timbers, fугars, and coarfe cloths; and from the mountains of Al-morah are imported borax, pitch, drugs, wax, and honey: of late years, however, it is melancholy to add, the hand of commerce is fhrunk up, and the want of a well-regulated police, the total difcouragement to induflry, and the vexatious imports levied by the rulers have almoft annihilated its once-profitable and flourilhing trade.

The revenues of Cuttair are rtated, in the imperial regirter at Delhi, to be five millions rterling. During the flourilhing times of the empire, the face of the country will warrant the fuppofition, and under the Rohilla government, who paid unremitting attention to agriculture, the province might have yielded that fum. After the conqueil of Rohilcund by Shuja Dowla, an offer w'as made to that prince to rent the province for two millions. Since that period the revenues, from a variety of caufcs, have continued to decline; and under the prefent government, the province of *Cuttair* with difficulty yields the fum of 36 lacks, or about 400,000!. rterling.

Of the inhabitants there yet remains to speak. The Rohillas*, who, it is well known, originally emigrated from the mountains of Afghanistaun, about 60 years since, settled in Cuttair. They are a hardy warlike race, equally capable of arms and husbandry. Their feudal system of government, similar to those of Europe in former days, has inspired them with ideas of turbulence and ferocity; at the same time they are uncommonly patient under hardships, and attached to their chiefs by indissoluble bonds of national affection. But withal, in common with other Afghans, they are crafty, treacherous, and revengeful. This characteristic national spirit, aided by the impetuous fancies of a ferocious and uncivilized mind, renders difficult the government of this race. Hence frequent revolutions, civil broils at home, and wars abroad, have continually marked the Rohilla government under its different rulers. Yet has it been evinced in more instances than one, that by kind and proper treatment even this generally-confederated ferocious tribe may be rendered tractable: that when their peculiarities and prejudices are attended to by a wise and liberal government, they will prove not only good subjects, but even Ready and faithful allies.

Shortly after the battle of Cuttair, Zulfica Al Dowla joined the vizir and the British forces. He was received with distinction, and the vizir nominated him to the Nabut of the vizarut, an office more honourable than lucrative, but accepted by the captain general with thankfulness. Shuja Dowla now thought proper to dismiss him ;

* Consult the account of the Rohilla Afghans, published by the late Captain Charles Hamilton, of Bengal.

and in order to attach him more to his interests, gave a reinforcement of his own troops.

It has been seen that by the treaty of Delhi, Shuja Al Dowla had agreed to share his conquests with the king, and to make an equal division of the plunder acquired by the war. Consonant to the spirit of this treaty, the captain general had come from Delhi in aid of the vizir: but the behaviour of Shuja on this occasion was neither just nor honourable. Though immense plunder had been acquired in the late battle, his avaricious spirit prompted him to retain the whole to himself; and when urged by the captain general to *deliver up the king's share*, he peremptorily declined it. A conduct, in every respect so unwarrantable, excited extreme disgust in the king's mind; but having made several fruitless and ineffectual endeavours to alter the vizir's resolution, his majesty at length desisted, and Nujuff Khan was compelled to return to Delhi.

Shuja Dowla, after settling the government of the province, and appointing Aumils to the several districts, took his leave of the British commander in chief, and returned to Oude. During the remainder of that year, he employed himself in arranging the affairs of the province of Furrookabad, which was tributary to him; but having been long afflicted with a violent disorder, which now returned with accumulated violence, notwithstanding every exertion and assistance afforded by his physicians, he expired in his palace at Fyzabad*.

* In the month of January 1775.

An hiftorian *, refpediabl for his talents, has informed the world that the reigning family in Oude were obfeure in their origin and of low birth ; but as that information, from accounts procured at a later period, appears to be incorrect, we have, with that deference to fidelity which the impartiality of hiftory demands, detailed a more authentic account * of the rile of that family.

SAADUT KHAN.

Saadut Khan, fon of Mirza Nuffur Al Deen Hyder, know'n at firft under the name of *Meer Mahomed Ameen*, was born in the city of Nifhapore, in the province of Khoraufaun. He was defeended in a diretd line from the Imaum Moufa Kafim, of the family of Ali, efleemed in Perfia as of the higheft and moil noble extraction. Towards the conclufion of the reign of Behadur Shah, the fon and fucccfor of Aurcngzeb, many Percian families of diftinction, retiring from the diforders and civil wars which overwhelmed their native country, fought an afylum in Hindoflaun. At that period Meer Mahomed Ameen, who had been bred to arms, became delirous of lignalifing himfclf ; and with the laudable hope of providing for his family, he bad adieu to his native country, and repaired to Lahore. He was received into the imperial fervice, and fhortly after took the name of Saadut Khan. By means of the friendfhip which he formed with feveral of the principal officers about the court, he

* Colonel Dow.

t In this detail the author has principally followed a fmall genealogical work, entitled Owfa Afoph, or the Genealogy of Afid Al Dowla, the prefent vizir, which was procured by the friendfhip of Mr. George Johnfton, many years refident at Lucknow.

was introduced to the emperor's notice, and flood high in his favour, and continued fo until his death. On the acceffion of Mahmud Shah, Saadut Khan was created a noble of the empire; and through the influence of his great patron, Sirbullund Khan, he was nominated to the government of Akbarabad.—Increasing in favour, he was appointed Soobadar of Oudc, and at the fame time prefented with the rank of 7000 horfe, and honoured with a new patent of nobility *. During the reign of Mahmud Shah he held with applaufe the highcfl offices of the flate; and by his fucceffes in Deccan, and on the frontiers of the empire, upheld the tottering fortunes of a weak and difflut government.

But in paying this tribute to his abilities, his conduct, when actuated by bafe and unworthy motives, muft be equally reprobated.—At the memorable invafion of Hin oftan by Nadir Shah, when his country became a prey to favage ferocity and lawlefs outrage, Saadut Khan, from felfifh views and a fpirit of inordinate ambition, excited the vengeance of the conqueror, and by apprifing him of the immense riches to be acquired by vifiting the capital, he brought incalculable calamity upon his fovrcign and his lubjedts-f". He did not, however, live, as has been juftly remarked, to reap the fruits of a conduct fo treacherous, dying, fhortly after the conqueror's entrance into Delhi, of a cancer in his back.

* His titles at length were Boorhan Al Mooluk, Itimad Al Dowla Meer Mahmud Amecn Khan, Behadur Shoukut Jung. In Englifh thus:

Pillar of the empire, confident Support of the State, Meer Mahmud Amecn Khan, the Glory of War.

t Confult fecond volume of Captain Scotb's interefting Hiftory of the Succcfors of Aurengzeer.

SEFDAR JUNG.

When Saadut Khan quitted his native country, he left behind him an only lifter, married to a nobleman named Jaafer Beg. He promised at his departure, should fortune prove favourable, to fend for his family to Hindoftaun, which he did accordingly. But Jaafer Beg had died and left two sons, Abul Munfoor Khan and Mirza Mohuffun, the former better known as Sefdar Jung. These youths were received with affectionate regard by Saadut Khan; and to perpetuate the family honours, he betrothed his only daughter in marriage to the elder brother. That princess, the grand mother of the reigning Nuwaub, is well known to the British nation. After living to the great age of ninety, she expired a few years since at her palace in Oude. On the death of his uncle, the young Nawaub Sefdar Jung was confirmed by the king in his government of Oude; and on the departure of the Persian conqueror, became a great favourite at the court of Mahmud Shah. Employed, like his predecessors, in distant parts of the empire, his success was frequently brilliant: and he rose gradually to the highest honours in the State. In addition to the government of Allahabad, he was appointed to the office of Grand Master of the Artillery; and on the death of the celebrated Nizam Al Mooluk, was made vizir* of the empire, and dignified

* It was not then the son of a Persian pedlar who ruled on r Oude, but a man of birth and family, and whatever might have been his demerits, or political errors, his services to his country entitle him, in every unprejudiced mind, to an appellation more honourable.

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with honours and titles. He died in 1756, having the character of a daring and intrepid foldier, and eiteemed by his own fubjecSts as a good man and upright magiftratc.

SHUJA DOW LA.

Shuja Dowla, fon and fucceffor of Sefdar Jung, was called in his younger* days Mirza Jclaul Addeen Hyder. Had this prince lived in the reign of Shah Jehan, or the Great Aurengzeeb, he might have attained a high character in the annals of the empire; but he was born at a period when the houfe of Timoor was rapidly declining, and the fuperior genius of a foreign nation had acquired an afeendency not to be overborn. Shuja Dowla, in his conteft with the Englilh, having ralhly ef-poufed the caufe of the unfortunate Caffim Ali, Nuwaub of Bengal, felt the effects of this afcendency; and after two unccfsful attempts, perceiving his incapacity to refill, he wifely rcfolved to conciliate the attention of his enemies. He was not deceived; the peace of 1765 (well known in Europe) placed him in a fituation more eligible than what he held at the commence-ment of the war: for, excluive of the reiteration of the conquered provinces, he became the friend and ally of the Engliih; and to

* It is cuftomary in Hindoftaun, and throughout feveral of the Afatic courts, to change the name of a prince on his acccffion to the throne. Thus the famous Jehanguirc was called *Selim*; Shah Jehan, *Khorrur*; Shuja Al Dowla, *Mirza Jelaul Addeen Hyder*; his fon and fucceffor, Afuf Al Dowla, was *Mirza Amauni*. Many other in* fiances occur.

cement the union by Fill clofct ties, he afked and obtained the affiftance of a Britilh force for the protection of his frontiers.

When, relcafed from the afore-mentioned conteft, Shuja Dowla directed his attention to the augmentation of hrs army, and to the management of the affairs of his own dominions, into the government of which great abufes had been introduced. If we take his character comparatively, Shuja Al Dowla will be allowed confidcrable merit: aCtive and vigorous in his mind, he was bold, daring, and enterprifing, which he manifefcd on various occafions, and in fituations of danger and difficulty. His temper was irafcible, which often led him to commit aCts of cruelty; yet he was an excellent magiftrate, a lover of jufticc, and anxiously defirous of the profperity of his country. To the internal economy of his government, he paid a rigid attention; and by his judicious and prudent arrangements, aided by the exertions of fome very able officers, he cleared his dominions from the remains of a ncfl of banditti which had long infefted and difgraced them. His conduct with regard to his neighbours, the Rohillas, was on every account the moft exceptionable; and his hoilile attempt to defroy their power evidently originated from a fpirit of ambition, boundlefs as inordinate and rcprchenfible: nor can his endeavours to extenuate his conduct by throwing the blame on the impolitic obilinacy of the Rohillas in refuting to difcharge the flipulated fum, in any ffiape jollify the means he ufed to effect their deftruCtion*.

* In the above detail it has been the author's intention to be guided by the fideleft impartiality, neither wifhing to exalt too high the character of any individual who merited praife, nor to abftain from cenfure when it appeared deferving.

CHAP. V.

Return of the Captain General to Delhi — Accession of Asuf Al Dowla to the Government of Oude — Embassy of Illuj Khan to Delhi — Proceedings against Zabita Khan — Defeat of the King's Troops — Zabita Kiian unites with the Seiks — Succinct Account of that Nation — Occurrences.

NUJUFF KHAN, on his arrival at Delhi, met with a reception different from his expectations. The king was disgusted with him for not having fulfilled in a more resolute manner upon the delivery of the districts which had been stipulated in the late treaty with the vizir; and for omitting to urge his right to participate in the plunder acquired in the Rohilla war. Shah-Aulum, in fact, suspected his minister to have been influenced on this occasion more by an attention to his own interests than that of his sovereign, as the vizir, previous to his departure, publicly belittled on Nujuff Khan the Neabut* of the vizarut. This suspicion was diligently fostered in the king's mind by the faggellions of Mujud Al Dowla, who now began to acquire an ascendancy over his majesty; and being jealous of the authority and influence of Nujuff Khan, resolved to oppose him in every thing. The minister had long entertained hopes of that very appointment but baffled in his exertions to attain it, he repre-

* The deputyship of the office of vizir, or his representative at the court of Delhi.

fented Iris rival as a perfon defirous of advancing his own authority over that of his mailer. Nujuff Khan, however, had too powerful a party at court, as well as in the camp, to be eaily fupplanted; and the war againft the Jauts requiring immediate attention, his majesty appeared fatisfied with the excufes offered by Nujuff Khan.

..

The army again affembled, and the captain general led it without delay againft the fort of Deig, the only place of confequencce that remained to the Jauts. Nujuff Khan having inverted the fort on all tides, and completed the blockade, detached a fmall portion from his main body throughout the adjacent country, and reduced many of the Zemindars to obedience.

While the army lay before Dcig, an embaffy arrived in camp, fent by the vizir Afuff Al Dowla. That young prince, who fucceeded to the Mufnud of Shuja Al Dowla, was eighteen years of age. On his acccffion, it was deemed advifeable to requert of Shah-Aulum a confirmation of his patent of the vizarut in his own name. For this purpofe, Illuj Khan, a favourite fervant, was deputed to Delhi, attended by a fplendid fuite, and carrying with him fifty lacks of rupees as a pailhcufh. After a fhort ftay in the camp, he proceeded on to the capital, where his fucccs at firft fell fhort of his expectations. The king did not appear inclined to expedite the patent; and under various pretences delayed giving a direct anfwer.—But a fevere misfortune which at this time befel his majesty's arms, caufed an immediate and ready affent. Zabita Khan had again become refractory, and refufed to forward the ftipulated tribute to the royal treafury; and was now prepared to fupport his rebellion by

force of arms. Abdul Caffem Khan, on the part of the king, was ordered to march an army to attack the rebel. Zabita Khan, who was ported in Ghofe Ghur, hearing of that nobleman approach, marched boldly out, and offered him battle. A defperate conflict enfued, and the event was on the point of proving favourable to the royal forces, when a body of Patan horfc, who had been planted in an ambufeade by Zabita Khan at the commencement of the addon, came fuddenly out of the place, and fell upon the rear of the king's troops with fuch fury as totally to difeomfit them. The general was rtain whilft endeavouring to rally his men j and his fall threw the troops into fuch diforder, that it was with great difficulty Mujud Al Dowla, who fuccced to the command, was enabled to make good his retreat with a very fmall party. Zabita Khan re-entered his fort in triumph.

Accounts of this fatal difarter arriving at court, created the greateft confternation and difmay. Fortunately, however, for Shah-Aulum, at this critical moment he was relieved by the appearance of Lutaufut Khan, one of the vizir's officers, who brought along with him a body of 5000 troops, and a train of artillery, for the king's ufe. This falutary aid proved of the higheft fervice; and being relieved from any apprehensions for the prefent, the court determined to gratify the vizir for the effential fervice he had rendered. A patent was immediately made out, accompanied with the infignia of office and valuable prefents; and the whole were lent off with much pomp and folemnity under the charge of four commiffioners named by the king for this exprefs purpofe.

During these transactions, Nujuff Khan was still employed before Deig : that fortress, which was uncommonly strong and defended by a numerous garrison, continued for more than a twelvemonth to bid defiance to the efforts of Nujuff Khan. The repeated and bloody assaults which were made by the garrison had, however, much weakened their force, and the health of the Jaut prince beginning to decline, he entertained thoughts of submission; but before he had time to execute his resolution, he was hurried off by death. Runjet Sing, his brother, succeeded to the command: he was willing to continue the defence to the last extremity; but provisions growing scarce, his troops mutinied, and he was compelled to withdraw privately from the fort.

Accordingly, availing himself of the opportunity of an extreme dark night, and taking with him his family and treasures, accompanied by the greater part of the garrison, he effected his escape. On the ensuing morning, the king's troops, who were prepared for an assault, were astonished to find the walls unmanned, and no appearance of resistance. The general at first suspected a stratagem; but on a closer inspection, perceiving the rebels had actually retired, he entered and took possession.

A great quantity of ammunition and stores, with a train of artillery, were taken, but not much plunder, which circumstance exasperated the troops, and induced them to commit all sorts of violence upon the defenceless inhabitants. Not content with insulting them, they proceeded to attack their Pagodas, where they broke and demolished the idols, in spite of the prayers and intreaties urged by

the poor wretches in behalf of their altars. On the capture of Deig, all the remaining part of the Jaut country submitted; and as heavy fines were imposed by the general upon the different ZetWndars, he continued to fill his treasury, which enabled him to discharge the arrears of his troops; at the same time he ordered a general rejoicing throughout the camp.

The embassy afore mentioned arriving at the same time, Nujuff Khan availed *himself on the occasion* to shew his respect to the vizir, by entertaining the *commissioners* in the most splendid manner. He feasted them for several days, and then dismissed them with additional presents.

The conquest of the Jauts being now complete, Nujuff Khan directed his attention to the collection of the revenues, and in reforming the abuses which had prevailed during the war. But in the midst of his arrangements, he was suddenly called off by letters received from Delhi, which required his immediate presence at that city. Zabita Khan, whose success, as already related, had inflamed his resentment and excited his ambition, was resolved to persist in his rebellion, and actually threatened Delhi with a siege. Previous, however, to proceeding to open hostilities, he augmented his army, and took into his pay large bodies of *Serfs*.

He formed, moreover, connections with some of the principal chiefs of that nation; and in order to render this alliance the more effectual, he embraced the tenets of this extraordinary sect, and became a convert to their faith. The part which the Seiks have borne

in the transactions of later times in the upper parts of Hindoostan, justify an attempt to describe their origin and progressive advancement to authority in the empire.

During the reigns of Akbar, Jehangir, Shah Jehan and Aurangzeb, 'the annals of Hindoostan exhibit a series of events and brilliant actions which raised the empire to the first station in the history of Asia. Emulating the conduct of their founder the great Timoor, those princes whilst they trod in his steps rendered their dominions flourishing and their people happy, and the power of that august family appeared established on so solid a basis as to bid defiance to the fluctuating and capricious changes of fortune; but the seeds of dissolution and decay were internally generated even in the height of their prosperity; and the indolence, folly and effeminacy, of the princes of later times, overthrew the fabric of power, and buried the authority of the house of Timoor under its ruins. Out of the wreck of its former grandeur, several new and independent states arose. To the *Seiks*, among others, may be assigned an interesting station; obscure in their origin, in a remote part of the province of Lahor, this tribe had nothing but novelty to recommend itself or attract notice.

In the reign of the Emperor Baber, *Nanick Sibt*, founder of the tribe, was born at a small village named Tulbindee, in the province of Lahor; at an early period of life, this extraordinary person, who possessed a good capacity and amiable manners, forsook the world, and devoted himself to a life of religious austerity. In this recluse state, aided by the effusions of a fervid imagination, Nanick framed

a fyfthem of religion, compofed from the fpeculative and contemplative theories of Muffulman divinity, which he delivered to his numerous followers as of divine origin. This book he teemed Gur-runt, which, in the Punjabee dialed, implies fcriptural. Nanick, after reaching his nintieth year, expired peaceably, and was buried at Amrit Seer, where his tomb to the prefent day attrads the attention, and animates the piety of his numerous difciples. He left two children, Lucfmi Dofs and Sree Chund.

At his death, Nanick Shah, with a view to render permanent his new fyfthem, ordained that the fucceffion fhould be eledive and not hereditary, an ordination which, as it precluded the fupremc authority from remaining in one family, placed the benevolent and difintcrefted views of the founder in a light truly amiable. Sree Chund, who found means to fecure his elation, prefided over the tribe for feveral years, and, at his death, Angajee fucceeded. But this cuftom, though it obtained for fome time, was at length fet afide, and Gooroo Ram was the firft who eftablifhed an hereditary fucceffion.

The tribe continuing to increafe by the vaft number of converts which it had acquired, had not hitherto attraded the notice of the neighbouring powers occupied in paying a fcrupulous adherence to the laws and ordinations of their founder, the Seiks were looked upon as harmlefs, inoffenfive devotees; but the period was at hand when they were to ad a different part, and to contend with vigour againft imperial authority. Teigh Behadur, whole adions and misfortunes render his name memorable, was the firft who took

up arms against the officers of Aurengzeeb, till after many bloody encounters with the king's troops, he was at length overcome taken prisoner, and put to death. His successors, animated by revenge, continued a predatory war with the descendants of Aurengzeeb, and, during the struggle, the Sikhs acquired a considerable addition of territory. Among the most memorable of these chiefs, was Bundah, who, after a long and severe contest, was taken prisoner, carried to Delhi, and there suffered with heroic fortitude an ignominious death*.

In the reign of Ahumud Shah the tribe became very formidable. Profiting by the disturbances which then prevailed in every part of the empire, the Sikhs again made head against the government, and with far better success. They conquered the whole of the Punjab, (or country included within the five rivers which fall into the Indus) and even pushed their arms beyond it.

In the last reign (Aulum Geer the Second) their dominions were bounded on the west by the country of Cabul, and extended eastward to the vicinity of Delhi, north by a range of high mountains, and to the southward they embraced the province of Moulton and the city of Tatta, situated on the banks of the Indus. Lahore, the capital of Punjab, was selected as their chief city of residence, and as such has since continued. They possess many large towns, and among the principal are those of Puttiali, Hurrial, Loch Ghur,

* See a particular account of this enterprising chief in Captain Scott's second volume of the History of Deccan. Article *Furroh Seer*.

SHAH-AULUM.

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Serhind, Shahabad, and Tanafler. The Seik territories faid to contain prodigious quantities of cattle, hofes, oxen, c&ws, and fheep; and grain of various kinds is produced in abundance. The precious metals are very fcarce; and their trade is for that reafon chiefly carried on by barter, efpecially in the manufacturing towns.

At Pattiali they make excellent cloth, and fire arms fuperior to mofi parts of Hindofiaun. The collected force of the Seiks is intmcn/e, *they being able to bring into the field an army of 250,000* * men, a force apparently terrific, but, from want of union among themfelves, not much to be dreaded by their neighbours. Divided into diftindt diftridl ?, each chief rules over the portion appropriated to him with uncontrolled fway j and tenacious of his authority, and

* The following tabic, which was delivered to the author by a Seik chief when at Pannepat in 1793-4, will exhibit the fituation of the different chiefs at that period.

							Me.
Bcejcc Sing	-	-	-	*	-	-	12,000
Tanah Sing	-	-	-	-	-	-	22,000
Jeffah Sing	-	-	-	-	-	-	14,000
Kurrun Sing (of Shahabad)	-	-	-	-	-	-	12,000
Jeffah Sing (of Ramghur)	-	-	-	-	-	-	12,000
Jundut Sing (of Amrit Seer)	-	-	-	-	-	-	24,000
Khofal Sing (of Fuzoolah Pore)	-	-	-	*	-	-	22,000
Herri Sing (on the confines of Moulтан)	-	-	-	-	-	-	40,000
Runjet Sing (of Loch Ghur)	-	-	-	-	-	-	70,000
Shahur Sing (of Pattiali), Loll Sing, Jufwaunt Sing (of Nawbch), Gujput Sing (of Chunda), and other chiefs	-	-	-	-	-	-	20,000
Total							248,000

jealous of his brethren, it seldom happens that this nation makes an united effort *.

The Seiks are armed with a fpcar, fcymctar, and excellent match-lock. Their horfes are ftrong, very patient under hardfliip, and undergo incredible fatigue. The men aic accuflomcd to charge on full gallop, on a fudden they flop, difcharge their pieces with a deliberate aim, when fuddenly wheeling about, after pcrforming three or four turns, they renew the attack. The flock is impuffne when olfcid only to infantry, but againft artillery they cannot hand. It is a faft well known and eibiblihed, that a few field pieces is fufficiuit to keep in check their moft numerous bodies. Inured from their infancy to the hardfhips of a military life, the Seiks aie addicted to predatory warfare, in a manner peculiar to themfelves alone. When determined to invade a neighbouring province, they afemble at firft in fmall numbers on the frontier, when having firft demanded the *raki* or tribute, if it be complied with, they retire peaceably; but when this is denied, hofilities commence, and the Seiks, in their progrefs, are accuftored to lay wafte the country on all tides, carrying along with them as many of the inhabitants as

* The alarm once excited in the Britifh government of the formidable power of this nation, might be obviated by obferving, that the difeordant and clifiling inteufts of the refpediive Scik chiefs prevent almoft the poffibility of a general union; and even if difpofed to attack the territory of our ally, the vizir, they would be ncccfitated to keep a watchful eye over their own territories, which would be left open to invafion from the north. It is well known that Zcmaun Shah, the king of Cabul, is defirous of fharing in the fertile province of Punjab, and cfpecially of getting poffeffion of Lahoor, emphatically termed the key of Hindoftaun. His late attack at the end of 1796, is a proof of this affertion.

they can take prifoners, and all the cattle. The prifoners are detained as Haves, unlefs redeemed by a pecuniary compensation.— But though fond of plunder, the Seiks, in the interior parts of their country, preferve good order, and a regular government: and the cultivation of their lands is attended with muchaffiduity. Their revenues are collected at two Slated periods of Six months each; and by an equitable *adjustment between* the proprietor and cultivator, the latter is *allowed a fifth part as the* reward of his labour.

Of their religion much information has not as yet been acquired; but it has been remarked by an ingenious and spirited hislorian, that in the act of receiving profelytes, they compel them to the performance of an act equally abhorrent to the principles of the Hindoo or Mahomedan faith*. Yet, notwithstanding the nature of their ceremonies, it is certain they continue to gain numerous converts.

The Seiks, in their persons, are tall, and of a manly erect deportment; their aspect is ferocious, their eyes piercing and animated; and in tracing their features a striking resemblance is observable to the *Arabs* who inhabit the banks of the Euphrates. The dresses of the males consist of a coarse cloth of blue cotton, thrown loosely over the shoulders, and coming down between the legs, is confined round the waist by a belt of cotton. An ample turban of blue cloth covers the head, and over this is frequently wore a scarf of silk and cotton mixed, resembling both in colour and pattern a *Scotch*

* By obliging the Mussulman to drink water, in which some Seiks have washed their feet, mixed with hog's blood, and the Hindoo with that of a cow. See Captain Scott, Vol. 11. article *Furrook Seer*.

Tartan. They speak the Aufghaun or Poofhto language, with prolific additions of Perfian, Arabic, and'Hindoovcc*.

From this digression let us proceed to relate the transactions at court. Shah-Aulum, who was enraged at Zabita Khan for his repeated acts of insolence and disrespect, resolved to take the field in person, and had for this purpose, as above remarked, ordered the captain general from Deig. On the minister's arrival, the king marched out and encamped.

At a secret conference held on the occasion, it was resolved, previous to commencing hostilities, to make one effort to persuade the rebel to return to his duty; though had a retrospect of his former conduct been taken, they would have foreseen the insufficiency of any but resolute measures. Agreeably to this resolve, Rajah Dairam, Himmut Behadur, and Lutafut, were sent to Schaurunpore to treat and offer terms; but for fear of an unsuccessful issue, the king and the general followed with the army. The deputation at first

* In the year 1793-4, the author was at Panneput in company with Major Charles Reynolds, of the Bombay establishment, employed by the British government on a survey through the Doo Ab; the result of which, when communicated to the public, will no doubt prove a valuable addition to the geography already acquired. At that time he saw a body of Sciks then in the service of the great Sindiah; they were about one thousand in number, under the command of Doolchc Sing, from whose brother most of the information above mentioned was received. The author has to apologise for giving a sketch so imperfect, though he is happy to learn there is another and far better account already before the public from the late Colonel James Browne, of the Bengal establishment, but which account the author has not seen. The account here given stands merely on his own researches.

gave hopes of a peaceful termination. A conference **took place** between the captain general, Mujud Al Dowla, and Zabita Khan; but unhappily a misunderstanding arose, which proceeded to violent altercation on both sides. Whether Zabita Khan, who was of a turbulent and haughty spirit, could not brook the manner of the king's ministers, who talked in a high strain, or whether he was determined at all events on resistance, has not been clearly ascertained. From whatever cause it arose, he was observed as he came out of the tent to be uncommonly agitated; and without waiting for the ministers to accompany and introduce him, repaired directly to the royal tent. Having paid his respects to the king, he withdrew to his own camp; and suddenly, without assigning any reason for such a conduct, struck his tents and went into fort. Notwithstanding so glaring and insolent a conduct, the king did not proceed to the immediate punishment of the rebel. On the contrary, he was persuaded, through the mediation of Lutafut, who, it is alleged; was bribed largely on the occasion, to pardon him. Zabita Khan was, therefore, invited to court, and, on promising submission, was again confirmed in his government of Sehaunpore. The army returned, to Delhi.



HISTORY OF

CHAP. VI.

Revolt of the Rajah of JYPORE— Succinct Account of the Principalities of Oudipore — Joudpore and Jypore — The King marches to Jypore — Taking of Narnoul and Dhansney — Disgrace of 'Mujud Al Dowla — Death of Prince Furk-hinpa Bukht — Death and Character of 'Nujuff Khan.

• **ON** the return of the royal army to Delhi, Nujuff Khan, who had lately been appointed to the government of Agrah, repaired to that province: about this time news arrived at court of the death of Madhoo Sing, ruler of Jypore, and of the accession of Pertaub Sing, a youth of twelve years of age, to his father's government. The considerable share which this prince bore in the transactions of the court of Delhi, justify our taking a retrospective view of the provinces of Oudipore, Joudpore, and Jypore, or the countries denominated by geographers *Rajpoot ana**.

When the Moguls first entered Hindoostan, they found the inhabitants in general effeminate and luxurious, and in consequence incapable of opposing with effect those hardy bands who at first under Zingis Khan, and afterwards his descendant, the Great Timoor, ac-

* Consult the excellent memoir of a map of Hindoostan by Major Rennel, to whom the author begs leave to return his thanks for his liberal and polite attention in permitting him to copy the map prefixed to this volume.

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Mrupd al Dowkih

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quired a succession of conquests, and finally laid the foundation of the Mogul empire in Hindostan in the person of Baber, sixth in descent from Timoor.

But however competent to overturn the Patan government, they found it more difficult to subdue the great Rajpoot principalities.—The princes of those countries, who were the aboriginal sovereigns of Hindostan, inherited from their ancestors a high and warlike spirit, which, added to the natural advantages of their situation, in countries surrounded by high mountains and intersected by narrow valleys and numerous defiles, rendered hazardous a foreign invasion. The Rajpoot princes therefore continued long to resist with effect the valour and discipline of the Mogul troops; and the different sovereigns of the house of Timoor, after repeated, but ineffectual, struggles to reduce them by force, were in the end necessitated to adopt a method more conciliatory. The first princes of the race of Timoor not only invited them to the capital, and heaped upon them honours and dignities of all kinds, but were accustomed to intermarry with their families, a circumstance, which, if the tenacious adherence of the Hindoos to preserve their blood pure and uncontaminated be considered, would appear disgraceful; but an alliance with the sovereign was, among the Hindoos, deemed honourable by the ancient usages of their country.

The great acquisition of interest thus obtained by the Rajpoot princes, the security of their possessions, and, above all, the prospect of their descendants mounting the throne, were motives that inspired a cheerful acquiescence in the proposed alliances, and abated their

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si feht love of independence, and contributed to render them contented in their tributary Rate. Accordingly, during the reigns of Jehanguire, Shah Jehan, and Aurcngzeck, the Rajpoot princes, were gradually allied to royal blood*.

Hajpootnah or country of the Rathorc Rajpoots, in the imperial register is included in the province of Agimcre. brom Jypoic, one of the principal cities, it extends 168 cofcsJ to its north-wertcin boundary of Bekaneer, a city which fkiirts the confines of the dclart; to the cartward it extends 150 cofes, and is bounded on that qnailer by Agr.tb ; evert by the city of Dcbalporc, on the banks of the Sutt-luz; and fouth by the province of Guzcrat.

The principal river, the Puddar, rifes in the mountainous part of the country; and, aitci traversing a vaft extent, is difeharged into the fea, near the gulph of Kutch.

Within the afore-mentioned traft arc the cities of Oudipoic, Joud-pore, and Jyporc, including the rtrong foiticfic'. of Chcitore and Rintimpore; the former memorable for refilling the arms of the emperor Akbar; and the latter for having affeided an afylum to the families of Shah Jehan and Aurengzccb, when in rebel'ion againft. their parents. Thefe countries abound in cotton, opium, indigo,

* See Dow's Hindoftaun—*paffim*.

t In this defeoption the author has availed himclcf of a IVifian MS. intitl'd *Hudeeka A/ Akai* or a gcograpl. account ol fcveral of the j principal tines an<L provinces of Hindoftaun. It is v.ritten by a kamul nati\c, and contains mueli cuuous and ufeul information.

| Cofs is equal to two Britifti miles.

tobacco, and grain of various kinds, most of which articles are 'exported to Ahumudabad, the capital of Guzerat, which returns the manufadhucs of ICmope and Pcriia. They have also a breed of excellent holies, which are in general use among the Marhatta armies. While the empire Hourifhcd, the revenues of the Agimere province vere cHimated at twenty-six millions; and the different Rajahs, when united, could bring into the field an army of 200,000 men, a force truly formidable, and which proved frequently fatal to the Mogul princes, even in the zenith of their power and authority. To conclude our icmarks on this lingular people, in the words of a fpirited hiftorian ⁵¹, “ their fituation enabled them to retaliate injuries in the “ center of the empire; but attached to their foil, as ground on “ which thcii deities as well as their anceftors had lived, few of “ their princes had been ambitious of incrcaling their territory.”

Towards the clofc of the laid century, Jyling, x prince no lefs celebrated for his warlike talents than for his reputation as a philofo-phtr and a cultivator of the arts, founded the modern city of Jypore, which he called Jynagghar. It is fituated in the central pairs of Rajpootanah, and about 140 miles weft of Agrah. The town is handfome and well built; the houfes are of Hone, and the fliets, which are large and fpacious, interfed: each other at right angles. A citadel, which commands the town, is built upon a fteep rock, around which extends a chain of fortifications four miles in circumference. In the town is to be fecn an obfervatory, created by the prince afore mentioned, to which, during his life time, many eminent and

* Onne's Hiftotical Fragments.

learned men were invited, where the science of astronomy was assiduously cultivated.

This city has of late years increased in commerce and opulence; for since the communication through the province of Lahoar has been stopped by the Seiks, the merchants from the north have been accustomed to enter Hindostan by the route of Jypore. Rock salt, iron, and copper, are found in the province; and its revenues are estimated at five millions sterling.

The inhabitants are wholly Hindoos; and their manners are represented by travellers to be hospitable and unaffected. Since the death of Jyng, who may be considered as the founder of the present family, there has been a succession of four princes*. Purtaub Sing, who, as already remarked, was a minor in the hands of his guardians, from inexperience was incapable of governing and entirely under the guidance of others. During the late disturbances, his ministers taking advantage of the absence of the royal army, had neglected to send to court the customary tribute, which Shab-Aulum was determined to punish. He accordingly assembled the army, the command of which was given to the Nawab Mujid Al Dowla. This nobleman, eager to gratify his own ambition, had long beheld with impatience the authority of Nujuff Khan: he thought the present opportunity favourable to his views; and the absence of the captain general, who was employed in the Agrah province, gave him hopes of establishing his ascendancy over the mind of his sovereign,

* Jyng Scwari, Alfai Sing, Prithi Sing, Madho Sing

and by the reduction of the Jypore country fix himself in power without controul.

The army being assembled, Mujud Al Dowla, accompanied by the king marched against Rewari, a large town in the dominions of PertaubSing, the place after a short resistance submitted, as did also the forts of Narnoul and Dhanfiery. The success of these operations induced Mujud Al Dowla to carry the king to a greater distance, and to propose to his majesty to extend his circuit through the provinces of Agimere, under pretext of paying his devotions at the shrine of a Mahomedan saint. This plan which was to separate the king from Nujuff Khan, would in all probability have succeeded, had not a circumstance occurred which baffled his schemes, and led in the end to important consequences. Nujuff Khan hearing of the late successes, and perceiving the increased influence of Mujud Al Dowla, ventured on a personal visit to the royal camp; and leaving the care of Agrah to his friend Mahomed Beg Khan, he began his march towards Jypore. The ministers of Pertaub Sing, after the losses afore mentioned, finding farther resistance vain, now made overtures of submission in the name of their master, and a negotiation accordingly commenced. A large pension was offered on the part of the young Rajah, and professions of loyalty and attachment in his future conduct.—Pending this treaty, Nujuff Khan, who was informed of the circumstance, resolved it should not be terminated until his own arrival. He therefore, dispatched an express to the king, requesting that the treaty should not be concluded without him; and on his own authority forbade the Jypore Vakeel to proceed any farther in the affair, Com-

affairs dictated in terms so forcible had the desired effect, and Shah-Aulunj was compelled to acquaint Mujud Al Dowla of his acquiescence in the demands of his rival.

In a few days the army of Nujuff Khan arrived in the neighbourhood of the royal camp, and, to do the general honour, his majesty sent his third son, the Prince Yezdan Bukht, to meet and conduct him to the presence. A private conference was held on the occasion, and Mujud Al Dowla was convinced that the authority of his rival was too powerful to be overthrown. Pertaub Sing was now ordered to repair to the royal camp, and on presenting an offering of five lacks of rupees, received his majesty's pardon, and was restored to the government of the Jypore province. The army then returned to Delhi, where Nujuff Khan, soon after his arrival, celebrated the nuptials of his youngest daughter with the Nawab Nujuff Cooly Khan. The marriage was honoured by the king's presence, and in a few days after Nujuff Khan returned to Agra.

During the remainder of the current year, little occurs at Delhi worthy of notice ; but the ensuing season exhibited a new scene of action, and occasioned a considerable alteration on the face of affairs at court. The Seiks, who for several years had confined themselves to their own territories, now suddenly appeared in great numbers on the frontiers. A great force under different leaders having assembled, entered the king's territories, and commenced their usual course of plunder and devastation. They soon penetrated as far as Carnal, a large city two miles north of the capital. Of this they took possession, and dispersed their parties in various

directions to overrun the province of Delhi. To repel this daring invasion, Mujud Al Dowla, accompanied by Furkhinda Bukht, a prince of the royal family, were ordered to take the field. Twenty thousand men with a respectable train of artillery, were soon ready to march. Advancing by easy marches along the western bank of the river Jumna, the royal army reached Carnal without interruption. At this place Runjeet Sing and Deo Sing, two of the principal leaders of the Seiks, dispatched a vakeel to camp with offers of submission. They promised a purchase of three lacks of rupees, and to recall their associates from their predatory incursions. Mujud Al Dowla acquiescing in the proposal, those chiefs were directed to attend the royal army in its future progress. Accordingly having evacuated the town of Carnal, they joined the minister. From Carnal, Mujud Al Dowla advanced to Puttiali, a town 60 miles north of the latter, and situated on the Seik frontier. That place was defended by Amur Sing, who with a numerous garrison, and abundance of provisions, resolved to sustain a siege. Amur Sing had, however, other motives for resistance; he was aware that a large reinforcement of Seiks had left Lahore, and might shortly be expected at Puttiali; nor was he without hope that even in the event of their non-arrival, and the town being hard pressed, but that he should be able to gain over the minister to his views, by the aid of all-powerful gold. However this might have been, Mujud Al Dowla besieged the place in form; but many days had not elapsed, when it was announced to the army, that a negotiation for peace was in train. Amur Sing consenting to become tributary, commissioners were appointed on both sides to draw up an amicable treaty. The conferences accordingly commenced; but an act of treachery

on the part of the Seiks, and in which it was supposed the minister had a considerable share, suddenly dissolved the meeting. To relate with precision the circumstances which led to this breach of faith, we must recollect that the Sikh chieftains, who were submitted at Carnal, were still in the royal camp. They having received advice of the expected reinforcement of their countrymen being near at hand, sent notification of it to Amar Sing; at the same time advising that chief by some means or other to break off the treaty then pending.

Agreeably to this information, Amar Sing exhibited to the commissioners many shuffling evasions and pretexts; and to this was added an haughty and contemptuous behaviour, which could not be mistaken. Rajah Daicram, the chief commissioner, perceiving his drift, quitted the town of Pattiali, and with his associates returned to camp.

Meanwhile the traitors there endeavoured by studied respect to preclude all suspicion of their fidelity in the mind of the minister. Mujud Al Dowla said nothing; and his shameful duplicity on this occasion in suffering the insults sustained by the royal commissioners at Pattiali to pass unnoticed, afforded additional proofs of his collusion in the disgraceful scene. Early on the following morning, Runjet Sing and his associate suddenly left the camp: a party was directed to go in pursuit of them; this party had scarcely cleared the advanced posts of the army, when they discovered the vanguard of an immense host of Seiks, who by forced marches had advanced thus far unnoticed. At the same instant Amar Sing, of

Pattiah, issuing out of the fort, covered the retreat of the traitors⁷ and with them shortly after joined the troops from Lahoor. The Sciks now made a violent attack on*all sides: accustomed to a defaultory mode of warfare, they charged the line in several parts at once, and by the fierceness of their onset, threw the king's troops into confusion. The whole army would now have been sacrificed had not the officer who commanded in the rear, by a well-directed fire of his artillery, given a timely check to the enemy. The king's troops were, however, compelled to retire; and for four days made a disgraceful and disorderly retreat. On the fifth day, the army reached Panniput, under the walls of which they encamped. Here the Sciks quitted them; and unfatigued with success, and fiercely thirsting for plunder, they divided into separate columns, and crossing the Jumna, spread themselves over the upper parts of the Doon Ab, committing every where acts of cruelty, devaluation, and death.

The late disgraceful scenes had excited in the army universal indignation against: Mujud Al Dowla. On him the eyes of all men were bent; and numbers scrupled not openly to accuse him of having been bribed by the Sciks to betray the king's interests, and devote his army to utter ruin. If, indeed, it be considered that a finer and better appointed army never marched from Delhi, that they were flattered with recent successes, and animated by the preference of a prince of the blood; that this army should be incompetent to sustain the shock of a tumultuous rabble, appeared incredible in the eyes of all men, and proved the reproaches thrown on the minister to be fully merited. Even after the enemy had re-

where instead of remaining on the frontier to recover his foldiers from their late deprefion, he, as if panic ftruck, marched precipitately to the capital, thereby leaving the whole country expofed in his rear, and the wretched inhabitants a prey to the ravages of thole barbarous invaders. But he was foon to receive a punifhment adequate to his deferts.

Intelligence of this difaftrous event arriving at Delhi, confternation and difmay feized on all. The king was highly incenfcd at the bafe conduct of Mujud Al Dowla; and to prevent farther ill confequences, required the immediate attendance of the captain general. It was indeed high time for fome effed.ual interference. On one hand the Seiks were filling the Doo Ab with outrage and devaluation, while on the other feveral of the Zemindars, availing themfelves of the confufion of the times, rofe in arms in many parts of the country.

The minifter, who by this time had reached Delhi, on his arrival laboured inceffantly to remove from the king's mind all fufpicion of his fidelity. He entered into a long defence of his condud, wherein he attempted to prove that the late difafter was imputable not to his want of attachment, but to the common accidents of war; that for himfelf he had ever been one of the foremoft in zeal and exertion for his majefty's fervicc.

Shah-Aulum, who was not in a condition as yet to refute the arguments of his minifter, (that nobleman's guards having poffeffion of the palace) apparently accepted his apologies; but the fequel

inclined all thinking persons to conclude, that the king wasW his own mind resolved on his disgrace. It must here be remembered that Mujud Al Dowla, from his extensive influence at court, had a strong party in his favour in the army; that he, moreover, was in possession of the king's person and the citadel, and therefore resolved to oppose his enemies by force of arms. It was justly feared that the contention between the rival chiefs would, to the citizens of Delhi, be attended with considerable mischief, if not of bloodshed.

Thcfe alarms, however, were happily subdued by the conduct and dexterity of the captain general, who was now on his way to the capital. By means of his emissaries, dispersed throughout the city, he, by large bribes and promises of preferment, drew over to his own views the leading chiefs of the minister's party. Secure on this head, he hesitated not to carry his designs into instant execution.

On his arrival in the neighbourhood, the prince Furkhinda Bukht and Mujud Al Dowla were ordered to meet and conduct the captain general to court. Prior to Mujud Al Dowla's quitting the citadel, he received information of the intended combination against him. He was told of the designs of his enemies to seize him, and of the king's acquiescence and secret indignation toward him: finally, they recommended him to be upon his guard; and, in the strongest manner, urged him to remain within the citadel, where, with the force he possessed, he might bid defiance to the united efforts of his enemies. Staggered at the unexpected intelligence, the minister for a moment paused. But impelled by an unaccountable infatuation, he

relied on the king's personal favour, and, trusting the intricacies of his friends, resolved to go on.

Scarcely had the prince's retinue quitted the city, when Afrasiab Khan, a young foldier of fortune, who had been bred in the camp and in the family of Zulficar Al Dowla, at the head of 500 horse, seized on the gate; thence proceeding to the citadel, he compelled the garrison, who had been stationed there by Mujud Al Dowla, to lay down their arms and evacuate the fort. They obeyed: the spirited youth then took possession for Shah-Aulum in the name of his benefactor. The king having taken no notice of this transaction, it was supposed his majesty was apprised of the whole plan prior to its execution.

By this time the prince and Mujud Al Dowla had reached the camp of the captain general. After a few complimentary ceremonies, the minister was informed that he was no more to visit the king. Perceiving his disgrace inevitable, he begged leave to return to his palace in the city. This was allowed, but a guard was lent along with him; and shortly after the whole of his property, amounting to more than twenty lacks of rupees, was seized, and confiscated to the use of the captain general.

In a court so fruitful of revolutions as Delhi, the removal or death of a minister is in general viewed by the people with perfect apathy and indifference: yet on this occasion, Mujud Al Dowla's conduct in the late expedition had excited a disgust among all ranks; which, added to his former acts of rapacity and oppression to supply the

extravagance of the court, altogether rendered his dilgracc jufly merited.

Zulficar Al Dowlah, on his prefentation at court, was received by Shah-Aulum with marks of the moft affectionate refpeCt. In return he made an offering of four lacks of rupees, together with fome beautiful Perfian horfes for the ufe of the king's liable. The palace of the late vizir Cummir Aldccn Khan was afligned for the refidence of the new minifter, who from henceforth determined to fix his refidence at Delhi.

The difmiffion of Mujud Al Dowla from all his employments occafioned fome alterations in the arrangement of offices. At the recommendation of the captain general, the prince Mirza Juwaun Bukht was made fuperintendant of the bathing apartments; prince Furkhinda Bukht, Meer Atufli, or Grand Mailer of Artillery; and his majefty honoured the captain general himfelf with the high office of Vakeel Mutluck, or Abfolute Director General of the affairs of the empire.

The commencement of 1781 was taken up in preparations for punifhing the Seiks. That lawlefs banditti were ftill ravaging the upper parts of the Doo Ab. To chaftife them, Mirza Shuflee Khan, a young nobleman who poffeffed great military experience, was detached from the capital with a body of twelve thoufand men, and a fuitable train of artillery. After croffing the Jumna, he went in quell of the enemy; and after feveral ineffectual Ikirmifhes and.

a defultory warfare, he at laft brought them to a general and decifive addon.

On the 15th of Auguft, under the walls of Meerut, he attacked them with great gallantry and fpirit: the king's troops, Simulated by the remembrance of their difgrace the preceding year, and bunting for revenge, exerted on this occafion their utmoft efforts to make an honourable amend. Succfs crowned their wifhes in a total overthrow of the enemy with a terrible daught. Sahib Sing, their leader, with feveral other commanders of note, were flain on the fpot, and upwards of 5000 men. Difpirited at this lot's, the Sciks returned in the utmoft confufion, crofted the Jumna with precipitation, and finally took refuge in their own territories, which afforded relief to the mifcrable inhabitants over whom for the fpacc of feveral months they had exercifed the moft uncontrolcd and unbounded feverity.

After the vidory, Mirza Shuffce Khan humanely directed his attention to the diftreffes of the inhabitants; and to afford them folid proofs of his benevolent intentions, he, in the name of his majefty, granted them a remiffion of taxes for a year.

Order being once more reftored, he returned in triumph to the capital. Had the advantages we have above detailed been purfued with a vigour proportionate to the occafion, there is no doubt but the moft fubftantial benefits would have acrued to the royal caufe. The enemy were totally difpirited with their loffes; and by natural confequence, were at variance with each other, and incapable of

refinance. Here then was a most favourable opportunity afforded for extending the king's influence from the environs of his capital even to the Attock; and of establishing his authority on so secure and permanent a basis as in future to have effectually precluded all attempts of his ambitious neighbours, or, what was to him of more consequence, to keep within bounds his own rebellious subjects. — Unfortunately for the state, these advantages were not followed up; nor could the prime minister be prevailed on to re-embellish the army for an invasion of the Punjab. He was now advancing in years, and had become indolent, to which it might be added the minister could not without jealousy behold the abilities and rising fortunes of Mirza Shuftee Khan'. High spirited and active, that nobleman had gained the attachment of the soldiery in a very uncommon degree; and by acts of liberality and munificence, he was careful to confirm them in their sentiments.

Meanwhile, as the person most fit for the appointment, Mirza Shufiai was nominated to the command of the frontier station; and accordingly having received his commission from the presence, attended by a considerable force, he repaired to the city of Panniput.

About this time ambassadors from Lahore arrived at court.— They brought letters of submission from the principal chiefs, which were accompanied by a large payment in money, and a promise of the payment in future of a regular tribute. The city of Carnal was likewise restored to the king; and the ambassadors moreover made a pecuniary compensation for the losses sustained in the late invasion.

Shah-Aulum now celebrated the nuptials of his second son, Prince Akbar Shah, with a princess of the royal family. The ceremony was performed with much splendour at the house of the minister, who took this opportunity of gratifying his master by »bestowing liberal presents on the new-married pair.

Toward the latter end of the current year, died the Prince Furkhinda Bukht. His remains were interred in the mausoleum of Humayoon, the general repository of the allies of the house of Timoor*.

The death of the prince was followed shortly after by that of the minister. He had been much afflicted for several preceding years with a severe rheumatic complaint. This was increased by a complication of other disorders occasioned by an irregular mode of life, which at length inflamed his humours to such a degree of acrimony as rendered life a burthen to him. In this deplorable state, he languished for several months, till in the month of April 1782, he expired in the palace of Sefdar Jung, Sincerely regretted by his sovereign, who visited him during his illness, and lamented by the inhabitants of Delhi, who loved and revered him. He was buried in the sepulchre of Ali Mirdaun Khan.

Mirza Nujaf Khan Zulficar Al Dowla was a native of Persia: by the mother's side, he claimed his descent from the royal house of Sefi, who, at the commencement of the present century, sat on

the throne of Persia. When Nadir Shah usurped that government, he put under confinement all the relative branches of the royal family who remained. Among those were the mother of Nujuff Khan: she had two children, himself and a sister, named Khadeeja Sultaun.

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In 1746, Mirza Mohtiffun, brother of Sefdar Jung, Soobadar of Oude, was sent on an embassy to the Persian court. By his intercession, the family obtained their liberty; when the mother, preferring to remain in her native country, Mirza Mohuffun carried back into Hindostan Mirza Nujuff Khan and his sister, at that time about thirteen years old. This princess was shortly after married to her deliverer, and had by him one son, who, in process of time, became Governor of Allahabad. In that station Mahmud Cooli Khan, the person above mentioned, was, by order of Shuja Al Dowla, most safely assassinated*.

Mirza Nujuff Khan, at the time of his nephew's decease, was likewise in the vizir's service.—But Shuja having taken an aversion to him, which most probably arose from an unworthy jealousy of his superior accomplishments, treated him in several instances with marked disrespect. The high spirit of Nujuff Khan could not brook these indignities, and accordingly quitted for ever the dominions of Oude.

In the year 1762, he repaired to Patna, where Coffim Ali Khan,

♦ At the fort of Jaulaibail, about five miles distant from the city of Lucknow.

Nabob of Bengal, at that time held his court. That prince taking Nujuff Khan into his service, he was promoted to the command of a body of Mogul horfe. He was employed during the war that soon after broke out between the Sooba and the British government, and was present at the attack of Oudah Nulla, and other places; and on all occasions conducted himself with vigour, spirit, and gallantry.

On the defeat of Shuja Dowla at the memorable battle of Buxar, and the total ruin of the affairs of the unfortunate Coflim, Mirza Nujuff Khan being unwilling to trust to the vizir's clemency, fought an action in Boghildund. Here he remained until the treaty of Allahabad in 1765, when he was sent for by Shah-Aulum; and at his recommendation, Lord Clive gave him a pension of two lacks of rupees, chargeable on the revenues of the Corah province*.

On his majesty's retreat from Allahabad, Nujuff Khan accompanied the court; and from that period he rose, as we have seen in the preceding pages, to the first offices and highest honours in the date.

Mirza Nujuff Khan, by his powerful influence, high military character, and undivided attention to business, was well fitted to conduct the affairs of the empire with a vigorous and steady hand. He restored order and tranquillity to the almost-ruined provinces;

* See the reports of the fiscal committee.

and by Lis v.b'c adimmftration, recruited in a considerable t grec
the e.'dial'.Td unanccs.

Though ccntimidly furreninded by numerous and warlike enemies, the ahihbcs of tiic captain general were equal to the conteft. By a itcadly and undcviating purfuit in his defigns, he at length tiinnphcd over all his enemies, and reaped the fruits of his well-earned labours by creating for himfclf a noble principality. This, confiding of the province oi Agrah, of which lie was governor, the adjoining countries of Merut and Macheri, the whole of the Jaut territories, and greater part of the Doo Ab, altogether yielding a revenue of two millions flcrling. His eflablifhment was magnificent and extenfive; and he lived in a manner worthy a prince.

To great fkill in military affairs, Nujuff Khan added the happy talent of being able to conciliate the attachment of his troops in an uncommon degree. The foldicrs admired his patience under advcrfity, his affability, generofity, and manlinefs of fpirit; and though, from a variety of circumftances, and the fluctuating changes incident to an Afatic army, they were not unfrequently thrown into difcontent, and fomc times even to mutiny, Nujuff Khan, on thefe critical occafions, never failed, by his addrefs and dexterity, to pacify the moil unruly without a diminution of his own authority.—A rare and fortunate example.

That no other perfon was equally capable to combine and keep together fuch a variety of difeordant interefts as the policy of an

Eaſtem government ever exhibits, was effectually evinced in the examples of his ſucceſſors.

Upon the whole, we may, with juſtice, aſcribe to Nujuff Khan the character of an able ſtateſman, a ſkilful commander, and a humane and benevolent man. Polite and affable in his manners to all perſons, which is indeed proverbial to his countrymen, he was generous to his dependants, and ſtrictly juſt. His death was deſervedly regretted by Shah-Aulum, who certainly owed to Mirza Nujuff Khan a ſituation more reſpectable than he had before, or was hereafter, deſtined to experience

* The foregoing account of the family of Nujuff Khan is extracted from a Perſian MS. in the author's poſſeſſion; it is entitled *Khazanah Omrah*, or Biography of the Mogul Nobility, a work frequently mentioned by Oriental hiſtorians.

CHAV. VII.

Tru factions al Court fulfeqiient to the Death of Zulficar Al Dowla — Afrasiab Khan appointed Miniflcr — JDifetdio/is among the Mogul Lords — Eievatio'i & 'Mirza Shuffee Khan — Intrigues — He is ajfafinatcd before Dmc, — Re-appointment of Afrasiab Khan — ■Refections.

UNTIL NujuffKhan's death, affairs at court, though at times interrupted by temporary diilentions and difagrcments betwixt the Mogul nobles, had by the adive vigilance of the captain-general been amicably fettled. But their turbulent fpirit, however, refrained during his life time, now broke foith with a fury which was tally ungovernable. Hence in the fequel of this hiflory we fiiall be reduced to the painful nccclTity of recording fccnes of violence, anarchy, and bloodfhcd. Shah-Aulum advancing in years, and diditute of that energy and vigour of mind fu neceflary to fleni the torrent, was compelled as occafions demanded to vidd to its force, and the unhappy king, in the evening of life, had the mortifxaion to perceive his authority totally annihilated, and himfelf become a wretched pageant in the hands of his rebellious fubjeds.

Among the principal competitors for power was Afrafitb Khan. This young foldier, bred in the camp, and under the eye of the late captain-general, had by his military talents acquired the affections of the army. lie was nominated to the poll of Ameer Al

Omrah. His firff attention was judicioufiy directed to fccurc the attachment of the different Mogul chiefs. Among thefc Mirza Shufiee Khan was one of the mod powerful ; his lite fucces againff the Sciks, and his fituation in command of the frontiers, induced the miniflcr to treat him with extraordinary attention. Afrafiab Khan, therefore, fent letters to that nobleman, expreffive of the utnwft cordiality, and recommended hi.-, vigilant attention to his charge on thic frontiers. Similar letters wcie lent to the Navvaub Zabita Khan, ruler of Schaurunporc. 1 he new miniffcr being popular in the army, and a man of acknowledged rcfolution, it was thought he would have fccured a continuation of Li.-, authority ; but an oppofition which arofe totally unexpctted by him from an oppofite quarter, not only for the prefent deprived him of Ink authority, but even brought him to the very brink of ruin.

To trace the caufe of this oppofition, we muff recur to the fituation of the family of the deccafed miuifler. Nujuff Khan's filter, the Princefs Khadijee Sultaun, was at this time at Delhi, poffefied of great wealth; and being a woman of a mafculinc and intriguing fpirit, the boldly entered into the politics of the times, and refoKed to form a party of her own. She had conceived a great averfion to Afrafiab Khan, who Lad treated her with difrefpceff, and knowing the ambition of Mirza Shufiee, feledted that nobleman as a counterpoife againff the miniflcr's influence. Khadejee Sultaun, therefore, in concert with Zecin Al Abuden Khan, his brother, and othci lords, whom flic had gained over to her views, invited Mirza Shufiee to match to Delhi, and take upon himfcelf the adminiftration of affairs. They allured him at the fame time, that the king

immediately approved the plan, and concluded by recommending his speedy appearance.

The design of this confederacy, however cautiously conducted, could not long be kept secret from Afrasiab Khan. Information of the intended conspiracy being conveyed to him, he resolutely determined on a counter plan, and by a coalition of interells with some disaffected lords, to defeat the designs of his enemies. Among these were the deposed minister, the Niswau Mujud Al Dowla; that nobleman had since his disgrace been kept in close confinement. Afrasiab Khan finding him well inclined to the connection, applied to Shah-Aulum for his release. He observed to his majesty, that Mujud Al Dowla, having experienced a severe punishment for his faults, in a tedious imprisonment, and the continuation of his fortune, there was now room for clemency towards him. Shah-Aulum acquiescing in the request, Mujud Al Dowla was liberated from his arrest, and again placed at the head of the Khalifa*, at the same time Nujuff Cooli Khan, son-in-law of the late minister, was promoted to the office of Dewaun. The contending parties were, in force, nearly equal, but as Afrasiab possessed the poll of advantage, in having the citadel under his immediate command, he flattered himself with the hopes of success.

Such was the situation of affairs, when Mirza Shuflec Khan, with his army arrived in the neighbourhood of Delhi. The king, it is said, being favourable to his pretensions, dispatched a confidential fervent secretly to his camp, who recommended for the present his remaining inactive. This transaction did not escape the

* The treasury.

notice of Afrafiab Kh;m, and on receiving information of it from his cmiffaries, he determined by a vigorous meafure, at once to bring th£ matter to iffuc. Repairing to the palace, he, in peremptory terms demanded the difmiffion of Mirza Shidhe, and told die king that perceiving his enemies had formed a plan to fubvert his authority, it was incumbent on him by every means in his power, to prevent fuch an ait of injufticc. That with refpeCt to the appearance of Mirza Shuffec at the capital, he mull be called on to allign his motives for quitting his Ration on the frontiers without leave obtained, and in maniffl violation of his oath of allegiance. Afrafiab Khan concluded with remarking the improper conduit of the Princefs Khadcjee Sultaun, whom he knew aided in concert with his enemies, and urged the neceffity of laying fomc rcflraint upon her ambitious and intriguing fpirit. He charged, her withadeilgn to degrade his majefty's authority ; and finally concluded his remonfrance, with a requiition for that princefs immediately to deliver up the fortrefs of Agrah, with the cannon and warlike fious contained therein. Shah-Aulum under the reftraint of his minifler acquiefced in his demands, and accordingly Mirza Shuffec was called upon by letter to flatc his reafons for having quitted his Ration. This vigorous meafure, though it alarmed Mirza Shufice, did not incline him to relinquifli his purfuits. Inftcad of anfwering to the charge, he advanced his camp oppofite the Ajimer gate of the city, which he clofely blockaded.

The afpect of affairs was gloomy. The rival chiefs were each determined to reft the iffue of their refpedtive claims to the fword, and a fcenc of tumult and horror was apprehended by the peaceful

inhabitants. At this crisis of affairs an unexpected circumstance arose, which defeated the designs of the prime minister, and gave the palm of success to his opponent. During the disputes above related, Mahomed Beg Khan Hamdani, who was governor of Agra on the part of Nujuff Khan, availing himself of the confusion of the times, resolved to participate in the spoils. He left the fort of Agra, and began to plunder and lay waste the country, but his vengeance was principally directed against the Jaghccr of Afrafiab Khan, of whose authority he was jealous. Afrafiab Khan deeming the preservation of his state preferable to maintaining his authority at court, determined to retire. But previous to taking that step he delivered over the citadel to his associate Mujud Al Dowla, and at his departure told the king he would soon return, and take vengeance of his enemies. He then with a selected body of horse took the road to Agra.

Scarcely had Afrafiab Khan left the city, when Mirza Shuffce Khan marched in with his whole force. His success was rapid, having secured the gates and principal avenues to the palace, he detached a party to surround the houses of Mujud Al Dowla, Lutfut Khan, Nujuff Cooli Khan, and other chiefs, attached to his rival. After a short, but desperate resistance, in which several were slain, those noblemen were compelled to submit; and Mirza Shuffce, elevated with his success, repaired in triumph to the palace. He was immediately invested with the dignity of Ameer Al Omrah, and the supreme administration of affairs. Tranquillity being restored in the city, Mirza Shuffce paid a visit to the Princefs Khadeja Suldaun. After mutual congratulations the princefs presented him with a large sum of money, of which he was much in

want, and to confirm his authority by every means in her power, he bellowed on him in marriage the only remaining daughter of her deceased brother. The nuptials were celebrated with much splendour at her own charge.

Arrived at the height of his ambition, it might naturally be conjectured that Mirza Shuffee would omit no precautions to confirm his authority upon a solid basis. But in his subsequent conduct he was highly reprehensible. That conduct which had acquired him the affection of the troops and the support of the officers, now appeared to have forsaken him. His demeanour on a sudden became haughty and imperious, which excited murmuring and discontent in the breasts of his associates, and their effect were for him but too soon apparent. In the mean time we must direct our attention to the deposed minister. Afrasiab Khan hearing of the late revolution, wisely resolved to make Mahomed Beg Khan Hamdani his friend. He being equally well disposed to a compromise, a treaty was accordingly drawn up, in which it was agreed to join their forces and march forthwith to Delhi, to reinstate Afrasiab Khan in his authority, and afterwards sharing in a mutual administration.

In the meantime their views were advanced, though unintentionally towards them, by the disclosure of a plan which had been concerted under the auspices of the Prince Juwaun Bukht, which produced a new revolution in affairs. That prince, who had long been indignant at the degraded situation of the royal authority, thought the absence of Afrasiab Khan a favourable opportunity for prosecuting a plan for the king's relief, and of taking a share of the government to himself. He had for this purpose privately gained

over to his views Lutafut Ali Khan, Mahomed Yacoob, and some other lords. To the weight of their influence, was added that of Mr. Pauly, a French officer, who commanded the disciplined battalions of the late Somroo.

The plan of operations having been thoroughly digested, Mirza Juwaun Bukht, accompanied by his affiliates, disclosed it to Shah-Aulum. They strenuously urged his majesty to dismiss Mirza Shuffcc Khan from his employments, and to re-assert his authority, and punish the rebels. They concluded by recommending the immediate arrest of the minister, whom Mr. Pauly undertook to secure. Shah-Aulum signifying his acquiescence, the conspirators prepared to carry their plan into execution. It was however rendered needless by the voluntary departure of Mirza Shuffcc Khan. He was that very morning exercising his troops on the banks of the Jumna, when he received an account of the plan for his destruction. He saw his danger, and finding his troops insufficient to face the combination, prudently resolved to retire. The Nawaub Mujud Al Dowla and about 2000 horse, accompanied him in his flight. They took the road to Agra. On Mirza Shuffcc's departure, the king mounting an elephant proceeded directly to the '*Junumi Musjid**, where he received the compliments of the nobility, and distributed a large sum of money to the troops. His majesty then invested the Prince Juwaun Bukht with the office of Ameer Al Omrah, and returned to the palace. But this triumph of the court was of very short duration, and the principal actors in the late transaction were

* The principal mosque in the city of Delhi. See Appendix 1.

soon destined to experience a sad reverse of fortune. Indeed every attempt of this ill-fated monarch to emancipate himself from the restraints imposed by his rebellious servants, seems only in the conclusion to have rendered his situation more wretched.

Mirza Shuftee and his associates on quitting Delhi, determined to seek an asylum in the camp of his inveterate foes. But it must be recollected that circumstances were now materially altered. He, like them, was a fugitive, and a sense of their common danger had moreover naturally reconciled the exiled chiefs to a combination of their mutual interest. Mahomed Beg, Mirza Shuffee, and Afrasiab Khan, having met in the neighbourhood of Muttra, after a mutual interchange of compliments, drew up a solemn treaty to the following effect: 1. An equal division was to be made of the lands, possessed by the late Nawaub Zulficar Al Dowla. 2. Mirza Shuffee Khan to be re-instated in the post of prime minister, and to remain at Delhi. 3. In confederation of Afrasiab Khan yielding up his claim to the chief direction of affairs, he was to be left in joint authority with Mahomed Beg Khan, to rule in the Doab and south-west of the Jumna. The treaty was concluded by an unanimous assurance of inflicting on their enemies the most exemplary punishments. The united forces of these powerful chiefs then commenced their march towards the capital. On the road they were joined by Pertaub Row of Maehcri. On reaching Ferozabad, a town about twelve miles south of Delhi, the confederates encamped, and from thence resolved to dictate to the emperor their own terms. Agreeably to this resolution, Mujud Al Dowla was dispatched to court. He was commissioned in the name of the confederates to declare

to Shah-Aulum, their resolution to maintain their allegiance to his majesty, but at the same time to state the necessity of resorting to Mirza Shuffee Khan, that authority of which by the machinations of his enemies he had been so unjustly deprived.

The arrival of this ambassador created the moil: alarming apprehensions in the king's mind. A council was assembled on the occasion, when Prince Juwaun Bukht spiritedly proposed to oppose the rebels by force. He observed to his majesty with much judgment, that should the rebels obtain their insolent demands, there was no reasonable ground in future to hope that any respect would be paid to his majesty, but that the traitors, as the natural effect of an easy compliance, would not be satisfied without the complete degradation of the royal authority. The prince was supported in his opinion by the whole council, and Mr. Pauly affirmed that his own force was of itself sufficient to overthrow and disperse the rebels. But the king with a pusillanimity totally unworthy of him, which arose from a fear of sustaining insults should the rebels be successful, rejected the salutary advice of his son, and commanded him in concert with Mr. Pauly to enter into an amicable agreement with the confederates. Many persons at Delhi scrupled not to affirm, that the king on this occasion, was swayed by the intrigues carrying on in the harem. That the Princess Khadejee Sultaun, the aunt of Mirza Shuftcc, had persuaded his majesty to pacific measures. It is most probable that to the latter cause may be attributed his irresolution. Pauly and Lutafut therefore, were charged with the negotiation, and to give appearance of greater cordiality on the part of his majesty, the Prince Juwaun Bukht was directed to accompany the

commissioners to the rebel camp. Mean while a plan of which Afrasiab Khan is said to have been the contriver, was agitated in the councils of the confederates. They agreed to the proportions for peace, but, inflamed by a revengeful spirit, descended to the perpetration of an atrocious act.

A general reconciliation of parties being agreed to, and properly ratified by the respective signatures, Prince Mirza Juwaun Bukht, accompanied by Pauly and Lutafur, left the city and proceeded to the confederate armies. But scarcely had the devoted victims entered the camp, when a party of horse, who had been placed in ambush, suddenly issuing from their concealment, attacked and dispersed the followers of the commissioners, seized and overpowered those unfortunate men, and by a bloody process fired off the head of Mr. Pauly, and deprived Lutafur of fight. The army of the rebels then attacked the battalions of the commissioners, whom as they were totally unprepared for the treachery, were easily overpowered. To the prince they promised implicit obedience, and shortly after in his company entered the city in triumph.

Shah-Aulum, thus reduced, was constrained to receive the rebels with apparent satisfaction and marks of respect. Mirza Shuffcc was reinforced in his authority, and the other chiefs were honoured with titles and dignities.

From the ascendancy thus acquired by Mirza Shuffcc, had he pursued an upright conduct, there was every prospect of his authority being permanent. But it soon appeared that the late reconciliation of

a . d . 1783.]

SHAH-AULUM.

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the contending chiefs was temporary and infincere. The prime minister, in order to restore tranquillity to the province of Agrah, which had suffered much by the tumults before mentioned, resolved to repair thither in person: he took with him the prince Solimaun Slick00. We may recollect the stipulations made in the treaty of Agrah the preceding year. Mahomed Beg Khan Hamduni, who deemed himself the principal instrument in the reiteration of the minister's authority, now called on him for the performance of his agreement. He demanded his share of the lands of the late Zulficar Ali Doula. Mirza Shuftec, whether he thought his authority too firmly established to be again shaken, or jealous of divided sway, complied with the terms of the treaty.

Mahomed Beg Khan, justly incensed at this breach of faith, gave vent to the natural ferocity of his disposition. He resolved to take a severe revenge. It is probable, however, that the minister might have warded off the blow, had he not by an act of equal folly and injustice, hurried the whole body of the Mogul nobility into acts of open hostility. It will be necessary here to develop the causes of the revolution which led to the extinction, not only of his authority, but his life. To an unbounded ambition, Mirza Shuftec unfortunately added an insatiable avarice: actuated by that unworthy passion, he in a fatal moment determined to resume those lands which had been granted by the late Nujufi Khan as *Jdedad* for the maintenance of the troops of the different Mogul lords. In lieu of these, he determined it should henceforth be disbursed by monthly payment¹ from the royal treasury. His commands, when notified to the different chiefs, excited universal murmurings and dif-

content. But Mirza Shuffee enforced obedience to his orders.—Fatal were the consequences which followed this rash and impolitic measure. The commanders, irritated at the unworthy treatment, with justice deemed their services merited a return far different; and under the impulse of passion, hurried themselves into the commission of a crime of the blackest dye. Afraizab Khan, Mahomed Beg Khan, and other lords, entered into a conspiracy to assassinate the minister; and bound themselves, after the perpetration of the deed, to place Afraizab Khan in the authority of the deceased, and to restore the Jaiedads. The more effectually to conceal their intentions, it was agreed to invite Mirza Shuffee, who was by this time advanced towards Agrah, to an amicable conference, to reconcile and settle their mutual disputes.

On the 23d of September of the current year, the two armies met, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Deig. Though the conspiracy we have before related, had been planned with the utmost secrecy and caution, it, by some means or other, reached the ears of Mirza Shuffee's friends: and previous to the intended interview, the prime minister was warned of the treacherous designs of his enemies. . But Mirza Shuffee rejected the information as a concerted falsehood; and totally regardless of personal safety, accompanied by a few followers, he proceeded on his visit. The army of Mahomed Beg Khan was drawn out as if ready to receive and compliment the minister. Each of the chiefs was mounted on his elephant; as the animal on which Mirza Shuffee rode approached the other, Mahomed Beg Khan, conformable to established usage, rose up, saluted, and embraced his rival; but in the performance of

that act, having seized hold of the minister's right hand, which was the signal agreed on, Mirza Ifmaccl Beg, his nephew, who sat in the Khawafs*, plunged a dagger into the body of the devoted victim. He groaned, fell back, and expired. A desperate action ensued between the armies; but at length Afrasiab Khan, exerting his influence, persuaded the troops of the late minister to join the confederates. The body of Mirza Shuffee was taken up by his followers, and interred in the fort of Deig.

Of this event Afrasiab Khan having sent notification to Delhi, an answer was received, expressive of the king's approbation of the deed. At the same time a firman arrived, which confirmed Afrasiab Khan's, Ameer Al Omrah, and moreover gave permission to appropriate to his own use the effects of the late minister. Finally, Afrasiab Khan and prince Solymaun Shekoo were ordered to repair to the capital with all possible expedition.

The indifference with which this important trill was conferred upon Afrasiab, creates a suspicion that the fate which had befallen Mirza Shuffee was not disagreeable to his majesty. A generous mind, on this surmise, deplores the humiliating situation of a descendant of Timoor, functioning acts disgraceful to humanity, and subversive of the principles of moral and social order.

When Mirza Shuffee was assassinated, his brother, Zein Al Abu-

* The Khawafs is the back seat on an elephant, in which a person is usually placed with a *Chozvri*, or fan. At court, and amongst the nobility, it is deemed the highest honour to be placed there.

deen Khan, was governor of Meerut. The king, tenacious of the power which he derived from that Situation, determined upon his removal. A mandate was accordingly issued for that nobleman's appearance at court. He was received with respect. Shah-Aulum, after condoling with him on the death of his brother, intimated to him the necessity there was to resign his government. Zein Al Abudcen, who was a man of impatient temper, in secret burnt with indignation at this unworthy treatment; at the time, however, he said nothing; but on retiring from the hall of audience, he repaired to his own palace, whence he privately departed. Sensible that this conduct would enrage the king, he hastened to Meerut; and determined to resist the royal authority, he there collected around him his friends and dependants.

Intelligence of this defection reaching Afrafiab Khan, he assembled the army, led it to Meerut, and invested the town. He had determined to have punished the rebel in the most exemplary manner; but this determination was overruled by the advice of his confidential officers. They represented that his power in the state was as yet infirm, and it therefore became him first to make overtures for negotiation, to which, in all probability, Zein Al Abudcen would assent. Nor were they deceived in their conjectures. Intimation being given, a treaty was set on foot; and Zein Al Abudcen consenting to submit to his majesty's clemency, was pardoned. He was received at court with honour, and a stipend out of the royal treasury was allotted for his support.

The prime minister returning to Delhi, was received with great

diftinction. He answered Shah-Aulum with protestations of perpetual attachment; and as proof, presented his majesty with an offering of three lacks of rupees, and some valuable Persian horses.

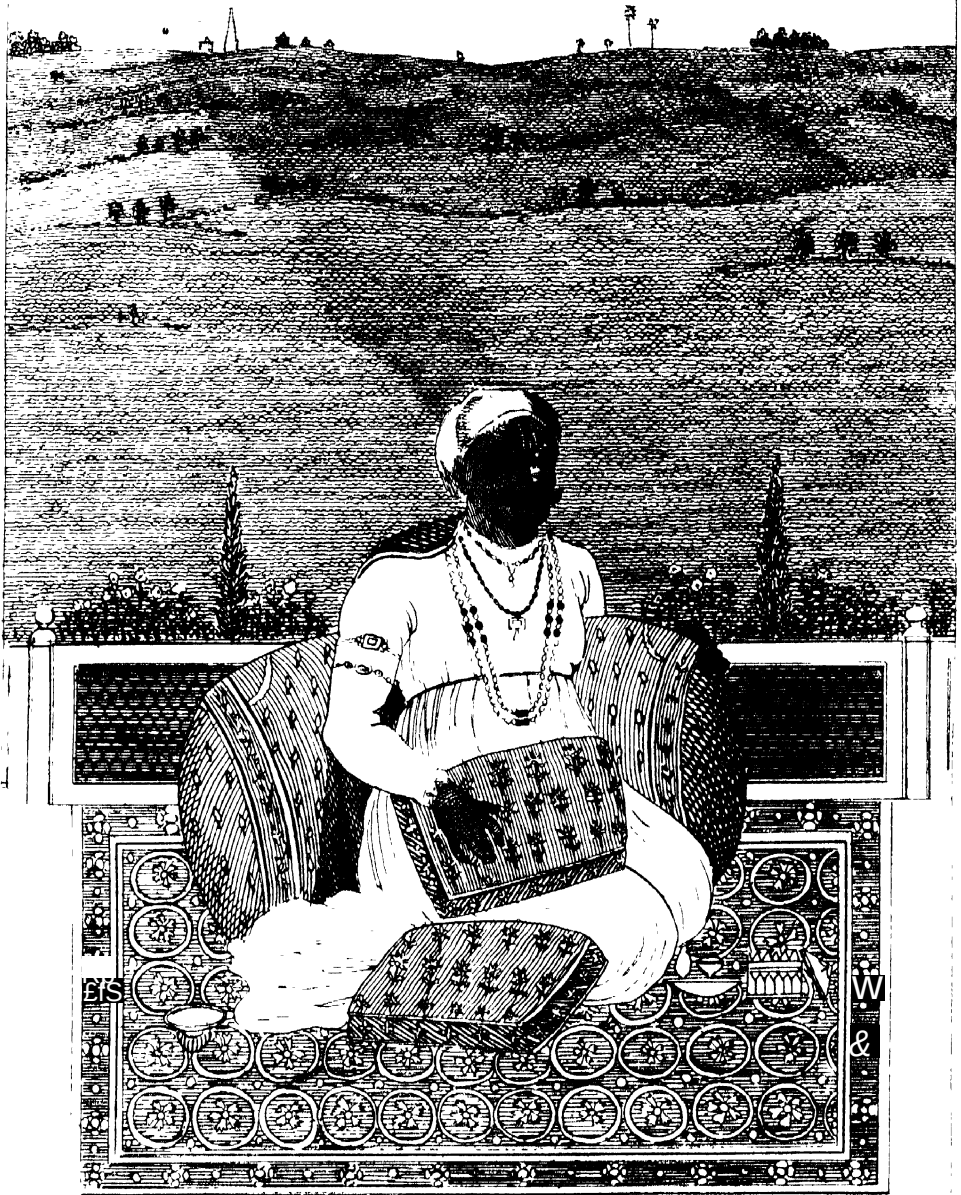
Cuttub Al Doula was now sent to command in Meerut; and Nujuff Cooli Khan, son-in-law to the late minister, who had till now resided at Meerut, was directed to remain at court.

In the beginning of 1784, Major Brown, who had been commissioned on a deputation to the king by the supreme council of Calcutta, arrived at the capital. The Major was received with high respect; and in behalf of the British government, presented Shah-Aulum a handsome pair of horses.

The arrival of this deputation excited various emotions in the minds of the Delhians; some were of opinion that the period was at hand when Shah-Aulum would return to the protection of his oldest and, in truth, his best friends, the English: others again conjectured that the intent of the embassy was, to arrange with the minister the concerns of the royal family. Therefore, during the late commotions, had arisen to a height which was truly distressful. But the real cause of Major Brown's arrival * was in consequence of orders he had received from his government, not to decline any overture that might be made for affording a military aid to the royal cause. The Sikhs had for several years back, by their predatory incursions into Doo Ab and Rohilkund, excited alarm in the go-

* See the proceedings of parliament on the trial of Mr. Hastings.

Aftonifhed at the king's abrupt departure, Afrafiab Khan, in fallen filenpe, retired to his own palace. Giving loofe to his refentment, he there determined on a mcafurc equally violent and unjuft. At the conference above mentioned, the Nuwaub Mujud Al Dowla had been prefent. That nobleman having endeavoured to diffl'uade the king from his intended expedition to Agrah, the officious remark paffed not unnoticed by the haughty fpirit of Afrafiab. He now directed Nujuff Cooli Khan, his dependant, to lead a party of guards to the palace of Mujud Al Dowla, and feize his perion. His orders were obeyed with alacrity, and the unfortunate man again found himfelf in the courfe of a few fhort hours reduced from affluence and command to penury and a prifon. His property was feized, and converted to the minifter's ufe. Mujud Al Dowla was afterwards confined in the fort of Agrah, where he died in 1788; not much regretted, except by Shah-Aulum, whofe confidence he had fo frequently abufed by the commiffion of oppreffive adts upon his fubjedls. He was an intriguing artful courtier, avaricious, and in folent. Shah-Aulum, when informed of this outrage, was filled with the deepeft indignation. He refolved therefore, at all events, to throw himfelf into the hands of the Marhattas; and by a foreign aid, to relieve himfelf from the infupportable infults daily offered him by his own fubjedls.



Madhajrc Sindiah .

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CHAP. VIII.

Rise and Progress of Madhaje Sindiah, Ruler of Malwah, from the Establishment of his Family in that Province until his Interference in the Politics of the Court of Delhi — Intrigues of Aerasiab Khan — His Death and Character — Site of the Capital — He made Prime Minister.

FROM the preceding scenes of party violence, the reader will with pleasure follow history through the more edifying detail of geographical information. We shall proceed, therefore, to take a retrospective view of the Malwah province, in its fluctuating state under a succession of rulers. But the considerable influence acquired by Madhaje Sindiah in the politics of Hindostan, previously demands attention to the rise and progressive fortune of this extraordinary man.

Madhaje Sindiah Putted Bahadur was descended from a Rajpoot family. His father, Ranojee Sindiah, was an officer in the service of Bajerow, who, in the latter end of the reign of Rajah Sahoo, was Paishwah of the Marhatta state. The dissensions and effeminacy of the court of Delhi, and the distracted state of the empire toward the close of the reign of Mahmud Shah, rendered easy the subjugation of the Malwah province. On that expedition Ranojee Sindiah accompanied the Paishwah. The services and ability dis-

played by Ranojee during the campaign, were rewarded with the management of the province, which was confirmed in jagheer to his defeendants by Rajah Sahoo. Ranojee had four sons: Appagee, Tagee, Tookagee, and Sindiah. Appagee was slain in a civil broil in the Jynaghur province; Tookagee and Tagee perished in the memorable battle of Panniput in 1762.

Sindiah, in that addon, though only few years of age, displayed a genius and spirit which well foreshadowed his future greatness: being severely wounded, and unable to follow the route of the few survivors of the Marhatta army, he was correctly taken care of in the camp of the Abdallee. Recovered from his wounds, he was privately removed from this asylum, and by his protectors conveyed into Deccan. He then assumed the government of his patrimonial estate of Ougein. From his intense application to business, aided by the endowments of a vigorous mind, he soon acquired considerable influence in the Marhatta State; and was early considered as one of the principal Jagheer Dars. In 1770, he accompanied Holkar and Beefajee into Hindostan, where his actions have been recorded in the preceding pages.

Malwah*, the greater part of which is the inheritance of the Sindiah family, is in length two hundred and forty-five miles, in breadth two hundred and thirty. On the north it is bounded by the Agim's Soobah; on the south by Baglanah; on the east by part of Agrah

* For the following detail of the Malwah province, the author is happy to confess his obligations to Major Charles Reynolds, surveyor general on the Bombay establishment, who furnished him with the materials collected by himself on the spot.

and Allahabad ; and on the west by Guzerat. The principal rivers that flow through this fertile and extensive tract, are the Chumbul, the Sind, and the Nerbuddah : but it is watered by many other smaller rivers. Though higher than the rest of Hindostan, the land of Malwah is in general fertile; in it are reared numerous herds of cattle; and it abounds in opium, indigo, and tobacco.—In former times the revenues were computed at four millions of Rupees; this, of late years, however, has been much reduced; and even Sindia, in his collections, can realize only a million.

The Patan princes of the race of Khuljee having conquered that province from the Hindoos, fixed their seat of government at Mando*. It was during the long and glorious reign of the renowned Akbar, that Malwah was gradually alienated from the Patans.—Having annexed it to his empire, it remained in his family until the close of the reign of Mahmud Shah.

The Zemindars and soldiers of fortune here, as in other parts of the empire, during this turbulent period, divided amongst them the different provinces. Out of these arose several independent States; these--States encroaching upon the imperial authority, by degrees threw off all but a nominal allegiance to the house of Timoor.—Hence, the authority of the Soobah became frequently circumscribed to the environs of that city, which he chose for his residence. The Rajah of Chundecly, descended from the ancient princes of the country, seized on the north-east parts; the southern were occupied

* A large city, fifty miles distant from Ougcin.

by the Keeches. To the westward the petty Zemindars of Annuntwarah and Sooudunah assumed the title of independent princes; and in the centre of the province was created the nabobship of Bopaul.

Whilst these rebels were bidding defiance to the royal authority, a new and more formidable enemy, the Marhattas, soon destroyed the hopes of those petty feoffdigns, and made them slaves masters of the whole province. At this period, Kullich Khan, the famous Nizam Al Mooluk, was governor of Deccan. He also, disgusted at the levity which disgraced the councils of the court of Delhi, resolved to render himself independent. To avert, however, the vengeance of the royal arms, he secretly invited the Marhattas to an invasion of the Malwah province. Delighting in predatory warfare, the proposal was received with avidity. The immense Marhatta host was commanded by Bajcrow; Rajah Gheerdir directed the imperial forces. Desperate was the battle which soon ensued; but victory declaring for the invaders, with incredible rapidity they overran both Malwah and the rich province of Guzciat; and their victorious arms were afterwards carried to the confines of Beianah and Agimere.

The petty feoffdigns who had assumed independancy, in consequence, obliged to yield up the best part of their possessions, were reduced to the payment of an annual tribute: but the Nabob of Bopaul and a few other Rajahs were still permitted to retain a part of their territories, and to exercise over them an authority subordinate to the controul of the Marhatta government,

Mai wah was then divided into three fliares: the firfl: was allotted to Bajerow; the fecond to the Marhatta prince, Rajah Sahoo; the third to the family of Mtilhai' Holkar. Sindiah, as we have fecn, inherited that part of the province bellowed on his father by Bajerow. But by a train of fuccefsful operations, he was enabled to appropriate to himfelf a confiderable portion of the Circar Linds. Tookajcc Holkar, who inherits the third divifion of the Malwah province, fincc his acccfion has refided at Indore, a city thirty miles diilant from Ougcin.

Ougcin, the modern capital of Malwah, is fituated on the cafleni bank of the Siprce river, in lat. 23. 12. N. and long. 74;. 48. W. The city is, from its antiquity, of confiderable note in the empire. The monuments which it exhibits of the piety and fuperflition of its Hindoo fovereigns, arc fill regarded with veneration; nor have the Pat.m emperors contributed lets to its embellifhment. Among a variety of grand and venerable ruins, travellers mention with applaufe an edifice created by Naflir Al Deen Khuljce in the ninth century of the Mahomedan a?ra. About one mile and a half eafl of the city is a large gloomy building of an octangular form, and the whole of the materials of flone. Its foundation is an artificial ifland, which is formed by a deviation of the weflern channel of the flream in the bed of the Sipprce, and is connccled with the oppofite bank by a flone bridge of fixteen arches. The building confifls of a variety of fpacious chambers, conflructed upon a level with the water: throughout thefe, by means of refervoirs, the water is conveyed in different channels, and hence, by artificial cafcadcs, difcharges itfelf into the Sippree in pleating murmurs. The apart-

merits in this delightful retreat are cool and falubrious. To each reccfs are fattened rings of iron for the purpofc of attaching purdahs, or Ikrecns made of the aromatic root called Khufs. Thefe, when fprin- kled with water from without, not only give an agreeable coolnefs to the entering air, but entirely exclude the inclemency of the fultry fea- fon. We have before remarked that, among perfons of diflinftion, this luxury is common throughout Hindoftaun. Into thefe watery abodes, when defirous of repofe, and fatigued with the toils of ttate, the princes of the houfe of Khuljee were accuttomed to retire. During the periodical rains, the lower parts of this building are en- tirely overflowed, and an amazing force of water aits againft it: but fo great w'erc the pains beftowed on its erection, and the mate- rials of fuch wonderful folidity, that after a lapfe of three centuries it remains entire, and till continues to attract the admiration of the fpedlator.—We refume, after this digreffion, the thread of our nar- ration.

Sindiah, on his return from Hindoflaun in 1774, employed his utmott exertions to extend his influence, and enlarge his patrimonial tenitory. Bold and afpiring in his views, he purfued the plans of his future aggrandifement with ardor and unremitting perfeverance. He had greatly increafed his revenues, and rendered his country highly flourifliing, when fix years afterwards was formed the grand Marhatta confederacy. Joining w'ith that league, he became a prin- cipal aettor in the fcene, in which it was vainly hoped to have over- thrown the Britifli empire in the Eaft. It was, however, happily diffolvcd, and the fchemc rendered abortive, by the promptitude and

vigor of the British councils, aided by the brilliant ascendancy acquired by British arms under the auspices of Clive and Goddard.

Sindiah, who during that memorable contest had exhibited the conduct of an active and able leader, on its conclusion, turned his arms against Gohud*. In 1782, at the head of a numerous and well-appointed army, he entered that province for a second time, and with a fairer prospect of success than in his former expedition.

The reigning prince, Rajah Chutter Sing, fearful of the issue, endeavoured, by soliciting an alliance with the British government, to avert the impending storm. Accordingly, by his ambassador at Calcutta, in recompence for an interference of the English in his behalf, he promised an annual Nuzcranah of four lacks of rupees. It does not however appear that such an alliance was, at the present juncture, deemed acceptable to the Supreme Government of Bengal. Although Sindiah's extensive views of conquest, and the notoriety of his ambition, were to the council objects of sufficient magnitude to excite alarm, still the fidelity which that prince had invariably observed in his transactions with the British nation, his uprightness, and, above all, his faithful and ready adherence to treaties, had impressed the minds of government with sentiments highly favourable toward him.

The alliance with the Rana was, therefore, rejected: but it was deemed eligible by the council to endeavour effecting an amicable

* A province situated about sixty miles west of Agra, and originally ruled by Rajpoot princes.

.compromife betwixt the contending parties. Consonant to this policy, Mr. David Anderson*, the British ambassador at Sindiah's Durbar, was directed to ascertain his sentiments in regard to the proposed mediation. But Sindiah, either in consequence of repeated breaches of faith on the part of Chutter Sing, was animated with a spirit of personal resentment against him; or, impelled by a desire long entertained of extending his dominions, declined the proffered interference. After a desultory warfare of two years, the reduction of Gohud was finally effected and, on the 24th of Nov. 1784, Rajah Chutter Sing surrendered himself to his opponent.

Sindiah having thus acquired the province of Gohud, now directed his whole attention to the affairs of Delhi. During the transactions before mentioned, he had maintained a correspondence with Mirza Shuflee Khan. That nobleman entering into his views, had promised him his entire assistance and support in its execution. But on his arrival on the north of the Chumbul with an army of thirty thousand men, Sindiah heard of the death of his associate. Deeming the opportunity for which he had so long and so anxiously fought, now arrived, he, from his present station, dispatched letters to the court of Delhi. In these, after declaring his intentions of restoring the royal family to its former splendour, he made a request to Shah-Aulum to remove with his court to Agra; at which place,

* To the zealous and faithful exertions of this gentleman, as well as those of his brother, Mr. James Anderson, who succeeded him, may be chiefly ascribed the conciliatory conduct of the Marhatta government, at a momentous and interesting period, in entering into an alliance which has hitherto been preserved with fidelity on their part. See the reports of the select committee on the second Marhatta war.

the Marhatta chief informed his majesty, he would, to the satisfaction of all parties, arrange and fettle the affairs of the empire.

Afrafiab Khan, on receipt of these letters, laid them before the king, and urged his majesty to an immediate compliance with the contents. Shah-Aulum, who for a long time possessed neither influence nor authority, assented to the proposal, and the royal tents were ordered to be got ready. The prime minister, after nominating Nujuff Cooli Khan to the government of the fort and city of Delhi, pitched his camp without the walls. On the ensuing day, the army took the route to Agra.

The high pitch of authority to which the minister had arisen, gave him entire controul in the state; and whilst his order of march in this expedition was marked with the most luxurious extravagance, inconvenience and distress attended the family of his sovereign.— On the march, the prime minister received letters from the vizir and the British governor general*. Actuated by the impulse of a liberal mind, those powers, on the present occasion, urged in the most pressing terms the release of the Nuwaub Mujud Al Dowla; and recommended to the minister a different treatment to his unhappy sovereign. But the unrelenting spirit of Afrafiab was not to be softened; intreaties or threats were to him alike indifferent. Mujud Al Dowla was ordered into a closer confinement; and Afrafiab Khan, leading the emperor in triumph, encamped under the walls of Agra.

* Mr. Hastings.

Mahomed Beg Khan Hamdani had taken a strong position about forty miles from that place, and the Marhatta prince was now advanced to Futty Pore.

Such was the situation of the contending parties, when Sindiah opened a negotiation with Mahomed Beg. Anxious to acquire a thorough knowledge of the sentiments of the Mogul nobility, and to learn the extent of their different views and expectations, Sindiah proceeded in a manner cautious and circumfpect: as a preliminary step, he called on Mahomed Beg to exculpate himself from the charge of murder. In extenuation of his crime, that nobleman threw the odium of the transaction upon the prime minister. He had alleged, and truly, that Afrasiab Khan had not only instigated him to the deed, but bound himself by the most solemn ties to support him in it when executed. Regarding himself, Mahomed Beg professed a ready obedience to the commands of the Marhatta, and that if he would so far interfere as to procure the king's pardon, he would henceforth attach himself to his fortunes. Meanwhile he declared his intention of remaining quiet in his present position,—To these insinuations, Sindiah in reply declared that, satisfied with such a declaration, Mahomed Beg might rely on his interference in procuring the pardon required. Whilst the above negotiation was pending, Afrasiab Khan beheld the motions of Sindiah with a watchful and jealous eye: suspecting an accession of influence from the submission of Mahomed Beg, he prepared to circumvent it by a counter treaty. But these designs were frustrated by an accident which at once put a period to his ambition and his life.

To relate with precision the particulars of this event, we must recur to the situation of Zein Al Abudeen. That nobleman, the reader will be pained to have been forgiven: but Afrasiab well knowing his disposition, would not be easy while he remained at liberty; on this account he had hitherto been detained in, what by the natives of Hindoostan was deemed, an honourable confinement. Upon the first letters, however, that passed between Afrasiab Khan and Sindiah, at the particular request of the latter, Zein Al Abudeen was released. He appeared in the camp, but resolved to be avenged of his brother's death. An occasion soon offered. In the month of November, an interview took place in the vicinity of Futty Pore between Sindiah and Afrasiab Khan. After the usual interchange of civilities, Sindiah returned to his own camp. Rajah Himmatt Behadur and several other officers of the army having likewise taken leave, there remained in the tent Zein Al Abudeen and Afrasiab Khan.

Zein Al Abudeen, whose plan was already formed, now entered into conversation with the minister. In terms apparently cordial, and in the most respectful manner, he proposed to him for the future to live upon a more amicable footing; expressed his wish that all former differences should be forgotten, and urged the necessity of henceforth consolidating their mutual interests.

Suspended at the unexpectedness of this address, Afrasiab Khan remained for a time absorbed in silence. But about to have replied, Zein Al Abudeen*, with fury in his countenance, rose from his seat, a signal, upon which Maddoo Beg came up, and plunged his dagger

* MS. Narrative of Syud Razzi Khan.

into the breast of the devoted minister. He expired on the spot.— A violent tumult ensuing, several persons were slain: but Zein Al Abudeen having effected his escape, fought and found protection in the camp of Sindiah.

Thus perished Afrasiab Khan, a man of turbulent disposition and impetuous manners; but with great personal bravery, he possessed abilities for war. Zulficar Al Dowla having adopted him into his family, trained him to arms. Considerable were the services which, he rendered the State, whilst under the guidance of his patron • deprived of his salutary counsels, the passions of Afrasiab, always uncontrollable, hurried him into measures the most bold and sanguinary. The cause of his ruin may be traced to his ungovernedness in permitting Zein Al Abudeen to recover his liberty. In that instance circumstances, he might perhaps have terminated his career happily.

The conduct of the Marhatta chief in countenancing Zein Al Abudeen after the perpetration of so foul a crime, calls loudly for the severest reprehension; it is a strong presumptive proof that he was accessory to the deed. In recording the transactions of a wicked and dissipated court, the impartiality of history demands the strictest scrutiny; whilst the multiplied afflictions which, in later times, have disgraced the politics of Delhi, in a reflecting and susceptible mind, must excite horror.

When the tumult occasioned by Afrasiab Khan's death had subsided in the camp, Himmut Behadur and the Mogul officers, as if

by preconcerted agreement, repaired to the tent of the Marhatta chief. After complimenting him on the death of his rival, they assured him of their unanimous support in his administration of affairs; they doubted not but his majesty would confer on him the office of Ameer Al Omrah, for which he was eminently qualified. The assurances Sindiah received with real *falsification*; and the two armies having joined, he led the united forces to Agra. We must now for a while turn aside to the situation of the king, who, during the late negotiations, had remained in the fort of Agra.

The Nuwaub Mujid Al Dowla, who, as before remarked, was confined by order of the late minister, hearing of his rival's death, persuaded the Killadar of Meerut to connive at his escape. This being effected, he, in company with Cuttub Al Dowla, visited the king. Shah-Aulum received him with kindness, and directed him to remain near the presence. This would in all probability have led to an immediate return of his honours and employments, had not his enemy, Shuja Dil Khan, governor of Agra, in conjunction with Rajah Daicram, endeavoured to impress the king's mind with suspicions of his fidelity. But their malice failed of effect; for the king, convinced that there was no reason to suspect Mujid Al Dowla of any disloyal intentions, heard their representations with disgust, and commanded them to depart.

But the insolent manner in which they had urged their demands, convinced Shah-Aulum that he was entirely in their power; and having little to hope for any respite from them in future, he resolved to quit Agra altogether. The arrival of Sindiah would, he hoped

and expedited, speedily afford him the means of punishing their presumption. But in order to leave no room for those noblemen to suspect his intentions, he ordered the greater part of his family to remain behind; then taking Mujud Al Dowla along with him, his household troops escorted him to Delhi.

Mahomed Beg Khan, to whose situation we must now recur, remained, during the late transactions, in his entrenched camp. Sindiah, on Afrasiab's death, wrote to Mahomed Beg to repair to Agra. A conference ensued, and a pension of 6,000 rupees per month was allotted for his support out of the revenues of Shekooabad. A few days after, Sindiah, with his usual policy, resolved to employ the abilities of his newly-acquired dependant on a distant expedition. By removing Mahomed Beg from the scene of action in Hindostan, he effectually prevented any cabals for countering his own designs; and the probability of his being taken off while employed on active service was an additional motive in the mind of this politic chief. He therefore requested of Mahomed Beg to proceed to the conquest of Rhago Ghur, a strong fortress in Deccan, and bordering upon Sindiah's patrimonial estate. The country of Keetchwara, in which the before-mentioned fortress is situated, was then in a state of actual rebellion; and to Mahomed Beg was committed the double charge of reducing it under obedience to Sindiah, and the subsequent management of the districts. Having made the necessary preparations for his departure, Mahomed Beg Khan, accompanied by 5000 men, proceeded on his expedition to Rhago Ghur.

The greater part of the Mogul nobility having by this time declared for Sindiah, he now repaired with confidence to the capital. His expectations were fully answered; for, whether Shah-Aulum, disgusted at the thralldom in which he had been held since the death of Nujuff Khan, expected by a change in the government to experience some repose, or whether he, on this occasion, made a virtue of necessity, has not been clearly ascertained. To Sindiah, however, the event proved highly favourable. In the month of January, the Marhatta chief entered Delhi. He was received by the king with every demonstration of satisfaction, and treated with distinguished honour. In full Durbar, his majesty invested him with the office of Ameer Al Omrah; and as an additional mark of favour, ordered a patent to be made out for the Paishwah of the Poonah Durbar, (under whose authority Sindiah professed to act) constituting him Vakeel Mutluck*, or Absolute Director General of the affairs of the Empire, with the Neabut of that office to Sindiah himself. On receiving his honorary dress, the new minister presented an offering of five lacks of rupees, and retired from the presence.

* The office of Vakeel Mutluck in Hindostan is paramount almost to sovereign authority, inasmuch as it empowers the person holding that office to raise troops at pleasure. It may appear remarkable that the Paishwah, who is the head of the Marhatta empire, should deem it any acquisition to his authority to receive an office from what he considered as coming from a nominal emperor of Hindostan: yet it should be remembered, that however weak and impotent the present descendant of Timoor is esteemed, it still continues, and ever will continue, a desirable object among the native powers to make use of his name towards completing their own aggrandisement.

CHAP. IX.

Occurrences at Court—JPar again/l jypore—Intrigues of the Mogul Nobility—Sindiah is defeated—Retires acrofs the Chumbul—Intrigues of Gholaum Cadir Khan—Account of HAgum Somroo—Gholaum Cadir Khan bc/icgcsthe Palace—He is rept/lfed and pardoned—'Prince Mirza Juwaun Bukhi—Review of his Life—Death and Charaiicr.

DURING the late violent commotions, the provinces had fallen into diforder and decay. Their refloration was the firfl object to which the attention of the new minifler was directed. The office of Dewaun, or fupcrintendant of the revenues, had long been under the management of Daieram. His conduct of late had, in many infiances, been highly reprehenfible; but his behaviour towards the king at Agrah, determined Sindiah to remove him from office. The Dcwanfhip was accordingly bellowed on Naraïen Dafs, a perfon of capacity, and a fkilful financier. Remaining a fhort time at Delhi, during which he difpofed of feveral offices and employments, Sindiah affembled the army for the reduction of Agrah.

The commencement of the current year was marked by the departure of the Britifh governor general from India. In quitting this important trull, Mr. Haflings had the fatisfadion to perceive himfelf followed by the unanimous good wifhes of the princes of Hindoflaun, and the prayers of the natives. On the prefent occafion,

the king, the vizier of the empire, the nazim of Deccan and the court of Poonah, all lent letters to Calcutta; in those were expressed their regret for the governor's departure, and contained moreover most ample testimonials of the high opinion they entertained of his abilities, integrity, and good faith *.

On the arrival of the army before Agrah, Sindiah summoned the governor to surrender the fort. He declared also, that by a refusal to the royal authority, the governor could have no hope for pardon. Treating the summons with contempt, Shujah Oil Khan prepared for a vigorous refusal. Sindiah commencing his approaches, two batteries were soon opened, and began to play upon the fort with considerable effect. Part of the curtain was thrown down, and several guns within dismounted. The governor in the mean time was not idle. He repaired the breaches with incessant activity, and by his own spirited behaviour animated the garrison. A month had elapsed when Shujah Dil Khan, foreseeing the ultimate reduction of the place, endeavoured, by an attempt of assumed friendship, to mollify Sh.ah-Auhim. That part of the royal family who, as before seen, remained in the fort of Agrah, were now liberated, and sent with an escort to Delhi, which they reached without molestation.

* j iinc, which removes the veil from the intrigues of policy, has evinced, that the ideas entertained by the natives of India, of that illustrious character, were just. His countrymen have beheld with a satisfaction, almost universal, the high diable award of a British Senate; an award no less honourable to the character of Mr. Hartings, than grateful to his mind, harassed by the degrading circumstances attendant on a prosecution, which is without parallel in the annals of mankind.

Sindiah perceived that the siege advanced but slowly ; he hoped therefore, that by opening a negotiation with some leading men among the besieged, to gain them over to his interests. The event answered his wishes. The Cutwal and several other officers having been bribed by a large sum of money and a promise of personal security, agreed to deliver up one of the gates of the fort. On a preconcerted signal, a select body of troops presenting themselves, were admitted by the treacherous Cutwal, and, before the governor or his assistant Daieram could receive information, were overpowered and taken prisoners. They were immediately put into close confinement, and sent off to the camp. Sindiah, when possessed of the fort, by not permitting it to be plundered, added with becoming policy ; he, however, exacted considerable sums from the most wealthy inhabitants, which he distributed as a largess to the army. Of the whole of the possessions of the late Afrasiab Khan there now remained only Ali Ghur. That fort is situated in the upper part of the Doo Ab. It had been fortified with great care, and in it were deposited the family and treasures of the deceased Nuwaub. Jahaungire Khan, his brother, commanded in Ali Ghur. He had a strong garrison, and the siege was expected to be long and bloody. Early in the month of July of the current year Sindiah appeared before the place. Contrary, however, to all expectation, it held out but a short time. It has been imagined that the fears of the women, for the preservation of their honour and estates, had inclined the Killadar to pacific measures. Certain it is that Jahaungire Khan, signifying his readiness to negotiate, a treaty was accordingly drawn up, and agreed to by the respective parties. To Khadim Hoshan Khan, eldest son of the deceased Nuwaub, a jaghirc was allotted,

amounting to a yearly revenue of a lack and a half of rupees. To the Begums were promised an honourable asylum, and to Jehangir Khan personal favour. It appears, however, that this treaty was very ill adhered to by the Marhatta Chief ; for on the place being surrendered, the Begums and Jehangir Khan were sent under a strong guard to the fort of Gualior, and there detained in confinement. The young Nuwab, indeed, was received by Sindiah with great attention, and directed to remain in the royal camp. Sindiah then took possession of the fort, and with it the whole of the territories of Atrahab Khan, amounting, as it has been affirmed, in specie, jewels, and valuable articles, to a crore of rupees.

The fall of Ali Ghur confirmed the minister's authority on a firm and solid basis. Having before reduced under obedience the greater part of the Doab and the countries south-west of the Jumna, he now found himself master of the whole of the possessions of the late Zulfikar Al Dowlah, with an acquisition of revenue of two crores of rupees.

Intelligence of the important successes reaching Delhi, Shah-Aulum demonstrated his satisfaction by signal marks of favour. These were conveyed to the prime minister in three hundred superb Khilluts, to be distributed by him to the officers of the army. Nor was Sindiah less liberal in his return. Twelve lacks of rupees were allotted for the support of the king's household ; and he moreover sent rich presents to court.

About this time the prince Juwaun Bukht, the heir apparent, then

residing at Benares, forwarded to court a paishcuth of one lack of rupees. This testimony of attention afforded great consolation to the king's mind. He now, for the first time since the death of Zulhear Al Dowlah, experienced some repose from the tumultuous cabals which had so long disgraced his court, and filled him with in quietude and anguish.

The departure of Mr. Hartings having occasioned some changes in the British administration, perspicuity requires that we bring under one head such transactions under that government as bear relation to the court of Delhi, during the current year. Sir John Macpherson succeeded Mr. Hartings in the chair. That gentleman, equally well inclined with his predecessor to pay every attention in his power to the king's interests, took an early opportunity of lignifying the same. He confirmed to the Shah Zadah the generous aid he had received the preceding year, and through him allured his majesty, that the British government would, on all reasonable occasions, extend their aid in support of his authority.

On the part of Sindiah Mr. James Anderfon had succeeded his brother as ambaffador to that Durbar. Major Brown, who had resided at court for some time past, was now recalled.

On the side of Oude, Major Palmer, who had resided at the court of Afuf Al Dowla the two preceding years, was now, at his own request, removed. To him succeeded Colonel Harper, who took an early opportunity of paying attention to the king, which he

lignified by letters, accompanied on the part of the governor general by a paifhcufli fuitable to the occafion.

From thefe digreffions we return to affairs at court. After the capture of Ali Ghur, Sindiah repaired to Delhi, where, on his arrival, his whole care and attention were directed to reftorjiw ſood order to the government, in all affairs, both foreign and domccfic.

Shah-Nizam Al Deen, a confidential fervant of the minifter, wa> appointed to the fuperintendance of the royal houfehold, to which his majefty added the government of the fort and city of Delhi.

Toward the clofe of the current year died Zabita Khan, ruler of Sehauryore, a man, whofe long and active life had been marked with a variety of alternate fucccfs and misfortune.

Taken comparatively with his father Najeeb Al Dowlah, Zabita Khan appears to have been of inferior capacity ; his frequent rebellions, and the native turbulency of his temper, had totally efranged from him the king's mind, and the account of his death was icceived at court with indifference.

Zabita Khan was fucceeded in his territories by his cldeff ion Gholaum Caudir Khan. He was a youth, proud, cruel, and ferocious. His firfl ad on affuming the government was the expulfion of his uncle Afzul Khan. This nobleman was at the time advanced in years, and admired for his exemplary manners. On his degradation Gholaum Caudir ordered his effeds to be feized and confifcated.

This bold assumption of the government, without consulting the court, or petitioning for a continuation of the Sunnud, agreeable to the established usage of Hindoilaun, gave great offence to the king. But Gholam Caudir, well aware of the consequences, prepared to support his rebellion by open violence. The fort of Ghose Ghur was accordingly put into a state of defence, and the means of assembling a considerable force was afforded him by the confiscation of his uncle's property.

In those acts Gholam Caudir exhibited the first symptoms of that diabolical spirit which designated the actions of his future life. To him it was reserved to disgrace the house of Timoor, and to add the last outrage to the miseries of a long and most unfortunate reign. But previous to entering into a detail of the intrigues of Gholam Caudir, we must for a while carry forward the affairs of Sindiah, and his operations with the neighbouring States.

Intelligence of the defection of Gholam Caudir had scarcely arrived at court, when the prime minister was alarmed by an account of the rebellious designs of the Jyn:ighur prince. Pertaub Sing, informed of the late transactions at Ghose Ghur, had at the same time withheld his accustomed tribute. He thought the present opportunity favourable to a design long contemplated of rendering himself independent. Sindiah prepared to subdue him by force;—but the advice of the Rajah's confidential servants prevented for the present matters proceeding to extremity. Truly, foreseeing more to his cause while Sindiah continued so powerful in the state, persuaded Pertaub Sing to desist. Their advice was attended with

effect. The tribute was sent, and an additional *paifheufh* which accompanied it appealed the repentment of Shah-Aulum.

Reapedtud on all fides by the country powers', this fortunate Marliatta chief now law with exultation his authority arrived at its higheft extent. 1 lie factious fpirit which had been exhibited by the Mogul nobility was quelled; and Sindiah's fubfequent conduct toward that powerful body contributed both to reconcile them to his caule, and attach them to his perfon. Thus eligibly lituated, had Sindiah properly appreciated his good fortune, he might have fecured a power complete and unimpaired to the end. Unfortunately, however, a fpirit of avarice gaining ground in his bicaill, inclined or impelled him to deviate from that line of liberal policy by which, at the firft advance of his authority, he had been wifely guided. This deviation led in its confequences to events of a molt furious nature, and had well nigh proved the utter deftruction of the minillcr. But in order to explain the catdes of an aCt width, in its execution, was followed by a revolution in the Hate, it will be here ucccfaiy to detail in a more particular manuci the nature and tenure of the Jaiedads, or, as known in Hindoltarn, thole lands which arc appropriated for tliu flipport of the tioops.

In mofl of the courts ol India, certain portions of land arc let apart for the payment of the army; theie are termed Jaiedads, a tenure which fecurcs to the poifcflor a lure and eafy collection: they arc made over to the commanding officers, who, cxclulive of the advantages they derive from thefe affignments in realizing their pay, are moreover enabled to retain a numerous body of dependants.

These increased their consequence in the State, and not unfrequently afforded them the means of personal safety, when their turbulent ambition led them to rebel against their sovereign. It was these Jaieds that the Minister determined to resume; and for the causes before mentioned, their resumption at this juncture was equally dangerous, impolitic, and unjust : yet did Sindiah persist ; and though having the examples of Mirza Sliuffee and others of his predecessors before his eyes, he, with a pertinacity approaching to infatuation, carried his resolves into effect. Considerable murmurs there were, but the great force of Marhattas kept up by the minister, prevented for the present any open act of hostility on the part of the Mogul officers. In ferret, however, fired with repentment, they resolved on vengeance. The blow was gradually preparing. About this time Naraieen Daufs, who, since the death of Afrasiab Khan, had conducted the affairs of the Khalifa, was suddenly, without accusation, dismissed from his employment, and his property, to a large amount, openly confiscated for the minister's use. The vacant office was confirmed on Shah-Nuzam Al Deen.

Such repeated acts of injustice excited extreme disgust. Rajah Iliinmut Bchadur, who had so eminently assisted the designs of Sindiah, was not the less to experience an ungrateful return. An account of his jaiedad, together with certain balances, laid to be due to the royal treasury, were demanded of him in the most peremptory terms. But Himmutee Behadur, indignant at the controul attempted to be exerted over him, resolved to withhold all future support from his ungrateful associate. Quitting the court, therefore, he withdrew to his estate near Bindrabund, and prepared for resistance.

The downfall of the minifter's authority was accelerated by a rupture with the Rajah of Jynaghur, againft whom a war now fecmed inevitable.

Pcrtaub Sing, though himfclf of weak capacity, and enervated by effeminate pleafurcs, had neverthelefs, during a long* interval of peace, increafed the revenues, and extended the commerce of his country. He now refolved openly to declare his indepcndancce of the court ; and having, as a prelude to his rebellion, withheld the cuftomary tribute, he began to collect forces, and prepare himfclf for the confequenccs. But previous to entering into a detail of the war againft Jynaghur, we muff recur fora while to the fituation of Mahomed Beg Hamdani, who bore a confidcrable fhare in that war, Mahomed Beg, the reader will recoiled, had been font into the country of Kitchwara, where having reduced thHbfortrefs of Ragho Ghur, and fettled the affairs of the province, he remained in that ftation for three years. Sindiah now ordered him to the capital, where he arrived at the commencement of the current year. As he brought with him a confiderable body of his Mogul troops, the minifter received him in a manner apparently cordial ; but dreading his power and influence whilft at the head of an army, endeavoured to perfuade him todifband his troops. To this Mahomed Beg gave a pofitive refufal ; and the intelligence of the revolt of Pcrtaub Sing arriving at court, deterred the Marhatta prince from enforcing compliance. Mahomed Beg, who retained in his bread a deep repentment, was refolved, as opportunity fhould occur, of gratifying it to the full extent. He had fince his return entered into a correfpondence with the prince of Jynaghur, which was terminated by an

alliance with that chief. Mean while Sindiah having made the necessary preparations for the campaign, committed the care of the capital to his deputy Shah Nuzam Al Deen, and marched towards Fynaghur. Pertaub Sing, attended by a numerous army, which he had recruited by alliances with several of the neighbouring Rajpoot princes, was encamped on the frontiers of his dominions.—The effect of that disgust, long entertained by the Mogul officers, now began to manifest itself to the detriment of the prime minister. Scarcely was he arrived in the pretence of the enemy when he received information of a defection among his own troops. The Mogul nobility, headed by Mahomed Beg Khan, had secretly entered into engagements with Pertaub Sing, whose splendid offers of money and employment in his service at once gratified their avarice, and afforded them the means of being revenged for the indignities they had suffered from the Marhatta prince. Through the agency of Rajah Daieram a treaty was formally drawn up, by which it was settled, that on the approach of the minister's army, Mahomed Beg and the other Mogul lords should join Pertaub Sing. Accordingly, attended by their whole force, they, in the face of Sindiah's army, went over to the enemy. Astonished, but not dismayed at this treacherous act, Sindiah with his remaining force hesitated not to give instant battle. The action which ensued was long and bloody; but Mahomed Beg Khan Hamdani having been slain by a cannonball, the Moguls received a check, and were thrown into some confusion. Pertaub Sing, informed of this accident, hastened to the spot, and conferred the command of the Moguls upon Immaeel Beg, nephew of the deceased chief. Immaeel Beg renewing the combat with ardour, soon recovered from the disorder,

and reftored the fucces of the day. But the event would have Hill remained doubtful, had not fome difciplin'd battalions, formerly in the fervice of Afrafiah Khan, at this critical moment, fuddenly gone over to the enemy, by which the Marhattas were difpirited beyond repair. The affair was immediately decided. Sindiah retreated from the field with expedition, and was obliged to take refuge in the fort of Alwar, the capital of his ally, the prince of Macbcri. That chief received the fugitive with cordiality and refpect: but the fevere check which Sindiah's authority had fuftained in the lofs of the late battle, and the difperfed Rate of the Maihatta army, convinced him that he could not long hold his fituation at court. Collecting, therefore, the remains of his difcomfited forces, he quitted Alwar, and retiring fouthward acrofs the Chunbid, repaired to Gualior, there to wait for reinforcements from Deccan.

Had the Jynaghur prince on this occafion made a proper ufe of his victory, it is probable the Marhatta influence in Hindoftan would have been totally annihilated; but content with having cleared his dominions of the invader, Pertaub Sing, after firft detaching the Mogul force under Ifmacel Beg to befiege Agrah, which place was ftill in the hands of the Marhattas, he himfelf returned to Jynaghur.

The fort of Agrah was defended by Lackwajcc, the Maihatta general; he had with him a ftrong garrifon, with abundance of provifions and every thing requifite to fuftain the attack. But the inhabitants of the city, totally unprepared with any means of refiftance, and intimidated by threats of military execution, quietly fub-

mitted to the first approach of Ifmaeel Beg. That chief having laid the inhabitants under a severe contribution, now formally demanded a surrender of the fort, to which Lackwajee replying in the negative, Ifmaeel Beg commenced the siege.

Our attention must now be directed to the disagreeable situation into which the king had been thrown by the defeat and subsequent departure of the Marhatta army from Alwar. Prior to that event, Sindiah had received certain intelligence that the late desertion of the Mogul officers was owing to the intrigues of Rajah Daieram. Relieved and turbulent in disposition, that nobleman was continually employed in fomenting the intrigues and reviving the discontent of the Mogul nobility; and through his negotiation, the treaty before mentioned with Pertaub Sing had been effected. Sindiah, in acquainting his deputy, Shah Nuzzam Al Deen, with this circumstance, urged him to inflict exemplary punishment upon the traitor. His orders were obeyed; for having caused Rajah Daieram to be arrested and brought to court, the ferocious deputy, even in the royal presence, gave orders for the unhappy wretch to be trodden to death under the feet of an elephant *.

Although, by this sanguinary deed, the deputy evinced a determined spirit to support the Marhatta authority, the accounts of his master's defeat and subsequent movement towards Deccan, prepared him to expect the most unpleasant issue. He accordingly put the fort and city of Delhi into the best possible state of defence. Of these precautions he soon found there was sufficient need. Gholam

* MS. Narrative of Syud Rezzi Khan.

Cadir Cawn, who, as before remarked, had assembled an army, now determined to employ it in the advancement of his ambitious schemes. In a few days he arrived on the eastern bank of the Jumna, and encamped opposite the citadel. The Rohilla chief, however, rested not his hopes of success wholly on arms. He had attached to his interests a person of great influence, as well in the councils, as over the mind of the king. This man was Munfoo Ali Khan, the Nazir*, who, bred up with Shah-Aulum, had, from his earliest youth, been a confidential servant, and loaded with a profusion of honours and distinguished kindness; but forgetful of the duty he owed his sovereign, or gratitude due to his benefactor, the treacherous Nazir joined in the intrigues of the rebel. By the advocates for the Nazir it has been asserted, that hatred against the Marhatta government was the real cause of so extraordinary a conduct. From whatever motive it arose, certain it is, the Nazir was determined to introduce Gholaum Cadir into the administration; and had accordingly sent letters to the rebel, urging his speedy appearance to demand of his majesty the vacant office of Ameer Al Omrah.

Great was the consternation occasioned at Delhi by the arrival of the Rohilla army; but Shah Nizam Al Deen, assisted by Defmouk, son-in-law of Sindiah, prepared to repel the invader. Unhappily for themselves, they despised the force of Gholaum Cadir; and lulled into a fatal security, were contented with detaching a small force across the river, giving positive orders to the commanding officer to make an immediate attack on the enemy's camp. Of this inattention they, in the sequel, had cause to repent: the battalions,

♦ Superintendant of the household.

, on the very first onset, were driven back and dispersed by the Rohillas with great loss; they pursued them to the banks of the river, where, boats not being at hand, many threw themselves into the Jumna and perished miserably: the few who survived, ashamed to appear before the deputy, dispersed themselves over the city, and, as usual in Hindostan, began to plunder.

The deputy seeing the disastrous posture of affairs, and having by this time received intelligence of the traitorous designs of the Nazir, prepared by a speedy flight to save himself from the vengeance of the conqueror. Accompanied by Dilmuk, he withdrew privately from Delhi. They repaired to the fort of Bullum Ghur, a place twenty miles south of the capital. Hera Sing, Killadar of that place, received them with humanity: but Shah Nizam Al Deen not deeming himself sufficiently safe at Bullum Ghur, retired from thence to Deig, which still acknowledged Sindiah's authority. Dilmuk repaired to his father-in-law, whom he joined in the neighbourhood of Gualior.

On the flight of the deputy from Delhi being made public, Giio-Jaum Cadir prepared to reap the fruits of his late success. He crossed the river with a selected body of troops, and went direct to the king's palace. On his arrival, (agreeably to a concerted plan) he was introduced by the treacherous Nazir to the emperor. When honoured with the customary khillut, Gholam Cadir preferred his petition for the investiture of the office of Ameer Al Otnah, and concluded with protestations of fidelity and attachment to his majesty's person. Shah-Aulum, perceiving himself without resource, was

contrai cd, much againfl: his inclination, to grant the requeftof this turbulent chief. Having acquiefcd in the demand, the **patent of** creation was ordered to be got ready, and the Rohilla with a refpedful obeifance retired from the prefence.

Though by compulfatory means Gholam Caudir had thus attained the deifred object, his power was by no means fccurely eftablifhed. Several perfons well attached to the Marhatta government, as likewife to the king's perfon, Hill remained in Delhi. Thofe, indignant at the unworthy treatment of their fovercign, and pitying his degraded ftate, refolvcd to make one effort for the reftoration of his authority. Amongft others was the Begum Somroo, who at that time had confiderable influence in the councils of Delhi. This lady, wife of Somroo, (a name too well known to Englifhmen by his infamous conduct at Patna,) now commanded the difciplined battalions which he had raifed, and was moreover poffeffed of a confiderable jaghire.

As this lady will bear a confiderable (bare in the icmaining tranfactions, we fhall proceed to a concise retrofped of her fituation and progrefs to authority.

Somroo, a German adventurer, whom a fpirited author* has emphatically tiled “ the bloody agent of the cruelties of Meer Coflim,” after the ruin of his mailer's affairs, retired into the Jaut province. He was there taken into the fervice of the late Zulficar Al Dowla, then in the plenitude of his power. In addition to his difciplined

* Captain Jonathan Scott, Hift. of Deccan, Vol. **II**

battalions, Nujuff Khan gave him the command of a body of Mogul horfe; and for the flipport of the whole, afligned him the Pergurinah of Serdhauna, fituated in the upper part of Doo Ab, as a Jaiedad. Somroo, previous to his death, which happened in 1778, married the daughter of a Mogul nobleman, whofc family, from the unfettled ftate of the times, had fallen into diftreff. This lady, the prefent Begum, at the perfuafion of her hufband, embraced the Chriftian faith. She received from the king the title of Zeeb Al Niflaa, or, Ornament of the Sex; and on Somroo's dc-mife, was continued in command over the troops, and confirmed by Nujuff Khan in the management of her Jaghire. In the centre of the ruined province of Sehaurunpore, in twenty-ninth degree N. latitude, and about fixty miles diftant from the capital, rifes the fmall but fertile principality of Serdhauna; it is bounded on the north by the town of Berhauna, on the eaft by Nowlah, weft by the Hingun river near the town of Bernaba, and fouth by the diftriift of Meerut. Its extent from north to fouth is thirty-fix miles, and twenty-four from eaft to weft. An unremitting attention to the cultivation of the lands, a mild and upright adminiftration, and care, for the welfare of the inhabitants, has enabled this fmall traect to vie with the moft cultivated parts of Hindoftaun, and to yield a revenue of ten lacks of rupees per annum. The rivers Hingun and Crifhna, which traverfe this valuable jaghire, afford an ample fupply of water; and the foil, naturally fertile, produces in abundance grain of all kinds, cotton, fugar-cane, and tobacco.

The town of Sedhauna, where the Begum generally refides, is of confiderable extent, pleafantly fituated, and commanding a fine

view of the mountains of Himmeleh to the north-east. A fort near the town contains a good arsenal and foundry for cannon. Five battalions of disciplined Seapoys, commanded by Europeans of different countries, and about forty pieces of cannon of various calibres, constitute the force kept up by Begum Somroo. With these and about two hundred Europeans, principally employed in the service of artillery, she is enabled to maintain a respectable situation among the neighbouring powers.

While the surrounding lands exhibit the effects of defoliation and distress, the flourishing appearance of this Jaghire impresses the mind of the traveller with sensations most gratifying; and it is upon this principle, that, deviating from the rigid line of historical precision, we embrace the opportunity of paying a tribute deservedly due to the spirit, activity, and talents of this noble lady. Endowed by nature with masculine intrepidity, assisted by a judgement and foresight clear and comprehensive, Begum Somroo, during the various revolutions above detailed, was enabled to preserve her country unmolested, and her authority unimpaired. In the successful administration of Zulficar Al Dowla, Mirza Shuffee, and Afrasiab Khan, she was confirmed in her possessions; and when Sindiah arrived at supreme power, he added to the extent of them by a grant of some other lands south-west of the Jumna. In the war against Pertaub Sing, Begum Somroo with her force was stationed at Panniput on the frontier, and in committing so important a trust to her charge was full and complete proof of the idea the Marhatta chief had conceived of her capacity. Her conduct now evinced that that confidence had not been misplaced, and her spirited exertions in defence of the

king's authority acquired defervcd applaufe in the bracfts of all. To this lady, then, Gholaum Cadir, on retiring from the prefence, made offers of alliance. Aware of her influence at court, the artful Rohilla endeavoured, by the mofl fludied refpeCt to acquire her fupport in the extenfion of his ufurped' authority, allured her of a grateful return on his part, and Anally proflered her an equal fhare in the adminiftration of affairs. The propofed: was tempting; but the Begum, well acquainted with the charadcriftic perfidy of the Rohilla, and rcfolved to defend her fovereign, rejeded all his felicitations; and to give proof of her refolution to maintain the king's authority, flic with her whole force repaired to the palace, and declared her intention of facrificing her life in his majefty's caufe. Her appearance gave great confolation to the king; and fome other officers at the fame time afl'cmbling troops, the court began to talk in a higher ftrain toward the rebel. Matters drew near to a crifis. Gholaum Cadir, baffled in his attempts to acquire the Begum's fupport, when informed of what had pafled, was inflamed with favage fury. Going to his camp on the oppofite bank of the Jumna, he thence difpatched a meflenger to court, demanding, in terms mofl: peremptory, the immediate removal of Somroo's wife, adding, that in the event of non-compliance he ihould proceed to hoftilities. His meflage having been treated with the contempt it deferved, Gholaum Cadir commenced a heavy cannonade upon the royal palace*. This was answered from fome artillery in the fort, from the guns attached to the Mogul battalions in his majefty's fervice, and from a battery which had been eroded with great expedition by Begum Somroo. Confiderable damage

* Syud Rczzi Khan's MS. narrative.

was done to the palace by this outrageous insult; but the king's troops behaving with great firmness and spirit, it is most probable the Rohilla would have been compelled to retire. For the present, however, he was saved by the treacherous machination of his affiliate within the fort. The Nazir suddenly declared, that the royal treasury was exhausted, and refused to make any farther disbursements for the troops. This untoward circumstance on so critical an occasion, greatly embarrassed his majesty's affairs; but as the urgency of the case required some immediate steps, the royal jewels and several articles of the household were deposited to raise a sum of money, which was immediately given to the foldicry. During this disgraceful scene, intelligence arrived that the Prince Mirza Juwaun Bukht, accompanied by a large army, was on his march to the capital. Of this event the Nazir conveyed private information to Gholaum Caudir, and foreseeing that the prince's arrival would disconcert his perfidious schemes, he strongly recommended the Rohilla to make immediate overtures for a pacification, to which he doubted not the King would agree. No time was to be lost; Gholaum Caudir, therefore, having signified to his majesty his sincere contrition for the late insult, presented a handsome pile of ready money, and moreover proposed to restore all the royal lands in Doo Ab which he had lately usurped. To these offers Shah-Aulum, who knew the infirmity of the Rohilla, would not have consented, but, urged by the repeated solicitations of the Nazir, whom by a blind infatuation he deemed a faithful servant, at length acquiesced in the proposals. The terms being settled, an honorary dress was dispatched over the river to Gholaum Caudir Khan, who immediately after receiving it, struck his camp, and returned to Sehaunpur.

h*Scaj*cely had he departed w'hen letters from the prince Mirza Juwaun Bukht arrived at court. In thefe, after acquainting his father f his rapid approach, he congratulated him on the profpect now afforded of punifhing the rebel, and carneftly requefting the king iidt to enter into terms. The intimation arrived too late. To account' for the prince's re-appearancc at the capital, we muft now proceed to a brief review of the occunences of his life.

The death of Nujeeb Al Dowla in 1769, and the intrigues of the Marhattas' having; as already related, recalled Shah-Aulum to his capital, the prince Mirza Juwaun Bukht fiom that period continued to refide with his father. During the various revolutions which occurred, the prince, by living in a retired Hate, and forbearing to interfere with public affairs,' efcaped from the perilous fituation of the contending parties. But the conduct of Afrafiab Khan having, as before.remarked, excited in his bread: a juft indignation, Mirza Juwaun Bukht refolved to feek an afylum at the court of Oude. In the year 1784 he effected his efcape from the palace; and accompanied only by a few perfons, he crofted the Jumna, and afterwards the Ganges, from whence he repaired to Rampore, the capital of Fizoolah Khan*. He was received by tlj t chief with e'very attention due to his high rank, and treated wdth profufe hofpitahty. At his departure, the benevolent Rohilla directed a detachment of horfc to accompany him to the vizir's frontier.

* See a patticular detail of the prince's efeape, tranflated from the Pcifian language, by Captain Jonathan Scott, at the end of a very intcrefting memoir written by Mr. Haftings, late governor-general of India,

On his arrival at Lucknow, the prince was received by the vizir and the British governor-general, who had lately repaired to Oude, in order to make some arrangements in the affairs of that province. At Mr. Hartings' suggestion, the vizir was induced, not only to extend his protection to the fugitive prince, but to allow him a provision of four lacks of rupees for the support of his establishment, and, moreover, furnish him with a house and every suitable convenience becoming his dignity. On the governor's departure for Benares, the prince, from motives of gratitude, resolved to accompany him to that place, where an event occurred which awakened his ambition, and determined him to return to his father's court. Hearing of the death of Afridiab Khan, the prince applied to Mr. Hartings to assist him with an armed force, to accompany him to Delhi, for the recovery of his authority; but the governor, not deeming himself authorized to interfere in the politics of Delhi, declined his request. Mirza Juwaun Bukht, on the governor's departure for Calcutta, returned to Lucknow, where he had not long been, when a visible alteration was perceived in the behaviour of Afuz al Dowla. The cause of the breach that ensued between them has not been correctly ascertained; by some it was alleged, that the want of punctuality in the payment of the prince's stipend, occasioned a sharp animadversion on his part; on the other hand it was affirmed, and probably with some reason, that the vizir was not altogether so well pleased at the diminution of his own revenues sustained in granting the allowance before mentioned; but such circumstances were surely unworthy of the vizir of the empire, whose family had risen to power by the favour of his majesty's ancestors, and on which account the prince ought to have been treated with all imaginable kindness.

O&rtainr however, it is, that the prince, in confcquencc of the flights which he received, determined him to re'move from the court of OudcJ,f' In 1785, he repaired to Benares, and made another, though inefFedual, attempt to intereft the Britifli government in affording him afliftance for the re-eftablifhment of his authority at Delhi. His application failed of fuccefs; but Mirza Juwaun Bukht was allured that an afylum for himfelf and his family would always be readily granted within the company's territories, and as his highnefs declined returning to Lucknow, an order was iffued upon the company's treafury at Benares, for the payment of the ftipend which had been allowed him by the vizir. In a fituation fo eligible, Mirza Juwaun Bukht, had he properly appreciated it, might have pafled the remainder of his days in happinefs and comfort; but a reftlefs fpirit of ambition impelled him to enter into the politics of the times, and in the end caufed him inconceivable anxiety and the moft bitter, though unavailing, regret. Not however, to anticipate our narrative, it is here fufficient to remark, that about this period Earl Cornwallis, who had been nominated to the fupreme government in India, arrived at the city of Benares in his way to the vizir's court. To him, the Shah Zada in the moft:preffing manner, renewed his •felicitations for afliftance from the Englifli; but Earl Cornwallis, adopting the fame line of conduct as his predeceffors, was compelled to give a decided negative to his requests. The governor general*, however, from motives highly to be commended, ferioufly advifed the prince to remain where he was; he allured him that the

respect entertained by the British government towards his illustrious house, would ever be evinced, by rendering his highness such assistance as did not militate against the general line of policy which they had adopted in their concerns with the princes of Hindostan, and, finally, his lordship concluded with observing to his highness, that the company's territories would always afford him a safe and honourable asylum.

Soon after this conference, the governor-general pursued his journey to Oude, whither the prince followed him. By the good offices of Earl Cornwallis, an interview between the prince and the vizir was effected, and an apparent reconciliation ensued : we affirm apparently only, for the subsequent conduct of the vizir, after Earl Cornwallis's departure, satisfied the prince that this reconciliation was pretended. Abandoned by the court of Oude and finding he had nothing to expect from the English government, Mirza Juwaun Bukht now directed his whole attention toward raising an army*. Himmatt Behadur, the Ghaffian, and some other chiefs, having offered their services on this occasion; invited the prince to a conference on the plains of Bindrabund, in the neighbourhood of Agra. By their assistance, he, in a short time, assembled a considerable force, and being at the same time joined by the Mogul chief, Immacel Beg, the prince took the road to Delhi.

At the close of the current year he arrived in the neighbourhood of the city, where he was met by his family and his brother, the

« It was at this time he wrote the letter, which appears in the appendix, No. 3.

prince Akbar Shah. The next morning he made his entry into the capital in great state, when Shah-Aulum, by the warmth of his embraces, testified the joy which he experienced on the return of the heir apparent after so long and disbelieving an absence. The prince was immediately invested with the sole management of affairs; and there once more seemed a prospect of relief from that vexation which the royal family had for a series of years undergone. The Marhatta usurpation was overthrown, and the rebellious chief of Sehaunpore had lately made ample submission: appearances so flattering were, however, by the machinations of an ungrateful and wicked man too soon overclouded. The Nazir, envious of the prince's authority, and constant in his attachment to the turbulent Gholaum Cadir, set at work every engine to sow dissension in the royal family, and alienate the king's mind from his son.

Some days after the prince's arrival, the Nazir, in concert with other lords whom he had gained over to his party, demanded in full Durbar the payment of certain arrears, which he alleged to be due to the troops from the royal treasury. The funds being at that time insufficient, he well knew this demand would embarrass the prince,* but, contrary to expectation, the prince, with much spirit, appealed to his father, and declared that as the assignments for those arrears were given during the Nazir's administration, he alone ought to be held responsible for their liquidation. To this opinion the king not only assented, but in fervent terms commanded the Nazir to desist. Though baffled in a first attempt, the Nazir was firmly resolved to try a second; in which, much to the discredit of Shah-Aulum, he was but too successful. Secure in the confidence of his sovereign,

which he so faithfully abused, he had the audacity to insinuate to the king suspicions of the prince's loyalty. On this occasion, he observed to his majesty, that the high pitch of authority to which he had elevated his son, would no doubt inspire him with the design of rising still higher; and that as the king was now rapidly advancing in years, and consequently incapable of vigorous exertion, the prospect of ascending the throne of Hindoostan was too reducing to be palmed over by a person even less ambitious than his son : that his late efforts crowned with success, and being at the head of an army, gave him entire and uncontrolled authority ; and these advantages were, when opportunity offered, powerful inducements, as well as fit instruments, for the completion of his most aspiring views.

These insinuations, however unworthy, made a deep impression upon a mind debilitated by age, and obscured in its intellectual vigor and energy by a long series of dependence and misfortune. The audacious presumption of the interested servant was forgotten, and an eye of suspicion cast upon the services of a faithful and hitherto-beloved son.

The effects of the Nazir's treachery soon became apparent.—Mirza Juwaun Bukht, who, since his return, had bellowed unremitting attention to the re-establishment of good order and tranquillity at the capital, now solicited the king's permission to take the command of the army, and at the same time for his majesty to accompany it in person during its progress. He pointed out the propriety and good effect that might be expected from his majesty's making a circuit through the Doon Ab, which, he judiciously ob-

forced, would contribute much to calm the minds of the people, agitated as they had been during the late troubles; and give additional consequence to his majesty's authority, now re-established under such happy auspices.

This proposal, however salutary and wise, was, to the astonishment of the prince, rejected by his father with the most frigid indifference. He now too plainly perceived that some secret machinations had been set on foot to instill into the king's mind the most base and unjust suspicions; and therefore, declining to remain at court, where he was treated so unworthily, he determined to remove to a distance, in hopes that time and absence would contribute to efface such impressions from his father's mind. Having obtained the king's permission to repair to Agra, of which place he had lately been appointed governor, the prince, accompanied by his whole family and a small escort, quitted the court, to which he never more returned.

Ifmael Beg, who was at that time besieging Agra, at first received the prince with the utmost respect and submission: but his subsequent conduct evinced, that in his heart this ungrateful chief was actuated by sentiments far different from the loyalty and fidelity due to his sovereign; and perceiving the untoward state of his affairs, he looked only to the preservation of his own consequence. The prince, compelled by urgent necessity and the very low state of his finances, requested of Ifmael Beg to adjust the affairs of the province, and to make over to him a suitable assignment for the support of the small force which had accompanied him from Delhi, and

who, from long arrears, had become clamorous for pay. The Mogul chief lent a deaf ear to his felicitations; and inflamed with pride, accompanied his refusal with disrespectful language to the prince. Dissatisfied at this treatment from a disobedient subject, Mirza Juuaun Bukht quitted Agra, and repaired to the camp of Gholam Cadir Khan, who was then in the neighbourhood of Deeg: but meeting with similar treatment from that chief, and likewise narrowly escaping from a treacherous plot laid to entrap his person by the perfidious Rohilla, the prince now for ever relinquished all hope of re-establishing himself in his authority. As a last mark of attachment and affection to his friends, he disposed of such effects as remained from the wreck of his fortunes, which he divided equally among them; after which, attended only by his family and a few select adherents, with an aching heart he once more took the road to Benares, and repaired to his former asylum among the English. The generality of that nation again received him, and confirmed to him his former allowances under disposal of Mr. Duncan, the British resident. To follow his eventful life to its close, it is only necessary to remark, that after some months residence at that place, he terminated both his life and misfortunes. The circumstances which attended his death are particular*. About the middle of September of the current year, he paid a visit to the shrine of a Mahomedan saint at the fortrefs of Chunar; and on his return appeared much exhausted by the fatigues of the day and an intense hot sun. Towards midnight he grew worse; and though every assistance was afforded him, both by his own and European physicians,

* MSe Narrative of Syud Razzi Khan.

it proved of no avail. At the dawn of day he awoke, and in great agitation proceeded to the apartments of his favourite concubine, where, on his arrival, he called for an infant child who was asleep; but before the child could be brought, he was attacked with violent spasms, and during a short interval from pain, had just sufficient time to dictate a letter to the British governor-general, recommending his family to the protection of the English nation, which being finished, he expired quietly a few minutes after in the forty eighth year of his age. His remains were interred with every suitable attention and honours due to his high rank. Agreeably to his desire, the pension which had been allowed him was continued to his family.

Mirza Juwaun Bukht Jehaundar Shah, though from capacity not fitted for the busy scenes of active life, nor possessing any talents for government, was nevertheless irreproachable in his private character, and deemed by all an accomplished gentleman. To his friends he was constant, and to his dependants humane and benevolent. His domestic qualities and filial piety have been already exhibited to the world by testimony the most respectable*: and in his disposition he possessed, in an eminent degree, that characteristic amiability, which successful historians have unanimously attributed to the princes of the house of Timoor.

* See Mr. Hartings' Letter from Lucknow, April 1784.

CHAP. X.

Arrival of RANAH Khan in the Doo Ab—Affairs in rise Jypore Province—Spirited ConduA of Begum Somroo—Occurrences—Ismaeel Beg is defeated—funplion of that Chief with Gholaum Cadir Khan—Tbcir Intrigues—Shah-Aulum z'r dethroned—Occurrences—Conclufton.

SINDIAH, who, as related in the preceding pages, had retired after his defeat aerofs the river Chumbul, and waited fora reinforce ment in the neighbourhood of Gualior. The new levies being ar rived from Deccan at the commencement of the current year, he, at their head, entered the Doo Ab. The arrival of the Marhatta chief, while it encouraged the king to hope for relief from his diftreffes, at the fame time, awakened the fears of the Mogul lords, who were well aware that their late condud towards their fovereign would not be palled over with impunity. They conncded them-fclves, therefore, by firmer bonds, and prepared to refill the Mar hatta arms.

Ifmaeel Beg fill lay before Agrah, but from the adive vigilance of Lukwajee, the Marhatta general, he had hitherto made but flow progrefs in the liege of that place. During thefe tranfadions, affairs at court had afumed a different afped ; Shah-Aulum quitting Delhi, marched his army into the province of Jynaghur. Pertaub

Sing, ruler of that country, in omitting to send to court the accustomed tribute, evinced his disaffection to the royal cause, and excited the resentment of the court. Pertaub Sing assembled his army on the frontiers, and appeared disposed to resist; but on the approach of the king's troops, he was, through the persuasion of Rajah Himmut Behadur, induced to offer terms of submission. The latter chief, who had great influence with the king, had the address to oppose his anger, and by promising, on the part of Pertaub Sing, a considerable sum in ready money, and a future increase of the tribute, he prevailed on his majesty to pardon his disaffection. As the king's necessities were then very great, these concessions were accepted without difficulty, and, to complete the reconciliation, the Jynaghur prince was introduced into the royal camp, clothed in a splendid khillut, and, afterwards, in an honourable manner, dismissed to his own capital.

These matters being arranged, Shah-Aulum proceeded on his route, and on his march continued to receive the submission of various inferior Zemindars, who, from their remote situation, had been enabled to withhold payment of the revenues, and, for a series of years, to bid defiance to the court with impunity. One discontented chief alone still withheld his allegiance; Nujuff Cooli Khan, who, it may be remembered, took an active part during the administration of the late Afrasiab Khan, was at this time in possession of the strong fort of Gocul Ghur. When summoned to surrender himself to Shah-Aulum, he peremptorily refused submission, and prepared himself for a vigorous resistance. Prior to the commencement of hostilities, an effort was made through the influence of the

Nazir to cfeCt an amicable accommodation ; by his advice, Nujuff Cooli Khan offered, if his majeffy would condefcend to confer upon him the vacant office of Ameer Al Omrah, to which, from his birth and connections, he deemed himfelf entitled, he would with all humility, not only immediately deliver up the fort of Gocul Ghur, but, moreover, forward to court a Paifhcufh of fix lacks of rupees ; he concluded his propofal by obferving, that fuch a mark of the royal favour was the only means of preferving him from the repentment of his numerous and inveterate enemies who were bent on his total overthrow. Thefe propofals were laid before a council affcmblcd at that time, and the king, from a defire of pre ferving peace, would have acceded to the terms prefcribed, but fome leading men in the council inclined his majeffy to other meafures ; they reprefented Nujuff Cooli Khan as a man void of honour or principle, whose prefent propofals were only a cover to defigns of a more ambitious nature, and dictated by the moft infidious policy, that, when once firmly eflablifhed in the high office of Ameer Al Omrah, and beyond the power of controul, he would then treat his fovercign with his accuftomed infolcncc and difrefpcCt ; they therefore urged his fpeedy chaflifement. Swayed by thefe councils, the king, having firft difmiffed the meflenger of Nujuff Cooli Khan, commanded an immediate inveftiture of the fort. The royal army at this time was compofed of feveral battalions of Nejeebs, the body guard, called the red battalion ; a very confiderable body of Mogul horfe ; and three difciplincd battalions of Sepoys, which had belonged to the late Somroo, and w'erc then commanded by his Begum in perfon, and furnifhed with a refpcCtable artillery, ferved by European cannoneers. The head-quarters of Nujuff Cooli Khan were

at a village about one mile distant from the fort. The remainder of his force, under the command of Munfoor Khan, were stationed in Gocul Ghur. The rebel encampments being strongly fortified, his majesty directed Rajah Himmutoo Behadur and Shah Meer Khan, with a chosen detachment, to lead battles against the village, and with the remainder of his army, he, in person, invested the fort of Gocul Ghur. The batteries of Himmutoo Behadur soon commenced a vigorous fire upon Nujuff Cooli Khan's intrenched position, but at the moment of making an evident impression, an unfortunate accident occurred, which not only changed the issue of affairs, but brought the king's person into the most imminent peril.

The officers who served in the camp of Himmutoo Behadur, engrossed at their absence from their comrades in the grand army, and harassed by incessant duty in the trenches, forgot the danger of their situation, and abandoned themselves to the most licentious excesses; nor could all the admonition or threats of their commander prevail on them to desist; they passed the whole night in riot and debauchery, and the soldiers availing themselves of the pernicious example, indulged themselves in similar excesses. Nujuff Cooli Khan, who was equally brave as vigilant, informed by his spies of what was transpiring, resolved to profit by the enemy's neglect and folly; having selected a strong detachment of cavalry, he put himself at their head, and, marching in silence out of his entrenchment, he fell with great violence upon the royal troops as they lay buried in sleep, and under the influence of their late debauch. A dreadful and indiscriminate slaughter now took place, the lines were instantly carried, and a very large booty acquired by the soldiers of

Nujuff Cooli Khan. The terror excited by this extraordinary attack was so great, that the news being communicated to the main body of the king's army, they were thrown into disorder, and began to prepare for fight; nor did the mischief end there, for, to increase the disorder, just at the moment the lines were carried, Munfbor Khan, who commanded in Gocul (Thur, by a preconcerted agreement with Nujuff Cooli Khan, issued out of the town with a flanking detachment, and four pieces of cannon. Having, by a circuitous route, reached the rear of the royal army, he commenced a very heavy fire from his artillery; the confusion in camp now increased tenfold; every thing was uproar, disorder, and dismay. The king himself was, by this manoeuvre, exposed to the greatest personal danger, and the royal tents being within range of the shot, many persons about his majesty were killed and wounded. In this disastrous date the king was advised to remove with the royal family, there being at this time six princes in the camp) to the Hicrawul, or advanced guard of the army, which was without the range of the enemy's cannon. To that spot, on the first alarm, Shah Meer Khan had repaired, and was endeavouring by his presence and example to animate and rally the flying troops. The king's tents were accordingly struck, and Shah-Aulum, accompanied by his family, proceeded to the advanced guard. But the misfortune was now happily remedied by the magnanimity and gallantry of Begum Somroo. That spirited woman was encamped to the right of the line; her force remained entire, unaffected by the general panic, and stood ready in dressed ranks. On perceiving the extreme confusion that reigned throughout the line, she bravely resolved, by a personal effort, to prevent the king's disgrace; she sent a respectful >

mcflagc to his majcfly, defiring him to repair to her quarters, and allured him of her determined refolution to punifli the rebel, or perifh in the attempt. At the fame time, fhe, on the field, wrote a fffiert note, which fhe difpatchcd to Nujuff Cooli Khan, upbraiding him with his ingratitude towards the king, and threatening him with immediate and exemplary chaflifement. The gallant lady* then getting into her palanquin, placed herfelf at the head of 100 of her own fepoys, accompanied by a fix pounder, commanded by an European officer. With this detachment fhe proceeded to the fpot occupied by Munfoor Khan, and advancing upon the rebel with much fpirit, fhe commanded her palanquin to be fet down, and ordered her artillery to charge with grape fhot; a well-direCted fire from the gun, affifted by vollies of fmall arms from the fepoys, foon had the defired effeCt. Munfoor Khan, aftonifhed at this fudden and unexpected check, began to give ground, and having loft numbers of his men, he retreated with precipitation under the walls of the fort. The king's troops having now time to breathe, were rallied, under the direction of Himmudt Behadur and Shah Meer Khan; molt of them having rejoined their ftandards, attacked the enemy in their turn with great fpirit, when after a fhort, but desperate, conflict, Nujuff Cooli Khan was compelled to retire, but not before the gallant Shah Meer Khan had fallen, pierced by a mufket ball. His lofs was fincerely and dcfervedly regretted by the king and the whole army. Order being once more reftored, the king directed his tents to be pitched, which done, he bethought of bellowing a fuitable reward to the gallant female who had preferved him from imminent

deftrudtion. Having font for her to the Durbar, in the warmeft terms he praifed her gallantry, and thanked her for the fervicc flie had that day rendered him; he cloathed her in a magnificent veil, and, in addition to her former titles, honoured her with the appellation of “ his moll beloved daughter.” It was, indeed, by all acknowledged, that the intrepidity manifefled by the Begum on fo trying an occaion, merited the moil honourable reward; to her courage and refolution was owing, not only the fafety of the army, but hci l'ovcreign's life.

Nujuff Cooli Khan, difpirited by his late defeat, now condefccnded to talk in a more humble ftrain, and being well acquainted with the influence of Begum Soinroo at court, he endeavoured to avail himfelf of her good offices to plead his pardon \\\ith the king; he declared his finccre contrition for his late intemperate conduct, and offered, as an atonement, a larger fum of money than what he had before promifed, with profeflions of fidelity in future. The king, defirous of repofc from the fatigues of the field, was not unwilling to liften to thefe felicitations, and in a few days a pardon was made out for the rebel chief, and he was received at court. The money agreed on having been paid into the royal trcalury, his majefiy re turned with the army to Delhi.

We mufl now return to Ifmaeel Beg, who was Rill employed on the fiege of Agrah when he received the alarming intelligence of rhe approach of the Marhattas.

Sindiah, who as before obferved, had re-entered the Doo Ab,

having, in the course of his route, recovered several fortresses under the Mogul chiefs, and reduced them to obedience, resolved to hazard a general addition for the recovery of his authority. For this purpose, he first sent forward his favourite general, Ranah Khan, with 6000 select cavalry, and brought up the remainder of his army in person; They advanced by easy marches towards the city of Agra. Ifmael Beg, previous to their arrival, had strengthened himself by engagements with Gholam Caudir Khan, and if both parties had abided by the compact, it is probable their united force would have defeated the Marhatta army, and destroyed the hopes of Sindiah; but unfortunately for Ifmael Beg, his versatile ally, at this important crisis, deserted him, and, actuated either by caprice or treacherous design, marched away with his whole force, just as the Marhatta army appeared in sight. Thus abandoned, Ifmael Beg did not yield to the dictates of dependency or pusillanimous fear, but resolving, by his own activity and courage to counterbalance the defection of his unworthy colleague; he prepared himself for battle on the 22d of August, in the current year, under the walls of Agra; a desperate action ensued, and so well was the palm of victory contested, that both parties sustained a very heavy loss, but fortune inclining to the Marhattas, Ifmael Beg was compelled to quit the field, and almost alone to cross the river Jumna; he fled to the frontiers of the vizir's territory;—the whole of the camp equipage, treasure, and artillery, fell into the hands of the conquerors; and Ranah Khan, on the ensuing morning, made a triumphant entry into Agra; which furnished, after sustaining a siege of upwards of a year.

This victory, the most complete that had been gained by the contending parties for many years, ensured the ascendancy of the Marhatta authority; and had Ranah Khan availed himself of the general panic which it excited, he might have taken immediate possession of Delhi. That step would have entirely defeated the ambitious intrigues of the Mogul nobility, and prevented the degradation and disgrace of the unfortunate Shah-Aulum. But previous to entering into this melancholy detail, it will be necessary to recur to the situation of the fugitive chief, Immaeel Beg, and of Gholaum Caudir Khan.

Scarcely had the latter chief quitted his abode, when he repented of his perfidy, and would have returned to his assistance, but it was too late; he learnt the news of his total defeat by Ranah Khan, and finding his force insufficient to make head against the Marhattas, he deemed it for the present more prudent to decline a contest.— Quitting the neighbourhood of Agra, he suddenly appeared before the fort of Ali Ghur, a place then garrisoned by Sindiah's troops — by a vigorous assault he carried the fort, and obtained a considerable booty; after leaving a body of his own men in the place, he took the road to Delhi.

It was at this period Gholaum Caudir fully formed his resolution to strike a decisive blow; he saw the superiority of the Marhatta army, and the defenceless state of the capital, and being totally void of principle, and heedless of consequences, he formed and executed the bold design of plundering the imperial palace, and de-throning his sovereign. In order to facilitate the accomplishment

of his plan, he previously sent letters to his former colleague, Ifmaeel Beg, in which, after many apologies for his late behaviour towards that chief, he faithfully promised for the future to share his fortunes. To excite his compliance, he laid open the proposed method of accomplishing this daring enterprise, and tempted his avaricious spirit with the hopes of rioting in the hidden wealth and treasures which were said to be deposited within the royal palace. To these proposals, however nefarious, Ifmaeel Beg, though at the expense of his honour, scrupled not to yield a ready assent. He accordingly quitted the place of his retirement, and shortly after arrived in the camp of Gholaum Caudir. He was received with every mark of cordiality and respect, and the two chiefs, after making a suitable arrangement of their force, commenced their march towards the capital.

A Marhatta garriphon, under the command of Himmutoo Bchadur, still occupied the fort and city of Delhi. Budel Beg Khan, Solemaun Beg, and other lords, were also at this time about the king. The conspirators, on their arrival at the eastern bank of the river Jumna, opposite to the palace, dispatched a messenger to court, demanding, in insolent and threatening terms, an immediate admission to the royal presence. Shah-Aulum, who was well acquainted with the perfidious dispositions of these chiefs, resolutely refused them entrance, and relying on the fidelity and attachment of his nobles, hoped, by their exertions, to defeat the traitors' machinations.—But, alas, how miserably was the unfortunate prince deceived ! Those very men, instigated by the detected policy of the Nazir, entered closely into the views of the rebel chiefs, and, forgetful of

the confidence and beneficent attention of their king, during a series of thirty years, they hesitated not to abandon him in the hour of his distress. To this defection was added, likewise, that of Rajah Himmutoo Behadur, who, by a disgraceful and precipitate retreat from his post, sullied his reputation as a soldier, and his loyalty as a subject.

Shah-Aulum was thus left in a defenceless state and every obstacle being removed, Gholaum Cadir Khan and his wicked associate proceeded to the perpetration of their atrocious design. Two thousand Rohillas accompanied the traitors : on their arrival at the palace, they were met by the Nazir, who introduced them into the king's presence. Gholaum Cadir and Ifmael Beg, placing themselves on each side the throne, performed the customary reverence. Gholaum Cadir then represented to his majesty, that, forced by the machinations of his enemies, who had slandered his reputation by calumnious charges, he had come to vindicate himself in the presence.

Shah-Aulum, in reply, declared himself satisfied with the conduct of Gholaum Cadir in every point of view; and in testimony of his esteem, embraced the traitor. It was then hinted to the king, that the hour for his usual repast being arrived, it would be proper for his majesty to retire into the Haram. On his majesty's departure, the chiefs, who remained in the audience chamber, entered into close debate on the execution of their plot. Agreeably to the advice of the Nazir, the treasurer of the household, Seetul Doss, was directed to repair to the king, and acquaint him of the necessity which existed of a prince of the royal family being immediately

appointed to attend the army in a progress through the provinces; that Gholaum Caudir would charge himself with the conduit of the war against the Marhattas; and that, as a pledge for his own honour and safety, the command of the citadel and garrison should be immediately delivered up to such persons as he might choose to nominate. In order, however, to quiet the king's apprehensions, and evince the sincerity of his own intentions, the crafty Rohilla with his own hand framed a treaty, in which, as a return for the confidence that was reposed in him, the traitor solemnly swore to defend the person and interests of the king against all opposition.

The treaty being properly signed, Scetul Dofs carried it to the outward inclosure of the Haram, where it was delivered to an attendant, who conveyed it to his majesty. The king having perused it, the treasurer was called in. That nobleman, faithful to his king, frankly told him that no reliance could be placed on the notorious perfidy of the Rohilla chief. He mentioned the cabals of the rebels in terms sorrowful and indignant; and, as a testimony of his own loyalty, he offered to return and put Gholaum Cadir Khan to instant death. To induce a compliance with his request, the treasurer urged that there was still a sufficient force within the palace to support the attack, and expel the traitor's troops. But the king, by some unaccountable infatuation, refused his assistance to the deed, though it was the only probable means of extricating himself from his perilous situation. He rejected the proposal, and directed the treasurer to return to the rebels, and acquaint them with his acquiescence to the terms of the treaty.

Meanwhile great numbers of the Rohillas who had entered the palace, penetrated in a tumultuous and disorderly manner into every part; nor was any help taken by their chiefs to repel the outrages they committed. Shah-Aulum, informed of the circumstances, came forth from the Haram, and going to the audience chamber, requested of Gholaum Cadir that he would, after placing the proper precautions within the fort, order the remainder of his troops to withdraw. The traitor professed obedience; but had no sooner reached the outer gate of the fort, than, instead of making the proposed arrangement, he gave the signal for the remainder of his guards to enter, which they instantly did; and in a few moments, the fort and palace, as well as the adjoining fort of Selim Ghur, were in possession of the rebels.

The king's guards were now disarmed, and their officers put into close confinement. This additional insult being reported to the king, he directed an attendant to go to Gholaum Cadir, and in strong terms to remonstrate and reproach him for his conduct.—“The ink*,” said the unhappy monarch, “with which the late treaty was written is scarce yet dry, when he betrays his faith.” The remonstrance proved of no avail; for the rebel having confined every person who might be able to assist the king, proceeded to the perpetration of additional indignities. Entering armed into the audience chamber, he insolently demanded allowances for the payment of his troops, who were then clamorous for their arrears. The king in vain pleaded his total inability to afford any relief, but told the rebel to seize upon whatever he thought proper, within the pre-

* MS, narrative of Syud Rezii Khan.

cindts of the palace. After much altercation, and a difgraceful fccne, the unfortunate Shah-Aulum was permitted to return to his Haram, to ruminate on his miferable and degraded Rate.

The plan now approached its termination. Early on the crtfuling morning, the rebels in concert, at the hear! of a numerous band of followers, well armed, entered the audience chamber where Shah-Aulum was fitting. Completely furrounding the throne, they Heinly commanded the princes of the royal family who were prefent to retire within the Haram.—They obeyed.—Gholaum Caudir then difpatched a meffenger to the fort of Selim Ghur, which is conti guous to the palace, to bring forth Beedar Shah, a fon of the late emperor Ahumud Shah. The traitor then approached the throne, and took up the fhield and feymetar, which, as emblems of roy alty, were placed on a cufhion before the king: thefe he configned to the hands of an attendant, and turning towards Sbah-Aulum, flernly commanded him to defeend; “ Better, faid the aged mo narch, far better will it be for Gholaum Caudir to plunge his dagger in my bofom, than load me with inch indignity the Rohilla, frowning, put his hand to his fword, but the Nazir at the infant, flopping up, prevented him from drawing it. With unblufhing effrontery he then turned towards his fovereign, and audaciouily told him, that rciflar.cc being vain, he woidd do well to comply with the traitor’s demand. Abandoned by all, the king then rofc from his feat and retired to the Haram, and a few minutes after Beedar Shah made his appearance;—he was fainted by the rebels as emperor of Hindoflaun, under the title of Jehaun Shah, and the cuflomary Nazirs having been prefented, the event was proclaimed

to the citizens of Delhi by the found of trumpets and the acclamations of the populace.

In return for these important services, the new king delivered to Gholauhr Caudir an order upon the revenues for thirty-six lacks of rupees, a grant in appearance considerable, but, in fact, of no real value, as the distracted state of the country, occasioned by the late disturbances, had totally dried up every source of revenue or emolument, and the usurper, though declared sole manager of affairs, could hope to procure wealth only by extortion. The family of the dethroned king were now directed to retire within the fort of Selim Ghur, and those of Jehaun Shah to occupy their apartments in the palace. Jehaun Shah, however, too soon found himself an idle pageant in the hands of his pretended friends. On applying to Gholauhr Caudir to accompany him on a visit to the great cathedral, to receive the royal investiture with the accustomed solemnity in the eyes of the people, the tyrant answered, that the time proper for such ceremony was not yet come, and that business of greater moment first demanded his attention; in the mean time great disorders prevailed within the walls of the Haram, and the cries of females were heard aloud.

The next step taken by the rebellious chiefs, was to send a party of soldiers to the palace of the two aged princesses, Malicka Zimani, and Sahiba Mahal. These ladies were the widows of the deceased emperor Mahmud Shah, and had, for more than twenty years, lived in a manner entirely secluded from the world. As they were known, not only to be very rich, but to possess considerable influence over

the royal family, they were now ordered to court, and, on their arrival, directed to visit the Harain, and persuade the females there confined, quietly to deliver up their jewels and valuable effects. The office was invidious.

Some persons in Delhi have not scrupled to affirm, that the princesses refused compliance with the order, and pleaded their advanced age and high rank as reasons for declining the office; but, on the other hand, they are accused of having encouraged the usurper, and to have endeavoured, by intrigue, to form a secret treaty to raise to the throne a relation of their own. Certain it is they visited the Haram, but without the success expected, and on their return, declined farther interference; this conduct contributed only to exasperate the tyrant. With inhuman rapacity he caused those venerable ladies to be robbed of all their property, which the benevolence of their emperor, in more prosperous days, had bestowed upon them, and they were afterwards commanded to retire to their own habitation.

The thirty-six lacks of rupees, as before stated, not coming into the treasury, Gholaum Caudir insolently threatened the new king with his severe displeasure, and added, in terms sarcastically poignant, that as he had elevated him to his present dignity, he could, with equal facility, deprive him of it. Perceiving the tyrant's drift, Jehaun Shah retired into the Haram, and having, partly by menaces and alternate footings, constrained the unhappy women to deliver up their jewels and ornaments, and other valuables, he sent them in trays to Gholaum Caudir. The royal family were, by

this means, reduced to great distress ; the cries within the Harem became much louder, and their sufferings more acute ; and with sorrow we relate, that to so high a pitch was it carried, that some of the inferior order of females actually perished for want, or urged by the bitterness of despair, raised their hands against their own lives. Inaccessible to the general distress, and unfatigued with plunder, Gholaum Caudir Khan finding he had nothing more to expect from the new king, proceeded to the last act of wanton cruelty. He sent for the dethroned king and all the princes of the royal family to the audience chamber ; on their arrival, he sternly commanded Shah-Aulum to discover his concealed treasures ; in vain did the king plead his degraded state, and the consequent inability to conceal even the smallest article. Inflamed by a continual debauch, which had thrown him into a paroxysm of rage, the tyrant threatened his sovereign with instant loss of life ; What I exclaimed the suffering prince, (we quote the literal expressions of a native author*) “What ! will you destroy those eyes, which for a period of sixty years have been assiduously employed in perusing the sacred Koran ?”

Regardless of the pathetic appeal, the Rohilla, with characteristic inhumanity, commanded his attendants to seize the king. Having thrown him on the floor, the ferocious ruffian implanting himself on his bosom, transfixed with a poignard the eyes of his venerable sovereign ! on the completion of this horrid deed, Gholaum Caudir ordered the king to be removed to a distant apartment. The miserable Shah-Aulum, pale and bleeding, was conducted to his retreat ;

* MS. of Syud Rezzi Khan.

there, in all the bitternefs of anguifh, to contemplate on his now ruined fortunes. Emphatic, indeed, were the exprefiions of the fame native author in relating the fallen condition of his fovcrsigh; “ This wretch,” (exclaims the indignant hiftorian) “ this accursed wretch, has, in one fatal moment, darkened the bright fla'i of the auguft Timoorian family, and buried in the whirlpool of deftrudtion the ftately veflel of imperial authority!” The king, however evinced, under fuch accumulated misfortunes, a firmnefs of mind, and reiignation highly honourable in his character; and it may not be unworthy to remark, that the natives of Aha in general, probably from the principles of predefination which they imbibe from their youth, are obferved to fuftain themfelvcs under misfortune, in a manner worthy of imitation by the European chriftian.

Shah-Aulum fufviving the lofs of his fight during his confinement, folaced himfelf in contemplative reveries, and in compofing elegiac verfes, defcriptive of his deplorable Rate*.

But from fuch heart-rending feenes, let us haltcn to relate the remaining actions of this execrable monfler. His next vidtim was the infamous Nazir. This man, through whofe difloyalty and ingratitude Gholaum Caudir had been enabled to perpetrate his atrocities, now moft defervedly experienced the effects of his perfidious conduct. He was directed by the tyrant to give in an inventory of his property and effeds, and on refufing to comply, he was feized and put into clofe confinement, when his ill-gotten wealth

* MS. narrative of Syud Rezxi Khan. See the appendix, No. 4.

was forcibly taken from him, thus exhibiting to the world an exemplary instance of retributive justice for his demerits.

A? Gholam Caudir's wealth accumulated, his avarice rose to a proportionate degree > and blinded to the impolicy of such a step, he refused to make an equal division of the spoil with his guilty associates. Ifmacil Beg, incensed at this treatment, resolved to abandon him. He, accordingly withdrew his guards from the palace, and retired to his own house. From thence he dispatched letters to the Marhatta general, acknowledging his errors, and offering to atone for them by professions of future obedience and fidelity, and declaring his readiness to join the Marhattas in any measures toward the tyrant's expulsion.

The cupineries of the Marhatta government during the late disgraceful transactions, has been deservedly reprobated, and is difficult to be accounted for on any principle of policy or advantage to the state. Indeed, the unhappy monarch, from a strange combination of circumstances, seems to have been forsaken by all his friends when he most needed their assistance ; and it is much to be regretted that the state of British politics at that time did not admit of interference on the part of his old and, till now, faithful allies.

Sindiah, when informed of the late tragical events, ordered his general, Ranah Khan, to march forthwith to Delhi, expel the traitor, and liberate Shah-Aulum from his confinement. These orders were obeyed with a willing alacrity on the part of Ranah Khan ; and he exerted himself with so much diligence, that the van of the Ma

Marhatta army was in fight of the capital, when Gholaum Caudir Khan, awakened from his dream of riot and intemperance, received the first tidings of the enemy's approach. Finding his situation in the imperial palace to be untenable, he prepared for flight ; but previous to his departure, he collected the plunder, and taking the new king along with him, with all the princes of the royal family, together with the infamous Nazir, he quitted the fort by a private passage, and crossing the river Jumna, effected his retreat to Meerut, a town in the centre of the Doon Ab, and distant about sixty miles from Delhi.

On the flight of Gholaum Caudir, the Marhatta general advanced, and took possession of the city and palace. His first care was to release the dethroned king, cause him to be proclaimed in Delhi, and furnish him with every thing necessary for his convenience or comfort. Ranah Khan having then placed a strong garri-son in the citadel, immediately set out in pursuit of the rebel chief. Previous, however, to that step, he, by order of Sindiah, afforded Immael Beg a liberal supply of money for the payment of his discontented foldiers ; and directed that chief to proceed to the districts of Rewari and Gocul Ghur, whence he was commanded to expel Nujuff Cooli Khan, who had beheld with indifference the late enormities at Delhi.

These arrangements being finished, Ranah Khan crossed the Jumna. On his second day's march, he was joined by a Marhatta chief, named Ali Behadur, who had for some time past been em-

ployed in Bundelcund*, and now brought with him a body of 4000 horfe in fupport of the general caufe. The united force then proceeded to Meerut, which was garrifoned by a ftrong force of Rohillas, who ftill adhered to the tyrant's caufe. Ranah Khan, not having any heavy artillery, was prevented from forming a regular fiege; he therefore drew a line of circumvalation around, and blockaded the fort. This mode would, he apprehended, compel the garrifon to a furrender, by the fupplies from without being completely cut off: nor was he deceived in the expectation; for a dearth of provisions enfuing, the Rohillas began to fuftain great inconvenience. Gholam Caudir endeavoured, by repeated fallics, to animate his troops, and repel the befiegers. In every encounter the intrepid chief exhibited a gallantry and refolution that would have done honour to a better caufe. But finding all his efforts fruitlefs, and the garrifon having now become mutinous, he determined to attempt an efcape.

Attended by 500 horfe, who were ftill attached to him, he, at their head, rufted out of the fort, and charged the enemy fo vigorously, that though every endeavour was exerted to take him prifoner, he made his way through the whole line, and accomplished his efcape. But, at length, his own troops perceiving his forlorn condition, began by degrees to drop off; fo that in a Short time he was left quite alone; and, to complete his mifliap, his horfe, exhausted by fatigue, funk under him, and he received in the fall a fevere contufion. This accident compelled him to take refuge in an

* A province to the fouth-weft of Allahabad,

adjoining village, where, being recognised by the Zemindar of the place, he was seized, and put into confinement. Information of this circumstance having been conveyed to Ali Behadur, that chief sent a party of horse, who conducted him into the Marhatta camp. On the rebel's flight from Meerut, the garrison surrendered at discretion. Their lives were spared, and the princes of the royal family were released from their confinement, and under an honourable escort conveyed to Delhi. On their arrival, Jhaun Shah, after suffering severely for his short-lived elevation, was remanded back to his former abode in the fort of Selim Ghur.

On the reduction of Meerut, Ranah Khan led his army to Schaurunpore, which place, on hearing the fate of Gholam Caudir, submitted to the Marhatta authority, who, from that time, have remained undisturbed masters of the whole province.

Soon after this event, Ranah Khan with the army returned to Delhi, where by this time the Maharajah Sindiah was likewise arrived, and had resumed his former authority in the Rate. The punishment of the rebel was too remarkable to be passed over in silence ; nor did his guilty associate, the Nazir, escape the just vengeance of his insulted sovereign.

Gholam Caudir, on his arrival in the Marhatta camp, was carried into the pretence of the general ; when, after repeated demands to deliver up the place where he had deposited the plunder of the palace, on his refusing to comply, he was delivered over to a punishment terrible indeed. He was, first placed in an iron cage, constructed for

tlie occasion, ami in this fituation was fufpended in front of dr* army. Af Ur (uflaining the*intuits and indignities of the foldicrs. his note, cats, hands, and feet, wcie ent oft'; and in this mutilated 'and miserable condition he was, by order of Ali Bchadur, fent off to ldefhi; but, on the journey, death relieved the mifcrable wretch from Ins itiiienngs: thus dread!ally atoning for the crimes of his iavage and abandoned life!—The Nazir, on liis arrival at Delhi, was trodden to death under the feet of an elephant.

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The mcLneholy events palling io rapidly in review, whilil relating the traniactions ol an /Viatic Durbar, can afford to a benevolent mind little, to contemalate with plcafurc 01 attention: but the picture, however dilgufling, may notwithifanding be viewed to advantage. A Britifh reader might, on this review, direft his infpcc-tion inwards; and while he execrates the infatiate fpirit and deferable ambition which can thus adluate men to the committion of fuch enormities, he may place before his fatigued mind the more pleating contraft of the fituation and invaluable blethngs of his native land—blcffings, which teach him more highly to value and to venerate that happy conflitution, which is founded upon an immutable and immortal principle, that a Britifii fovereign can do no wrong.

Soon after the arrival of the Marhatta army, Sindiah appointed a day for re-inflating the depofed king on the throne of his anccflon-; and the ceremony was performed in the grand hall of audience with much pomp and folcmnity. An allowance, was, moreover, aligned to his majefly of nine lacks of rupees per annum for the fuppoit of

his family and household, the superintendence of which was committed to Shah Nizam Al Deen, a dependant on the Marhatta chief*.

After the terrible punishment of Gholam Caudir Khan, the order of *our* narrative leads to the situation of Ifmaeel Beg. That, noble man, as already observed, had been detached by order of Sindiah to reduce Nujuff Cooli Khan, at that time in the neighbourhood of Rewari. On his arrival in the district, Ifmaeel Beg was informed of the death of his antagonist, whose whole troops were then under the command of his widow, a woman of masculine spirit and unbounded ambition. Well acquainted with the active bravery of Ifmaeel

* Whatever might have been the real intentions of Siadiah when he made this grant, in appearance so liberal, it cannot be denied but his kindness failed of effect; and it may be affirmed with justice, that from the character which this chief originally assumed of protector of the injured rights of the Great Mogul, he, in fact, became the oppressor. Intent only on his own aggrandizement, and in effectuating his plans at the Poonah Durbar, the Marhatta chief detained the unhappy king in an apparently-honourable, but really miserable, confinement; and during his own absence, he delegated his power to a crafty and designing dependant, who permitted the king and his family to want the common necessaries of life: a circumstance which inflicts indelible disgrace on Sindiah's memory. This assertion would appear overstrained, and the circumstance, perhaps, too highly coloured, were it not notorious to all Delhi, that out of the sum allotted in jaghire for the king's maintenance, he has seldom received more than 50,000 rupees per annum, and that frequently ill paid. To be convinced of the truth of this fact, the author, when at Delhi, made particular inquiry, and was assured by a nobleman of the court, Syud Razzi Khan, Colonel Palmer's Vakeel, that it was an actual fact—This nobleman resides at the capital on the part of the English Ambassador, as well as that of the vizir, Afuf Al Dowla, for the purpose of discharging to his majesty the sum of two thousand rupees per month for his privy purse, (which is termed Zuri Khafs;) and this money, together with a few trifling presents received when persons are presented at court, is all the lineal descendant's full moiety obtains for the support of himself and his thirty children, residing within the precincts of the imperial palace.

Beg, the Begum propofed to him a coalition of interefts ; and, to excite his hopes of fuccefs*in a refinance to the Marhatta authority, file proffered him the forces and treafures of her decaffed lord. The natural and hereditary averfion entertained by Ifmael Begagainft the Marhatta nation, inclined him, without much reflection, to accede to thefe propofals. He accordingly marched his own force to the town of Canoor, the place where the Begum then refided, and which was actually befieged by the Marhattas.

Notwithstanding every exertion on the part of the enemy, he threw himfelf into the place, and encouraged by incited and fpirited fallies to prevent its fall. Unfortunately, in one of thefe encounters, the Begum herfelf, who with a gallantry and fpirit not uncommon among the females of Hindoftan were accuftomed to be prefent in action, was fain by a cannon ball. This misfortune occafioned a defection in her troops to their obedience of Ifmael Beg, and which had, during her life time, been kept within proper bounds. The principal leaders entering into a cabal againft the Mogul chief, agreed to deliver him up to the Marhattas, with whom they had commenced a negotiation. But however fecretly the treaty, on this occafion, was made, it foon reached the ears of Ifmael Beg; and, he, to prevent the effects of this treachery, was prevailed upon by his friends to a voluntary furrender, requiring only a guarantee for his perfonal fafety. This was readily granted him under the faith of General Duboigne, at that time of high command in the Marhatta army. Some few days after, Ifmael Beg entered the camp, from whence he was fent off a prifoner to the fort of Agrah, in which ftill he has fince continued. While the Marhatta influence

obtains permanency at the court of Delhi, it is probable he will continue under restraint, as that politic and vVary people will never fuller fo active and intriguing a man to be enlarged. But fhould any unforefeen event, in the hazardous lyilem of the prefent politics, occafion a decline, or extinction of their authority, there is little -doubt but this aCtive and vigilant partizan will again bear a confpicuous fhare in the revolutions.

Among the numerous adventurers who have for a fcries of years emigrated from the regions of the north to the provinces of Hindoftaun, few have poffeffed greater military talents than Ifmaccl Beg. Inured to arms at an early period of life under the tuition of his uncle, Mahomed Beg Khan Hamdani, he diftingui fied himfelf on feveral occafions by his fupcrior valour and ability : and if, on a review of his character, we except the culpability juftly attached to him for the fhare he bore in the tranfactions of Gholaum Caudir, we mult allow Ifmaccl Beg the merit of an adive, gallant foldier; to which, by the unanimous voice of his contemporaries, may be added that of an accomplifhed man, generous in difpofition, and kind and liberal to his followers and dependants.

Of the fate of the remaining perfuns who fiiarcd in tho various revolutions recorded through this volume, the Begum Somroo deserves notice. The fidelity exhibited by this fpirited lady in defence of her fovereign on various occafions, merited a better return than that which file was deftined to experience. The chiefs in the Marietta army had long beheld with jealous inquietude the influence ihc had acquired with the king; and Sindiah himfelf appears not

to have been wholly free from this imputation: for, though he can not be charged with giving directions to degrade the Begum from her dignity, his not taking immediate steps to make reparation for the affront, must appear to every unprejudiced mind highly to his discredit. On the other hand, it must, with equal impartiality, be confessed, that the conduct of this lady gave her enemies great advantage.

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During the whole of her administration, until the period before us, she, by prudence and a circumspicious conduct, governed her territory with honour and advantage. Her troops respected her valour, and her officers yielded a ready obedience to her authority. An unfortunate attachment, however, which she formed for one of those officers, occasioned her severe vexation and distress; and confidently with her usual prudence, she had granted him her hand in marriage. Mr. Vail'aux, a German adventurer, was the person selected; who, though a man of abilities, and who had rendered essential service to the Begum in the management of her artillery and other military concerns, was nevertheless of a haughty disposition and stern manners, which, unfortunately for both, proved the source of a disastrous event.

The Begum was strongly dissuaded from this step by her friends, and by none more than the king, who, in this ill-fated marriage, scrupled not to predict the total downfall of her authority, a prediction too soon to be fulfilled. By the secret infligation of the Marhatta leaders, the chief officers and servants of the Begum entered into a conspiracy, and resolved on her deposition. —

To give a fandion to their proceedings in the eyes of the people, they invited the Nuwaub Zuffer Yab ^eKhan, fon of the dceafed Somroo, by a former wife, to accept of the government as his juft inheritance. This young man, tuibulent in manners, and ^{of} a worthlefs character, had received, through the bounty of the Pegum, an ample allowance for his fupport, ever fince his father's death ; but his conduct had given her fuch difguft, that the had forbidden his appearance at her own refidencce. He was living at Delhi when the offer of the confpirators arrived ; undifturbed by any fcruples of confidence, and not impreffed by any fentiment of gratitude or affection, he accepted the offer with avidity, and repairing to the town of Sirdhauna, in private, he waited the event with impatience,

A few days fubfequent to the Begum's marriage, (he prepared to accompany her hutband in a circuit through her Jaghire. They had fcarcely quitted the town of Serdhauna, when a mutiny broke out among her own troops, and at the fame infant, Zuffer Yab Khan, who had been privately living in the town, now rufhed forth with a body of Marhattas, feized on the town, and was proclaimed Jag hire Dar. Informed of this event, the Begum endeavoured, by the rnoft ftudied attention and cogent argument, to induce her troops to return to their allegiance, but in vain ; long rclolved on their plan, they were heedlcfs of her felicitations, and feized and confined both herfcelf and hutband. This unfortunate man perceiving himfelf in the power of his enemies, and difdaining fubmiffion, in a fit of defperation put a period to his exiftencce ; and the Begum was then

reconducted to her capital, only to behold the rebellion of her subjects, and the elevation of her ungenerous relative, to the Mufnud*.

After the installation of the government at Delhi, Sindiah directed his attention to the subjugation of the different Rajpoot States, who, during the late disturbances and frequent revolutions, had become, in a great measure, independent of the court. In this arduous undertaking he was assisted by the professional abilities of an European officer of distinguished eminence. Mr. Dubois, a gentleman formerly in the service of the East-India company, had, of late years, upon advantageous offers being made to him, entered into that of Sindiah, and on many occasions had contributed to the ascendancy acquired by that prince over his competitors. Mr. Dubois, whose acuteness and penetration enabled him to discern the vast superiority which discipline obtains over irregular multitudes, and the advantages to be derived from the introduction of European tactics, proposed to Sindiah to raise a body of troops, clothed and disciplined, as far as the local and religious prejudices would admit, after the model of the company's European troops. The proposal

* Though by this outrage, deprived of her authority, the Begum parted not her time in unavailing lamentations; she had many friends, and by their assistance, aided by the earnest intercessions of the king, she was, in the succeeding year, released from her confinement, and once more, though with diminished authority, put in possession of her dominions, where it is the wish of every feeling mind (she may long continue). Her attention towards those of our countrymen, who have occasionally visited her territories, has been most hospitable and unremitting, and among others, the author of this history is happy in having an opportunity of adding his testimony of esteem for the kind offices afforded himself and his companions, during a fortnight's residence near her hospitable mansion.

was readily accepted on the part of the Marhatta chief, and Mr. Du-boigne, who had been raised to the rank of general, prepared to carry it into effect.

In the course of the current year*, the first regular brigade, which was attached to the Marhatta service, was raised, clothed, and appointed; it consisted of ten battalions of 750 men each, seven of which battalions were regulars, denominated by the natives, *Ta'ingas*, clothed and armed with musket and bayonet, like the company's troops.—The three remaining battalions were Patans, armed with matchlocks of a new invention; their uniform made after the Persian fashion, and the whole brigade regulars, as well as matchlocks, were exercised by the manual word of command, as practised in European armies. To render the brigade more compact, 500 Mewattis, or irregular foldiers, were attached to perform the ordinary routine of camp duties, so that the troops might be ready, on all occasions, for active service—500 cavalry were attached to the brigade, and 60 pieces of well-mounted and well-served artillery, from 3 to 6 and 9 pounds.

In the succeeding years of 1791-2-3, the second and third brigades were gradually raised of nearly equal force, with the addition of 1000 Rohillas, for the express purpose of leading the foraging parties.—The force thus raised amounted, in the whole, to 24,000

* The following detail was obligingly communicated to the author by General Dubois himself, who is now in England, and to whom he begs leave to offer his very hearty acknowledgements.

men and 130 pieces of artillery, commanded by European officers of different nations, and diuccled by the entciprizing fpirit and unremitted perlevcrancc of the general vxho railed them. Their fuc-cels on a variety ol the mold trying occafions proved equal to their expectations, and Sindiah coijfiefed his obligations to Mr. Duboigne, by repoling in him a confidence ahnofl unlimited, and by the ccflion of hit)-two diftridls in the Doo Ab, to be appropriated exprcfsly as Jaiedad, for the maintenance of the troops he had raifed. Aided by his exertions, he, in the period we have mentioned, not only recovered his former polfdlions, but in the end extended liis influence to the Punjab frontier; by a rapid fucccfllion of victories, he defeated the Nuvvaub Ifmaccl Bep, Gholaum Caudir Khan, the countries of Oudepore and Joudpore, and Jynaghur; and though he could not ablolutcdy wreft thefe dominions from the lafl-mentioned prince, he compelled him to the payment of an annual tribute.

Towards the middle of 1793, his affairs calling him to the well of India, he left Gopaul Row, his lieutenant-general, to manage his affairs in the north, and General Duboigne in the center of his newly-acquired pofleffions. His power mar, at thus period, be faid to liarc reached its meridian fplcndour; his arms again acquired an afcendancy over his contemporaries, and he found himkli the leader and preponderating chid of the whole Marhatta empire—from the confines of Lahore, to the fealif Cambay; he poffcfled an authority ahnofl unlimited; while thg/irmnefs, energy, ami activity, which marked the features of his adminiftration, at the fame

time shed a bright lustre on his character, in the minds of the princes of Hindoostan.

At the close of 1793, Sindiah prepared for his return to the northward, with an intention, as it was supposed, of puffing his arms against the Sikhs; all looked forward to the future motions of this enterprising chief in a state of anxious suspense • but while the different powers were either alarmed by the fear, or excited by the hope, of his appearance amongst them, he was suddenly seized with a distemper, which terminated his existence at the age of 67.

His character has been already delineated by the record of his actions in the preceding pages ■ in conclusion it may be remarked, that from the incessant perseverance with which he laboured to bring to maturity schemes once formed for his own aggrandizement; had his life been extended, he would, in all probability, have become a formidable antagonist to the interests of Great Britain; whose rulers were not unacquainted with his active spirit or insatiable ambition. He was succeeded in his paternal dominions by his nephew, Dowlat Row, who has not as yet attained any pre-eminence among the princes in the Marhatta states.

The few remaining years of the reign of Shah-Aulum can afford little on which to expatiate or digress. Reduced to dependence on a foreign power for the support of himself and a numerous family, the duration of his life cannot materially alter his situation; the fate of his family, and eventual successor, must remain to be recorded at a future period, but his reign may be more properly laid to close

when he fulfilled the fatal calamity before mentioned. Shah-Aulum, nominal Emperor of Hindostan, is in his 75th year. His stature tall and commanding, his aspect dignified and majestic.

- The ravages of time are discernible on his face, and the recollection of his misfortunes have impressed his features with melancholy. His early youth was passed in spirited, though ineffectual, struggles, to restore the diminished lustre of imperial authority, and his conduct, whilst contending against the usurped power of Ghasseer Khan, deserves great praise. But in the greater part of his life, little can be found deserving the applause of posterity. Irresolute and indecisive in his measures, he too frequently rendered useless the plans formed by his friends for the recovery of his authority, while his excessive love of pleasure, and infatuated attachment to unworthy favorites, contributed to degrade him in the eyes of his neighbours and allies, and render the small remains of his dominion contemptible. All his ministers, with the exception of Nizam Khan, were prodigal and rapacious in the extreme; they perceived the king's weakness, and, by flattering his vanity and supplying his extravagance, ensured to themselves an uncontrolled authority in the state, while they abused the generality of their sovereign, by committing every species of enormity and oppressive violence.

Shah-Aulum had improved a very good education by study and reflection; he was a complete master of the languages of the east, and as a writer, attained an eminence seldom acquired by persons in his high station. His correspondence with the different princes of the country, during a very long and chequered reign, exhibits proofs of a mind highly cultivated; and if we may judge by an elegiac

eflay, composed after the cruel loss of his fight, he appears to have great merit in pathetic competition. In his internal economy of his household, he is universally allowed to be an affectionate parent, a kind master, and a generous patron. His trials have been many, and it is earnestly to be hoped the evening of his life may be passed in a peaceful tranquillity; upon a review of his life and actions, it may, without injustice, be pronounced, that though Shah-Aulum possessed not a capacity sufficiently vigorous to renovate the springs of a relaxed government, or emulate his illustrious ancestors, he, notwithstanding, had many virtues commendable in a private station; but he unfortunately reigned at a time when the royal authority was in its most degraded state, and when great and shining talents were necessary to render permanent his power, and curb the licentious effusions of rebellious and disobedient subjects. The *Sun of Thnoor*, as a respectable historian* has justly observed, is most probably set for ever, and if a continuation of the metaphor be allowable, it may be added, that the decline and utter extinction of that august family was reserved to the days of the unfortunate Shah-Aulum.

* Captain Jonathan Scott, from whose history of Deccan the author is happy to acknowledge he has received considerable advantage, in elucidating the intricacies of dates under which oriental writers so constantly labour.

Lift of Authorities quoted for the present JFork.

1. SHAH-AULUM *Namch*, or a *Hifloiy* of the Reign of thr Emperor Shah-Aulum, written in the *Perfian Language* /;vGholanm AU Khan, a Mogul, formerly in the Service of Prince Muza Juwaun Bukbt fchaundar Shah, and now Rejident at Lucknow.

2. MS. of Syud Rczzi Khan, containing the *Tranfafilions* of the laf nine Years of the Reign of Shah-Aulum.

3. MS. of Munnoo Loll, a Hindoo, containing the thirteen jirjl Years of the Reign of Shah-Aulum.

4. Oufaf Afof: a Genealogical Account of the reigning Family of Oude— Author unknown.

5. Hudceka Al Akauleem: a Geographical Account of the different Provinces of Hindofaun, written in the *Perfian Language*.

6. Captain Salkeld's MS. Operations of Sindiab and Mahomed Beg Khan Hamdani, written in the-*Perfian Language*.

APPENDIX, I.

Account of Modern Delhi .

THE province of Delhi, agreeably to the description of native geographers, is bounded on the east by Agra, on the west by Lahore, south by Agimere, and north by the Kummow Hills. Its length, from the town of Pulwul, near Agra, to the river Sutluz, is 160 coes; and its breadth, from the town of Rcwari to the Kummow Hills, is 140 coes. It is divided into eight Cicars, or principal districts, namely, Shahjehanabad, (modern Delhi), Serhind, Hiflar Fciroozeh, Sehaunpur, Sumbul, Bcdoon, Narnoul. These are again subdivided into 289 inferior districts, yielding, according to the imperial register, a revenue of seventy-four crore sixty-three lacks of Rupees*, or one million eight hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling.

In the year of the Hijrah 1041, (a. d. 1631-2), the Emperor Shah Jahan founded the present city and palace of Shahjehanabad, which he made his capital during the remainder of his reign. The

* The following account of the present State of Delhi is extracted from a journal of observations made during an official tour through the Doab and the adjacent districts by the author, in company with Major Reynolds, of the Bombay establishment appointed by the Bengal government to survey that part of the country in 1793.

1 Persian MS. entitled Iludceka Al Akaulcem.

new city of Shahjehanabad lies on the western bank of the Jumna, in latitude 28. 36. north. The city is about seven miles in circumference, and is surrounded on three sides by a wall of brick and stone; a parapet runs along the whole, but there are no cannon planted on the ramparts. The city has seven gates: viz. *Lahore gate*, *Deibi gate*, *linere gate*, *Turkoman gate*, *Moor gate*, *Caimi gate*, *Ca/imere gate*; all of which are built of free stone, and have handsome arched entrances of stone, where the guards of the city keep watch. Near the Ajimere gate is a *Madrassa*, or college, called by Gholam Hossein Khan, nephew of Nizam-ool-Mooluk; it is built of red stone, and situated in the center of a spacious quadrangle, with a fountain lined with stone. At the upper end of the area is a handsome mosque, built of red stone, and inlaid with white marble. This college is now uninhabited.

In the neighbourhood of the Cabul gate is a garden called *Tecshahzari Bagh*, in which is the tomb of the Queen Malika Zemani, wife of the Emperor Mahmud Shah; a marble tablet placed at the head of the grave is engraved with some Persian couplets, informing us of the date of her death, which happened but five years since, A. Hijrah 1203. On a rising ground near this garden, from whence there is a fine prospect of the city, are two broken columns of brown granite, eight feet high, and two and a half in breadth, on which are inscriptions in ancient characters.

About one mile east of the city, is the tomb of the celebrated *Jehannara Begum*, eldest daughter of the Emperor Shah Jehan *,

* Dow, *penitence*.

no Icfs famous for her wit, gallantry, and beauty, than for her filial attachment in undergoing a Voluntary confinement of ten years with her father in the caftle of Agrah.

The tomb is of fine white marble, uncovered at the top, which was formerly filled with earth and flowers. At the head of the grave is a tablet of white marble, with an infeription in black characters; the flab is decorated at its corners with cornelians of different colours.

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In Englifla thus :

“ Let no one fcatter over my grave ought befides earth and verdure, for fuch is beft befitting the fepulchre of one of an humble mind.’*

On the margin :

“ The perifhable Fakecr, Jehanarai Begum, daughter to Shah Jehan, and difeipk. of the faints of Checfty, in the year of the Ilijcrah 1094.

Within rhe city of new Delhi are the remains of many fplendid palaces belonging to the great Omrahs of the empire. Among the largft arc thofe of Cummer-o’deen Cawn, vizir to Mahmud Shah;

Ali Merdan Khan, the Perfian; the Nabob Gazooddcen Cawn; Sefdur Jung's* the garden* of Coodfeah Begum, mother to Mahmud Shah; the palace of Sadut Khan, and that of Sultaun Darah Shekoah. All these palaces are surrounded by high walls, and take up a considerable space of ground. Their entrances are through lofty arched gateways of brick and stone, at the top of which are the galleries for music; before each is a spacious court-yard for the elephants, horses, and attendants of the visitors. Each palace has likewise a *Mahal*, or veraglio, adjoining, which is separated from the great hall by a partition wall, and communicates by means of private passages. All of them had gardens, with capacious reservoirs of stone, and fountains in the center. An ample terrace extended round the whole of each particular palace; and within the walls were houses and apartments for servants and followers of every description, besides stabling for horses, elephants, and every thing appertaining to a nobleman's suite. Each palace is likewise provided with a handsome set of baths, and a *Teh Khana* under ground.

The baths of Sadut Khan are set of beautiful rooms, paved, and lined with white marble; they consist of five distinct apartments, into which light is admitted by glazed windows at the top of the domes. Sefdur Jung's *Teh Khana* consists of a set of apartments built in a light and delicate style; one long room, in which is a marble reservoir the whole length, and a smaller one railed and ballustraded on each side; both faced throughout with white marble.

* Of this garden and palace a most beautiful and accurate painting may be seen in Daniell's Views in Hindoostan.

Shahjehanabad is adorned with many fine mofqucs, feveral of which arc Hill in perfect beauty and repair. The following arc moll worthy of defcription :

Eirll, the [*Jama Mitsjid**], or great cathedral. This mofque is fituated al out q quarter of a mile from the royal palace; the foundation of it was laid upon a rocky eminence named Jujula Pahar, and has been fearped on purpofe. The afeent to it is by a flight of ilonc Heps, thirty-five in number, through a handfome gateway of red Hone. The doors of this gateway are covered throughout with plates of wrought brafs, which Mr. *Bernier* imagined to be copper. The terrace on which the mofque is fituated, is a fquare of about fourteen hundred yards of red llone: in the center is a fountain lined with marble, for the purpofe of performing the neceflary ablutions previous to prayer.

An arched colonade of red Hone furrounds the whole of the terrace, which is adorned with odtagon pavillions for fitting in. The mofque is of an oblong form, two hundred and fixty-one feet in length, furrounded at top by three magnificent domes of white marble interfered with black ilripcs, and flanked by two *Mi/nircts* of black marble and red Hone alternately, riling to the height of an hundred and thirty feet. Each of thefe Minarets has three projecting galleries of white marble, having their fummits crowned with light odtagon pavillions of the lame. The whole front of the building is faced with large llabs of beautiful white marble; and

- Of this mofque likewife is to be feen a beautiful painting by the Daniells.

along the cornice are ten compartments, four feet long and two and a half broad, which are inlaid with inscriptions in black marble in the *Nihki* character, and are said to contain the greater part, if not the whole, of the *Koran*.

The inside of the mosque is paved throughout with large slabs of white marble, decorated with a black border, and is wonderfully beautiful and delicate; the slabs are about three feet in length by one and a half broad. The walls and roof are lined with plain white marble; and near the *Kibla** is a handsome *Tank*, or niche, which is adorned with a profusion of frieze work. Close to this is a *Mimber*, or pulpit, of marble, which has an ascent of four steps, ballustraded.

The ascent to the Minarets is by a winding stair-case of an hundred and thirty steps of red stone; and at the top the spectator is gratified by a noble view of the king's palace, the Cuttub Minar, the Hurran Minar, Humaion's mausoleum, the palace of Feroze Shah, the fort of old Delhi, and the fort of Loni, on the opposite banks of the river Jumna.

The domes are crowned with eulises of copper richly gilt, and present a glittering appearance from afar off. This mosque was begun by the emperor Shah Jehan in the fourth year of his reign, and completed in the tenth. The expenses of its erection amounted

* *Kibla* literally implies a compass, but here means a small hollow or excavation in the walls of Mahomedan mosques, so situated on the erection of the buildings, as always to look towards the city of Mecca.

to ten lacks of rupees ; and it is in every respect worthy of being the great cathedral of the empire of Hindoftaun.

Not far from the palace is the mosque of Rofhun Al Dowla, rendered memorable to the Dtlhians for being the place where Nadir Shah beheld the massacre of the unfortunate inhabitants. * The cause assigned by historians for this inhuman act is, that a sedition broke out in the great market place, in which two thousand Persians were slain. Nadir, on hearing of the tumult, marched out of the fort at night with a small force to the Musjid of Rofhun Al Dowla, where he was fired upon in the morning from a neighbouring terrace, and an officer killed close by his side. He instantly ordered an indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants, and his squadrons of cavalry pouring through the fleets before the afternoon, put to death an hundred thousand persons of all descriptions.

“ The king of Persia,” says the translator* of Fcrifhta, “ that, during this dreadful scene, in the Musjid of Rofhun Al Dowla: none but slaves durst come near him, for his countenance was dark and terrible. At length, the unfortunate emperor-}, attended by a number of his chief Omrahs, ventured to approach him with downcast eyes. The Omrahs, who preceded Mahmud, bowed down their foreheads to the ground. Nadir Shah sternly asked them what they wanted ; they cried out with one voice, “ Spare the city.” Mahmud said not a word, but tears flowed fall from his eyes: the tyrant, for once touched with pity, sheathed his



* Colonel Dow.

+ Mahmud Shah.

“ fword, and faid, “ for the fake of the prince Mahmud I for-
 “ give.”.

Since this dreadful maflacre, this quarter of Delhi has been but very thinly inhabited. The mofque of Rofhun Al Dowlah is fituated at the*entrance of the *ChandneyChoke*, or marKet; it is of the common fize, built of redRone, and furmounted by three domes, richly gilt.

Zecnut Al Mufajid, or the ornament of mofques, is on the banks of the Jumna, and was erved by a daughter of *Aurcnyzeeb*, of the name of Zeenut Al Niflah. It is of red Rone, with inlayings of marble, and has a fpacious terrace in front, with a capacious refervoir faced with marble. The princefs who built it, having declined entering into the marriage Rate, laid‘out a large fum of money in the above mofque, and on its completion, fire built a fepulchrc of white marble, furrounded by a wall of the fame, in the weR corner of the terrace. Here flic was buried in the year of the Hijerah 1122, correponding to the year of ChriR, 1710. There were formerly lands allotted for the fupport and repairs of this place, amounting to a lack of rupees per annum, but they have long fincc been confifcated, during the troubles this city has undergone. Ex-clufive of the mofques afore mentioned, there aie, in Shahjchanabad and its environs, above forty others; but as moll of them are of inferior fize and beauty, and all of them of a fimilar faihion, it is unneccflary to prefent any farther detail.

The modern city of Shahjchanabad is rebuilt, and contains many

good houfes, chiefly of brick; the ftreets are, in general, narrow-, as is ufual in moft of the large cities in Aha; but there were formerly two very noble ftreets, the firft: leading from the palace gate, through the city, to the Delhi gate, in a direction north and fouth. This freet was broad and fpacious, having handfome houfes on each fide, of the way, and merchants' fhops well furnifhed with a variety of the richeft: articles. Shah Jehan caufed an aqueduct of red ftone to be made, which conveyed the water the whole length of the freet, and from thence, by a refervoir under ground, into the royal gardens.—Remains of this aqueduct are ftill to be feen, but it is in moft parts choaked up with rubbifh. The fecond grand freet entered in the fame manner, from the palace to the Lahore gate, lying eaft and weft; it was equal in all refpects to the former; but in both of them the inhabitants have fpoiled the beauty of their appearance, by running a line of houfes down the center, and, in other places, acrofs the freet, fo that it is with difficulty a perfon can difcover, without narrowly infpecting, their former pofition.

The Bazars in Delhi are at prefent but indifferently furnifhed, and the population of late years miferably reduced. The Chandney Choke is the beft furnifhed in the city, though its commerce is but trifling. Cotton cloths are ftill manufactured, and they export indigo. Their imports are by the northern caravans, which generally come once a year; they bring with them from *Cabul* and *Cafhmerc*, fhawls, fruits, and horfes; the two former articles are procurable in Delhi at a reafonable rate. There is alfo a manufactory at Delhi for hooka bottoms. Precious ftones are alfo to be had in the Bazars, and the black and red cornelians of the largeft and moll

beautiful fize. The adjoining country is well cultivated, and the neighbourhood of the city produces corn, rice, mullet, and indigo.

The city is divided into thirty-fix mohauls or diftrids, each of which is named either after the particular Omrah who refided there, or from fome local circumflancc relative to the place. ,

It appears that modern Delhi has been built principally upon two rocky eminences, the one where the Jama Musjid is fituated, named *Jujulii Pabar*; and the other the quarter of the oil merchants, called *Pejubi Pabar*; from both of thefc you have a commanding view of **the reft** of the city. With refpect to the ruins of old Delhi, the extent cannot, I fuppofe, be lefs than a circumference of twenty miles, reckoning from the gardens of Shalimar, on the north weft, to the Kuttub Minar, on the fouth eaft, and proceeding from thence along the center of the old city, by way of the maufoleum of Nizam Al Deen, the tomb of Ilumaioon, which adjoins, and the old fort of Delhi on the Jumna, to the Agimcre gate of Shajchanabad. The environs to the north and weft are crowded with remains of fpacious gardens and country houfes of the nobih'y, which were formerly abundantly fupplied with water, by means of a noble canal dug by Ali Mercian Khan, and which formerly *t*.tered from above the city of Panniput, quite down to Dclm, where it joined the jumna, fertilizing in its coyrfea trail of mote than ninety miles in length, and bellowing comfort and affluence on rhofe who lived within its extent. This canal, as it run through the fuburbs of Mogul Parah, nearly three miles in length, was twenty-five feet deep, and as much in breadth, cut from the quarry of folid ftone,

from which most of the neighbouring houses have been likewise built. Over it, at different places, were built small bridges of stone, which communicated with the garden houses of the nobility.

Ancient Delhi is said, by historians, to have been erected by Razjah Delp, who reigned in Hindoostan prior to the invasion of *Alexander the Great*; others affirm it to have been built by Rajah Pettouvar, who flourished at a much later period.—It is called in Sanscrit, *Indrapiel*, or the abode of *Indra*, one of the *Hindu* deities, and it is thus distinguished in the royal diplomas of the chancery office. Whether the city be of the antiquity reported, it is difficult to determine, but this much is certain, that the vast quantity of buildings, both ancient and modern, which are to be found within the extent above mentioned, as well as their grandeur and style of architecture, prove it to have been a rich, flourishing, and populous city.

I will only add a short account of the royal gardens of *Shalimat*; these gardens, made by the emperor *Shah Jahan*, were begun in the fourth year of his reign, and finished in the thirteenth, on which occasion, according to Colonel Dow, the emperor gave a grand festival to his court. These gardens were laid out with admirable taste, and cost the enormous sum of a million sterling; their present appearance does not give cause to suppose such an immense sum has been laid out upon them, though great part of the most valuable and costly materials have been carried away. The entrance to them is through a gateway of brick, and a canal, lined with stone, having walks on each side, paved with brick, leads up to the *Dewaan*

APPENDIX, I.

~~the~~, or hall of audience, moil part of which is now fallen
 "dowrij. from hence, by the fide of a ndble canal, having a fountain
 in the center j you proceed to the apaitmnts of the *Haiam*, which
 ptcupy a large extent of ground. In front is an *Ivaun*, or open
 hall, with apartments adjoining, the mtenor of which are dcforatcd
 with a beautiful border of white and gold painting, .upon a ground
 Of the finefl: *chunam*.

On each fide of this *Ivaun*, enclofed by high walls, are the apart-
 ments of the *Hqram*, forne of which are built of red Hone, and
 I fome of brick* faced with the *chunam* afore mentioned, and orna-
 .meb|ts, wi\$h paintings of flowers of various kinds. All the apart-
 ments have winding paflages, which communicate with each other,
 "arid the gardens adjoining by private doors. The extent of *Shalimar*
 does, not appear to have been very large. I fuppofe the gardens al
 together are not above one mile in circumference: a high brick wall
 runs arqiindthe whole, and the extiemitiesare flanked with odtagon
 pavilions of red ftone. The gardens ftill abound with trees of a
 very large fize, and very old. The profpedt, fouth of *Shalimar*,
 towards Delhi, aftfar as the eye can reach, is covered with the re
 mains of extenfive gardens, pavilions, mafques, and burial places.
 The environs of this cpce magnificent and celebrated city, appear
 now nothing more than i.lfliapelefs.heap of ruins, and the country
 round abo«jH&equally flefdiateand forlorn.

** 7 fpider hath woven his wbin the royal palace of the Cafars>

44 *Fhe owl Jiandeth centihel oh.the'watch tmvers of Afrajiab !"

APPENDIX, I.

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On the 11th of March, 1794, the author accompanied 'tijor Reynolds, who was at Delhi, on a deputation from the Bengal Government, to an audience of his majesty, Shah-Aulum.

After entering the palace, we were carried to the *Dewaun Khana*, or hall of audience for the nobility, in the middle of which was a throne, raised about a foot and a half from the ground. In the center of this elevation was placed a chain of crimson velvet, bound with gold clasps, and over the whole was thrown an embroidered covering of gold and silver thread. A handsome *famianab**, supported by four pillars, incrust with silver, was placed over the chair of State. The king was at this time in the *Thujbeub Khana*, or oratory, an apartment in which he generally sits. On passing a ikreen of Indian *Connaughts*, we proceeded to the front of the '*Tujbeah Khana*, and being arrived in the presence of the king, each of us made three obeisances in turn, by throwing down the right hand pretty low, and afterwards raising it to the forehead.' We then went up to the Musnud, on which his majesty sat, and presented our Nuzzirs, or white handkerchiefs, each of our names being announced at the time we offered them. The king received the whole, and gave the Nuzzirs to his son, *Mirza Akbar Shah*, and two other princes, who sat on his left hand. * We then retired with our faces; towards the presence, made the same obeisance as before, and returned a second time to the Musnud. After a flight conversation, we were directed to go without the enclosure, and put on the Khl-hits which his majesty had ordered for us. They consisted of light

* Canopy.

Indian dresses, a turband Jamah, and Cumbeibund, made of cotton, with small gold fringes. On being clothed in these dresses, we once more returned, and after a few minutes delay, previous to which, Major Reynolds received a fword a title from the king, we were dismissed, and some servants were ordered to attend us, while viewing the palace.

The palace of the royal family of Bombay was erected by the Emperor Shah Jehan, at the time he built the new city. It is situated on the western bank of the river Jumna, and is surrounded on three sides by a wall of red stone; I judge the circumference of the whole to be about one mile.

The two done figures, mentioned by *Bernier*, at the entrance of the palace, which represented the Rajah of *Chiitoie*, and his brother Potta, seated on two elephants of stone, are not now to be seen.—They were removed by order of *Aurengezebe*, as favouring too much of idolatry, and he enclosed the space on which they stood with a fence of red stone, which has disfigured the entrance to the palace.

The first object, after entering, that attracts attention, is the *Dewaiin Aum*, or public hall of audience, for all descriptions of people. It is situated at the upper end of a spacious square, and, though at present much in decay, is a noble building. On each side of the *Dewaiin Aum*, and all round the square, are apartments of two stories in height, the walls and front of which, in the times of the splendour of the empire, were adorned with a profusion of

the richest tapestry, velvets and silks, the nobles vying with each other, in rendering them *thv nw! magnificent, especially on festive and days of public rejoicings, which presented a grand *ffgiit*. These decorations have, however, long since been discontinued, and nothing but bare walls now remain,

• I •

From the *IJcn\ n/i y/v/v* we proceeded through another handsome gateway, to the Dwau Kinds afore mentioned. This building *hkewifu* is situated at the upper end of a spacious square, elevated upon a terrace of marble about four feet in height. The Dwau *kbafs*, in former times, was adorned with *emllivc* magnificence; and though repeatedly looted and plundered by successive invaders* (it retains sufficient beauty to render it admired. I judge the building to be one hundred and fifty feet in length by forty in breadth. The roof is flat, supported by numerous columns of fine white marble, which have been richly ornamented with inlaid flower work of different coloured stones: the cornices and borders have been decorated with frieze and sculptured work. The ceiling was formerly incrustated with a rich foliage of ivory throughout its whole extent, which has been long since taken away. The delicacy of the inlaying in the compartments of the walls is much to be admired; and it is matter of bitter regret to see the barbarous ravages that have been made by picking out the different cornelians, and, breaking the marble by violence. Around the exterior of the Dwau *Khafs*, in the cornice, are the following lines, written in letters of gold upon a ground of white marble:

اکثر جوی زمین است
همین است همین است همین است

“ If there be a paradife upon earth, this is it—’tis this—’tis this.”

The terrace of this building is compofed of large flabs of white marble, and the building is crowned at top with four pavilions or cupolas of the fame materials. The royal baths built by the emperor Shah Jehan are fituated a little to the northward of the Dewaun Khafs, and confift of three very large rooms furmounted by domes of white marble. The infide of them, about two thirds of the way up, is lined with marble, having beautiful borders of flowers, Worked cornelians, and other floncs executed with much tafte.—The floors are paved throughout with marble in large Uabs; there are fountains in the center, which have pafles to carry the water into the different apartments: large refervoirs of marble, four feet in depth, are placed in the walls. The light is admitted from the wof by windows of flained glafs; and capacious ftoves with iron gratings are placed underneath each feparate apartment. Adjoining the baths is a very fine mofque made after the fafhion already defcribed.

In the royal gardens is a very large oft agon room, which faces the Jumna: it is called *Sbab Burj*, or the Royal Tower, and is lined with marble. Through the window of this room, the late heir apparent, Prince Mirza Juwaun Bukht, made his efcape in 1784, when he fled to Lucknow. Great part of the palace has fuflered by the deftructive ravages of the late invaders. The Rohillas, in particular, who were introduced by Gholauum Cadir Khan, have ftripped many of the rooms of their marble ornaments and pavements.

Adjoining the palace is the fort of Selim Ghur; it communicates by a bridge of stone built over an arm of the river: it is now, entirely in ruins

* Two buildings, which are equally worthy the inspection of a traveller, have not been described in the preceding account; namely, the *Gentur Muntur*, or Observatory, built by Rajah Jey Sing; and the *Cuttub Mhiar*, or the famous column in the neighbourhood of the city. Of both of these, the Messrs. Daniells have brought to England most beautiful and accurate paintings, and the latter has likewise been described by Captain Blunt, of the Bengal engineers, one of the author's companions in the journey before mentioned.

APPENDIX, II.

A Narrative of the Revolution at Rampote in 1794'

FIZOOLAH Khan, after the battle of Cutturah in 1774, retired with the remainder of the Rohillas to the Cummaoon Hills. The events of the campaign under Colonel Champion, and the subsequent treaty of Loll Dong in the same year, are in the hands of every one.

By that treaty, Fizoolah Khan had a territory allotted to him, which was estimated at the annual value of fourteen lacks of rupees*. He chose the city of Rampore as the place of his residence, and sedulously employed himself to the improvement of his country, and his subjects' welfare.

His virtuous efforts were crowned with deserved success; and, after an uninterrupted and prosperous administration of twenty years, during which he nearly doubled the revenues of his country, he expired in August 1794 in full possession of the esteem and love of his subjects, and in high repute with the native princes of India for his benevolence, generosity, and good faith.

* About 150,000!. sterling.

Pizoolah Khan left behind him a family of ten children; seven sons and three daughters. *His eldest son, Mahomed Ah Khan, succeeded to his dominions, agreeably to the established rights of primogeniture, and was acknowledged as chief by the Rohilla tribe.

Mahomed Ali is described by his countrymen as being gross and stupid; and was, consequently, exceedingly disliked by the body of the people, who, from the character of their natural spirit, require from their superiors a conciliating manner and kind treatment as the price of obedience. On the other hand, the second son (by the same mother) named Gholaum Mahomed, who, though a young man of violent and turbulent disposition, was by his tribe generally beloved. He had been the favourite of his father during the latter years of his life, and had conducted under him the most important business of the State.

By his unremitting attention to the cultivation of the jaghirs, he had, in a particular manner, gained the esteem of the husbandmen, who in fact compose the great body of the people; and the addition of a handsome person, and an assumed suavity of manners, with a plausible attention to his exterior demeanor, had riveted him in the esteem and warmest affection of the soldiers at large.

Spurred on thus by ambition, and having once tasted the intoxicating cup of pleasure, he could ill brook a sudden descent into insignificance; he scarcely permitted the eyes of his aged father to be closed, when he entered into a cabal with some of the leading and most turbulent of the Rohilla chiefs.

A confcioufnefs of his own natural fupcriority over his brother, Simulated him to commit a barbarout crime, at which human nature revolts, and at once to rend afunder the bonds of brotherhood and loyalty.

Gholaum Mahomed having gained over to his intercfls the principal officers of the army, and, through them, fecured the attachment of the troops, proceeded to execute the defign formed for the depofition of his brother. Seventeen days after the death of Fizoolah Khan, Gholaum Mahomed, attended by a felcdl party well armed, entered the Durbar of Mahomed Ali. A confidential fervant apprifed the Nuwaub of his brother's intended vilit; and at the fame time cautioned him to be on his guard, as treachery was intended.

“ It is impoffible my brother can entertain evil defigns againR
“ me: has he not taken the facred Koran?” was the anfwer of the infatuated prince. He was too foon convinced of his error.

On entering the apartment, Gholaum Mahomed, as had been agreed upon by the confpirators, bore himfclf with designed haughtinefs and difrefpedt towards his brother. This, as was forefeen and defired, inflamed Mahomed Ali, and excited the iiafcibility of his temper. He broke forth into the grofleft abufe, and, in his ungovernable rage, was fo rafh as to draw his fabre.

Gholaum Mahomed now gave the fignal of attack, and his brother was inflantly furrounded by the whole body of confpirators, who, aftet a refolute and defperate refinance, cut him down. He

was then confined, and lent to the house of the late Fizoolah Khan, where he was received by the women of the family, who having dressed his wounds, endeavoured to alleviate his grief and reconcile him to his fate.

'His identity was acknowledged by the army and people at Ram-
pore with loud acclamations. Shortly after this event, it was
understood by letters which arrived from Lucknow, that the enlarge-
ment of his deposited Nuwaub, and his being permitted to reside at
Lucknow, would be acceptable to the vizir*.

A council, consisting of Gholaum Mahomed and his principal
leaders, was held on this occasion, and they were requested to give
their respective opinions on the subject before them.

It has been affirmed, but not corroborated by any testimony that
has come within our knowledge, that the usurper himself appeared
inclined to a merciful determination, and would have liberated his
brother. This, however, was violently opposed by some of the
leaders, and particularly by Nutchoo Khan and Omar Khan, two of
the most ferocious and sanguinary of the Rohilla tribe: they de-
clared, as a reason for their dislike to Mahomed Ali's enlargement,
that, should he once quit the jaghirc and be allowed to join the British

* It is necessary here to remark, that the above circumstance was communicated to
the author by a confidential servant of the late Fizoolah Khan, who is now living at
Rampore. At the same time impartiality demands us to state, that the credibility of
this circumstance rests solely on the testimony of this man, (it being denied by the **people**
of Chitab)

army, there could be no doubt but all those concerned in the late revolution, together with their wives and families, would, in the event of a defeat, be exposed to the most fervent repentment; even, said Omar Khan, “ to their grinding of rice for the infidels*.”

These arguments decided the question; and it was unanimously resolved to put the unhappy prince to death. But the carrying this sanguinary resolve into effect was a matter of no final difficulty, and required a display of considerable art and perfidy.

Mahomed Ali, as we have seen, was within the walls of the Haram, a land nary which, in Hindostan, it is considered in the highest degree dishonourable to violate or pollute. Gholam Mahomed, therefore, proceeded in a manner equally subtle, as refinedly cruel. He sent for a person then at Rampur, by name Shah Hussun, a Syt/d'f, and a man respected by all for his sanctity, his age, and exemplary manners. In the presence of this man, the usurper swore upon the Koran, that if his ill-fated brother would voluntarily quit his asylum, not a hair of his head should sustain injury: he concluded, by requesting of the Syd to prevail upon his brother to come forth.

Satisfied with an assurance so solemn, the holy man repaired to the palace of Fizzoolah Khan; and there having repeated what he had heard from the usurper, Mahomed Ali was persuaded to yield his

* Which, in Asia, is considered an office of the most menial nature.

+ Descendant of the Prophet.

affluent. He accordingly quitted his asylum, and was forthwith conducted to a small fort about a mile distant from the city.

Having thus obtained possession of Ids brother's person, Gholam Mahomed next deliberated on the fittest mode of depriving him of his life, without himself incurring the guilt of fratricide. Omar Khan, whom we have before mentioned as the most savage of his advisers, proposed the detestable method of poisoning his victuals; and to this, however incredible it may appear, the inhuman brother gave his consent. The persons who had charge of the prisoner were directed to carry this resolution into effect. But information of the design having been previously communicated to Mahomed Ali, he refused to eat. For three days and as many nights did the unhappy prince remain without sustenance, and in a state of torpid insensibility. The fourth day, nature being exhausted, and roused by the calls of hunger, the Nawaub prevailed upon the humanity of a water-carrier who attended him to afford him a small portion of Hour: of this, which he prepared with his own hands by mixing it with water, he ate a morsel; but his stomach, weakened by so long fasting, almost immediately on swallowing, rejected the food.

Meanwhile the barbarian, finding his intentions frustrated, and impatient of the delay, resolved to complete his bloody purpose by the daggers of assassination. Four wretches, Munfa, Syud Khan, Toolloo, and another, were selected for the perpetration of this horrid deed.

Notwithstanding the secrecy with which the order was given, of

this, likewise, Mahomed Ali received information, and perceiving that his fate was approaching, he sent an affectionate message to his Begum and family, and as a final effort to avert his brother's vengeance, he, for the sake of his family, acquainted the Syud, whom we have before noticed, of the ultimate resolution of his unrelenting brother.

The Syud, equally astonished as indignant, at the base conduct of the usurper, and commiserating the fate of his lawful prince, repaired to the Durbar of Gholaum Mahomed ; he there publicly charged him with a breach of faith, and a contempt of the precept of religion. The hypocrite, in reply, gave the most florid assurances of the safety of Mahomed Ali, whose life, he added, " was dearer to him than his own." But the heart of this ruffian was not to be softened, neither the recollection of their early years, nor the close ties of fraternal affection, since arrived at manhood, could incline to pity or remorse, and to add to the guilt of assassination, he descended to the meanest and vilest subterfuge. In order that it might appear an act of filicide on the part of the miserable biotm 1 orders were given to the assassins to contrive the murder to that effect. Accordingly, entering the chamber of the sleeping prince at midnight, they put an end to his existence by a pistol shot, and several flabs of a dagger. When the deed was done, they removed the body to a small distance from where it lay, and after placing the weapon in the breast of the deceased, they departed.

Next morning intelligence of the decease of Mahomed Ali was conveyed to his brother, while sitting in the Durbar. The usurper,

affecting the utmost surprisè and astonishment, burst into tears, and lamented, in the most poignant terms, the unhappy rashness of his brother, in committing so desperate an act. To complete the infamy of this diabolical transaction, he directed the remains of his brother to be solemnly interred, and distributed a considerable sum of money in charity, to pay for the repose of the soul of the deceased.

In this manner, polluted with a brother's blood, did Gholam Mahomed ascend the Mulnud of-Rampore. The necessary steps were now to be taken to secure the establishment of the usurper.

As a prelude, letters were dispatched to the vizir, in which Gholam Mahomed endeavoured to excuse the atrocity of his conduct; he offered, moreover, to his excellency, in alleviation of his guilt, a Nazzcranah* and Paishcuhi; and with professions of the highest attachment and respect for the Nuwaub as his sovereign and lord paramount, he concluded with requesting a continuation of the Jaghiie in his own person.

It may here be remarked, that this valuable Jaghire had only been granted for life to its late possessor, and consequently, at his demise, it reverted to the Vizir, as lord paramount of Rohilcund's. It is true that some years since, it had been proposed by the vizir him-

* Nazzcranah, a present which is usually sent by tributary princes in Hindoostan, on their accession, to their sovereign or lord paramount.

t Vide report of the select committee for India affairs. ~Major Palmer's embassy to Rampore.

self, through the mediation of the fupreme government at Calcutta, to Fizoolah Khan, to change the tenur'c of the Jaghire, which was only for life, into an *Altum Gbeh*, which, by the ufages of Hindoftaun, descends in perpetuity to fucccffbrs. A confideration of fifteen lacks of rupees was then deemed a fufficicnt compenfation. By fomc means or other the offer was rejected on the part of Fizoolah Khan, and, confequently at his demife, the right of refumption of the jaghire was evident and undeniable.

The vizir, who from his earlieft youth had been immerfed in pleafure, would now gladly have feized the favourable opportunity thus afforded him, of confifcating this valuable jaghire, \\hkh would fupply him with frefh means of gratifying his extravagance.

His fluctuating mind, however, unaceuftomed to bufinefs, or decifive exertion, hefitated, and with the imbecility and little craft inherent to *Ajiatic* policy, he had rccourfc to temporizing mcaluies.

The views of his minifter, Rajah Ticket Roy, a man timid, irrefolute, and deftitute of every qualification above that of a mcic accomptant, were eafily led to encourage the weaknefs of his maficr. This minifter forefaw and dreaded the difficulties in which he mull unavoidably be involved, fhould vigorous mcasures be purfued.

An empty treafury, a deranged fyftem of finance, a weak government, deeply anticipated revenue, and an impoverifhed country, afforded but flender means for fupplying, not only the ncceffary expences of the war, but alfo to provide for the parade and extra-

gance of his Sovereign, whole childilhlly expensivc turn he knew would not fail of displaying its pomp on this occafion. He viewed with affright the cmb.arr.iflmcnts that threatened him, and hoped, by accommodation, to chape the impending difficulties, and, at tlhe fame time, by a large midcf, to raife a temporary relief to the exigences ;>i th<;(late.

'flic vizir and his miniflcrs, although from different motives, were united in a defire to accommodate, tempted by the magnitude of the fum* now offered, as Nuzzepmah, by Gholaum Mahomed. But, however ibong the neceffity of the one, or the extravagance of the other, yet neither would venture on a decilive ffep in an af fair io important, without confuting their allies, the Englilh, who were guarantees to the Jaghire Dar by the treaty of Loll Dong.

*

Accordingly, the vizir communicated the circumffances of the event to the Britilh. refident at Lucknow, who conveyed the inti mation to the fupreme board in Calcutta; at the fame time, his excellency declared his intention to abide by the advice of that go vernment.

It was fuppofed by -many, that lhe Britilh government would take no part in the bufinefs, and had they been dciiirous of avoiding trouble, there exifted a plaufible pretext for permitting the vizir to follow his own inclinations.

It was, however, juftly confidered, that were the Englilh, under

* Twenty-two lacks of rupees.

the circumstances of their known and intimate connection with the vizir, to overlook this foul murder, and suffer so heinous a crime to go unpunished, it would be a conduct utterly unworthy and dishonourable, and would not fail to derogate from the national character, in the eyes of the princes of Hindostan.

Actuated by so generous a principle, the British government came to the determination to punish the rebel, and in pursuance of this resolution, the two brigades which are stationed in Oude, by treaty, were ordered to take the field. Sir Robert Abercrombie, the commander in chief, being at that time on a tour to inspect the troops at the upper stations of the army, was requested to undertake the expedition, and for that purpose, was invested with the most ample authority, and assisted by the co-operation of the resident at Lucknow.

Preparatory to the commencement of the campaign, the commander in chief was intrusted to arrange and concert measures with the vizir, for the future government of the jaghire. Sir Robert Abercrombie accordingly had a meeting with his highness at Dalmow, on the banks of the Ganges. He there explained to the vizir, in the fullest and most distinct manner, that the English were determined to remove the murderer, Gholaum Mahomed, for ever, from any share in the government of Rampore, and that whatever part of the jaghire it might hereafter be deemed proper to bestow on the Rohillas, must be conferred upon the *infant Jon* of the deceased Jaghire Dar.

The vizir, it is laid, was not less hurt at the dictatorial (train of this communication, than dissatisfied with its tenor (to averte to his own wishes) or the wishes of his minister. They looked to immediate advantage, and eager to seize the golden prize, and both being devoid of every idea of national character, laughed to scorn the infatuation, and folly of expending blood and treasure, for what, in their own lingular phraseology, they deemed “ A Name.”

The Nuwaub, exhibiting symptoms of dissatisfaction, was finally given to understand, that without, he explicitly acquiesced in the above points, that the British government would take no part in the business.

Immediate compliance ensued, and Sir Robert Abercrombie proceeded, with all expedition, to Cawnpore, and from that place to Futty Ghur, where he arrived, and assumed the command of the army on the 7th of October, 1794; the troops began to cross the Ganges at Futty Ghur, and the Cawnpore brigade having joined, the army was formed a few days after on the banks of the Gamberah river.

Meanwhile the vizir had been collecting his army, which consisted of a numerous and undisciplined rabble of infantry, and about 2000 horse; and, for the sake of an ostentatious display of pomp, 200 pieces of cannon, some of them of very large dimensions, were dragged along with the multitude.

It is highness quitted Lucknow on the 13th of October, and,

though by easy marches, he might easily have come up with the British general and joined forces, he on the contrary, appeared desirous to remain in the rear, and, notwithstanding the pressing and urgent solicitations of the English resident, and General Maitin, who attended his camp, he could not be persuaded to advance.

Being solicited to fend on, at lead, a body of cavalry, he declined the proposal, and it was not until the day after the action, that any of the vizir's army joined the British. Our narration must now lead us to the Situation of the English army, in which nothing material occurred until the 24th instant, when it encamped on the banks of the Sunkrah, a small river, about five miles in advance of Boreilly, upon the high road to Rampore.

In the evening of that day an officer, was ordered out with a party of troopers to patrol three or four miles in front, and report any occurrence to the general. That officer reported that 1500 of the enemy's horse were advanced as far as Millik, a village about fifteen miles from the British encampment, and that some horsemen, about noon, had been seen examining the passage of the *Doo Joub*, a small river in front, and within the vizir's territories.

On the 25th, the English preserved the same position, their front, to the Rampore road, and the Sunkra river, covering their rear, and, by a winding direction, protecting also the right flank, so that it could only be attacked, either on the left or in front, and in either case to the disadvantage of the opponents.

About two o'clock, P. M. of this day, the commander in chief was informed at the intelligence that the Rohillas, in full force, were crossing the Doo Jorah, accompanied by the cavalry of the line. The general advanced to a final eminence in front, to observe the motions of the enemy. A messenger from Gholaum Mahomed Khan, at this time, brought with a letter to the general, which Sir Robert would not receive, but desired the messenger might be directed, to return, and acquaint his master, that the British commander would hold no communication with him, until he retired within the Rampore boundary, and totally evacuated the territories of the vizir, the invasion of which was highly improper, and added much to the atrocity of his crime. That the Rohillas would be allowed until the evening of the next day to withdraw their troops, which, if they did not, the English would consider and treat them as enemies.

To this answer was returned, but on the 26th of October the enemy appeared in a menacing and hostile manner, spreading over the plain in irregular and confused, though numerous, columns.

The general who had been to reconnoitre, returned to camp, and, left one of his aids at camp to give timely notice of the enemy's motion. The enemy continuing to advance, and form, in an irregular manner, the British troops were immediately ordered to prepare for action.

The first brigade, consisting of the 13th native battalion, the 2d European regiment, and the 18th native, with the two regiments*

of cavalry, formed the reserve, and composed the right wing of the army. The 3d brigade, consisting of fl&urnative battalions, formed the left wing, and the 2d brigade, of equal strength, composed the center. To each battalion in the line were attached two trims, and the grand park of artillery was posted, in the interval, between the center division and the left wing. From an eminence in front, which the enemy were unaccountably permitted to occupy, they soon commenced an harmless cannonade; their guns being greatly elevated, the shot palled over the British line. About ten, A. M. the line being regularly formed, two guns, the signal to advance, were fired in the center. The English troops began to advance, and continued to press forward with great ardour, until they met the enemy, who came on with unexampled resolution and determined ferocity, upon the points of their bayonets, sword in hand. The British artillery and musketry did great execution; but could not entirely check the first onset. The most desperate effort of the Rohillas was made on the right of the reserve, where Colonel Burlington commanded, and fell. The cavalry who were on the right flank, commanded by Captain Ramfay, when the enemy had advanced to about eighty paces, suddenly wheeled to the left, by order of their commanding officer, who led them into the rear of the reserve. The suddenness of this unexpected and disgraceful movement, and the charge which the enemy were thereby inspired to make on the rear, threw the cavalry into confusion, and left the gallant 13th battalion entirely exposed: this the enemy perceiving, threw themselves with the utmost violence upon the flank of that corps, and many of them having turned its rear, the whole right wing of the battalion were cut to pieces. Captain Macleod the commandant, a gallant and experi-

enced officer, together with four of his fubalterns, fell ; this corps preffed upon the European regiment, which being alfo brilkly attacked, were thrown into a like confufion. The Europeans, in turn, crowded upon the 1Sth battalion, and, notwithstanding the ffeadinefs and exertion of that corps, animated by the prefence of their gallant leader, Major Bolton, much deftrudtion was committed in a few minutes. The body of the enemy that made this impreffion on the referve, had fuffered much themfelves, but in the tumult, had pafled through the intervals occafioned by the diforder, and were in the rear of the European regiment, when a part of the cavalry, which had, by the greateft exertions of the fubaltern officers, been rallied, returned back to the attack, and prevented further mifehief. The other divisions of the line having maintained an undaunted face throughout the whole of the battle, reSiftance on the part of the Rohillas, at length, entirely ceafed, and after a dole adtion of an hour and forty minutes, fcarce a man of the enemy was to be fecn.

The Britifh line halted a few minutes on the field of battle to let the troops breathe, after which, they purfued the enemy to the Doo Jorah river, on the oppofite banks of which their camp was ftill Standing ; this was plundered by the vizir's horfemen, who, according to cullom, bad come up after the adtion, and whilst the Englifh line was halted, to mark out their encampment, thefe banditti reaped the reward due to the valour of their allies.

The Rohilla force, from the mod authentic accounts, confided of 30,000 infantry, and about 4000 horfe> they had nearly 2000

men killed, and as many wounded; whilst the British had to regret a dear-bought victory, in the loss of 600 men and fourteen officers*, men of tried reputation in their profession, and who had fought under the banners of Coote and Cornwallis.

On the 27th, the army halted to inter the dead, and take care of the wounded, who were sent back to Bencilly the same day, where an hospital was formed for their reception. On the 29th, the army reached and took possession of the city of Rampore, the capital of the Rohilla jaghire, and excepting the widow and family of Mahomed Ali, scarcely a Rohillah remained in the place, the whole having evacuated the town the day succeeding the battle.

The British general then deemed it eligible to give up the town to the management of the vizir, whose people accordingly took possession.

Intelligence of the retreat of the Rohillas into the Almora hills, which extend along the eastern boundary of Rohilkund, having been received, the British army advanced by easy marches, and on the 5th of November, encamped at the village of Puttah, at the foot of the

* Names of the officers killed in the action of the 26th October, 1794.— *Infantry*: Colonel Burrington, Major Bolton, Captain MacLeod, Captain Mawbey. *Lieutenants*: W. Odell, W. Hinckman, John Plumer, Joseph Richardton, T. Cummings, Z. Birch. *Wounded*: Major R. Bruce, T. Edwards. *Lieutenants*: R. Adams, Lewis Thomas, T. Robertson, J. P. Pigot, cavalry. *Artillery*: *Killed*; Captain Mordaunt. *Lieutenants*: E. Barker, J. Tilfer. *Wounded*: (since dead) Captain Wells, brigade major. It may be interesting to the friends of these gallant officers, to learn that the British government have directed a monument to be erected over their remains, on the spot where they fell.

before-mentioned hills. The same day, Syud Khan, a confidential person, was dispatched by Gholaum Mahomed into the English camp, with proposals on the part of his master, that he (Gholaum Mahomed) would deliver himself up to the English, with the provision of personal safety to himself, and an assurance from the British general, that the honour of his family should be preserved inviolate. The English commander readily acquiesced in the proposal, and about one o'clock next day, the Rohilla chief was met at a short distance from the British camp, by the resident at Lucknow, and by him conducted to the general's tent. He was accompanied by his younger brother, a youth of 17 years of age, and two of his firdars, Syud Khan and Omar Khan, the latter of whom was an old soldier, who had shared the fortunes of the late Fizoolah Khan, at Loll Dong, and served him from that period until his death.

Gholaum Mahomed having thus surrendered his person, it was reasonably supposed that matters would speedily be brought to a conclusion; it soon, however, appeared, that that chief had, by the natural craft and corrupt turn of his own disposition, been led to hope that bribes, and the all-powerful influence of gold, would still secure him possession of the jaghire.* The treasures of his late father, amounting to an immense sum, which had been amassed by a series of the most prudent industry and rigid economy, were in his hands, and, though regardless of either honour or honesty, he had observation sufficient to hope that his treasures would not only gild his crimes, but mollify his enemies, and prove persuasive advocates in his favour; in this, however, he failed; and though he positively

offered the immense sum of a lack of gold mohurs to the resident, another to the general, and a third to the company, if he could be retained in the Neabot or deputyship of the jaghire, he was given to understand by Mr. Cherry, that he must for ever abandon every hope of that nature, and that neither the jaghire, nor even permission* to reside within its precincts, would ever be granted him. After this ineffectual struggle, some days passed without any thing being determined, and Gholaum Mahomed, either affected, or really not possessing any influence over his obstinate countrymen, still kept aloof from decision, which the general perceiving, and that by patience and forbearance matters were only more procrastinated, it was determined to confide the Rohilla chief entirely out of the question, and this plan of a separate negotiation with the chiefs in the Rohilla camp was adopted. A general-pardon was offered to those mis-guided men and their 'adherents, on their submission to the vizir. Their troops had permission to depart to their respective homes, and a jaghire of two lacks of rupees, excluding the town of Rampore, was offered to Ahumud Ali Khan, the infant son of the murdered Nriwadb; these terms, however reasonable and consonant to the liberal policy which actuated Sir Robert Abercrombie throughout the whole of these transactions, were, nevertheless, rejected, and many evasions and extravagant¹ demands were made on the part of the enemy.

On the 23rd of November, however, Gholaum Mahomed, apprehensive that the other chiefs would now make¹ terms for themselves or probably (as appeared justified by the corroboration) actuated

by more deceptions motives, agreed to fend letters to the 'Rohilla camp, with pofitive orders tQjhis firdars to fend out this family and treafures. Syud Khan was intrufted with the million, and he being detained by the Rohillas, and no anfwer returned, Omar Khan, with*pretended anxiety to effedt an accommodation, propofed to vifit the ca,mp, nd doubted not of his prevailing over hi? country men to accede to terms.

To this Sir Robert Abercrombie, actuated by the humane defire of terminating the war without a farther effufion of blood, yielded his affent: Omar Khan went, but never returned.

It was now difeovered, from various channels, that Gholaum Mahomed himfelf, notwithftanding his profeffions of obedience, was the foie caufe of the obftinate delay of his countrymen, with whom he had kept up a fecret correffpondence, and urged the chiefs, who were his creatures, not to accept of any terms in which his reftoration to the jaghire was not a primary article; and he allured them, that being refolute and unanimous in this point, they would infurc fuccefs.

It was therefore determined to brjpg matters, at once, to an ifiTue. In the evening of the 3d of December, an infolent and contemptuous letter arrived in the Englifh camp; in that letter, after repeating a ferics of extravagant demands, they concluded with thefe remarkable words, “ If, after this.repreffentation, our reqijefts be denied, it will be confpicuous thro.ughout the empire of Hindoftaun, that

in the days of Ufuf Al Dowlah, affited by the Englilh Company, the Rohilla nation was extirpated.” <

The drift of this letter was eafily fcen through, and at 12 o'clock on the fame night, Gholaum Mahomed was fent off under charge of a regiment of cavalry, who were ordered to effort him to Takoor Duwarah, a place about twenty miles diftance from the camp: he was then delivered over to Colonel Baillie, of the 1ft native battalion, who had been advanced to receive him, Ihould this meafure be deemed neceffary; that officer carried him on twenty miles farther, fo that by ten o'clock next day he was forty miles diftant from his friends. The next morning, after fending in a proclamation to the Rohillas, which was declared to be final, offering pardon, if they would fubmit, and notifying the vizir's intention to beftow a jaghire upon the infant fon of the deceafed Nuwaub; but in the event of farther refiftance, they muft expect to meet with exemplary punifhment.

The Britiffi army then moved down to within a mile of the Rohilla intrcnchments, and the outpofts of both armies exchanged a few (hots, but without any mifehief to either party.

The good effects of this proclamation were foon apparent: convinced that by the departure of their chief, all hope of his reftoration was at an end, and that the Englilh were determined to adt with vigor, the Rohillas, at length, began to treat with fincerity. A ceffation of arms took place on the 5th; but there being fuch a variety of claffing intereffs to reconcile and to fettle, and arrange the

felecfction of the new jaghire, it was not until the 7th infant the preliminary articles were figned*. On the 9th, the treafures of the late

* Tranflation of the preliminary engagement between the Nuwaub Vizir Ul Mumalick Afof Jah Afof Ul Dowla Ychihch Khan Buhadre Huzzubber Jung, the Englifh Company, and the Rohilla tribe.

Article I. When this preliminary engagement (hall be executed, hofilities fhall ceafe between the Nuwaub Vizir Ul Mumalick Afof Jah Buhadre and his allies, and the Rohilla army.

Art. II. The Nuwaub Vizir Ul Mumalick Afof Jah Buhadre agrees that he has pardoned the family of the Nuwaub Fizoolah Khan, deceafed, and their adherents, the faults which they have committed.

Art. III. The Rohilla army agree that they will give over, in depofit, to the Company, whatever may remain of the treafure of Fizoolah Khan, deceafed.—That Gholaum Mahomed Khan has delivered an account of*the treafure which was left by the Nuwaub Fizoolah Khan at his death, to the period that he had charge of it. From that treafure the fum of 14,000 gold mohurs has been expended fince Gholaum Mahomed Khan left the Rohilla camp, this being deduced, the balance is the fum* demanded.

Art. IV. The Nuwaub Vizir Ul Mumalick Afof Jah Buhadre agrees, that he will beftow on Ahomed Ally Khan, the grandfon of the Nuwaub Fizoolah Khan, deceafed, mohuls in jaghire at the annual Jumma of ten lacks of rupees, and that the town of Rampore fhall be a part of the faid jaghire ; and as Ahomed Ally Khan is a minor, therefore Nuffur Ulli Khan Buhadre, fon of Abdoola Khan, deceafed, fhall be nominated the guardian of Ahmed Ally Khan, and the manager of the faid jaghire, until Ahomed Ally Khan fhall arrive at the age of twenty one years/

Art. V. When the Rohilla army fhall have given over the treafure, as is expreffed in the third article, the armies of the Nuwaub Vizir Ul Mumalick Afof Jah Buhadre, and of the Englifh Company, fhall march from hence, and the Rohilla army fhall difperfe, and go wherever they tjink proper. Done at Putta Ghaut in the Englifh camp, this 5th Jemmaud Ul Owul, laogHijerah, December 7, 1794#

The feal of the Nuwaub Vizir
Ul Mumalick Afof Ul Dowla
Afof Jah Yehihch Khan Buhadre
Huzzubber Jung.
(LS)

The feal of Mr. Geo. Frederick Cherry on the part of
the Englifh Company as guarantee
to the above articles.,
(LS)

The feal of Nuffur Ulli.
Khan.
(LS)

Fizoolah 'Khan, amounting to three lacks and 80,000 gold mohurs, were delivered up to the British general ; and on the following day, the armies commenced their march on their return. When the army arrived at Bereilly, it was announced, in orders, that his highness, the vizir, intended to present the troops with a donation of eleven lacks of rupees, part of the treasure which had been ferried into the English camp, and was delivered over to the vizir ; this was immediately done, by paying it into the hands of the resident at Lucknow, and the remainder the vizir carried to Lucknow.

Thus terminated a revolution, which, though at the first appearance exhibited but a flight speck in the political horizon of Hindostan, had, nevertheless, by a variety of circumstances and incidental causes during its progress, threatened to prove fatal to the interests of Great Britain, or, at least, of giving a severe check to their authority. To hazard conjecture on an object of so great importance, may surely be deemed excusable, and if it should serve to stimulate exertion, and animate the conduct of a wise and well-ordered government, to the preservation and permanency of the valuable possessions of Great Britain in the east, the observation will not have been made in vain. Of the present jaghire, as settled by the late treaty, it yet remains to be said, it is situated in the finest part of Rohilkund, and the jaghire is bounded on the north by the town of Akberbad, on the south by Millik, on the east by Roodcropore, at the foot of the Almora hills, and on the west by the village of Safcny ; it is in length about seventy miles, and thirty-fix in breadth ; the circumference of the jaghire is 291 miles, and contains about 500 populous villages ; the soil, in common with the rest of

Rohilcund, is a black rich loam, interfpered in fome places' with' red earth; the moft fruitful»parts are the center and fouth-weft boundary. The face of the country throughout prefents a delightful¹ view of large groves of mangoc trees, agreeably diverfified with gentle declivities and afcents alternately. This valuable jaghire is watered by feveral rivers, befides fmaller freams, which contribute to-fertilize and embellifh it. Among the principal are the Ram-gonga and Coffillah, which have been defcribed in the former part of this work.

The jaghire, though fo highly favoured by nature, has, ncver-thelefs, been much aflifted by the induftrious fpirit of its inhabitants, aided by the wife and benevolent institutions of the late Fizzolah Khan.

Throughout his whole territory, that prince caufed aqueducts to= be made, which traverfe the corn fields in all directions ;■they'ard fufficicntly broad and deep. In the eaftern confines, near the Al-mora hills, the inhabitants avail themfelvcs of the numerous freams, which flow from the mountains, by making artificial, dams ; and, at the proper feafons, inundate their lands, which is of particular benefit to the early crops. All thefe^Jadvantages give the country the appearance of an highly cultivated garden.

Sugar cane, rice, and tobacco, are produced in the greateft abundance, and of the beft quality; the canes are from eight to ten feet high, and the crops of wheat, barley, and various kinds of grainy ate nothing inferior to the moft cultivated parts-ofHindoftaun ; the.

principal manufacture of this jaghire is coarse cotton cloth, which is exported across the Ganges into the Doo Ab, and other parts of the vizir's dominions, as are likewise great quantities of grain, sugar, and tobacco.

Rampoie, which is the capital both of the former and present jaghire, is a large town situated on the western bank of the Cofilla river; it is about four miles in circumference, and surrounded by a thick hedge of bamboo, within which are mud fortifications, totally incapable of resistance. The town is large, but the streets, as common throughout Alia, are narrow. There is, however, a very good bazar, and likewise a mosque, both of them the work of Fizoolah Khan; during the life-time of that chief, Rampore was supposed to contain 100,000 inhabitants; but since the late revolution, great numbers of the Rohillas, in consequence of the reduced establishment, have quitted the place, and retired with their families in quest of a maintenance.

The present jaghire is properly divided into two parts, Rampore, called also Muftabad, and Shah-Abad, The late treaty fixed the valuation of the revenues at 10 lacks and 70,000 rupees per annum; but the above estimate was made from a comparative statement of the Jumma, or general collection of twenty-two lacks. There is reason to suppose that the part now occupied by the Rohillas, is capable of yielding a much larger sum; and if the industrious spirit of its inhabitants obtains permanency, it will continue to increase in value annually*.

* During a survey which was made by Captain James Mouatt, of the Bengal Engi-

As a concluding remark, it may be observed, that in whatever direction we traverse the dominions of the late Fizoolah Khan, the same industry and attention to cultivation is exhibited; and every generous mind will doubtless join in a cordial wish, that no ambitious or ferocious chief will again disturb its internal peace and tranquillity.'

neers, by Order of government, in the years 1795-6, to ascertain the boundaries of the jagbire, the author, who accompanied that gentleman, had an opportunity of a personal inspection of every part of it, and from his inquiries and conversations with many intelligent natives, he has been enabled to present the above documents.

APPENDIX, III.

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بر انداز سکدز و سگاه حمشيد کلاه کپنخسرو پناه خورشيد نگاه کپو
ان ايوان بر حسين امشان عموي مکان خديو کامکار خسرو نامد ار
نوشيرو ان زنجير دار سپهر اقتد ار مه خد متکار صاحب دانش و فرهنگ زبده
اکليل داد رنگ بادشاه ممالک فرنک داراشکوه راست بزوه اسمان کرياس نيک
اساس حق شناس مالک طوق و تاج شناسنده باح و حزاچ کهف السلا طين ملجاي الخو
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APPENDIX, III.

*Translation of a Letter from the Prince Mirza Fawwaun Bukht
Jebaundar Shah, eldest Son of Shah-Aulwn, to his Majesty
George III. King of Great Britain, mentioned in Page 157.*

EXORDIUM*— INVOCATION TO THE DEITY.

“ O THOU whose praise is the first object of the light and
“ splendour of dignified nature, with the celebration of which the
“ thoughts and actions of the most exalted monarchs ought ever to
“ commence; the dazzling brightness of whose purity emanates like
“ the sun over the face of the whole creation, and the mysterious
“ power of whose mighty arm is universally displayed from the
“ lowest earth to the highest heavens. Counsel and assist in thy
“ mercy, thy chosen prophet, Mahomed, whom thou hast appointed
“ the messenger of thy truth to the children of men, and strengthen
“ and confirm his righteous dependants, and followers and compa-
“ nions, who are the foundation of the right way!

“ To the most illustrious prince, adorning the universe, in dig-

• All the letters from princes and great men throughout Asia are introduced with a similar exordium. For the Infha or formula, the reader may consult the Ayeen Akbary of Mr. Gladwin, or Dr. Balfour's ingenious translation of the Inshia Herkerun.

زمين اوسمان اکاهي مسند اري دين درد و ساده امروز قواني ملک دملت باد
 شاه ابکم شاه سلطان حن اکاه شمع شبنان صاحب قراني مصباح زجاجه ٣ر.
 بان کور کاني شاه فلک قدر کو اکب ساه کز عل٢ 5yj A2TX)j uJLS' bLO j
 کهم رکن سهر ايان خرد اقطاب زين درنان اظهار سا. AaS dx< چهار سال> AiEz> U
 بين غرلميت پهل صاحبان انکريز و برادر غرېز نولب و ٢٣ CCyu aJ BdJLo UAA Lla2?_yx>
 داد از جناب ان کشور کشاي کبتي اري باند و از حشمت و ايالت مرتبت شو
 کت OjL>ta «u>JzC» S*S jJb OjI UA jJb AXAmI u JJb *Xj \$sl/o کمپي £n3- ل٢
 بهادر منمبود ز دوپن isUI i: yi jy> i <j>W jI iUJ i: «&>_* sj)* '■' i
 سندها پتبل که ريس روس الله شرار بود در حضور ساطع النور با ٥X «»>« u-) ' «>
 شور بختارن ****. j? ٥- j' z? l*? 3 کونه بين باهين نوين Kjlz s xE yr هر چند!
 در خلا بق bIaJ ٣٣ دار مرکو 3 بنصايح هوش افزا و CST-kSEb uaJ پرا ارشاد
 <Xj E> j AE-> Lie aJ *Krole uklE* و aSLS) 5 -kV UAaJ Is C5 .iiLLwu yvw <>S
 £51 ايزدي اند ز <-s53L#> XW jji?cx 1 csmao Jjo U qXu*& jiuXS!dkAjlXU
 اند رز کمباماند خسرواني اويژه ک٢Fj باطل aj s) نکرده باهرکس طرح مخا
 صمت افکند حتي که D' «=> j' طين و اراکين دولت عظمي بودند
 Lm** 7** امد نونپان Uac *lis si >L LaAc ب فبرحام سري مهاراج ادوهراج V,
 "I**>J L am>£z2, J L J A-tr n JLM<c-jIS -> A5-> نسبت 4 3 S 5k >aj A» و بخاص لايف للکر
 مت j W z j La azJ g**?) (Lt .. X* ٢٢ اراکين غظام *L ٢٢ *S * A Haaa. دارد
 و از u«X? XMJ L) — کونه <X>L* <XjLs* LaumaJLc* ٢ SL lj kh*3 j>3
 1 xx aJLc 2 is *Xaj ار دارند طرح jicSTA) laEE bJJL zxxjI *Xas-4 5*-> و
 طغيان کشت بالا خره لسبب با خورده از اوج عظمت و مختناري حضور ساطع الوز
 >A+ti> بوکالت مطلق سر افزا شده بود به حضېض بز يمت و کرداب نذلت جايض
 Is. کسر کشت j' 3 ej? * r' * 3 سر کشي با غبان U » <xSI j! Bjl کشت
 بکطرف هنکامه افا غنه ملاعنه نمک حرام پسر ضا بته خان بد فرجام غلام
 قادر پداد کر که پدرش علي الد و ام از خلالت ذمېمه ذاتي شورش فطري دسر بېمغز
 داشت و بکطرف ديکر مفسد ان با طل ثېرده انعقاد نېر ان خرابي انقدر زبانه
 کشېده که تا پيايه تخت هند و ستان جنت مگان رسېده و خاب کپوان
 1 /as Gj y/? <a5UsCx> مغبس لغ٢ 0** a ٢٢ جه اطاغي اين 1 j o U**> j j <XjI p 1
 Okx'Aw

“ nity like *Feridoon**, the monarch dirtributing jurstice over the world,
 “ cherirtier of friends, Aid dreadful avenger of enemies, whose
 “ throne is replendent as that of Alexander, and magnificent as
 “ *Gem/bid* , of afpedl brilliant as the fun, and of aufpicious fortune,
 “ the mof exalted King qf England, great as *Darius* wife, mag-
 “ nanimous, lord of royal infignia, who collects tribute from mighty
 “ kingdoms, *be it knoioi and underjlood*; Prior to this addrefs, your
 “ fuppliant has in the moil explicit manner reprefented to the throne
 “ the afylum of the univerfe, that the difturbances which have arifen
 “ within the empire of Hindoftaifn, the diffenfions among the no-
 “ bility and Omrahs of high renown, the rebellious defigns of the
 “ wicked, plots, treafons and confpiracies of difobedient fubjedts,
 “ have been related to you by order of the imperial prefence our re-
 “ nowned iovereign and venerable parent, (the Khakan § of the
 “ world, the bright taper of devotion of the great lord of the con-
 “ junction (Sahib Keraun ||), and replendent torch of the family of
 “ (Goorgaun J) to the Nuwaub df exalted dignity, Mr. Hartings,
 “ Behaudcr, governor-general, that he might come to the aid and
 “ aflirtance of the royal family.

“ In this expectation* for a period of four years we (the prince)

* A king of Perfia famous for his juftice.

•f A king of Perfia who is related to have built the palace of Perfepolis.

£ Darius the fon of Hyftafpes or Kifht-Afp.

§ Khakan, a Scythian or Mogul title, according to hiftorians firft adopted by the great Timoor on his conqueft of Tartary, and fubfcquently affumed by all his pofterity who fat on the throne of Hindoftaun.

|| Sahib Keraun. From an aufpicious combination of the planets at the time of his nativity, or according to others, on his acceffion to the regal dignity.

<(| Goorgaun—the family from whom Timoor was defeended.

3 3 45\$ ال در کاه «A>x>3 * 3-و توالی برای این * yXc 0©las1! uX<clj 3 (joLsi
 برادر غریب نواب s j+jS صاحبان' &., yjj&J «X» کورنر بهادر ej**** -k 'r' 2* jt*
 aljil jx <x*=I »XaS? Liu Sji< _>!(_ 3 j) (jGlw jtyibj >» Js jj*E>L*oj
 سی مرتبت کورنر بهادر به ابرام الا کلام ابلاغ و ارشادات قد سی fcKXSU CJ*4w«X<+*(Xc*
 S>*U شد کورنر بهادر 'r-J-?<Ej>?<=> * 3' iA 3 _>) ولایت پیشه \$f>*X Co (زج
 حکم پیش قدمی نسبت محبور بودند لیکن برادر غریب لواب وزیر هسم اقدلم برین
 امر نمودند و تسال حکم کبئی مطاع افتاب سماع که ظر لوازم افزارسته بی
 y *xi-jLS 1Lsc~ 1la. < X j».E». جرم کمر همت بظاق غزمیت مستحکم
 A AmM و نظر بر امداد JkAE LJ <Xa< LJ >U لاریبی و تو فیقات یزد دانی و تایید ات اسمانی
 SijJ درین طوفان jSjSiUs y S- s Ux ۰) بلا ایگزرخشن حرات بمید ان غرهیت
 متو ****K,t* * 55* الله امکذه jLS»aEL«C قصب السف از میا من اقبال بی زوال شانشاهی می
 ربایم و عازم ان ناحیه باد صف قلت اعوان و الضار هسنم اگر درین و 0 u*J <)
 اونک ارای جهار و کشور کشای دوران حکلم محکلم به کورنر بهادر درباره نصرت
 او لبای دولت ابد مدت و رفی حصنورپر نور و امداد و تبه کوه بنیان کاید بعبد از
 این فتوت و مردمی و مروت نخواهد بود خصا که یوسبه فلی لد دام ارطالصد علیه
 شاه*3 C سپهر اقتدار و خواف ert کردون مدار این حرکات که LJ btSj کافه
 عباد s { 5 c*3 بلادو نیکو نامی درین رو jLi=5j kk* iXwLj J AaELa*a J *** 3 J am Aj
 خصوصاً حمیت اخوت درقت مر خمت جنست بنوعی که حضرت خود بر ولت ان خلا
 فت بناه را بجای برادر مشفق شد و این نیاز مند ان سلطنت دستکاه را عموی
 مکان (Jy) >JAJ (s) این امر کواه عادل وازل ولا 1*3! C J Co Ij eXUac
 3 ? j' اوج کردو*3 c j y> y E* 5L د

“ have refided with our friends the Englifh, and our brother dear
 “ as life the vizir of the empire, and during that period we have
 “ not failed to follicit from the counfellors of the Eaft-India Com
 “ pany the reftoration of our imperial authority, and the re-eftablifh-
 “ ment of 4|ur paternal dominions.

“ During this interval, from the relaxed Rate of the government,
 “ and, in confequence of the arrival of the deceitful Marhattas, and of
 “ *Sindiah* (who is chief of the feditiqps) thofe difturbanccs and rebel
 “ lions increasing in tenfold proportion have augmented the diftreffs
 “ of our auguft parent; and notwithstanding the wholefome advice
 “ and falutary council given from the throne to the aforefaid chief to
 “ conciliate the attachment of the ancient nobility, and extend protec-
 “ tion to the diftrefled peafantry (a conduct which, under divine fa-
 “ vour, gives fecurity and permanency to empire) that ungrateful
 “ chief, regardless of the royal will, has eflablifhed himfelf in con-
 “ tinued and unvaried opposition, until, having by his improper con-
 “ duct exafperated the Rajahs and princes of our empire, and particu-
 “ larly the moll illuSrious prince of Jynaghur, the pillar of fidelity,
 “ Maharajah Pertaub Sing, as likewife the ruler of Joudpore, both of
 “ w horn are allied by blood to the royal family. Thole warlike chiefs,
 “ uniting to punifh the fource oS opprefiion, gave him battle, and de-
 “ feated him, fo that, deprived of his office of Ameer Ai Omrah, or
 “ chief of nobles, he fell at once from the fummit of imperial favour,
 “ and was precipitated into the abyfs of annihilation and contempt.

“ AmidfltheFc viciilitudcs of fortune, the machinations of the re-
 “ bellious increafed to an extent almoft immeafurable.

“ On one fide, G’holaum Caudir Khan (fon of the detefted Afghaun
 “ Zabita Khan, whole whole life was employed in confpiring againft
 “ the fafety of the Hate) has ercdted the Itandard of rebellion. His
 “ example encouraging others, the dilturbances became fo formi-
 “ dable as to penetrate even to the thrcfliold of the imperial palace,
 “ fo that our augufi. parent was ncceffitated to adopt the moil itre-
 “ niious efforts to extinguifh this dcRruftive fire.

“ For this purpofe, hedifpatched repeated and urgent commands
 “ to this your fuppliant, as likewiic to the governor-general of high
 “ dignity Earl Cornwallis) as to our dear brother the vizir of the
 “ empire, to come to the afliftance of the imperial court.

“ But it appearing that on the arrival of the imperial demand,
 “ neither the governor-general or the vizij of the empire had re-
 “ ceived your majelly’s commands to that effedl, they were of
 “ confequence con(trained to withhold the afliftance required.

“ We, therefore, girding the loins of circumfpedtion with the belt
 “ of refolution, and calling our eyes towards future events, and the
 “ mercies of divine providence in this (lormy ocean of our diffrefs,
 “ rely on your majefty for the restoration of our authority; and if
 “ your majefty, who adorns the throne of the univerfe, will graciously
 “ condcfcend to iffue your high commands to the governor-general to
 “ effect the reiteration of the royal authority in thefe kingdoms,
 “ punilh our rebellious fubjects, and re-eftabli(h the auguft houfe of
 “ Timoor, fuch conduct will be perfectly confillent with the dictates
 “ of generofity and the ufages of fovereign princes; and finally, the

“ refult of this kind interpoſition by cila-blifing the repoſe of the pco-
 “ pic of God, and affording Yeace and plenty to a difiradled empire,
 “ will render your Majefiy’s name renowned among the princes of
 “ the earth.

“ As oilr honoured parent, his imperial majefiy, bound by every
 “ tie of gratitude, regards your majefiy as a brother dearer than life,
 “ fo this your fuppliant hopes to be honoured by the endearing appl-
 “ lation of your nephew.

“ for the refi, may the fun of your majefiy’s grandeur and pro-
 “ ſperity be perpetually reflcndent in the ſphere of glory and aufpi-
 “ cious fortune ”

The above letter was written at the commencement of the year 1787, previous to the prince’s departure from Lucknow to Delhi the laſt time; though the author has not been able to learn from the moſt diligent inquiry whether it was ever ſent to England, but as the ſubjedf-matter of it contains a faithful picture of the wretched ſtate of the royal family at that period/ he has deemed it worthy of infertiom

To Major Oufely, whoſe acquisitions in caſtern literature have already ſo much benefited the Public, the author begs leave to offer his hearty thanks for the uſe of the elegant Perſian type of the above letter, without which affiſtance he ſhould have ſuftained much inconvenience.

APPENDIX, IV.

Elegy written by **SHAH-AULUM** after the
Lofs of bis Sight.

داد بر باد سروبرک جهانر اري ما
برد درشام زوا ال آه سپه کاري ما
که نه ننبیم که کند غیر جهان واري ما
کبت جزدات مزه که کند ياري ما
هست اميد که بخشد کنه کاري ما
زود تریافت تللا في ستمکاري ما
ست جز محل مبارک بدیر ستاري ما
کرده b(£) نمودند سبکساري ما
و 1 0 خوب نمودند وفاداري ما
ع ا Af/* پیجوزي خونخواري ما
بسکه کشتند مجوز کر قناري ما
باني جورو ستم شد بدل افکاري ما
جه قدر که و کالت نبکرفتاري ما
هر سه بتند کمر بهر دل ازاري ما
ز و £ *XXmU aT JSjXaju AjVj کاري ما
هست مصروف Xj في ستمکاري Le
uJLob aT (X)LwJ < بغه خواري Uq
کرد ***» Aj' ja fc^{at} tfyju خواري V**
دفع J J*J الهی o*x£ t?jUe l«
چ A U<f£ AJLUJb aT 3XejU* L<
باز فروادهد ایزد سرو سرداري ما

ya صر حادثه پرخواست i خواري Lc
1X51 > ب فلک رفعت شاهي بودم
چشم ماکنده شد از جور فلک بهتر شد
داد افغان بچه شوکت شاهي بر باد
کرده بودیم کنه اي که سزایش این بود
کرد سي سال نظارت که مر اداد بر باد
نار بتان پري چهره که همزم بودند
حق طفلان که زسي سال فراهم کردند
عهد و پیمان بمیان داده نمودند دغا
شیر داد یم به انعي بچه پرورد یم
قوم افغان و مغلبه همه بازي دادند
آن کد از اده همدی که بدوزخ برود
Jfj محمد A) (WY بشوارت کم نست
هم اله یاروسلیمان Xjz 5< JjaxJ
«V kI AJ 4» aJ* uXaaaaJ <ou
مادهوجي سپند هبه فرزند جگر نبدمی
را چه ورا ووز مید ارا مبروچه فقیر
حال ما کشته بتر هچو امامان زیرند
بود جانکاه زرومال جهان هچو مرض
آصف الدوله وانکر یز که دلسوز من اند
افتاب از فلک امروز تبا هي دیدي

APPENDIX, IV.

*Free Tr (inflation, in Verfe, of an Elegy compofed by Shah-Aulum
after the lofs of his Sight, as quoted in chapter 10th, page 180.*

* WHERE with bright pomp thollately domes arife,
In yon dark tower an aged monarch lies,
Forlorn, dejeAed, blind, replete with woes,
In tears his venerable afpeA (hews ;
As through the lonely courts If bent my way,
Sounds ftruck my ear, which faid, or feem'd to fay,

“ Lo, the dire tempeft gathering from afar,
“ In dreadful clouds has dimm'd the imperial Rar;
“ Has to the winds,*and broad expanfe of heaven,
“ My ftate, my royalty, and kingdom given j
“ Time was, O King, when clothed in power fupreme,
“ Thy voice was heard, and nations hail'd the theme ;
“ Now fad reverfe, for fordid luft of gold,
“ By traitorous wiles, thy throne and empire fold.

* I have thought the firft fix lines, which are merely introductory, and cannot be accounted any part of the original, to be better calculated to give fatisfadion to the reader, than an abrupt commencement of the elegy, as in the king's own words.

“ See yon fierce Afghan* with intemperate hail,
 ** Gleams like a meteor through the palace waft,
 ** Frowning, terrific, threatens with a grave
 “ Thy progeny, O Timoor, good and brave;
 “ Yet, not the treatment from th’ inhuman foe,
 ** Not all my kingly ilatc in dufl laid row,
 “ Can to this breaft fuch torturing pain impart,
 “ As does, O Nazir-f*. thy detefted art ;
 “ But tho* too late, the day of reckoning come,
 “ The tyrant whom thou ferv’dft has fcald thy doom,
 “ Has hurled thee, rebel, headlong from the height
 “ Of power abufed, and done thy fovereign right :
 “ Chafie partners, pf my bed, and joys fcene,
 “ Once my delight, but now how charged the fcene !
 “ Condemned with me in plaintive ftrains to mourn,
 “ The fcanty pittance from our offspring torn !
 “ The viper, whom with foflcrmg care I nurft,
 “ Deep in my bofom plants his fmg accurft ;
 “ Riots in blood, and heedlefs of his word,
 “ Pants for the ruin of his fovereign lord.
 “ Nobles ingrateJ, upheld by power and pride,
 “ To whom our favours never were denied ;
 “ See to what mifery and dire difgrace,
 ** Your perfidy accurfed, has brought a royal race :

* GholauM Caudir Khan,

t Munfoor Ali Khan, fuperintendant of the houfehold.

4; The Mogul nobility who abandoned the king on die approach of the rebels.

“ Bright northern flar from Cabul’s realms advance*
 “ Imperial Timoor* poize the avenging lante.
 “ On thcfc vile traitors quick defirudion pour,
 “ Redrcfs my wrongs, and kingly rights rcftore;
 “ The« too O Sindiah, illyflrious chief,/
 “ Who once didfl promifc to afford relief;
 “ Thee I invoke, exert thy generous aid,
 “ And o’er their heads high wave the avenging blade.
 “ And ye, O faithful pillars of my itatc,
 “ By friendfhip bound, and by my’ power elate,
 “ Halfen, O Afuf’f’, and yc Englifh chiefs J,
 “ Nor blufh to footh an injured mqnarch’s griefs :
 “ But flay my foul, unworthy rage difown,
 “ L,earn to fufiain the lofs of fight and throne; •
 “ Learn that imperial pride, and liar-clad power,
 “ Aie but the fleeting pageants of an hour;
 “ in the true crucible of dire di&refs,
 “ Purged of alloy, thy forrows foon fhall ccafe;
 “ What 1 though the fun of empire and command,
 “ Shorn of its beams, enlightens not the land ;

*

* Timoor Shah, kmg of Cabul, on his father, the Abdallec’s, laft vifit to Delhi, was married to, a princfs of the royal family, which gives his fon, Zimaun Shah, a claim to the throne of Hindoftaun.

t Afuf Al Dowla, vizir of the empire.

| It is much to be lamented, that the ftatc of politics at Calcutta could not, at that time, admit of government interfering on the occafion—for fuch was the influence of the Britifh name, that had the detac < nt ftationed at Anopfliire, only marched out of their cantonments, die brutal tyrant would have defited, and the king’s misfortunes been averted.

- “ Some happier day, a providential care
 “ Again may renovate the falling star,
 “ Again, O king, raise up thy illustrious race,
 “ Cheer thy sad mind, and close thy days in peace

* It may not be amiss to remark, that several MS. copies of the above Agy having been circulated throughout India, various readings may have occurred. The one here presented, was obtained by the author whilst at Delhi, and therefore appeared to him the most authentic; but he thinks himself bound to acknowledge he has read a poetical version of the same elegy, which appeared in the European Magazine for May, 1797 said to be written by Captain Symes, whose researches into the history and antiquities of the interesting kingdom of Ava, the public may expect to derive much useful and instructive information.