

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

* MS. Narrative of Syud Rezzi Khan.

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

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

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

CHAP. X.

Arrival of RANAH KHAN in the DOO AB—Affairs in the JYPORE Province—Spirited Conduct of BEGUM SOMROO—Occurrences—ISMAEEL BEG is defeated—Junction of that Chief with GHOLAUM CADIR KHAN—Their Intrigues—SHAH-AULUM is dethroned—Occurrences—Conclusion.

SINDIAH, who, as related in the preceding pages, had retired after his defeat across the river Chumbul, and waited for a reinforcement in the neighbourhood of Gualior. The new levies being arrived from Deccan at the commencement of the current year, he, at their head, entered the Doo Ab. The arrival of the Marhatta chief, while it encouraged the king to hope for relief from his distresses, at the same time, awakened the fears of the Mogul lords, who were well aware that their late conduct towards their sovereign would not be passed over with impunity. They connected themselves, therefore, by firmer bonds, and prepared to resist the Marhatta arms.

Ismaeel Beg still lay before Agrah, but from the active vigilance of Lukwajee, the Marhatta general, he had hitherto made but slow progress in the siege of that place. During these transactions, affairs at court had assumed a different aspect; Shah-Aulum quitting Delhi, marched his army into the province of Jynaghur. Pertaub

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

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

Nazir to effect an amicable accommodation ; by his advice, Nujuff Cooli Khan offered, if his majesty would condescend to confer upon him the vacant office of Ameer Al Omrah, to which, from his birth and connections, he deemed himself entitled, he would with all humility, not only immediately deliver up the fort of Gocul Ghur, but, moreover, forward to court a Paisheush of six lacks of rupees ; he concluded his proposal by observing, that such a mark of the royal favour was the only means of preserving him from the resentment of his numerous and inveterate enemies who were bent on his total overthrow. These proposals were laid before a council assembled at that time, and the king, from a desire of preserving peace, would have acceded to the terms prescribed, but some leading men in the council inclined his majesty to other measures ; they represented Nujuff Cooli Khan as a man void of honour or principle, whose present proposals were only a cover to designs of a more ambitious nature, and dictated by the most insidious policy, that, when once firmly established in the high office of Ameer Al Omrah, and beyond the power of controul, he would then treat his sovereign with his accustomed insolence and disrespect ; they therefore urged his speedy chastisement. Swayed by these councils, the king, having first dismissed the messenger of Nujuff Cooli Khan, commanded an immediate investiture of the fort. The royal army at this time was composed of several battalions of Nejeebs, the body guard, called the red battalion ; a very considerable body of Mogul horse ; and three disciplined battalions of Sepoys, which had belonged to the late Somroo, and were then commanded by his Begum in person, and furnished with a respectable artillery, served by European cannoneers. The head-quarters of Nujuff Cooli Khan were

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

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

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

message to his majesty, desiring him to repair to her quarters, and assured him of her determined resolution to punish the rebel, or perish in the attempt. At the same time, she, on the field, wrote a short note, which she dispatched to Nujuff Cooli Khan, upbraiding him with his ingratitude towards the king, and threatening him with immediate and exemplary chastisement. The gallant lady* then getting into her palanquin, placed herself at the head of 100 of her own sepoys, accompanied by a six pounder, commanded by an European officer. With this detachment she proceeded to the spot occupied by Munfoor Khan, and advancing upon the rebel with much spirit, she commanded her palanquin to be set down, and ordered her artillery to charge with grape shot; a well-directed fire from the gun, assisted by volleys of small arms from the sepoys, soon had the desired effect. Munfoor Khan, astonished at this sudden and unexpected check, began to give ground, and having lost numbers of his men, he retreated with precipitation under the walls of the fort. The king's troops having now time to breathe, were rallied, under the direction of Himmudt Behadur and Shah Meer Khan; most of them having rejoined their standards, attacked the enemy in their turn with great spirit, when after a short, but desperate, conflict, Nujuff Cooli Khan was compelled to retire, but not before the gallant Shah Meer Khan had fallen, pierced by a musket ball. His loss was sincerely and deservedly regretted by the king and the whole army. Order being once more restored, the king directed his tents to be pitched, which done, he bethought of bestowing a suitable reward to the gallant female who had preserved him from imminent

* MS. narrative of Syud Rezai Khan.

destruction. Having sent for her to the Durbar, in the warmest terms he praised her gallantry, and thanked her for the service she had that day rendered him; he clothed her in a magnificent vest, and, in addition to her former titles, honoured her with the appellation of "his most beloved daughter." It was, indeed, by all acknowledged, that the intrepidity manifested by the Begum on so trying an occasion, merited the most honourable reward; to her courage and resolution was owing, not only the safety of the army, but her sovereign's life.

Nujuff Cooli Khan, dispirited by his late defeat, now condescended to talk in a more humble strain, and being well acquainted with the influence of Begum Somroo at court, he endeavoured to avail himself of her good offices to plead his pardon with the king; he declared his sincere contrition for his late intemperate conduct, and offered, as an atonement, a larger sum of money than what he had before promised, with professions of fidelity in future. The king, desirous of repose from the fatigues of the field, was not unwilling to listen to these solicitations, and in a few days a pardon was made out for the rebel chief, and he was received at court. The money agreed on having been paid into the royal treasury, his majesty returned with the army to Delhi.

We must now return to Ismaeel Beg, who was still employed on the siege of Agrah when he received the alarming intelligence of the approach of the Marhattas.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* MS. narrative of Syud Rezzi Khan.

cinets of the palace. After much altercation, and a disgraceful scene, the unfortunate Shah-Aulum was permitted to return to his Haram, to ruminate on his miserable and degraded state.

The plan now approached its termination. Early on the ensuing morning, the rebels in concert, at the head of a numerous band of followers, well armed, entered the audience chamber where Shah-Aulum was sitting. Completely surrounding the throne, they sternly commanded the princes of the royal family who were present to retire within the Haram.—They obeyed.—Gholaum Caudir then dispatched a messenger to the fort of Selim Ghur, which is contiguous to the palace, to bring forth Beedar Shah, a son of the late emperor Ahumud Shah. The traitor then approached the throne, and took up the shield and scymetar, which, as emblems of royalty, were placed on a cushion before the king: these he consigned to the hands of an attendant, and turning towards Shah-Aulum, sternly commanded him to descend; “Better, said the aged monarch, far better will it be for Gholaum Caudir to plunge his dagger in my bosom, than load me with such indignity;” the Rohilla, frowning, put his hand to his sword, but the Nazir at the instant, stepping up, prevented him from drawing it. With unblushing effrontery he then turned towards his sovereign, and audaciously told him, that resistance being vain, he would do well to comply with the traitor’s demand. Abandoned by all, the king then rose from his seat and retired to the Haram, and a few minutes after Beedar Shah made his appearance;—he was saluted by the rebels as emperor of Hindostaun, under the title of Jehaun Shah, and the customary Nazirs having been presented, the event was proclaimed

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* MS. of Syud Rezzi Khan.

there, in all the bitterness of anguish, to contemplate on his now ruined fortunes. Emphatic, indeed, were the expressions of the same native author in relating the fallen condition of his sovereign; "This wretch," (exclaims the indignant historian) "this accursed wretch, has, in one fatal moment, darkened the bright star of the august Timoorian family, and buried in the whirlpool of destruction the stately vessel of imperial authority!" The king, however evinced, under such accumulated misfortunes, a firmness of mind, and resignation highly honourable in his character; and it may not be unworthy to remark, that the natives of Asia in general, probably from the principles of predestination which they imbibe from their youth, are observed to sustain themselves under misfortune, in a manner worthy of imitation by the European christian.

Shah-Aulum surviving the loss of his fight during his confinement, solaced himself in contemplative reveries, and in composing elegiac verses, descriptive of his deplorable state*.

But from such heart-rending scenes, let us hasten to relate the remaining actions of this execrable monster. His next victim was the infamous Nazir. This man, through whose disloyalty and ingratitude Gholaum Caudir had been enabled to perpetrate his atrocities, now most deservedly experienced the effects of his perfidious conduct. He was directed by the tyrant to give in an inventory of his property and effects, and on refusing to comply, he was seized and put into close confinement, when his ill-gotten wealth

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ployed in Bundelcund*, and now brought with him a body of 4000 horse in support of the general cause. The united force then proceeded to Meerut, which was garrisoned by a strong force of Rohillas, who still adhered to the tyrant's cause. Ranah Khan, not having any heavy artillery, was prevented from forming a regular siege; he therefore drew a line of circumvallation around, and blockaded the fort. This mode would, he apprehended, compel the garrison to a surrender, by the supplies from without being completely cut off: nor was he deceived in the expectation; for a dearth of provisions ensuing, the Rohillas began to sustain great inconvenience. Gholaum Caudir endeavoured, by repeated sallies, to animate his troops, and repel the besiegers. In every encounter the intrepid chief exhibited a gallantry and resolution that would have done honour to a better cause. But finding all his efforts fruitless, and the garrison having now become mutinous, he determined to attempt an escape.

Attended by 500 horse, who were still attached to him, he, at their head, rushed out of the fort, and charged the enemy so vigorously, that though every endeavour was exerted to take him prisoner, he made his way through the whole line, and accomplished his escape. But, at length, his own troops perceiving his forlorn condition, began by degrees to drop off; so that in a short time he was left quite alone; and, to complete his mishap, his horse, exhausted by fatigue, sunk under him, and he received in the fall a severe contusion. This accident compelled him to take refuge in an

* A province to the south-west of Allahabad.

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

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

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

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

the occasion, and in this situation was suspended in front of the army. After sustaining the insults and indignities of the soldiers, his nose, ears, hands, and feet, were cut off; and in this mutilated and miserable condition he was, by order of Ali Bchadur, sent off to Delhi; but, on the journey, death relieved the miserable wretch from his sufferings: thus dreadfully atoning for the crimes of his savage and abandoned life!—The Nazir, on his arrival at Delhi, was trodden to death under the feet of an elephant.

The melancholy events passing so rapidly in review, whilst relating the transactions of an Asiatic Durbar, can afford to a benevolent mind little to contemplate with pleasure or attention: but the picture, however disgusting, may notwithstanding be viewed to advantage. A British reader might, on this review, direct his inspection inwards; and while he execrates the insatiate spirit and detestable ambition which can thus actuate men to the commission of such enormities, he may place before his fatigued mind the more pleasing contrast of the situation and invaluable blessings of his native land—blessings, which teach him more highly to value and to venerate that happy constitution, which is founded upon an immutable and immortal principle, that a British sovereign can do no wrong.

Soon after the arrival of the Marhatta army, Sindiah appointed a day for re-instating the deposed king on the throne of his ancestors; and the ceremony was performed in the grand hall of audience with much pomp and solemnity. An allowance was, moreover, assigned to his majesty of nine lacks of rupees per annum for the support of

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

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

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

Beg, the Begum proposed to him a coalition of interests; and, to excite his hopes of success in a resistance to the Marhatta authority, she proffered him the forces and treasures of her deceased lord. The natural and hereditary aversion entertained by Ismaeel Beg against the Marhatta nation, inclined him, without much reflection, to accede to these proposals. He accordingly marched his own force to the town of Canoor, the place where the Begum then resided, and which was actually besieged by the Marhattas.

Notwithstanding every exertion on the part of the enemy, he threw himself into the place, and endeavoured by repeated and spirited sallies to prevent its fall. Unfortunately, in one of those encounters, the Begum herself, who with a gallantry and spirit not uncommon among the females of Hindostan were accustomed to be present in action, was slain by a cannon ball. This misfortune occasioned a defection in her troops to their obedience of Ismaeel Beg, and which had, during her life time, been kept within proper bounds. The principal leaders entering into a cabal against the Mogul chief, agreed to deliver him up to the Marhattas, with whom they had commenced a negotiation. But however secretly the treaty, on this occasion, was made, it soon reached the ears of Ismaeel Beg; and, he, to prevent the effects of this treachery, was prevailed upon by his friends to a voluntary surrender, requesting only a guarantee for his personal safety. This was readily granted him under the faith of General Duboigne, at that time of high command in the Marhatta army. Some few days after, Ismaeel Beg entered the camp, from whence he was sent off a prisoner to the fort of Agrah, in which state he has since continued. While the Marhatta influence

obtains permanency at the court of Delhi, it is probable he will continue under restraint, as that politic and wary people will never suffer so active and intriguing a man to be enlarged. But should any unforeseen event, in the hazardous system of the present politics, occasion a decline, or extinction of their authority, there is little doubt but this active and vigilant partizan will again bear a conspicuous share in the revolutions.

Among the numerous adventurers who have for a series of years emigrated from the regions of the north to the provinces of Hindostan, few have possessed greater military talents than Ismaeel Beg. Inured to arms at an early period of life under the tuition of his uncle, Mahomed Beg Khan Hamdani, he distinguished himself on several occasions by his superior valour and ability: and if, on a review of his character, we except the culpability justly attached to him for the share he bore in the transactions of Gholaum Caudir, we must allow Ismaeel Beg the merit of an active, gallant foldier; to which, by the unanimous voice of his contemporaries, may be added that of an accomplished man, generous in disposition, and kind and liberal to his followers and dependants.

Of the fate of the remaining persons who shared in the various revolutions recorded through this volume, the Begum Somroo deserves notice. The fidelity exhibited by this spirited lady in defence of her sovereign on various occasions, merited a better return than that which she was destined to experience. The chiefs in the Marhatta army had long beheld with jealous inquietude the influence she had acquired with the king; and Sindiah himself appears not

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

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

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

To give a sanction to their proceedings in the eyes of the people, they invited the Nuwaub Zuffer Yâb Khan, son of the deceased Somroo, by a former wife, to accept of the government as his just inheritance. This young man, turbulent in manners, and of a worthless character, had received, through the bounty of the Begum, an ample allowance for his support, ever since his father's death; but his conduct had given her such disgust, that she had forbidden his appearance at her own residence. He was living at Delhi when the offer of the conspirators arrived; undisturbed by any scruples of conscience, and not impressed by any sentiment of gratitude or affection, he accepted the offer with avidity, and repairing to the town of Sirdhauna, in private, he waited the event with impatience.

A few days subsequent to the Begum's marriage, she prepared to accompany her husband in a circuit through her Jaghire. They had scarcely quitted the town of Serdhauna, when a mutiny broke out among her own troops, and at the same instant, Zuffer Yâb Khan, who had been privately living in the town, now rushed forth with a body of Marhattas, seized on the town, and was proclaimed Jaghire Dar. Informed of this event, the Begum endeavoured, by the most studied attention and cogent argument, to induce her troops to return to their allegiance, but in vain; long resolved on their plan, they were heedless of her solicitations, and seized and confined both herself and husband. This unfortunate man perceiving himself in the power of his enemies, and disdaining submission, in a fit of desperation put a period to his existence; and the Begum was then

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

men and 130 pieces of artillery, commanded by European officers of different nations, and directed by the enterprising spirit and unremitted perseverance of the general who raised them. Their success on a variety of the most trying occasions proved equal to their expectations, and Sindiah confessed his obligations to Mr. Duboigne, by reposing in him a confidence almost unlimited, and by the cession of fifty-two districts in the Doo Ab, to be appropriated expressly as Jaiedad, for the maintenance of the troops he had raised. Aided by his exertions, he, in the period we have mentioned, not only recovered his former possessions, but in the end extended his influence to the Punjab frontier; by a rapid succession of victories, he defeated the Nuwaub Ismael Beg, Gholaum Caudir Khan, the countries of Oudepore and Joudpore, and Jynaghur; and though he could not absolutely wrest these dominions from the last-mentioned prince, he compelled him to the payment of an annual tribute.

Towards the middle of 1793, his affairs calling him to the west of India, he left Gopaul Row, his lieutenant-general, to manage his affairs in the north, and General Duboigne in the center of his newly-acquired possessions. His power may, at this period, be said to have reached its meridian splendour; his arms again acquired an ascendancy over his contemporaries, and he found himself the leader and preponderating chief of the whole Marhatta empire—from the confines of Lahore, to the sea of Cambay; he possessed an authority almost unlimited; while the firmness, energy, and activity, which marked the features of his administration, at the same

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

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

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

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

when he sustained the fatal calamity before mentioned. Shah-Aulum, nominal Emperor of Hindostaun, is in his 75th year. His stature tall and commanding, his aspect dignified and majestic. The ravages of time are discernible on his face, and the recollection of his misfortunes have impressed his features with melancholy. His early youth was passed in spirited, though ineffectual, struggles, to restore the diminished lustre of imperial authority, and his conduct, whilst contending against the usurped power of Gazooddeen Khan, deserves great praise. But in the greater part of his life, little can be found deserving the applause of posterity. Irresolute and indecisive in his measures, he too frequently rendered useless the plans formed by his friends for the recovery of his authority, while his excessive love of pleasure, and insatuated attachment to unworthy favorites, contributed to degrade him in the eyes of his neighbours and allies, and render the small remains of his dominion contemptible. All his ministers, with the exception of Nujuff Khan, were prodigal and rapacious in the extreme; they perceived the king's weakness, and, by flattering his vanity and supplying his extravagance, ensured to themselves an uncontrolled authority in the state, while they abused the generosity of their sovereign, by committing every species of enormity and oppressive violence.

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

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

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

List of Authorities quoted for the present Work.

1. *SHAH-AULUM Nameh, or a History of the Reign of the Emperor Shah-Aulum, written in the Persian Language by Gbolaum Ali Khan, a Mogul, formerly in the Service of Prince Mirza Juwaun Bukht Jechaundar Shah, and now Resident at Lucknow.*

2. *MS. of Syud Rezzi Khan, containing the Transactions of the last nine Years of the Reign of Shah-Aulum.*

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

4. *Ousafi Asof: a Genealogical Account of the reigning Family of Oude—Author unknown.*

5. *Hudeeka Al Akauleem: a Geographical Account of the different Provinces of Hindostan, written in the Persian Language.*

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

APPENDIX, I.

Account of Modern DELHI *.

THE province of Delhi, agreeably to the description of native geographers, is bounded on the east by Agrah, on the west by Lahore, south by Agimere, and north by the Kummow Hills. Its length, from the town of Pulwul, near Agrah, to the river Sutluz, is 160 coses; and its breadth, from the town of Rewari to the Kummow Hills, is 140 coses. It is divided into eight Circars, or principal districts, namely, Shahjehanabad, (modern Delhi), Serhind, Hissar Feeroozeh, Sehaurunpore, Sumbul, Bedaon, Narnoul. These are again subdivided into 289 inferior districts, yielding, according to the imperial register, a revenue of seventy-four crore sixty-three lacks of Daums †, or one million eight hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling.

In the year of the Hijerah 1041, (A. D. 1631-2), the Emperor Shah Jehan founded the present city and palace of Shahjehanabad, which he made his capital during the remainder of his reign. The

* The following account of the present state of Delhi is extracted from a journal of observations made during an official tour through the Doo Ab and the adjacent districts by the author, in company with Major Reynolds, of the Bombay establishment, appointed by the Bengal government to survey that part of the country in 1793-4-

† Persian MS. entitled Hudeeka Al Akauleem.

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

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

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

* Dow, *passim*.

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

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

بیگز کباب و سبزی کسی نپوشد مزار ما
 ۱۰۹۴
 کہ قبر پوش غریبان همه کباب و بس

الغفرة العائيت همان ارا بکیم نیت شاه جهان مرید خواجه کارن چستی

In English thus :

“ Let no one scatter over my grave ought besides earth and verdure, for such is best befitting the sepulchre of one of an humble mind.”

On the margin :

“ The perishable Fakeer, Jehanarai Begum, daughter to Shah Jehan, and disciple of the saints of Cheesty, in the year of the Hijerah 1094.

Within the city of new Delhi are the remains of many splendid palaces belonging to the great Omrahs of the empire. Among the largest are those of Cummer-o'deen Cawn, vizir to Mahmud Shah;

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

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

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

Shahjehanabad is adorned with many fine mosques, several of which are still in perfect beauty and repair. The following are most worthy of description :

First, the *Jama Musjid**, or great cathedral. This mosque is situated about a quarter of a mile from the royal palace; the foundation of it was laid upon a rocky eminence named Jujula Pahar, and has been scarped on purpose. The ascent to it is by a flight of stone steps, thirty-five in number, through a handsome gateway of red stone. The doors of this gateway are covered throughout with plates of wrought brass, which Mr. *Bernier* imagined to be copper. The terrace on which the mosque is situated, is a square of about fourteen hundred yards of red stone: in the center is a fountain lined with marble, for the purpose of performing the necessary ablutions previous to prayer.

An arched colonade of red stone surrounds the whole of the terrace, which is adorned with octagon pavillions for sitting in. The mosque is of an oblong form, two hundred and sixty-one feet in length, surrounded at top by three magnificent domes of white marble intersected with black stripes, and flanked by two *Minarets* of black marble and red stone alternately, rising to the height of an hundred and thirty feet. Each of these Minarets has three projecting galleries of white marble, having their summits crowned with light octagon pavillions of the same. The whole front of the building is faced with large slabs of beautiful white marble; and

* Of this mosque likewise is to be seen a beautiful painting by the Daniells.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Colonel Dow.

† Mahmud Shah.

“ sword, and said, “ for the sake of the prince Mahmud I forgive.”

Since this dreadful massacre, this quarter of Delhi has been but very thinly inhabited. The mosque of Roshun Al Dowlah is situated at the entrance of the *Chandney Choke*, or market; it is of the common size, built of red stone, and surmounted by three domes, richly gilt.

Zeenut Al Musajid, or the ornament of mosques, is on the banks of the Jumna, and was erected by a daughter of *Aurengzeeb*, of the name of *Zeenut Al Nissah*. It is of red stone, with inlayings of marble, and has a spacious terrace in front, with a capacious reservoir faced with marble. The princess who built it, having declined entering into the marriage state, laid out a large sum of money in the above mosque, and on its completion, she built a sepulchre of white marble, surrounded by a wall of the same, in the west corner of the terrace. Here she was buried in the year of the Hijerah 1122, corresponding to the year of Christ, 1710. There were formerly lands allotted for the support and repairs of this place, amounting to a lack of rupees per annum, but they have long since been confiscated, during the troubles this city has undergone. Exclusive of the mosques afore mentioned, there are, in Shahjehanabad and its environs, above forty others; but as most of them are of inferior size and beauty, and all of them of a similar fashion, it is unnecessary to present any farther detail.

The modern city of Shahjehanabad is rebuilt, and contains many

good houses, chiefly of brick; the streets are, in general, narrow, as is usual in most of the large cities in Asia; but there were formerly two very noble streets, the first leading from the palace gate, through the city, to the Delhi gate, in a direction north and south. This street was broad and spacious, having handsome houses on each side of the way, and merchants' shops well furnished with a variety of the richest articles. Shah Jehan caused an aqueduct of red stone to be made, which conveyed the water the whole length of the street, and from thence, by a reservoir under ground, into the royal gardens.—Remains of this aqueduct are still to be seen, but it is in most parts choaked up with rubbish. The second grand street entered in the same manner, from the palace to the Lahore gate, lying east and west; it was equal in all respects to the former; but in both of them the inhabitants have spoiled the beauty of their appearance, by running a line of houses down the center, and, in other places, across the street, so that it is with difficulty a person can discover, without narrowly inspecting, their former position.

The Bazars in Delhi are at present but indifferently furnished, and the population of late years miserably reduced. The Chandney Choke is the best furnished in the city, though its commerce is but trifling. Cotton cloths are still manufactured, and they export indigo. Their imports are by the northern caravans, which generally come once a year; they bring with them from *Cabul* and *Cashmere*, shawls, fruits, and horses; the two former articles are procurable in Delhi at a reasonable rate. There is also a manufactory at Delhi for hooka bottoms. Precious stones are also to be had in the Bazars, and the black and red cornelians of the largest and most

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

The city is divided into thirty-six mohauls or districts, each of which is named either after the particular Omrah who resided there, or from some local circumstance relative to the place.

It appears that modern Delhi has been built principally upon two rocky eminences, the one where the Jama Musjid is situated, named *Jujula Pahar*; and the other the quarter of the oil merchants, called *Bejula Pahar*; from both of these you have a commanding view of the rest of the city. With respect to the ruins of old Delhi, the extent cannot, I suppose, be less than a circumference of twenty miles, reckoning from the gardens of Shalimar, on the north west, to the Kuttub Minar, on the south east, and proceeding from thence along the center of the old city, by way of the mausoleum of Nizam Al Deen, the tomb of Humaioon, which adjoins, and the old fort of Delhi on the Jumna, to the Agimere gate of Shajehanabad. The environs to the north and west are crowded with remains of spacious gardens and country houses of the nobility, which were formerly abundantly supplied with water, by means of a noble canal dug by Ali Merdan Khan, and which formerly entered from above the city of Panniput, quite down to Delhi, where it joined the Jumna, fertilizing in its course a tract of more than ninety miles in length, and bestowing comfort and affluence on those who lived within its extent. This canal, as it run through the suburbs of Mogul Parah, nearly three miles in length, was twenty-five feet deep, and as much in breadth, cut from the quarry of solid stone,

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

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

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

Khana, or hall of audience, most part of which is now fallen down; from hence, by the side of a noble canal, having a fountain in the center; you proceed to the apartments of the *Haram*, which occupy a large extent of ground. In front is an *Ivaun*, or open hall, with apartments adjoining, the interior of which are decorated with a beautiful border of white and gold painting, upon a ground of the finest *chunam*.

On each side of this *Ivaun*, enclosed by high walls, are the apartments of the *Haram*, some of which are built of red stone, and some of brick, faced with the *chunam* afore mentioned, and ornaments, with paintings of flowers of various kinds. All the apartments have winding passages, which communicate with each other, and the gardens adjoining by private doors. The extent of *Shalimar* does not appear to have been very large. I suppose the gardens altogether are not above one mile in circumference: a high brick wall runs around the whole, and the extremities are flanked with octagon pavilions of red stone. The gardens still abound with trees of a very large size, and very old. The prospect, south of *Shalimar*, towards Delhi, as far as the eye can reach, is covered with the remains of extensive gardens, pavilions, mosques, and burial places. The environs of this once magnificent and celebrated city, appear now nothing more than a shapeless heap of ruins, and the country round about is equally desolate and forlorn.

“ *The spider hath woven his web in the royal palace of the Cæsars,*
 “ *The owl standeth centinel on the watch-towers of Afrafiab!*”

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

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

* Canopy.

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

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

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

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

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

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

اکر فردوسی بروی زمینی است
همین است همین است همین است

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

The terrace of this building is composed of large slabs of white marble, and the building is crowned at top with four pavilions or cupolas of the same materials. The royal baths built by the emperor Shah Jehan are situated a little to the northward of the Dewaun Khafs, and consist of three very large rooms surmounted by domes of white marble. The inside of them, about two thirds of the way up, is lined with marble, having beautiful borders of flowers, worked cornelians, and other stones executed with much taste.--- The floors are paved throughout with marble in large slabs; there are fountains in the center, which have pipes to carry the water into the different apartments: large reservoirs of marble, four feet in depth, are placed in the walls. The light is admitted from the roof by windows of stained glass; and capacious stoves with iron gratings are placed underneath each separate apartment. Adjoining the baths is a very fine mosque made after the fashion already described.

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

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

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

APPENDIX, II.

A Narrative of the Revolution at Rampore in 1794.

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

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

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

* About 150,000*l.* sterling.

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

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

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

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

A consciousness of his own natural superiority over his brother, stimulated him to commit a barbarous crime, at which human nature revolts, and at once to rend asunder the bonds of brotherhood and loyalty.

Gholaum Mahomed having gained over to his interests the principal officers of the army, and, through them, secured the attachment of the troops, proceeded to execute the design formed for the deposition of his brother. Seventeen days after the death of Fizoolah Khan, Gholaum Mahomed, attended by a select party well armed, entered the Durbar of Mahomed Ali. A confidential servant apprised the Nuwaub of his brother's intended visit; and at the same time cautioned him to be on his guard, as treachery was intended.

"It is impossible my brother can entertain evil designs against me: has he not taken the sacred Koran?" was the answer of the infatuated prince. He was too soon convinced of his error.

On entering the apartment, Gholaum Mahomed, as had been agreed upon by the conspirators, bore himself with designed haughtiness and disrespect towards his brother. This, as was foreseen and desired, inflamed Mahomed Ali, and excited the irascibility of his temper. He broke forth into the grossest abuse, and, in his ungovernable rage, was so rash as to draw his sabre.

Gholaum Mahomed now gave the signal of attack, and his brother was instantly surrounded by the whole body of conspirators, who, after a resolute and desperate resistance, cut him down. He

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† Descendant of the Prophet.

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

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

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

Notwithstanding the secrecy with which the order was given, of

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† Vide report of the select committee for India affairs.—Major Palmer's embassy to Rampore.

self, through the mediation of the supreme government at Calcutta, to Fizoolah Khan, to change the tenure of the Jaghire, which was only for life, into an *Altum Gheb*, which, by the usages of Hindostaun, descends in perpetuity to successors. A consideration of fifteen lacks of rupees was then deemed a sufficient compensation. By some means or other the offer was rejected on the part of Fizoolah Khan, and, consequently at his demise, the right of resumption of the jaghire was evident and undeniable.

The vizir, who from his earliest youth had been immersed in pleasure, would now gladly have seized the favourable opportunity thus afforded him, of confiscating this valuable jaghire, which would supply him with fresh means of gratifying his extravagance.

His fluctuating mind, however, unaccustomed to business, or decisive exertion, hesitated, and with the imbecility and little craft inherent to *Asiatic* policy, he had recourse to temporizing measures.

The views of his minister, Rajah Ticket Roy, a man timid, irresolute, and destitute of every qualification above that of a mere accomptant, were easily led to encourage the weakness of his master. This minister foresaw and dreaded the difficulties in which he must unavoidably be involved, should vigorous measures be pursued.

An empty treasury, a deranged system of finance, a weak government, deeply anticipated revenue, and an impoverished country, afforded but slender means for supplying, not only the necessary expences of the war, but also to provide for the parade and extrava-

gance of his sovereign, whose childishly expensive turn he knew would not fail of displaying its pomp on this occasion. He viewed with affright the embarrassments that threatened him, and hoped, by accommodation, to escape the impending difficulties, and, at the same time, by a large mulct, to raise a temporary relief to the exigences of the state.

The vizir and his ministers, although from different motives, were united in a desire to accommodate, tempted by the magnitude of the sum* now offered, as Nuzzeranah, by Gholaum Mahomed. But, however strong the necessity of the one, or the extravagance of the other, yet neither would venture on a decisive step in an affair so important, without consulting their allies, the English, who were guarantees to the Jaghire Dar by the treaty of Loll Dong.

Accordingly, the vizir communicated the circumstances of the event to the British resident at Lucknow, who conveyed the intimation to the supreme board in Calcutta; at the same time, his excellency declared his intention to abide by the advice of that government.

It was supposed by many, that the British government would take no part in the business, and had they been desirous of avoiding trouble, there existed a plausible pretext for permitting the vizir to follow his own inclinations.

It was, however, justly considered, that were the English, under

* Twenty-two lacks of rupees.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

His highness quitted Lucknow on the 13th of October, and,

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

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

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

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

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

To this no answer was returned, but on the 26th of October the enemy appeared in a menacing and hostile manner, spreading over the plain in irregular and confused, though numerous, columns.

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

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

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

enced officer, together with four of his subalterns, fell; this corps pressed upon the European regiment, which being also briskly attacked, were thrown into a like confusion. The Europeans, in turn, crowded upon the 18th battalion, and, notwithstanding the steadiness and exertion of that corps, animated by the presence of their gallant leader, Major Bolton, much destruction was committed in a few minutes. The body of the enemy that made this impression on the reserve, had suffered much themselves, but in the tumult, had passed through the intervals occasioned by the disorder, and were in the rear of the European regiment, when a part of the cavalry, which had, by the greatest exertions of the subaltern officers, been rallied, returned back to the attack, and prevented further mischief. The other divisions of the line having maintained an undaunted face throughout the whole of the battle, resistance on the part of the Rohillas, at length, entirely ceased, and after a close action of an hour and forty minutes, scarce a man of the enemy was to be seen.

The British line halted a few minutes on the field of battle to let the troops breathe, after which, they pursued the enemy to the Doo Jorah river, on the opposite banks of which their camp was still standing; this was plundered by the vizir's horsemen, who, according to custom, had come up after the action, and whilst the English line was halted, to mark out their encampment, these banditti reaped the reward due to the valour of their allies.

The Rohilla force, from the most authentic accounts, consisted of 30,000 infantry, and about 4000 horse; they had nearly 2000

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

On the 12th of November, however, Gholaum Mahomed, apprehensive that the other chiefs would now make terms for themselves, or probably (as appeared justified by the conclusion) actuated

by more deceptious motives, agreed to send letters to the Rohilla camp, with positive orders to his sirdars to send out his family and treasures. Syud Khan was intrusted with the mission, and he being detained by the Rohillas, and no answer returned, Omar Khan, with pretended anxiety to effect an accommodation, proposed to visit the camp, and doubted not of his prevailing over his countrymen to accede to terms.

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

It was now discovered, from various channels, that Gholam Mahomed himself, notwithstanding his professions of obedience, was the sole cause of the obstinate delay of his countrymen, with whom he had kept up a secret correspondence, and urged the chiefs, who were his creatures, not to accept of any terms in which his restoration to the jaghire was not a primary article; and he assured them, that being resolute and unanimous in this point, they would insure success.

It was therefore determined to bring matters, at once, to an issue. In the evening of the 3d of December, an insolent and contemptuous letter arrived in the English camp; in that letter, after repeating a series of extravagant demands, they concluded with these remarkable words, "If, after this representation, our requests be denied, it will be conspicuous throughout the empire of Hindostaun, that

in the days of Ufuf Al Dowlah, assisted by the English Company, the Rohilla nation was extirpated."

The drift of this letter was easily seen through, and at 12 o'clock on the same night, Gholaum Mahomed was sent off under charge of a regiment of cavalry, who were ordered to escort him to Takoor Duwarah, a place about twenty miles distance from the camp: he was then delivered over to Colonel Baillie, of the 1st native battalion, who had been advanced to receive him, should this measure be deemed necessary; that officer carried him on twenty miles farther, so that by ten o'clock next day he was forty miles distant from his friends. The next morning, after sending in a proclamation to the Rohillas, which was declared to be final, offering pardon, if they would submit, and notifying the vizir's intention to bestow a jaghire upon the infant son of the deceased Nuwaub; but in the event of farther resistance, they must expect to meet with exemplary punishment.

The British army then moved down to within a mile of the Rohilla intrenchments, and the outposts of both armies exchanged a few shots, but without any mischief to either party.

The good effects of this proclamation were soon apparent: convinced that by the departure of their chief, all hope of his restoration was at an end, and that the English were determined to act with vigor, the Rohillas, at length, began to treat with sincerity. A cessation of arms took place on the 5th; but there being such a variety of clashing interests to reconcile and to settle, and arrange the

selection of the new jaghire, it was not until the 7th instant the preliminary articles were signed*. On the 9th, the treasures of the late

* Translation of the preliminary engagement between the Nuwaub Vizir Ul Mumalick Afof Jah Afof Ul Dowla Yehiéh Khan Buhadre Huzzubber Jung, the English Company, and the Rohilla tribe.

ARTICLE I. When this preliminary engagement shall be executed, hostilities shall cease between the Nuwaub Vizir Ul Mumalick Afof Jah Buhadre and his allies, and the Rohilla army.

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

ART. III. The Rohilla army agree that they will give over, in deposit, to the Company, whatever may remain of the treasure of Fizzoolah Khan, deceased.—That Gholaum Mahomed Khan has delivered an account of the treasure which was left by the Nuwaub Fizzoolah Khan at his death, to the period that he had charge of it. From that treasure the sum of 14,000 gold mohurs has been expended since Gholaum Mahomed Khan left the Rohilla camp, this being deducted, the balance is the sum demanded.

ART. IV. The Nuwaub Vizir Ul Mumalick Afof Jah Buhadre agrees, that he will bestow on Ahomed Ally Khan, the grandson of the Nuwaub Fizzoolah Khan, deceased, mohuls in jaghire at the annual Jumma of ten lacks of rupees, and that the town of Rampore shall be a part of the said jaghire; and as Ahomed Ally Khan is a minor, therefore Nussur Ulli Khan Buhadre, son of Abdoola Khan, deceased, shall be nominated the guardian of Ahmed Ally Khan, and the manager of the said jaghire, until Ahomed Ally Khan shall arrive at the age of twenty one years.

ART. V. When the Rohilla army shall have given over the treasure, as is expressed in the third article, the armies of the Nuwaub Vizir Ul Mumalick Afof Jah Buhadre, and of the English Company, shall march from hence, and the Rohilla army shall disperse, and go wherever they think proper. Done at Putta Ghaut in the English camp, this 5th Jemmaud Ul Owul, 1209 Hijerah, December 7, 1794.

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

The seal of Mr. Geo. Frederick Cherry on the part of
the English Company as guarantee to the above articles.
(LS)

The seal of Nussur Ulli
Khan.
(LS)

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

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

Rohileund, is a black rich loam, interspersed in some places with red earth; the most fruitful parts are the center and south-west boundary. The face of the country throughout presents a delightful view of large groves of mangoe trees, agreeably diversified with gentle declivities and ascents alternately. This valuable jaghire is watered by several rivers, besides smaller streams, which contribute to fertilize and embellish it. Among the principal are the Ramgonga and Cossillah, which have been described in the former part of this work.

The jaghire, though so highly favoured by nature, has, nevertheless, been much assisted by the industrious spirit of its inhabitants, aided by the wise and benevolent institutions of the late Ferozoolah Khan.

Throughout his whole territory, that prince caused aqueducts to be made, which traverse the corn fields in all directions; they are sufficiently broad and deep. In the eastern confines, near the Almora hills, the inhabitants avail themselves of the numerous streams which flow from the mountains, by making artificial dams; and, at the proper seasons, inundate their lands, which is of particular benefit to the early crops. All these advantages give the country the appearance of an highly cultivated garden.

Sugar cane, rice, and tobacco, are produced in the greatest abundance, and of the best quality; the canes are from eight to ten feet high, and the crops of wheat, barley, and various kinds of grain, are nothing inferior to the most cultivated parts of Hindostan; the

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

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

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

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

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

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

APPENDIX, III.

نامه جناب معلي ركاب حضرت صاحب عالم مرزا جهاندارشاه بهادر براي كېتي اري
ممالك فرنك

يامن هو حمده اول المصا صد الخلقه الخليلته الحسبام وللا فتاح به من اثار دولة
السلطه السلطايه الغبطيه البعظام انوار مد سك من مطاع الله هس و الله فاق طو
الع و اشد ار قدرنك من السمك الي السماك لوامع استالك ان تصاي ماي محمد
يشك و رسولك الكريم و الله و اصحابه العظام الذ ين هم اساسن الصراتا المشصتبم
اما بعسه براي عالم اري جهان بارن فريدون فر داور داد كرباد شاه عادل معدلن
كستر ملك بازل اقلاب نظر سپهر چشم مهر خدم دوست نواز دشمن كداز راست پيوند كچ
بر انداز سكدر و سگاه همشيد كلاه كېخسرو پناه خورشيد نكاه كپو
ان ايوان بر حسين امشان عموي مكان خديو كامكار خسرو نامد ار
نوشپرو ان زنجير دار سپهر اقتدار مه خدم متكار صاحب دانش و فرهنگ زبده
اكيلل داد رنك بادشاه ممالك فرنك داراشكوه راست بزوه اسمان كرياس نيك
اساس حق شناس مالك طوق و تاج شناسنده باح و حراج كهف السلا طين ملاجاي النخو
اقبن لايح و ساطع باد كه اين نياز مند سابق ازين بر سبل تفصيل مشروحا
بدرگاه كېتي پناه احوال اختلال ممالك و سعت اباد هندو ستان مينو مكان و
اختلاف اري اراكين دولت دامراي عظام زشت خوي مغسدارن كوته انديش و شورش
غاديان بد كپش دورود خود پش عماد للدوله مستر حشتي بهادر براي استمد
اد موافق ارشاد اقلاب نهاد حضرت خاقان جهان خديو زمين اسمان خسم و
كېهان خدمت دهند كشور ستان داراب دربان ملك باسبان سبان سرير فلک
سر برجم جاه سلا طين پناه طلاله مروج احكام خراج مهر شپهر عظمت و عروج
طوع عسلم و طبل انعام رحمت حق بر كانه انام انبه قدرت كايي الهي برروي

APPENDIX, III.

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

EXORDIUM *—INVOCATION TO THE DEITY.

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

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

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

زمین اوسمان اکاهی مستند ارای دین در دوساده امروز قوانین ملک دملت باد
 شاه ابحم شاه سلطان جن اکاه شمع شبنان صاحب قرانی مصباح زحاجه دود
 بان کورکائی شاه فلک قدر کو اکب ساه کز علش مچ بود مهر و ماه قطب
 کهم رکن سهرایان خرد اقطاب زین درنان اظهار ساخته مدت چهار سال که با
 بین غرلخت پیش صاحبان انگریز و برادر غریز نولب وزیر متوقف مانده مژ صدا
 داد از جناب ان کشور کشای کیتی ارای باند و از حشمت و ایالت مرتبت شو
 کت دیارت مترلت افعت دوز ارت درجت طلب استند وازند مای کمی انگریز
 بهادر منبمود و دوین اشاده فور فتور و فساد از اطراف و اکناف دورود مرهته و
 سندها پتیل که ریس روس الله شرار بود در حصور ساطع النور با عث مزید شورش
 شور بختان فتنه پرداز و بغاه کونه بین باهین نوین تازه ترشد و هر چند از
 درگاه خلافت نپاه با سردار مرکوز بتصایح هوش افزا و کلات دولت پرا ارشاد
 قدسی پسند برای تا لپف قلوب کافه برایا و حفاظت عامه له عایا که دوایع بد
 ایع ایزدی اند و آبادی ممالک مکرو سه بویست ان با طل کیش ناعاقبت اندیش
 اند رز که مانند خسروانی اویزه کوش باطل نبوش نکرده باهرکس طرح متخا
 صمت افکند حتی که باراجها که از قدیم اشاطین و اراکین دولت عظمی بودند
 سمبا سر آمد نوینان عظام دقد ده فد و بان عقاب فبرحام سری مهاراج ادوهراج را
 جی نکرسوای پرتاب سنکه بهادر که نسبت و کلای بضد و بخص لایف للکر
 مت و لا اختصاص راسخ ابرهان عمده اراکین عظام مهارا حد بحی سنکه دارد
 و از قدیم الله یام قرابت کونه وصلت باین حاند ان عالیشان از اسلاف خواقین
 عالمقد ارو شاهان ذوی الاقتدار دارند طرح پپیش پکا افکنده مصدر بگی و
 طغیان کشت بالا خره لاسب با خورده از اوج عظمت و مختاری حضور سا طع الوز
 که بوکالت مطلق سرافراز شده بود به حضیض بزیمت و کرداب نذلت جایض
 خاکسر کشت از و مراین انقلاب تازه سرکشی با غیلان زیاده از اند از کشت
 بکطرف هنگامه افا غنه ملاعنه نمک حرام پسر ضا بته خان بد فرجام غلام
 قادر پداد کر که پدرش علی الد و ام از خلالت ذمیمه ذاتی شورش قطری درسر بیمغز
 داشت و بکطرف دیگر مفسد ان با طل ثبرده انقاد نبر ان خرابی انقدر زیانه
 کشیده که تا پپایه تخت همد و ستان جنت مکان رسیده و خاب کپو ان
 ان حضرت ظل میخانه مغیس لغیس متوجه اطلاق این اتش دوز ان اند و شتجات

“ nity like *Feridoon**, the monarch distributing justice over the world,
 “ cherisher of friends, and dreadful avenger of enemies, whose
 “ throne is resplendent as that of Alexander, and magnificent as
 “ *Gemshid*†, of aspect brilliant as the sun, and of auspicious fortune,
 “ the most exalted King of England, great as *Darius*‡, wise, mag-
 “ nanimous, lord of royal insignia, who collects tribute from mighty
 “ kingdoms, *be it known and understood*; Prior to this address, your
 “ suppliant has in the most explicit manner represented to the throne
 “ the asylum of the universe, that the disturbances which have arisen
 “ within the empire of Hindostaun, the dissensions among the no-
 “ bility and Omrahs of high renown, the rebellious designs of the
 “ wicked, plots, treasons and conspiracies of disobedient subjects,
 “ have been related to you by order of the imperial presence our re-
 “ nowned sovereign and venerable parent, (the Khakan§ of the
 “ world, the bright taper of devotion of the great lord of the con-
 “ junction (Sahib Keraun ||), and resplendent torch of the family of
 “ (Goorgaun ¶) to the Nuwaub of exalted dignity, Mr. Hastings,
 “ Behauder, governor-general, that he might come to the aid and
 “ assistance of the royal family.

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

* A king of Persia famous for his justice.

† A king of Persia who is related to have built the palace of Persepolis.

‡ Darius the son of Hytaspes or Kish-Asp.

§ Khakan, a Scythian or Mogul title, according to historians first adopted by the great Timoor on his conquest of Tartary, and subsequently assumed by all his posterity who sat on the throne of Hindostaun.

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

¶ Goorgaun—the family from whom Timoor was descended.

خاص کرامت انحصار علی التواتر و توالی بر ای این نیاز مند در گاه الهی و ز
 برادر غریب نواب و وزیر و صاحبان انکریز و حشمت کورنر بهادر شستن طلب حضور
 بصاهبن دل نشین که زهوه سنگ از آن اب شوه بتا کید اکید تمام عز ایراد
 پافشد هر چند حشمت و مرتبت کورنر بهادر به ابرام الا کلام ابلاغ و ارشادات قد سی
 نموده شد کورنر بهادر بسبب مجبوری که از طرف آن ولایت پیشه عموی مگذار
 حکم پیش قدمی نسبت مجبور بودند لیکن برادر غریز لواب وزیر هسم اقدم برین
 امر نمودند و تسال حکم کبیتی مطاع افتاب سماع که ظر لوازم اقرزار سته بی
 حکم آن عموی مگذار سجا این نیاز مند لا جرم کمر همت بطلاق غز میت مستحکم
 بسته و نظر بر امداد غیبی و تا مبد اب لاریبی و تو فیقات یزد دانی و تاید ات اسمانی
 بوده درین طوقان طلاطم خیز و عمارن بلا ایگز رخشن حرات بمبد آن غرهیت
 متو کلا علی الله امکده مضمار قصب السف از مبا من اقبال بی زوال شانشاهی می
 ربایم و عازم آن ناحیه باد صف قلت اعوان و الضار هسنتم اگر درین وقت آن
 اونک ار ای جهان و کشور کشای دوران حکلم محکلم به کورنر بهادر درباره نصرت
 او لبای دولت ابد مدت و رفن حصنور پر نور و امداد و تبه کوه بنیان کاید بعبد از
 این فتوت و مرد می و مروت نخواهد بود خصا که یوسپه قلی الد دام ار ظالعه علیه
 شاهان سپهر اقتد آرو خواقین کردون مدار این حرکات که باعث رفاه کافه
 عباد و امن و امان بلاد و نیکو نامی درین روزگار یمدار باشد بسضه شهود پیوسته
 خصوصاً حمیت اخوت در قوت مخرجت جنست بنوعی که حضرت خود بر ولت آن خلا
 فت پناه را بجای برادر مشفق شد و این نیاز مند آن سلطنت دستکاه را عموی
 مکارن پیش خود قرار داده برای این امر کواه عادل و ازلا ولایت است افتاب عظمت و
 جلال از اوج کردون عزت و اقبال لا مع باد

“ have resided with our friends the English, and our brother dear
“ as life the vizir of the empire, and during that period we have
“ not failed to solicit from the counsellors of the East-India Com-
“ pany the restoration of our imperial authority, and the re-establish-
“ ment of our paternal dominions.

“ During this interval, from the relaxed state of the government,
“ and, in consequence of the arrival of the deceitful Marhattas, and of
“ *Sindiab* (who is chief of the seditious) those disturbances and rebel-
“ lions increasing in tenfold proportion have augmented the distress
“ of our august parent ; and notwithstanding the wholesome advice
“ and salutary council given from the throne to the aforesaid chief to
“ conciliate the attachment of the ancient nobility, and extend protec-
“ tion to the distressed peasantry (a conduct which, under divine fa-
“ vour, gives security and permanency to empire) that ungrateful
“ chief, regardless of the royal will, has established himself in con-
“ tinued and unvaried opposition, until, having by his improper con-
“ duct exasperated the Rajahs and princes of our empire, and particu-
“ larly the most illustrious prince of Jynaghur, the pillar of fidelity,
“ Maharajah Pertaub Sing, as likewise the ruler of Joudpore, both of
“ whom are allied by blood to the royal family. Those warlike chiefs,
“ uniting to punish the source of oppression, gave him battle, and de-
“ feated him, so that, deprived of his office of Ameer Al Omrah, or
“ chief of nobles, he fell at once from the summit of imperial favour,
“ and was precipitated into the abyss of annihilation and contempt.

“ Amidst these vicissitudes of fortune, the machinations of the re-
“ bellious increased to an extent almost immeasurable.

“ On one side, Gholaum Caudir Khan (son of the detested Afghaan
“ Zabita Khan, whose whole life was employed in conspiring against
“ the safety of the state) has erected the standard of rebellion. His
“ example encouraging others, the disturbances became so formi-
“ dable as to penetrate even to the threshold of the imperial palace,
“ so that our august parent was necessitated to adopt the most stren-
“ uous efforts to extinguish this destructive fire.

“ For this purpose, he dispatched repeated and urgent commands
“ to this your suppliant, as likewise to the governor-general of high
“ dignity (Earl Cornwallis) as to our dear brother the vizir of the
“ empire, to come to the assistance of the imperial court.

“ But it appearing that on the arrival of the imperial demand,
“ neither the governor-general or the vizir of the empire had re-
“ ceived your majesty's commands to that effect, they were of
“ consequence constrained to withhold the assistance required.

“ We, therefore, girding the loins of circumspection with the belt
“ of resolution, and casting our eyes towards future events, and the
“ mercies of divine providence in this stormy ocean of our distress,
“ rely on your majesty for the restoration of our authority; and if
“ your majesty, who adorns the throne of the universe, will graciously
“ condescend to issue your high commands to the governor-general to
“ effect the restoration of the royal authority in these kingdoms,
“ punish our rebellious subjects, and re-establish the august house of
“ Timoor, such conduct will be perfectly consistent with the dictates
“ of generosity and the usages of sovereign princes; and finally, the

“ result of this kind interposition by establishing the repose of the people of God, and affording peace and plenty to a distracted empire, will render your Majesty’s name renowned among the princes of the earth.

“ As our honoured parent, his imperial majesty, bound by every tie of gratitude, regards your majesty as a brother dearer than life, so this your suppliant hopes to be honoured by the endearing appellation of your nephew.

“ For the rest, may the sun of your majesty’s grandeur and prosperity be perpetually resplendent in the sphere of glory and auspicious fortune.”

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

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

APPENDIX, IV.

Elegy written by SHAH-AULUM after the Loss of his Sight.

صمصرا حادثه برخاست بی خواری ما
آفتاب فلک رفعت شاهي بودم
چشم ما کنده شد از جور فلک بهتر شد
داد افغان بچه شوکت شاهي بر باد
کرده بودیم کنایه که سزایش این بود
کرد سی سال نظارت که مراداد بر باد
قاریتار بی چهره که همزم بودند
حق طفلان که زسی سال فراهم کردند
عهد و پیمان بپیمان داده نمودند دغا
شیر داد یم به انعی بچه پرورد یم
قوم افتاد و مغلبه همه بازی دادند
آن که از اده همدان که بدوزخ پرورد
کل محمد که زمروران بشرارت کم نیست
هم اله یار و سلیمان و بدل بیک لعین
شاه یتیمور که داروسر نسبت بامی
مادهوجی سیندهبه فرزند جگر نبدمی
را چه و را ووز مید ارا میرو چه فقیر
حال ما کشته بتره چو امامان زیوند
بود جانکاه زرومال چهارم همچو مرض
اصف الدوله و انگریز که دلسوز من اند
آفتاب از فلک امروز تبا هی دیدی

داد بر باد سروبرک جهان آری ما
برد در شام زوا ال او سپه کاری ما
که نه نینیم که کند غیر جهان واری ما
کبت جز دات مزه که کند یاری ما
هست امید که بخشد کنه کاری ما
زود تریافت تللا فی ستمکاری ما
ست جز مکل مبارک به پر ستاری ما
کرده تاراج نمودند سبکساری ما
مکلبان خوب نمودند و قاداری ما
عاقبت کشت بجزوی خونخواری ما
بسکه کشتند مجوز کرفناری ما
بانی جور و ستم شد بدل افکاری ما
چه قدر که و کالت نیک رفتاری ما
هر سه بتند کمر بهر دل از آری ما
زود یا شد که باید بمیدد کاری ما
هست مصروف تلا فی ستمکاری ما
حیف باشد که نسازد بغمخواری ما
کرد تقدیر از روزی ما خواری ما
دفع از فضل الهی شده بماري ما
چه عجب که بنمایند مدد کاری ما
باز فروا دهد ایزد سرو سرداری ما

APPENDIX, IV.

*Free Translation, in Verse, of an Elegy composed by Shah-Aulum
after the loss of his Sight, as quoted in chapter 101b, page 180.*

* WHERE with bright pomp the stately domes arise,
In yon dark tower an aged monarch lies,
Forlorn, dejected, blind, replete with woes,
In tears his venerable aspect shews ;
As through the lonely courts I bent my way,
Sounds struck my ear, which said, or seem'd to say,

“ Lo, the dire tempest gathering from afar,
“ In dreadful clouds has dimm'd the imperial star ;
“ Has to the winds, and broad expanse of heaven,
“ My state, my royalty, and kingdom given ;
“ Time was, O King, when clothed in power supreme,
“ Thy voice was heard, and nations hail'd the theme ;
“ Now sad reverse, for fordid lust of gold,
“ By traitorous wiles, thy throne and empire fold.

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

“ See yon fierce Afghan* with intemperate haste,
“ Gleams like a meteor through the palace waste,
“ Frowning, terrific, threatens with a grave
“ Thy progeny, O Timoor, good and brave;
“ Yet, not the treatment from th’ inhuman foe,
“ Not all my kingly state in dust laid low,
“ Can to this breast such torturing pain impart,
“ As does, O Nazir†, thy detested art;
“ But tho’ too late, the day of reckoning come,
“ The tyrant whom thou serv’dst has seal’d thy doom,
“ Has hurled thee, rebel, headlong from the height
“ Of power abused, and done thy sovereign right:
“ Chaste partners of my bed, and joys serene,
“ Once my delight, but now how changed the scene!
“ Condemned with me in plaintive strains to mourn,
“ The scanty pittance from our offspring torn!
“ The viper, whom with fostering care I nurs’d,
“ Deep in my bosom plants his sting accurs’d;
“ Riots in blood, and heedless of his word,
“ Pants for the ruin of his sovereign lord.
“ Nobles ingrate‡, upheld by power and pride,
“ To whom our favours never were denied;
“ See to what misery and dire disgrace,
“ Your perfidy accurs’d, has brought a royal race:

* Gholaum Caudir Khan.

† Munfoor Ali Khan, superintendant of the household.

‡ The Mogul nobility who abandoned the king on the approach of the rebels.

- " Bright northern star from Cabul's realms advance,
 " Imperial 'Timoor* poize the avenging lance.
 " On these vile traitors quick destruction pour,
 " Redress my wrongs, and kingly rights restore ;
 " Thee too, O Sindiah, illustrious chief,
 " Who once didst promise to afford relief ;
 " Thee I invoke, exert thy generous aid,
 " And o'er their heads high wave the avenging blade.
 " And ye, O faithful pillars of my state,
 " By friendship bound, and by my power elate,
 " Hasten, O Afuf†, and ye English chiefs‡,
 " Nor blush to sooth an injured monarch's griefs ;
 " But stay my soul, unworthy rage disown,
 " Learn to sustain the loss of fight and throne ;
 " Learn that imperial pride, and star-clad power,
 " Are but the fleeting pageants of an hour ;
 " In the true crucible of dire distress,
 " Purged of alloy, thy sorrows soon shall cease ;
 " What ! though the sun of empire and command,
 " Shorn of its beams, enlightens not the land ;

* Timoor Shah, king of Cabul, on his father, the Abdallee's, last visit to Delhi, was married to a princess of the royal family, which gives his son, Zimaun Shah, a claim to the throne of Hindostan.

† Afuf Al Dowla, vizir of the empire.

‡ It is much to be lamented, that the state of politics at Calcutta could not, at that time, admit of government interfering on the occasion—for such was the influence of the British name, that had the detachment stationed at Anopshire, only marched out of their cantonments, the brutal tyrant would have desisted, and the king's misfortunes been averted.

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

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

