

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REIGN OF SHAH-AULUM,
THE PRESENT EMPEROR OF HINDOSTAUN.

CONTAINING
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,

CONTAINING THE FOLLOWING TRACTS, VIZ.

- I. An Account of *Modern Delhi*.
- II. A Narrative of the late Revolution at *Rampore*, in *Rohtak*, in 1794.
- III. Translation of a Letter, written in the *Persian* Language, from the Prince *Mirza Jirawan Bukht Jebayndar Shah*, eldest Son of the King of

Delhi, to his Majesty *George the Third*, King of *Great Britain*, in the Year 1785: with a Copy of the Original.

- IV. Translation in Verse of an Elegy, written by the King of *Delhi* after the Loss of his Sight.

BY W. FRANCKLIN,

Captain in the Honourable East-India Company's Service, Bengal Establishment; Member of the Asiatic Society; and Author of a Tour to Persia.

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A MAP of
HINDOOSTAN,
 Illustrating the HISTORY of the REIGN of
SHAH AULUM.

Engraved by permission of James Rennel Esq^r.

To whom it is Inscribed with much respect,

by his most obedient & obliged humble Servant

William Francklin?



TO
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PREFACE.

THE work now offered to the public is the result of several years application, during the author's relaxation from his professional duties, and the avocation of his leisure hours.

An account of the transactions at the court of Delhi during an interesting and eventful period, and the incidents and occurrences which have marked the decline of power of the race of Timoor under the turbulent reign of the ill-fated Shah-Aulum, (in all probability the last of that family

who will sit on the throne of Hindostaun) 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 Doo Ab* and adjacent countries in 1793-4; and on a similar occasion through the province of Rohilcund in 1795-6.

The perusal of the several Persian manuscripts named in the Appendix, and particularly the Shah Aulam Nameh, (a history of the reign of the present king) written by Gholam 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. Johnstone of Lucknow, Major Kirkpatrick, Colonel Palmer, and Captain 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 Aulum.

From an Original in the Possession of Will^m Ouseley Esq^r.

HISTORY

OF THE

EMPEROR SHAH-AULUM.

CHAP. I.

A Narrative of the principal Occurrences and Revolutions of the Court of SHAHJEHANABAD from the Reign of MAHMUD SHAH.

IN the last year of the reign of Mahmud Shah (A. D. 1747) Ahmud Shah*, the king of the Abdallees, invaded Lahoor, which province he claimed by inheritance from Nadir Shah†. Mahmud Shah sent a large army against him under the command of his son, Ahmud Shah, attended by the vizir Cummer-o'deen Cawn, and his son, Mohim

* Ahmud Shah Dooranee, or Abdallee; Shahishahan, (or King of Kings).

† By the treaty made between Nadir Shah and Mahmud Shah, the former was to possess all the countries lying west of the river Attoc, besides the revenues of the provinces of Lahoor, Guzzerat, Multan, and Cabul, on the other side, which were to be collected by the officers of the Hindostaun court.

ool Moolk. The Abdallee was worsted, and obliged to fly to his own country. Cummer-o'deen being slain in this war, his son, Mohim ool Moolk, was left Subahdar of the province of Lahoor, and the prince returned to Shahjehanabad. On his arrival at Pannessputt*, he received the news of his father's death, and immediately caused himself to be proclaimed king. He conferred the vizârat on Munsûr Allee Cawn, the subahdar of Owd, who constituted Gazooddeen Cawn, buxey of the empire. The new king being arrived at the city, gave himself up to his pleasures, leaving the affairs of state to his vizir, who ruled with absolute authority. The nobles, jealous of his power, and displeased with his administration, formed a conspiracy against him, and resolved to raise Intezâmo Dowla† to the vizarut. The king, who had great cause to be offended at the conduct of his minister towards him, joined in the design. The vizir discovering the storm which was brewing against him, determined to evade it by deposing the king. He accordingly surrounded the palace suddenly with an armed force; but not being able immediately to effect his attempt, Gazooddeen Cawn, who was the leader of the opposition, and had already levied a considerable force, had time to come to the king's rescue. A war ensued, in which, after various success, the vizir was at length worsted, and retired into the country of the Jauts, who were his friends. Intezam o' Dowla was now created vizir in the room of Munfur Allee Cawn, and dreading, perhaps, the growing influence of Gazooddeen

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

† The youngest son of Cummer-o'deen Cawn, and uncle, by the mother's side, to Gazooddeen 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 dress of honour, with a shookka*, or letter under the privy seal, pardoning his past offences, and confirming him in his subaship, was sent to him from the king. Gazooddeen Cawn resenting that the king should take such a step without his concurrence or knowledge, and at a time when he was near reaping the fruits of his successes, 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 intirely excepting only a strong fortrefs 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, uncls by famine, Abdul Mejeed 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 Rajepoots, 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 sent by any of the princes, it is called Rukaa.

the hatred which he bore to the Jauts, who had slain his son. He accordingly joined Gazooddeen Cawn with his forces; and a solemn treaty was made between them, Malhar Row swearing to regard Gazooddeen Cawn as his son, and the latter to look upon the Marhatta as his father. Every thing being concerted 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 defeated. The conquerors proceeded to the city, whither the king and the vizir had retired, and had shut themselves within the walls of the palace with a few followers, their last, but poor, resource. The chief officers of the city, whom Gazooddeen Cawn's good fortune had made his friends, readily obeyed an order from him to surround the palace till his arrival, when he commanded the wretched king to be deprived of his sight, and imprisoned together with his minister. A prince of the name of Azeezooddeen, being the next in descent of the race of Timur, was taken out of the palace, and proclaimed king by the title of Aulumgheer the Second, Gazooddeen Cawn assuming the vizarut. This happened about the month of November 1755.

The new vizir being thoroughly established in his authority, Malhar Row returned to his own country, leaving Junkoojee, one of his generals, and a considerable part of his army, to prevent fresh insurrections, and to collect the revenues assigned as a recompence for his late services.

The king, who was raised to the throne only as an instrument of Gazooddeen Cawn's ambition, was kept by him in a state of the

most slavish dependance, being surrounded by the vizir's creatures, and not allowed to stir out without his leave. In order to extricate himself from such a confinement, he privately wrote to the Abdallee, desiring him to come to his assistance. Invitations were sent him at the same time by Munfur Allee Cawn, the Jauts, and the Rohillas. The Abdallee readily embraced an occasion that promised him such evident advantages. An accident happened at the same time that greatly favoured the enterprize. Mohim ool Moolk, the subahdar of Lahoor, received a fall from his horse in hunting, which put an end to his life. His begum, a lady of great spirit, had interest enough amongst the chiefs of the province to procure their nomination of her to the subahdarree in the place of her deceased husband.

The affairs of the empire were in this state, when the Abdallee invaded it. The Marhattas were masters of the greatest part of Hindostaun; a nominal king sat on the throne; the administration was usurped by a man who derived his influence and establishment entirely from a foreign power; the chiefs of the empire had already declared their resolution of joining the invader; and Lahoor, the key of Hindostaun, was governed by a woman.

The Abdallee having marched as far as Lahoor, summoned the princess to surrender; and upon her refusal, besieged the place.—After a very gallant defence, he at length became master of the city and of the princess's person, whom he treated with great respect, bestowed the highest encomiums on her valour and conduct, as well as on the virtues of her late husband; and adopting her formally as

his daughter, confirmed her in the subahdarree. 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 state 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, Aallee 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 possessor.

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 success equal to his promises. It is certain that they were entirely defeated, and obliged to shut themselves up within the walls of their fortrefs, and to sue for peace; which, upon their submission, and the payment of a large sum of money, was granted. The Abdallee, pleased with the bravery and conduct of Gazooddeen Cawn, resolved to reward his services by restoring him to the vizarut, and wrote to the king his intention, requiring him to comply with it. The king unwilling to displace his own son for the sake of a man whom he hated and feared, remonstrated against such a proceeding. To remonstrate was all he could do; but his haughty patron disdaining an appearance of opposition to his will, immediately sent his Nassuckchees to seize and bring before him the four sons of the king, and seizing the cullumdaun* from Allee Gowher, gave it to Gazooddeen Cawn. The princes remained with him in the hands of the Nassuckchees. About this time news arrived, that the king of Balkh had invaded the territories of the Abdallee. 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 immense treasure, the fruits of his great successes. He had no sooner passed the frontier of Hindostaun, than Gazooddeen Cawn, who now became as absolute as before, of his own authority dissolved the office of collector, which the Abdallee had conferred on Nejeeb Cawn, and deprived him likewise of the buxey-ghceree, which post he conferred on Ahmud Cawn of the Bungeesh race.

* The standih, the badge of the vizârut.

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

The three youngest sons of Aullumgheer, who were enlarged upon the Abdallee's departure, returned to the royal palace: but *Allee Gowher* * 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 walls of 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 sought 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 fresh orders, or succour from the vizir. The prince seeing no hopes but in flight, found means to gain over Mehdee Coollee Cawn, who guarded one of the avenues to his palace; and fighting his way through the other

* The present Emperor

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 solicitations 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 surprise the 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 from 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 Schaurunpore. 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 resent it. He accordingly sent letters to Seyed Oolla Cawn, Hafiz Rahmut Cawn, Doondoe Cawn, and the other Rohilla chiefs, to Rajah Soorajmul, the chief of the Jauts, and Sujaa o 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

so 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, Nejeeb Cawn persuaded him to seek for refuge with the nabob Shujaa o Dowla. In consequence of this advice, the prince, after a twelvemonth's residence with Nejeeb Cawn, took leave of him, and marched with a slender train to Lucnow. He was received by Shujaa o 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 respect which they put on in their behaviour to him. The Seapoys, a numerous rabble, were in arrears even from the pay due to them in the time of Serajah Dowla: the Zemindars of both provinces were ready for a revolt whenever they could do it with safety; and had already appeared in arms against the Nabob in that of Bahar, the revenues of which were insufficient to defray its own current expences. With these advantages a more powerful argument yet concurred, which was, the name of the prince, and the veneration which the person of the heir apparent of the empire naturally drew from the subjects of so despotic a state; and which was now heightened by his distresses. The conquest of those provinces being thus ensured, would facilitate the attainment of his grand object, the freedom of his father, and the security of his own right to the succession, by the acquisition of so great a revenue, the increase of his force, and the influence this success would give to his name.

Every thing being concerted for effecting this enterprize, Shujaa Dowla assisted him with a party of his own forces under the command of his kinsman, Mahmud Coolly Cawn, the Subahdar of Allahabad. The prince solemnly swore to bestow the vizarut upon Shujaa Dowla, whenever he came to the throne, as a reward for his loyalty, and departed.

Towards the conclusion of the year 1758, the prince crossed the Ganges*, and entered the province of Bahar; where he was

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

soon joined by a number of malecontents, and the disbanded Seapoys of Jaffer 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 should 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 vizir 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. Junkoojee, fearing lest his enemies should be too powerful for him, and hearing of the arrival of the Abdallee 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. Junkoojee 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 coss beyond it; where he waited the execution of his plot, which was effected in the following manner:

Ballabassrow, an emissary of the vizir, went to the king, and informed him that a fakcer 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 design, ordered the palace to be plundered, and the sons and relations of the deceased monarch to be stripped of all their jewels, which were converted into money for his urgent necessities. Mehdee Collee Cawn and Coja Buffent were left with the charge of the kella, or fort. The former, by the directions of his master, took a grandson of Cambuksh, the youngest son of Aurengzeeb, out of the palace, and proclaimed him king, by the name of Shahjehan the Second.

The vizir now proceeded towards Junkoojee, and joined him about the same time that Nejeeb Cawn's Rohilla allies were arrived to his assistance; and Nejeeb Cawn reached the borders of Nejeeb Cawn's country, where he met with a detachment of Marhattas that had been sent round to cut off the supplies of provisions coming to the Rohilla camp, and put them to the rout. After this he proposed an accommodation between the contending parties; and a negotiation ensued, which he contrived to protract till the Abdallee were advanced as near as Panneeputt, when the vizir was obliged to march back with precipitation to prevent their seizing the city; and Shuja Dowla, who thought his presence no longer necessary, returned to his province. The vizir caused a strong entrenchment to be thrown across the road leading from Panneeputt to Shahjehanabad, and encamped behind it, waiting the approach of the enemy. In the mean time Dettajee Toppul, whom the Abdallee had lately driven from Lahoor, was detached with part of the army to obstruct the enemy's march, and fell in with the van, commanded by Jehan Cawn, by whom he was attacked, and his army routed, himself being slain in the flight. Jehan Cawn continued his march, whilst the Abdallee,

quitting the direct road by the advice of Nejeeb Cawn, turned off to the left, in order to favour the junction of the Rohillas, who were hastening 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 stand the enemy, but fled to Akbarabad. The Abdallee leaving Yacoob Allee 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 Junkoojee 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 fortress belonging 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 vackeel 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-

sent, 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 fortress, 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 Abdallees used to a more northern climate, being unable to sustain the severe heats which now came on, the army returned to Annoopshehr, 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 Annoopshehr the Abdallee sent his Naffuckchoes with letters to Allee Gowher 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 Zemindar of Mey, who had lately escaped from imprisonment, and other malecontents, advanced as far as Sasseram, when he heard of his father's tragical end. He immediately caused 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 vizarut to Shuja Dowla. That Nabob accepted of the honours conferred upon him, struck coins in the name of Shah-Aulum, and wrote to the Abdallee and the Rohillas in behalf of the new king.

Soon after the Naffuckchees arrived at the prince's camp with the letters from the Abdallee 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.

Shuja Dowla, who waited only to learn the prince's resolutions, 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 Abdallee, who had sent him repeated summons to attend him. As soon as he was near Annoopshehr, the Abdallee sent forwards his own vizir to meet him, and bring him in state 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 Hindostaun. 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 ill success, 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 Hindostaun, raised a vast army of 100,000 men, and sent it under the command of his own son, Bisswassrow. His illegitimate brother, Shemsheer Bahader, Sedasnewrow, Ibraheem Cawn Garddee, Antajee Mankefer, Appajee, Jeyajee, and Rogojee, were the principal men that attended Bisswassrow. They proceeded directly to the country of the Jaüts, and were met by the vizir, Malhar, and the Jaüts, on the banks of the river Beea. The river Jumna, which lay between the two armies, being swelled to a great height by the rains, they were obliged on each side to remain inactive.

During this interval Bisswassrow 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 stiled 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. Biffwassrow no sooner learnt the weak state of the garrison, than he besieged the city, of which he soon became master, and dismissed 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-pahree, about two cofs 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 Jauts were desired to act as mediators. He was received in the character of vizir, and with marks of friendship, by Biffwassrow; 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 redress, 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 Bisswassrow declared Allee Gowher king, and placed his son on the koorsee*, 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 Bisswassrow, 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 Rohillas, situated about seven days journey to the

* A chair of state.

north-west of Shahjehanabad. Abdooffummut Cawn, the Phojdar of Panneeputt, resided here on the part of the Abdallee, and Kootub Cawn on that of the Rohillas. The Marhattas marched against this place, intending to besiege it, and were met by Abdooffummut Cawn, and Kootub Cawn, who gave them battle, but were defeated, and retreated to the city. The Marhattas, without allowing them time to recover from the effects of their defeat, entered the place by storm, and put the garrison and inhabitants to the sword, and became masters of the city, wherein was found an immense booty. The two chiefs were taken prisoners, and sent to Bisswassrow, who slew Abdooffummut Cawn, and imprisoned the Rohilla. The Abdallee no sooner heard of this loss, than he flew into the most violent rage. The river which was still very high preventing him from attacking his enemies, he vented his resentment on Shuja Dowla, whom he accused as a traitor and an incendiary, and commanded him to depart from his army. By the intercession of the Rohillas, he was soon prevailed upon to pardon and recall him; but as his fidelity was still suspected, he would not suffer him to encamp within his lines. The loss of a place of so much consequence, and the mortification of seeing his enemy carry on his successes with impunity, determined him upon immediate revenge. He mounted his elephant, and rode directly into the river, resolved to discover if possible some part where it was fordable; but the water, wherever he attempted a passage, rose higher than the elevated trunk of the elephant. Impatient of longer delay, he commanded his army to follow him, and pushing into the midst of the stream, he swam over to the opposite bank. His troops, animated by the example of their leader, did the same, 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 Biffwasshow, 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 coss 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,

Deceel Cawn Rohilla, the Zemindar of Coonipoora, 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 streights; their provision was wholly consumed, and the people and cattle daily wasting away by famine. In this distress, which every day rendered more deplorable, Bisswassrow assembled 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 cofs 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 Fackeers 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 escaped and joined by degrees their several commanders. Shemsheer Bahader, and Ibraheem Cawn Garder, with most of his people, being on foot, were slain. Sheddahnewrow, the principal officer under Bisswassrow, poisoned his

women to prevent their falling into the hands of the conqueror, and fled towards Narnowl in the road to Deccan. Bisswassrow, 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 Abdallee's victory as complete. Shuja Dowla, to whose bravery and conduct the success was chiefly owing, was honoured by the Abdallee with most signal marks of his approbation. That monarch embraced him after the battle, styled him in form his son, and caused the victory to be proclaimed and registered in his name. On the 16th of January, by the command of the Abdallee, proper officers were sent by Shuja Dowla and Nejeeb 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 Sanker, 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 Soorujmul the Jaut, 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 Jehan Cawn, the former Subahdar, who had gained the affections of the people by his moderate and just administration, was expected there shortly in the same capacity. On the 16th, Mirza Bawber, the son of Alee Gowher, 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 passed 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 close siege to Patna, which was gallantly defended by the English garrison, till the arrival of Captain Knox with a detachment of Europeans and Seapoys, 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 Khaulim 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 Cossim 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 streightened, 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-six lacks of rupees from the revenues of Bengal.—In return for these concessions, Shah-Aulum directed a firmaun to be made out, constituting the English East-India Company perpetual Dewaun 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 consistent 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 Gazooddeen 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 dependance 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-six 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.

SHAH-AULUM *resides at* ALLAHABAD—NEJEEB AL DOWLAH *at* DELHI—*Succinct Account of the* MARHATTAS—*The* MARHATTAS *invite the King to return to* DELHI—*Negotiations—King sets out—Arrival at* DELHI.

SHAH-AULUM, thus eligibly situated, 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 Panneeputt, was still formidable. Their dominions, in 1770, were bounded on the west by the country of the Rathore Rajpoots; and to south west, including the fertile province of Guzerat, 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 Hindostaun, discharges itself into the Jumna on the confines of Lunde.

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 Bejar and Bundelcund, Malwah, Cundeish, and Guzurat.

Poonah, a large and opulent, but unfortified, city, distant 100 miles north of Bombay, is the present capital of the Marhatta nation.

In the latter years of the reign of Shah Jehan, *Sewajee*, 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 diminish 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 dissolute; but Rajah Sahoo, the

* A river which divides Bengal from the Cuttack province.

† In this brief detail of the Marhatta states, 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 Hindostan; 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, erected 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 skilful 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 Paishwahs 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 Sevajee, 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 Hindostaun.

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 stock, 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 ceasing, the Jagheerdars established themselves in independance of the court of Poona.

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 interests, but divided and distinct in the operation of its various executive branches, in which situation it remains to the present day. At the period now commemorating, Madhoo Row Nerrain held the office of Paishwah at the court of Poonah. By an early application to business, he contrived to uphold his authority against the intrigues of his numerous enemies, and to render his authority respected.

On the other hand, three powerful families in the state were secretly endeavouring to undermine the authority of the Paishwah, and erect their own on its ruin. 1. The family of Bhonselah, rulers of the province of Berar, which they held in jaghire from Rajah Sahoo. Moodajee Bhonselah at this time ruled over that province, and is well known to the British nation. Allied by blood to the royal family of Sevajee, this chief was considered with the highest respect by the whole Marhatta nation; and having established his authority on a sound basis, he is looked up to by all parties as a proper counterpoise to the influence and over-weening ambition of the court of Poonah. 2. Pillagee Guicawar, or the herdsman, whose ancestors wrested 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 coast of Conkan. This family (whose jaghire was likewise a grant from Rajah Sahoo) formed an alliance with the British government during the second Marhatta war *. 3. Tookajee Holkar and Madhaice Sindia, who jointly shared the Malwah province.

* See reports of the select committee, &c.

The Marhatta force when united might amount to 150,000 men, the major part of which being horsemen, were accustomed to a desultory and predatory mode of warfare, entirely destitute of science or discipline, but formidable from their numbers and energetick method of attack. The Marhattas then, as already remarked, having recovered in a great measure the shock sustained in their late defeat, appeared ready to renew their efforts, and interpose in the transactions of the court of Delhi. Three chiefs of note, Tookajee, Sundiah, and Besigee, had for some time past taken a favourable position 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 administration at Delhi, continued in that situation with great credit to himself and benefit to the state. An able politician, a valorous soldier, and pleasant and affable in his manners and demeanour, he gained the confidence of the Delhians, and his influence was found sufficient to uphold the royal authority in the small portion of authority which it still retained. Nujeeb Al Dowla, who was equally desirous with the king's friends for his majesty to return to Delhi, readily entered into the views of the Marhattas on that head. He had moreover a more forcible argument to inspire him with that resolution. The Jauts, who, notwithstanding their late disaster in the loss of Sooruj Mull, their favourite chief, had made head again under his son and successor, Jowaher Sing, and threatened Delhi with the horrors of a siege. In this critical situation, the minister entered into an alliance with the Marhatta leaders, and in concert with them, invited Shah-Aulum to return to his capital. The Marhattas who had an army consisting of 30,000 horse, if sincere in their professions 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 intirely with a view to their own aggrandisement.

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 characteristic policy of their nation, they instructed 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 a 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 leaders, and earnestly pressed the necessity 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."

A few days after writing the above letter, this able minister, at an advanced age, having laboured under a complication of disorders, expired, to the great detriment of the king's interests, and the general regret of the inhabitants of Delhi, who still continue to speak of his administration 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 his expedition; and notwithstanding the salutary advice of the English government, the intreaties of the vizir, or the remonstrances of such of his servants who were attached to his real interests, he persisted in his design.

Previous to Shah-Aulum's departure, his minister, Muncer Al Dowlah, who had already made two journeys into Deccan to concert measures with the Marhatta chiefs, was now for the last time sent by the king to Calcutta to demand the approbation of the British government on his intended movement. But here he met with a positive refusal; convinced of the imprudence of the step his majesty was about to take, the council strongly remonstrated against it; they told Muncer Al Dowlah that the king was throwing away the substance to grasp a shadow, and sacrificing his solid and substantial interests to the vain and idle gratification of residing in the imperial palace; they warned him against the impolicy of placing confidence in the Marhattas, the very people whose perfidious conduct and insatiable ambition had already proved so fatal to many of his august family. They finally predicted that the present measure was equally dangerous and destructive to his real benefit, as it would undoubtedly hereafter prove distressing to his recollection. With these senti-

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 some battalions of Seapoys which had been trained and disciplined after the European method, having first, however, withdrawn their own officers. With these 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 *paishcush*, or offering, with four lacks of rupees in specie. He likewise, in concert with the commander in chief of the British forces, accompanied his majesty to the frontiers of the Corah province; when having again renewed their solicitations to detain the king, but without effect, they took their leave.

On the road, intelligence was received of the death of Ahmud Khan Bungeish, the Nawaub of Ferookhabad: on which the army halted, and a message was sent by the king's ministers to the guardians of the infant Nawaub, Muzuffur Jung, to demand the arrears due as *paishcush* 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 guardians of the young Nawaub ; at which it was agreed that paishcush of four lacks of rupees should be given on the part of Muzuffur Jung ; for which he was honoured by his majesty with a khillut, and other marks of distinction ; and a patent was directed to be issued from the chancery office, confirming him Nawub of the district.

The periodical rains being now set in, the king ordered his army to canton at Nabbee Gunje, a town thirty miles west of Ferookabad, and in the high road to Delhi. At this place Anunt Row, a Marhatta vakeel, waited the arrival of the royal army. He was charged with the following propositions for the king's consideration :

1. That whatever balance of *Chout* * was due from the crown to the Paishwah family since the time of Mahmud Shah, should be faithfully discharged. That whatever plunder might be acquired during the war should be equally divided between the Marhattas and the Mogul troops.

2. That on the king's arrival at Delhi, the Marhatta leaders should be confirmed in the possession of their respective jagheers : and, finally, for the purpose of carrying on the war against the Jauts and others, the sum of five lacks of rupees should be immediately advanced from the king's treasury.

* The Chout is the tribute imposed by the Marhattas upon every part of Hindostan that came under their authority since their first irruptions. It signifies one fourth part of the net revenue of any state 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 fullest compliance, he acquiesced in the demand. The vakcel 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 soldiers 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 Bcesajee, 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 against ZABITA KHAN—The MARHATTAS refuse to divide the Plunder—NUJUB KHAN in high Favour—He quarrels with the MARHATTAS—His Defeat—Pardoned—Cession of CORAH and ALLAHABAD to the MARHATTAS—SHUJA AL DOWLA marches against the MARHATTAS—MARHATTAS retire to DICCAN.

THE first object to which Shah-Aulum directed his attention after a few days repose, was the punishment of Zabita Khan, son to the late minister, Nujeeb Al Dowlah. At the time of his father's death, this nobleman resided at Schaurunpoie, the capital of the province of the same name.

This province, situated in the upper parts of the Dooab*, in the vicinity of the *Sewalick* hills, in the latitude of 28-29. N. long. 77. 50. W. and about 70 miles East of Delhi, was the jagheer bestowed upon Nejeeb Al Dowlah, as a reward for the many services rendered by him to the state. It commences under the Sewalick hills, and is bounded on the north by the fortrefs of Ghose Ghur, east by Sakertaul on the Ganges; west by the Purgannah of Seamlee; and south by the town of Meerut. The soil 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 Aurengzeeb'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 confused state of the king's affairs a fit opportunity to facilitate his own ambitious views; and scarce had 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 district. 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 Rohillas, 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 Nawaub Mirza Nujuff Khan, who began about this time to be noticed with marks of particular regard by his majesty, which was the foundation of his future power. The Marhatta forces were sent on as an advance guard, and the king and Nujuff Khan followed with the remainder of the troops.

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 waiting 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 horse, 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 discontents 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 greatest 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 desisted; 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 Hindostaun, 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 all 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^e majesty to require his compliance with the demands aforementioned; but Shah-Aulum 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 slight entrenchment thrown up in haste by the French commandant of artillery. The Marhattas disliking to attack the entrenchment, suddenly wheeled off and attacked the gate of the city which was near them, hoping to carry it; but Huffam 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^{the} 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 ensuing morning, accompanied by Zabita Khan, who was pardoned, and moreover gratified with a *khillut*, reinstated in his government of Schaurunpore, and finally, appointed to the long-expected office of *Amceer Al Omrah*. It has been judged by many that these concessions so degrading to the king, were not wholly occasioned by his inability to resist, but partly from the intrigues of Hufsam Al Dowlah, who, though he had behaved gallantly in the late attack, was known to be in the interest of the Marhattas. Their triumph was now complete; and to establish it in the eyes of all Hindostaun, they asked and obtained from his majesty *junnuds* * for the province of Corah and Allahabad, which had by a solemn treaty already been granted to the English.

Though Shah-Aulum acceded to this degradation with indignation and disgust, rigid impartiality demands that to his own weakness, effeminacy, and indolence, be ascribed the real causes of his disgrace. His total want of energy in judging for himself, made him always a ready and easy prey to the designs of the insolent or ambitious. Hufsam Al Dowla, who had long been the personal enemy of Nujuff Khan, took this opportunity of persecuting that nobleman to the utmost. Supported by the Marhatta chiefs, he publicly accused Nujuff Khan as the sole adviser of the late pernicious measures in effecting a breach betwixt his majesty and his faithful adherents the Marhattas, and, that owing to his councils, the

* A grant.

affairs of the state had fallen into disorder; he insisted 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 rescued 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 these to the number of 3,000, determined with their lord to share his fortunes. Instigated by Hufsam 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 Trojakee 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 serious nature had arisen from an opposite quarter. The Rohillas were on the eve of a memorable contest, in which the interests of the Vizir Shuja Dowla, as likewise those of the king, were materially involved. The Marhattas, who during the two preceding years had committed every species of violence and oppression, laying waste the countries through which they passed, and insulting the inhabitants, had, among other places, made irruptions into the fine province of Rohilkund, and by a barbarous species of warfare in destroying the produce of the country, excited in that warlike tribe a just indignation. Not being of themselves sufficiently numerous to resist the enemy, they applied to the vizir for assistance, who, in concurrence with the commander-in-chief of the British forces, agreed to unite and expel the invaders. Hafiz Rahmut Khan, chief of the tribe, on this occasion, formed a treaty with the vizir and the English, in which he agreed, in return for the assistance offered, to pay at the end of the war the sum of forty lacks of rupees to the vizir. In these transactions, Shah-Aulum had secretly born a considerable part. Pending the treaty, he had privately consulted with the agents of the vizir, and had moreover informed the British government * it was now as much his earnest desire to be rid of the thralldom in which he was kept by the Marhattas, as he had before been partial to them. He added, likewise, that every exertion should be made on his part to counteract their designs by constantly giving intimation of their intended movements.

In consequence of these engagements, the forces of Shuja Al

* See select reports, *passim*.

Dowla, 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 Beesage 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, now arrived, but finding the ill success of their associates, 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 Beesage afterwards, withdrew their respective troops, and taking the route to Jypore, quitted Hindostan. Nujuff Khan returned to Delhi with the Mogul troops.



Mirza Nujuff Khan Zulficar al Dowlah.

From an Original in the Possession of Jonathan Scott Esq.

CHAP. IV.

*Administration of NUJUFF KHAN—Conquests in the JAUT Country—
—Rupture betwixt SHUJA AL DOWLA and the ROHILLAS—
Reduction of ROHILCUND—Description of that Country—
Death of SHUJA 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, Haffam 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

Nujuff Khan, who was at the same time created Captain General of the forces of the empire, and dignified with other titles *.

The treasures taken from Haffam Al Dowla, which had been amassed by oppressive means, afforded a fund sufficient to answer the expences of a war with the Jauts, who, during the late disputes at court, had again made head, and were exciting fresh disturbances in order to embarrass the king's government.

About this time, Mujud Al Dowla, a nobleman of considerable eminence, was appointed to the office of Dewaun †: and the king, to encourage his army, caused it to be signified to the troops that the plunder acquired during the intended expedition, should be divided amongst them.

The country of the Jauts, so frequently mentioned, is situated on both sides of the river Jumna, and comprehends a tract of 150 miles in length, by about 60 in breadth. It extends from the vicinity of Gwalior, a large tower 60 miles westward of Agrah, to the skirts of the capital; and contains within its limits many strong fortresses and other holds. Towards the close of the reign of Aurengzeeb, this singular tribe first attracted notice. Emigrating from a remote

* His titles at length were, Khan Sipahi Sillar Hindostaun, Rustum Al Dowla, Rustum Hind, Zulfiar Al Dowla, Mirza Nujuff Khan Behadur, Ghalib Jung,--- In English thus:

Leader of the armies of Hindostaun, Splendour of the State, Rustum of India, Sword of the Empire, Mirza Nujuff Khan victorious in battle.

† Collector of the revenues.

spot on the banks of the Indus, in the lower parts of the Moultan province, and accustomed to the humble occupations of husbandry, they were allowed to settle themselves peaceably in their present residence. 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 Jauts 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 soldier, 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-

pose, 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 soldiers. 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, elate 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-

mended a vigorous pursuit of the enemy, which it was hoped would bring the contest to a speedy and favourable issue. From the field of battle, Nujuff Khan led the army to Agrah, which place he invested on all sides; but not having a sufficient train of artillery, he was compelled to turn the siege into a blockade, which, indeed, is the more general method adopted by the armies of Hindostaun.

During the siege, he sent detachments to different parts of the surrounding country, by which means, several of the refractory Zemindars were induced to submit themselves to the king's authority.

About this time, the Vizir Shuja Al Dowla, advanced into the Doo Ab with a considerable army. That prince, whose ambition was great, deeming the retreat of the Marhattas favourable to his designs, resolved to appropriate some of their possessions to his own use. He accordingly laid siege to Etawah, a city on the frontiers, from whence he expelled the Marhattas, and placed a garrison therein on his own part. From Etawah he proceeded to Agrah, then besieged by Nujuff Khan, whom he assisted with an increase of force, and several fine cannon, which enabled the captain general to carry on the siege with vigour. The garrison, threatened by a dearth of provisions, were, without difficulty, persuaded to capitulate, and accordingly delivered up the fort and its dependencies to Nujuff Khan. A messenger was immediately dispatched to the capital with the important intelligence, and carried with him the keys of the fort to be laid at his majesty's feet.

Shuja Al Dowla at the same time sent Illuj Khan his favourite, to wait on the king, and, in his name, compliment him on the late successes. But that nobleman was charged with a secret commission 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 Mujud 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 expences of the war, but, at its conclusion,

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 send 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 aggrandising the vizir at the expence of the Rohillas. Whatever were his real sentiments, the captain-general was recalled from Agrah, and directed to march the army towards Rohilcund, 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.

Rohilcund, called in Sanscrit *Cuttan*, comprehends that tract lying east of the Ganges, between the 28th and 30th degrees of north latitude, and from 76 to 80 longitude. Commencing in the vicinity of Loll Dong, at the foot of the Kummow Hills, it extends eastward to the town of Pillibeet; on the north and west, it

* Captain Jonathan Scott.

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

The soil of Cuttair 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 Ramgonga, and Dewah, (or Gambera.)

The Ramgonga, taking its rise between the first and second range of mountains to the north-east, issues forth into the plains of Hindostan at the Gout of Colly; and after traversing the greatest part of Rohilcund, in a south and south-westerly direction, and fertilizing the lands, is joined in its progress by other rivers, and finally, discharged 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 Pillibeet. 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 Shahjehanpore, the Dewah joins the Gamberah, whose name it assumes, and after washing the towns of Sandy, Beroun, and other places, meets the Ramgonga near its junction with the Ganges. The smaller streams are the Cossillah, Nahul, Byghul, Dakra, Bukrah, Beefrah, and

Yarwufadar; these likewise contribute highly to the cultivation of the country, and by means of reservoirs, sluices, canals and aqueducts, disperse their waters throughout the corn fields in every direction, but more particularly so in the jagheer of the late Fyzoolah Khan.

Another property peculiar to Cuttair, is the facility with which water is procured; exclusive of the rivers and streams before enumerated, the soil is such, that by digging a few feet from the surface of the earth in any part of the country, water is procured in abundance.

So happily situated by nature, Rohilcund has in all times been deemed of great political importance. In the early times of the empire, commerce flourished. The great cities of Shahabad, Shah-jehanpore, Bareilly, Biffowlee, Bedaon, Owlah, Mooradabad and Sumbul, formerly kept up a constant intercourse with the caravans of the north. By them were exported into Cuttair, the products of Lahoor, Cabul, Cashmire, Candahar and Persia, rubies, precious stones, tuteneage, copper, iron, tin, lead, borax, drugs, Cashmerian shawls, Carmanian wool, mules, horses and camels; in return they received, coarse cloths, sugar, grain and tobacco.

During the reign of the Patan Dynasty in Hindostaun, many princes of that family kept their courts for a series of years in the ancient city of Bedaon. There, as in many parts of Cuttair, are to be seen the remains of magnificent edifices, palaces, gardens, mosques, colleges and mausoleums. Among the first-rate cities of

modern days are to be placed, *Owlah*, *Biffowlee*, *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 *Narwaub 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 erected 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 sixteen 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 *Joosh* and *Sunkra*, is a large, handsome, well-built city. It was the

capital of Hafiz Rehumut, and a place of considerable trade. It is distant from Lucknow 180 miles, and from the Ganges 120.-- Lastly, the town of Pillibeet. This place, thirty-six miles to the north-east of Bareilly, was peculiarly selected by the discriminative foresight of Hafiz Rehumut Khan, as of great importance in its commercial resources. For the encouragement of trade that prince built a spacious Shehr Punnah, or Pettah, which is four miles in circumference. It is surrounded by a brick wall, and within the enclosure is erected a magnificent mosque. Admirably situated on the banks of the Dewah, Pillibeet, during the Rohilla government, was an emporium of commerce. Its staples are Saul, Sessoo, and fir timbers, sugars, and coarse cloths; and from the mountains of Almorah are imported borax, pitch, drugs, wax, and honey: of late years, however, it is melancholy to add, the hand of commerce is shrunk up, and the want of a well-regulated police, the total discouragement to industry, and the vexatious imposts levied by the rulers have almost annihilated its once-profitable and flourishing trade.

The revenues of Cuttair are stated, in the imperial register at Delhi, to be five millions sterling. During the flourishing times of the empire, the face of the country will warrant the supposition, and under the Rohilla government, who paid unremitting attention to agriculture, the province might have yielded that sum. After the conquest of Rohilcund by Shuja Dowla, an offer was made to that prince to rent the province for two millions. Since that period the revenues, from a variety of causes, have continued to decline; and under the present government, the province of *Cuttair* with difficulty yields the sum of 36 lacks, or about 400,000l. sterling.

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 Afghauns, they are crafty, treacherous, and revengeful. This characteristic national spirit, aided by the impetuous fallies of a ferocious and uncivilized mind, renders difficult the government of this race. Hence frequent revolutions, civil broils at home, and wars abroad, have constantly 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-considered 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 steady and faithful allies.

Shortly after the battle of Cuttera, Zulfica Al Dowla joined the vizir and the British forces. He was received with distinction, and the vizir nominated him to the Neabut 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 Afghauns, 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 Furrokaabad, 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 historian *, respectable for his talents, has informed the world that the reigning family in Oude were obscure 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 history demands, detailed a more authentic account * of the rise of that family.

SAADUT KHAN.

Saadut Khan, son of Mirza Nuffur Al Deen Hyder, known at first under the name of *Meer Mahomed Ameen*, was born in the city of Nishapore, in the province of Khorasfaun. He was descended in a direct line from the Imaum Moufa Kasim, of the family of Ali, esteemed in Persia as of the highest and most noble extraction. Towards the conclusion of the reign of Behadur Shah, the son and successor of Aurengzeeb, many Persian families of distinction, retiring from the disorders and civil wars which overwhelmed their native country, sought an asylum in Hindostaun. At that period Meer Mahomed Ameen, who had been bred to arms, became desirous of signalising himself ; 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 service, and shortly after took the name of Saadut Khan. By means of the friendship which he formed with several of the principal officers about the court, he

* Colonel Dow.

† In this detail the author has principally followed a small genealogical work, entitled *Owfa Afoph*, or the Genealogy of Afuf Al Dowla, the present vizir, which was procured by the friendship of Mr. George Johnstone, many years resident at Lucknow.

was introduced to the emperor's notice, and stood high in his favour, and continued so until his death. On the accession 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 Oude, and at the same time presented with the rank of 7000 horse, and honoured with a new patent of nobility*. During the reign of Mahmud Shah he held with applause the highest offices of the state; and by his successes in Deccan, and on the frontiers of the empire, upheld the tottering fortunes of a weak and dissolute government.

But in paying this tribute to his abilities, his conduct, when actuated by base and unworthy motives, must be equally reprobated.—At the memorable invasion of Hindostaun by Nadir Shah, when his country became a prey to savage ferocity and lawless outrage, Saadut Khan, from selfish views and a spirit of inordinate ambition, excited the vengeance of the conqueror, and by apprising him of the immense riches to be acquired by visiting the capital, he brought incalculable calamity upon his sovereign and his subjects†. He did not, however, live, as has been justly remarked, to reap the fruits of a conduct so treacherous, dying, shortly 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 Ameen Khan, Behadur Shoukur Jung. In English thus:

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

† Consult second volume of Captain Scott's interesting History of the Successors of Aurangzeb.

SEFDAR JUNG.

When Saadut Khan quitted his native country, he left behind him an only sister, married to a nobleman named Jaafer Beg. He promised at his departure, should fortune prove favourable, to send for his family to Hindostaun, which he did accordingly. But Jaafer Beg had died and left two sons, Abul Munfoor Khan and Mirza Mohussun, the former better known as Sefdar Jung. These youths were received with affectionate regard by Saadut Khan; and to perpetuate the family honours, he bestowed 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 over 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.

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

SHUJA DOWLA.

Shuja Dowla, son and successor of Sefdar Jung, was called in his younger * days Mirza Jelaul 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 house of Timoor was rapidly declining, and the superior genius of a foreign nation had acquired an ascendancy not to be overborn. Shuja Dowla, in his contest with the English, having rashly espoused the cause of the unfortunate Cassim Ali, Nuwaub of Bengal, felt the effects of this ascendancy; and after two unsuccessful attempts, perceiving his incapacity to resist, he wisely resolved to conciliate the attention of his enemies. He was not deceived; the peace of 1765 (well known in Europe) placed him in a situation more eligible than what he held at the commencement of the war: for, exclusive of the restoration of the conquered provinces, he became the friend and ally of the English; and to

* It is customary in Hindostan, and throughout several of the Asiatic courts, to change the name of a prince on his accession to the throne. Thus the famous Jehanguire was called *Selim*; Shah Jehan, *Khorrum*; Shuja Al Dowla, *Mirza Jelaul Addeen Hyder*; his son and successor, *Aluf Al Dowla*, was *Mirza Amauni*. Many other instances occur.

cement the union by still closer ties, he asked and obtained the assistance of a British force for the protection of his frontiers.

When released from the afore-mentioned contest, Shuja Dowla directed his attention to the augmentation of his army, and to the management of the affairs of his own dominions, into the government of which great abuses had been introduced. If we take his character comparatively, Shuja Al Dowla will be allowed considerable merit: active and vigorous in his mind, he was bold, daring, and enterprising, which he manifested on various occasions, and in situations of danger and difficulty. His temper was irascible, which often led him to commit acts of cruelty; yet he was an excellent magistrate, a lover of justice, and anxiously desirous of the prosperity 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 some very able officers, he cleared his dominions from the remains of a nest of banditti which had long infested and disgraced them. His conduct with regard to his neighbours, the Rohillas, was on every account the most exceptionable; and his hostile attempt to destroy their power evidently originated from a spirit of ambition, boundless as inordinate and reprehensible: nor can his endeavours to extenuate his conduct by throwing the blame on the impolitic obstinacy of the Rohillas in refusing to discharge the stipulated sum, in any shape justify the means he used to effect their destruction*.

* In the above detail it has been the author's intention to be guided by the strictest impartiality, neither wishing to exalt too high the character of any individual who merited praise, nor to abstain from censure when it appeared deserving

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 KHAN 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 insisted 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 bestowed on Nujuff Khan the Neabut* of the vizarut. This suspicion was diligently fostered in the king's mind by the suggestions 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.

resented his rival as a person desirous of advancing his own authority over that of his master. Nujuff Khan, however, had too powerful a party at court, as well as in the camp, to be easily supplanted; and the war against the Jauts requiring immediate attention, his majesty appeared satisfied with the excuses offered by Nujuff Khan.

The army again assembled, and the captain general led it without delay against the fort of Deig, the only place of consequence that remained to the Jauts. Nujuff Khan having invested the fort on all sides, and completed the blockade, detached a small portion from his main body throughout the adjacent country, and reduced many of the Zemindars to obedience.

While the army lay before Deig, an embassy arrived in camp, sent by the vizir Afuff Al Dowla. That young prince, who succeeded to the Mufnud of Shuja Al Dowla, was eighteen years of age. On his accession, it was deemed advisable to request of Shah-Aulum a confirmation of his patent of the vizarut in his own name. For this purpose, Illuj Khan, a favourite servant, was deputed to Delhi, attended by a splendid suite, and carrying with him fifty lacks of rupees as a paishcush. After a short stay in the camp, he proceeded on to the capital, where his success at first fell short of his expectations. The king did not appear inclined to expedite the patent; and under various pretences delayed giving a direct answer.— But a severe misfortune which at this time befel his majesty's arms, caused an immediate and ready assent. Zabita Khan had again become refractory, and refused to forward the stipulated tribute to the royal treasury; and was now prepared to support his rebellion by

force of arms. Abdul Cassim Khan, on the part of the king, was ordered to march an army to attack the rebel. Zabita Khan, who was posted in Ghose Ghur, hearing of that nobleman's approach, marched boldly out, and offered him battle. A desperate conflict ensued, and the event was on the point of proving favourable to the royal forces, when a body of Patan horse, who had been planted in an ambuscade by Zabita Khan at the commencement of the action, came suddenly out of the place, and fell upon the rear of the king's troops with such fury as totally to discomfit them. The general was slain whilst endeavouring to rally his men; and his fall threw the troops into such disorder, that it was with great difficulty Mujud Al Dowla, who succeeded to the command, was enabled to make good his retreat with a very small party. Zabita Khan re-entered his fort in triumph.

Accounts of this fatal disaster arriving at court, created the greatest consternation and dismay. 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 use. This salutary aid proved of the highest service; and being relieved from any apprehensions for the present, the court determined to gratify the vizir for the essential service he had rendered. A patent was immediately made out, accompanied with the insignia of office and valuable presents; and the whole were sent off with much pomp and solemnity under the charge of four commissioners named by the king for this express purpose.

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. Runjeet 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