

Defeats
the Vice-
roy of
Labor.

with all Expedition marched up to the Vice-roy, before he had Time to retire, and gave him a total Defeat. *Sikheria-kan* fought on this Occasion with abundance of Valour; but having too few Troops, and seeing that the Fortune of *Kouli Kan* carried every Thing before it, he quitted the Field of Battle, and accompanied with several of his Officers, threw himself into the City of *Labor*, resolved to defend himself there till the imperial Army came to his Relief.

Labor de-
scribed.

Labor, or, as Mr. *Thevenot* * writes it, *Labors*, is distant from *Cachemire*, which lies to the North of it, 48 or 50 Leagues. From *Deli*, which lies to its South, it is remote at least an hundred Leagues; for they reckon 200 Cosses from one City to the other, and the Cosses or Half Leagues are very long in this Country. *Moultan* is to the West of *Labor* sixty and some odd Leagues. To the East of it are high Mountains, inhabited in many Places by *Rajas*, some of whom are tributary to the great *Mogul*, and others not. These latter have strong Holds, to which they retire, and cannot be driven from them, whatever Robberies they commit upon the Merchants: So that those who travel this Country, are obliged to have Soldiers for their Guard, to defend the *Caravanferas* from these Thieves.

Its Situa-
tion.

Labor is situated in 31 Degrees 50 Minutes North Latitude, near the River *Rawi*, which runs into the *Indus*. The River formerly ran close to the Town, but having its Course

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on a level Ground, it altered its Channel above a quarter of a League. It was a very fine Place when the *Mogul* Emperors kept their Court there, and before they had preferred to it either *Deli* or *Agra*. It is large, and has been, like the other imperial Residences, adorned with Mosques, public Baths, Squares, Quays, Palaces, and Gardens. The Castle still remains, it being a good Building. Formerly it had three Gates towards the City, and nine towards the Country. Within-side of it is the King's Palace, which has not yet lost all its Ornaments. There are many Paintings upon the Walls, representing the Actions of the Great *Moguls*, whose Ancestors are depicted with great Magnificence. Upon one Gate there is a Crucifix, and upon another the Picture of the Virgin *Mary*; which *Mr. Thevenot* takes for an Evidence of *Geban-guir's* Hypocrisy, who pretended to have a high Regard for the Christian Religion, in order to flatter the *Portuguese*, of whom he had Occasion. However that be, this City gives Name to a Province of *Indostan*, which was antiently a Kingdom. The *Moguls* call it *Pan-geab*, which signifies the five Rivers, because there are five which have their Sources in this Territory. In the *Grecian* Times they were called *Acesines*, *Cophes*, *Zaiadras*, *Hypasis*, and *Hydaspes*; which last is particularly famous for the Victory which *Alexander the Great* won at the Passage of it over *Porus*, who perhaps was King of that Province which we now call *Labor*. The Names of these Rivers, at this Day, are *Bebat*, *Conab*, *Find*,
Rawy,

Rawy, and *Van*: They all fall into the *Indus*.

Produce As to the rest; this Province is one of the
and Ma- largest and most plentiful in all *Indostan*. Its
nufactures Fertility is in a great Measure owing to the
Rivers just mentioned. Whatsoever is necessary to human Life, as Rice in abundance, with Corn and Fruits, is here produced; as also good Wines, and the very best Sugar in all the Empire. In the City they not only manufacture Linen Cloths, and print them in Variety of Colours, but work whatever is made in any other Part of the *Indies*. Tho' they reckon it 150 Leagues from *Labor* to *Agra*, yet is there a Causeway all the way, planted with the most beautiful Rows of Trees in the Universe. The Trees are high, bushy, and their Branches very long. It is conjectured, but without any solid Reason, that *Labor* is built upon the Ruins of the antient *Bucephalic*, which *Alexander the Great* erected in Memory of his famous Horse. *Labor*, in Fact, is but a modern City, and not long ago was but an inconsiderable Town. Besides, tho' the Name *Alexander*, as I before remarked, be known in *Indostan*, the People there never heard a Word about his Horse.

Kouli Kan But to return to our History: *Kouli Kan*
pursues followed close at the Governor of *Lanor's*
the Go- Heels, who retired precipitately towards his
vornor. Capital, and threw himself into it with the few People that accompanied him. The *Schah*, without permitting his Soldiers to spoil the Dead, or to pillage the Camp which the Vice-roy had abandoned, marched directly

to *Labor*, and arrived there a few Hours after the Vice-roy had got Entrance. Every thing there was in the utmost Confusion; the Inhabitants were in a great Consternation for the Defeat of their Vice-roy, and the Garrison appeared to be no less disheartened.

In the midst of the Surprise arrived *Kouli Kan*, and, making an advantageous Use of the great Number of Scaling-Ladders which he had got made by Advice of his *European* Engineers, he ordered the Place to be stormed: But, notwithstanding the Bravery of the *Persian* Soldiers, and the Consternation of those within, *Sikheria-kan*, at the Head of some intrepid *Indians*, sustained the Assault with a great deal of Vigour, and repulsed even the Troops of *Kouli Kan*. Reflecting however, that it was impossible long to make head against victorious Troops, commanded by such a General, he capitulated, and the *Schah* granted him generously the Terms he demanded, except that of being conducted with his Garrison to *Mahmet-Cha*. For his own part indeed, he had Leave to retire whither he would; but for his Garrison, which were still pretty numerous, the Victor detained them Prisoners of War.

When the Tidings of all these Events came to the Ears of the *Indian* Monarch, he was upon full March to relieve *Labor*. But Affairs having thus changed their Situation, it was necessary for him to change his Design, and, instead of advancing, to make a Halt. He did so, and extending his Army by Parties, ordered Possession to be taken of all the Avenues of the Kingdom of *Labor*,

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in hopes to surround, and as it were ensnare the *Persians*. His united Army amounted, according to Report, to above 500,000 Horse, and a Number of Infantry in Proportion. But among this incredible Number of Soldiers, there was not perhaps one who did not tremble at the very Name of *Kouli Kan*; whereas the *Persians* were full of Confidence and Resolution. All *Indostan* had a Sensation of the Terror that seemed to have seized her whole Army; and the Peasant, as well as the Citizen, was in a Consternation that cannot be expressed.

Mahmet-Cha, with the main Body of his Army, entrenched himself in an advantageous Post. *Kouli Kan*, he was in Hopes, would be obliged at least to return as he came, for want of Subsistence in that Province. But the *Persian* made a Detachment of 30,000 Men, who completed the Subjection of all the rest of the Province, and brought in more Provisions than their Army had need of. Far otherwise was it in the *Mogul's* Camp, from which *Kouli Kan* intercepted, and cut off all the Convoys; and tho' the *Indians* are naturally extreme temperate, such a frightful Number of People could not subsist without eating. In a word, they soon saw themselves famished by the very People they had been in hopes of starving to Death. It was to no Purpose that they enlarged the Escortes, which were to conduct the Supplies to their Camp; 500 *Persian* Horse would appear on a sudden, without having been seen before, and make no Scruple to attack 10,000 of the *Mogul* Cavalry: They beat them, took all their Stores, and brought

brought them to their own Army, or burnt them upon the Spot, to prevent their doing the Enemy any Good.

Things were in this Condition when the *Sadat-Kan* *Omrah Sadat-Can*, *Seuba*, or Governor of *A-* arrived in *out*, arrived at the *Indian Army*. *Mahmet-Cha* *Mahmet-* had sent for him, to assist him both with his *Cha's* Courage and Counsel, in this critical State of *Army*. Affairs. *Sadat-Can* had in reality a great deal of Capacity, and as much Bravery: But he was born a *Persian*, which alone might suffice to render him suspected; not to mention that he was the sworn Enemy of *Commarudien Can*, who passed for the Emperor's chief Favourite.

Being consulted by his Imperial Majesty, *Sadat-Can* represented to him, with a great deal of Force, the general Consternation into which the ill Success of this War had thrown all *Indostan*, and how necessary it was to act with Vigour and Resolution in order to change the Face of Affairs; gave him to understand that the Slowness of his Proceedings, and his natural Effeminacy, were the Cause of all these Disasters; and advised him to send for the Prince *Amet-Cha*, his Son, who wanted neither Courage, Prudence, nor Vigilance, and who infallibly would inspire new Life into the Troops. The Emperor followed this Advice in part: He sent immediately for the Prince *Amet-Cha*, in a Litter all shining with Gold, Pearls, and precious Stones; but gave him, when he arrived, very little Authority in the Army. As does also the Prince *Amet-Cha*.

After the Prince was come, *Mahmet-Cha* advanced towards *Kernul* or *Karnal*, dragging
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with him a Train of Artillery equal to the enormous Number of his Troops. It consisted of 1200 Pieces of Cannon, most of them Brass, and 50 Mortars. All these formidable Preparations were augmented by 500 Elephants, loaded with Towers and armed Men. *Kouli Kan's* Army, with all the Reinforcements it had received lately from *Persia*, did not amount to 80,000 Soldiers; which were but a Handful in Comparison of the prodigious Number of their Enemies. But what cannot Valour and Confidence perform?

Expectations from a Battle. The two Armies were only two Leagues from each other; which Proximity gave Room to think that there would very soon be a Battle, such a Battle as would determine the Fate of the *great Mogul*, and reduce him from the proudest of Princes to the most abject of Mortals, or make him at once the Sovereign of *Asia*.

Sadat Can *Sadat-Can* pretended the utmost Loyalty to *Mahmet-Cha*, who, as he had Occasion of such an able Counsellor, dissembled his Suspicion, and even prevailed upon *Commardien-Can* to suspend his Resentment, and to second the *Souba* of *Acut* in whatever regarded the Good of the State.

Kouli Kan attacks the Enemy's Entrenchments, and is repulsed. Mean while *Schah Nadir*, being resolved to come to a general and decisive Action, advanced at the Head of 6000 Horse, to take a View of the *Mogul* Army. This mighty Host, which covered a Tract of above Six Leagues Extent, was in some Places very well entrenched; but in others more indifferently, where they had wanted *European* Engineers. The *Schah* saw the Advantage, and, tho' attended

tended with not the tenth Part of his own little Army, ventured to penetrate into one of those weak Parts of the Entrenchment, where his Men cut in Pieces and pillaged all they met. This happened to be *Sadat-Can's* Quarter, who being instantly informed that the *Persians* were plundering his Baggage, repaired thither with a Reinforcement of Horse, commanded by *Rajas*, and accompanied by Prince *Amet-Cha* and *Commarudien-Can*. A very sharp and bloody Combat ensued, which lasted near two Hours; so long did this Handful of *Persians*, with *Kouli Kan* at their Head, dispute the Ground: At last, however, they were obliged to give way to Numbers, and retire with only a part of their Booty, the rest having been retaken.

Tho' the *Indians* could boast that they had this once repulsed the *Persians*, they nevertheless paid so dear for the Advantage, that it had almost been better for them not to have obtained it. Besides a great many common Soldiers, they lost several Officers of the first Rank. *Sadat-Can*, having received a Wound, was thrown to the Earth, and trampled under Foot by the Horses and Elephants; notwithstanding which, they accused him of holding Intelligence with *Schah Nadir*. *Commarudien-Can* was so dangerously wounded, that he died a few Days after. As most of the *Omrah's* and *Rajas* charged the first with *Sadat*-having been the Cause of all this Misfortune, *Can's* Father he lost his Life fighting valiantly; upon that Accusation *Mahmet-Cha* confiscated the Money and Effects of the Deceased, whose

Loss in
that Ac-
tion;

mily ru-
in'd upon
his Death.

Wife and Children were thereby reduced to Beggary.

*Mahmet-
Cha de-
sires a
Peace.*

However, tho' *Kouli Kan* likewise lost a great many Men in the Skirmish I have been describing, this did not hinder his advancing nearer the *Mogul's* Camp, in full Resolution to come to a decisive Battle. This was not the Design of *Mahmet-Cha*, whose Eyes were so opened by what had lately passed, that he had no Ambition to try his Fortune against that of the *Schah*. Already had he resolved to sue for Peace, and to obtain it at any Price whatever. With this View he sent to the *Persian* Camp, and demanded a Passport for the *Omrah Nazamelmock*, whom he had nominated his Plenipotentiary to the *Schah*, with a full and unlimited Commission; engaging himself to confirm and ratify all that he should stipulate in the way of an Accommodation.

*His Mini-
ster con-
fers with
Kouli
Kan.*

The Passport being granted, *Nazamelmock* repaired to *Kouli Kan's* Quarters, and had a Conference with that Monarch. At first he endeavoured to give him an advantageous Idea of the Condition of the *Mogul* Army, and the Intrepidity of their Emperor: But *Kouli Kan* was not to be imposed on in that Manner. *I freely dispense*, says he, *with all your Rodomontade: I know perfectly well to what State your Army is reduced. All the important Places in this Kingdom I am Master of, and my Troops have taken Possession of all the Avenues. You have no Provisions in your Camp, and in four Days I will either make you all Slaves without fighting, or oblige you to perish*
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with Hunger, or, which is but little better, to disband and separate, to wander like Vagabonds from Place to Place, exposed every Hour to Detachments of my Army, who will use you without Mercy.

The Omrah, perceiving it was to no Purpose to dissemble, freely confessed that the Mogul Army was upon the Point of perishing, and that this was the Motive which engaged the Emperor his Master to desire a Peace. "To obtain it," replied the Schah, *Mahmet-Gha* ought to weigh well the following Particulars."

Preliminary Articles demanded by Kouli Kan.

"First, that I have invaded this Country for a Barrier to my own, and to recover whatever lies on my Side the *Indus*, which was ceded to *Abbas* King of *Persia* and his Successors, by *Humayum* (1) Emperor of *Indostan*, in Virtue of an Agreement between those two Princes.

Secondly, That I am also come to take Possession of the famous *Mogul* Throne, made by Order of *Tamerlane the Great*, and valued at Nine Carols or *Korours* (about 12 Millions *Sterling*) and to carry it out of *India* into *Persia*.

Thirdly, That the *Great Mogul Humayum* having borrowed 10,000 Soldiers of *Abbas the Great*, to support him against the Intrigues of the Officers of his Army, after he had re-ascended the Throne, and that those Soldiers hav-

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ing

(1) This is the same Prince that was dethroned by the *Patans*, as I observed before. *Schah Abbas*, surnamed the *Great*, King of *Persia*, restored him, and in Recompence had the Country here mentioned granted by a Treaty between the two Monarchs.

Soldiers having continued in the *Mogul's* Service, without the Court of *Persia's* ever receiving any thing in return; *Kouli Kan* demanded Satisfaction for them of *Mahmet-Cba*.

Fourthly, That if the *Mogul* Emperor desired to make Peace with him, he must consent to have it stipulated in the Treaty, that in Case either of them should happen to be attacked, the other should be obliged to furnish him with a certain Supply of Men and Money.

Finally, That having, since his being seated on the Throne of *Persia*, sent Embassadors to *Mahmet-Cba*, he desired to know the Reason why they were so long detained, and why the *Mogul* had never sent a suitable Answer to the Letters they brought."

Who requires an Interview with the Great *Mogul*.

Kouli Kan ordered these five Articles to be put in Writing, and delivered to *Nazamel-molk*; to whom he said farther: *I command you to tell your Prince from me, that he will do well to meet me to-morrow Noon, in the middle Space between the two Camps. He must not come attended with more than three Persons, whom he may chuse from among his Omrahs and Rajas. We can better treat of a Peace between ourselves, than by Agency of Embassadors. In the mean Time, let him prepare his Answer to the five Points in Question.*

The *Mogul* Court had no sooner seen these Demands, but they felt their Fears re-double. It was requisite however to come to a Resolution. In Want as they were of all the Necessaries of Life, tho' the most numerous, they were not the strongest Party. The most prudent Method was thought to be, to give

give way to the Necessity of the Times, and to grant all that was stipulated in *Schah Nadir's* Demands.

The main Point was, how they could venture upon the Interview required. *Mahmet-Cha* apprehended it was only a Snare, to get Possession of his Person: But as his Fortune could not be more deplorable than it was at present, he determined with himself to pass over every prudential Reason, that might advise him against putting himself into the Power of his Enemy. He punctually appeared therefore, at the Hour and Place appointed, with only three Attendants, among whom was the *Omrah Nazamelmolk*. As he passed along, he saw all the Avenues, both to the Right and Left, occupied by *Persian* Soldiers, and at his Arrival perceived *Kouli Kan* himself, in the Midst of a large Body of his Generals, and other principal Officers of his Army. Which is granted.

The first Civilities being over, *Kouli Kan* intreated the *Mogul* to accompany him to the *Persian* Camp, where he gave him a magnificent Entertainment. After Dinner, the two Monarchs conferred together an Hour, when *Mahmet-Cha* declared he accepted the Preliminaries which the Conqueror had sent him. *Well then*, said *Kouli Kan*, *Their* if you are satisfied, the Treaty shall soon be *Conversa-* drawn up. *There is nothing farther to do,* tion but to consider of the Re-imbursment of those Expences which I have been obliged to be at in the present War, and of the annual Tribute which you are to pay me. *Mahmet-Cha* begged of him to explain himself on this Head, and

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declare what he made those two Articles amount to. *Kouli Kan* fixed the first at 40 *Kourours* or *Carols*, about 52 Millions 520,000 Pounds, and the other at 180 Millions of *Roupees*, which make 22 Millions 500,000 Pounds *Sterling*. The *Mogul*, frightened at this prodigious Sum, replied smartly, "That he would sooner surrender to him the Empire of *Indostan*, than engage to comply with such an exorbitant Demand." *You can surrender me nothing*, said *Kouli Kan* in Wrath, *which is not mine before. Art thou ignorant that the Fortune of War has made me not only Master of thy Dominions, but of thy own Life? However, thou mayst return: I give thee twenty four Hours longer to resolve in, after which I shall see what I have to do farther.*

*Mahmet-
Cha holds
a Coun-
cil.*

These Words were a Thunder-Clap in the unhappy *Mahmet Cha's* Ears. He had no Power to say a Word more, but immediately departed to his own Army, summoned a Council, and gave a Relation of all that had passed. The most prudent of the Assembly were struck with Consternation, and durst not declare their Opinion. But the young Prince *Amet-Cha*, the *Mogul's* Son, was for dying Sword in Hand, and making one desperate Effort to save the Empire. Most of the young *Omrabs* and *Rajas* came into his Sentiment; while those of more Experience thought directly otherwise. Among the latter there was one who represented, "That the Army was ready to perish with Famine, not having eat any thing for two Days past; that the Soldiers deserted by Hundreds, and went over to the Enemy,

Enemy, who abounded with every thing; in a Word, that at the least Rumour of a Battle they might perhaps all disband; of which there was the more Probability, because among those that remained, there was not one who did so on any other Principle, than the Hope of a speedy Accommodation, which would put an End to all his Misery: That therefore he could not understand what any Man meant by talking of coming to Action, it being impossible to fight without Troops."

The Importance of these Reasons made And a-
them attended to, and united the Minds of gree to
all present in one Opinion, which was, to grant all
submit to the Conditions prescribed by *Schah Kouli*
Nadir. When the Council broke up, *Mah-* *Kan's De-*
met Cha sent *Nazamelmolk* to conclude the *mands.*
Treaty with the *Persian* Monarch, and to
conduct with him, as a Present, an Elephant
of extraordinary Magnitude, richly caparisoned,
adorned with Pearls and precious Stones,
and loaded with 400,000 *Roupees* in Specie.
The Treaty was soon drawn up and signed.
All the smooth Persuasions of *Nazamelmolk*
could not mollify *Kouli Kan* upon any one
Article of it, and the Plenipotentiary saw
himself obliged to give way to the inflexible
Temper of the Victor.

No sooner was the Treaty signed, but But dis-
Nazamelmolk returned to his Master's Camp, vows the
to procure his Ratification. The *Indian* Treaty
Monarch disavowed all that had been done, when sign-
without any one's knowing the Cause of it.
This so sudden and extraordinary an Altera-
tion. It gave the greater Cause of Surprise,

as the Condition of this unfortunate Prince, far from being mended, grew worse and worse every Hour, as the Want of Necessaries became more sensible. For the *Orientals* make War without great Preparations, without Store of Provisions, without Magazines and Places of Arms; so that their Armies both come together and disband with great Facility.

And persists in it.

What could equal *Nazamelmolk's* Astonishment, when he heard his Master call him Traitor, and not only refuse to ratify the Treaty that had just been concluded, but accuse him with having made an ill Use of the full Powers that had been granted him? The *Omrab* represented to the Monarch, "That it behoved him to take Care what he did, for that the Affair in Hand was no Trifle; that nothing less was at Stake than the Safety of his Army, his Empire, and perhaps his own Life; that this was not the Way to treat a Conqueror, who had both Power and Resolution to do any thing, and whom he should rather think of appeasing by a submissive Behaviour, than to irritate him by a Breach of Faith." All this had no Effect on *Mahmet-Cha's* Mind, which was already fixed. The only Answer he gave the Minister was, that he must e'en go back and fetch him better Conditions, if he expected to have them ratified. Then turning away, he would not hear a Word more upon the Subject.

Nazamelmolk, in the utmost Consternation, returned to *Kouli Kan*, in order once more to endeavour to soften him: But no sooner

sooner did the Conqueror hear the Cause of this precipitate Return, but he put the Negotiator in Irons, and told him with a fierce, and menacing Air; *I have kept my Word, I granted Peace to my Enemy: He desires War, and he shall have it; the perfidious Man shall perish by the Sword, with all his Family, and all his Court.* Immediately he marched towards the *Mogul's* Camp, and sent Word to *Mahmet-Cha*, that he was going to massacre him and all his Army. That very Evening he gave Orders to his own Troops, to be ready for the Combat by Break of Day next Morning; enjoining the Soldiers to kill every one they met, to destroy the *Mogul's* Camp by Fire and Sword, to seize that Prince alive or dead, to violate his Women, and to give no Quarter to any of his Soldiers or Officers.

Nazamelmolk, informed of the cruel Orders which *Kouli Kan* had given in the first Emotions of his Rage, intreated earnestly to have Leave to speak to this Conqueror. His Request was granted, his Chains were taken off, and he was brought before the Monarch. Throwing himself at the Feet of the affronted Prince, he supplicated him to suspend the Effects of his just Anger, for that he did not yet despair of working somewhat on *Mahmet-Cha*, if he might have Permission to visit him once more. The *Schah*, affected with the humble Posture of this *Omrab*, yielded to his Petition, and not only engaged his Word, that he would not begin the Attack for 24 Hours longer, but permitted him to return during that Interval, according to his Desire.

Naza-

Finds the *Mogul* in Despair. *Nazamelmolk* found the *Great Mogul* provided with several Sorts of Poisons, which he had got ready prepared to take away his own Life, and the Lives of all his Wives and Children, in case *Kouli Kan* persisted to impose on him such severe Conditions.

At the Sight of these Preparations the *Omrah* trembled, exhorted the Monarch to arm himself with Resolution, represented to him that true Greatness of Soul did not consist in depriving a Man's self of Life, but in bearing Adversity with a generous Temper, and knowing how to give Way to Time and Necessity.

The *Mogul*, who, probably had no great Desire to die, relished these solid Reasons, and asked the prudent *Omrah*, if he had brought him any Diminution of his Misfortunes. *Nazamelmolk* answered him in the Negative, told him the *Schah* was inflexible, and that he had been just upon the Point of charging the Imperial Army, if by his most earnest Prayer he had not diverted him from his Purpose, and obtained a fresh Truce of 24 Hours more.

Who ratifies the Treaty too late. This so near Prospect of Danger did not hasten the *Mogul's* Resolution: The Day was spent in Consultations and Deliberations, and it was not till Evening that he prevailed on himself to ratify the Treaty. It was left in the Hands of *Kouli Kan*, and *Nazamelmolk* set out to demand it. But the propitious Time was elapsed, and the *Schah's* Mind entirely hardened: He had already given his irrevocable Orders for marching to the Attack, and would be no more importuned upon

upon the Subject. *Nazamelmolk* was remanded into Irons, and the Signal being given, the whole *Persian* Army began to be in Motion.

Mahmet-Cha, informed of this, resolved And pre- at least to make a Virtue of Necessity. He pares for drew up his Army behind their Entrench- Battle. ments, and ordered all his Artillery to play. The Consternation was so great, that the Engineers and their Train fled from their Duty, and the whole Army appeared in an inexpressible Disorder. Mean while the *Persian* Cannon began to roar, and the Army of *Kouli Kan* advanced in good Order, under the Conduct of that Hero, who rode upon a beautiful *Turkish* Horse.

The Attack began on the right Wing of His right the *Moguls*, which extended to an Eminence Wing that bounded the Plain. Two Hundred routed, Field Pieces, well supplied, soon made a Breach in the Enemy's Entrenchments; and then the *Persian* Infantry coming to close Quarters with the *Moguls*, the latter were instantly repulsed. They threw themselves in Disorder upon the Cavalry, which advanced to charge, and terrified them in such a Manner, that they fled without striking a Blow. All the Posts were instantly abandoned, the *Indians* not so much as waiting to be attacked, in order to excuse their Flight. The *Persians* pursued briskly these Fugitives, and made a dreadful Slaughter among them. It was *Amet-Cha*, the Emperor's Son before-mentioned, who commanded this Wing. He was killed upon the Spot by one of *Schah Nadir's* Guards, while he was making his utmost

utmost Efforts to bring back his Troops to the Charge.

Himself
taken
with his
Wives
and Grand-
dees.

While this passed upon the Right, the *Mogul*, surrounded by *Rajas* and *Ragipours*, who had sworn rather to fall every Man of them, than to abandon him, supported his Fortune with a little better Grace. But seeing himself surrounded on all Sides, and not willing to expose so many brave Men to certain Death, he sent to inform *Kouli Kan*, that he was ready to surrender at Discretion; that he only begged of him to let the Battle cease, and to pardon those who still continued upon the Defensive, but who were all willing to lay down their Arms. This Message disarmed the Fury of the *Schah*, who gave that Moment such good Orders, that instantly there was a Suspension of the Combat; during which the *Mogul* with all his Women, rode up to the *Schah*, and submitted to his Mercy. All that remained of the *Indian* Troops had their Arms taken from them: Their Camp, and all their Riches, fell into the Hands of the *Persians*. As to the Elephants, they had never been untied from the Place where they stood, their Conductors having abandoned them at the Signal of the Engagement.

How *Kou-
li Kan*
treats him

This Action happened near a Village called *Cerbaal*, twenty-five Leagues from *Tham-à-bat*, on the 22d of *February* 1739. *Kouli Kan* at the first would not see *Mahmet-Cha*, for Fear (as was reasonably thought) of augmenting his Affliction, by the Presence of his Conqueror. He had him conducted into a magnificent Tent, and gave him a Guard, which,

which, at the same time that it did him Honour, prevented his Escape. He likewise secured the greatest Part of the *Omrabs*, or *Grandees*, and endeavoured to gain over the *Rajas*. Some of the former very soon forgot their antient Master, and engaged in the Conqueror's Interest: Nor were there even wanting those who advised this Hero to rid his Hands of *Mahmet-Cha*, or to shut him up for Life, and to unite the two Empires of *Indostan* and *Persia*: But *Kouli Kan* rejected all these Counsels.

It is impossible to compute the Value of The Victory, which the *Persians* made in the *Mogul's* Camp: Camels were loaded with the very Jewels and ready Coin that they found there. *Kouli Kan* having got these collected together, and taken the greatest Part of them into his own Hands, resolved to pay a Visit to *Delli*, the Capital of *Indostan*; and, as soon as his Troops were a little recovered from their Fatigues, set out for that Purpose.

Mahmet-Cha, during the Journey, was carried in a Sort of Prison, placed upon the Back of an Elephant. In this Vehicle the Prisoner lies upon his Back, and can neither see nor speak to any Body. His Wives were carried in the same Manner; and as for the captive *Omrabs*, they were convey'd in Litters, or Sedans.

Delli, *Dehli*, or *Dilli*, which the *Indians* likewise call *Sjah Iboen-à-bat*, that is, the Royal Residence or Colony of *Cha-John*, is named in Latin *Dellium* by Father *Riccioli*. It is situated in 78 Degrees 20 Minutes

Lon-

Longitude, and in the Latitude of 28 Degrees 25 Minutes North.

New Delli Writers distinguish two *Delli's*, the Old and the New, of which the latter was built by *Cha-Jehan* the Father of *Aureng-Zeb*, (1) at the Beginning of the preceeding Century. It joins to Old *Delli*, and was denominated by its Founder *Cha-Jehan-Abad*, which the *Indians* pronounce, as before-mentioned, *Jhoen-à-bat*. His Design was to make it the Capital of his Empire, in the Room of *Agra*, where he found the Heats too excessive. The Ruins of the old City furnished Materials for building the New, which stands in a level champain Country, upon the Banks of a River called *Gemma*. It runs along only on one Side of that River, in such Manner as to form a Kind of Bow, or Crescent, and, except next to the Water, is every where surrounded with Walls. These Walls are of Brick, without Ditches, and flanked only with round Towers in the antient Manner, at the Distance of an hundred Paces from each other; with a Rampart of Earth behind all of 4 or 5 Foot thick. If we include with *Delli* a very long Suburb, which extends towards *Lahor*, and alone seems like a regular Town with three or four Suburbs, we shall find it inhabited for above a League in a strait Line. But the Circumference of the whole Place, including Gardens and vacant Spaces, is almost incredible.

The

(1) See *Bernier's Voyages*, and *Martiniere's Dictionary*.

The Citadel, in which stands the Seraglio The Citadel and other Royal Apartments, is built in a Semi-circle facing the River; yet not so close to the Banks but that there is an extensive gravelly Area between, where the Elephants are daily taught their Exercise, and where the Troops of the *Omrabs* and *Rajas* are frequently reviewed in Presence of the Emperor, who on that Occasion looks out at one of the Windows of his Palace. The Walls of this Fortrefs, like those of the City, are flanked with round Towers in the antient Manner, built partly of Brick, and partly of a red Stone that nearly resembles Marble. They are somewhat higher, stronger, and thicker than those of the Town, towards which are pointed from them several Field Pieces, to awe the Inhabitants. A beautiful Moat, lined with hewn Stone, and full of Water and Fish, surrounds it entirely, except fronting the River; and without the Moat extends all around a very spacious and verdant Garden, which in all Seasons of the Year is full of Flowers and blooming Shrubs. This Garden is again encompassed with the Royal Square, into which open the two principal Gates of the Citadel, that lead into two capital Streets of the whole City. In this vast Opening are erected the Tents of the *Rajas*, who are in the Emperor's Pay, and wait there to perform their Office of mounting Guard once a Week. The *Omrabs* have Barracks, and do Duty in the Fortifications. Early in the Morning they bring out upon this Square the King's Horses, which are kept in a prodigious long Stable near

near adjacent. The same Place serves for the Market of several Sorts of Commodities, and the Rendezvous of an infinite Number of Quacks and Jugglers.

Chief
Streets.

The two chief Streets in *Delli*, that is, those which run strait from the two Gates of the Citadel and the great Square, are about 25 or 30 Paces broad, and extend in Length as far as a good Eye can carry; but that which leads to the Gate of *Labor* is much the longest of the two. With regard to the Buildings, these Streets are every where much alike, and consist in Front of two long Ranges of Piazzas, without any Apartments over them. These Arcades are usually separated by thin Partitions, which make them into so many open Shops, in which Artisans work, Bankers transact their Affairs, and Tradesmen dispose of their Commodities. At Night they shut up their respective Goods in Warehouses, which lie at the Back of every Arch, and where they are kept till Morning under Lock and Key. Over these Magazines, and quite behind the Arcades, are raised the Dwelling-houses of the Tradesmen, which appear pretty enough towards the Street, and are in Fact very commodious and airy. The Top of each Arch serves for an Area before the House, where the Inhabitants come to look down in the Street, and where they sometimes lie and sleep. But these handsome Houses are not always contiguous like the Arcades, there being many of the Ware-houses that have only a small Apartment a-top, or on one Side of them, which is not seen in the Street; the

the Masters of the Shops having their Dwelling-houses elsewhere, to which they retire in the Evening.

There are five other Streets in *Delli* that resemble the above-described two, but are neither so long nor so strait; and these are every where crossed by an infinite Number of small ones. In these the petty *Omrabs*, the Lawyers, and the Magistrates, have their Houses promiscuously with private Persons. Very few of them are entirely of Brick or Stone, and much the greatest Number have only earthen Walls, with thatch'd Roofs, Courts before, and Gardens behind. Their Inside is agreeable enough, because, over and above their gay Furniture, you see a Range of long hard Canes, that support the Straw Covering, and are equally strong and beautiful; and the Walls are plaistered with a very fine white Sort of Lime. Houses.

As to the Inside of the Citadel, which incloses several Royal Buildings besides the Seraglio, there is nothing remarkable at the Entrance but two Stone Elephants, which stand on the two Sides of the Gates. The Statue of *Jemel*, the Famous *Raja* of *Chitor*, Statues. is upon one of them, and that of *Polta* his Brother upon the other. These were the Men, who with their Mother, a Woman of astonishing Spirit, gave the most extraordinary Proofs of Valour in the Sieges that they sustained against *Akbar*, and chose rather to be killed in falling forth than to surrender. It was in regard to this surprising Bravery, that their Enemies themselves thought them worthy

worthy of having Statues erected to their Memory.

streets
within the
Citadel.

After you have passed this Gate, which is one of the two above-mentioned, you come into a pretty large Street, which is divided in the Middle by a Canal of running Water. On each Side of this Street there is an Elevation of 5 or 6 Foot high, and four broad, and behind it a Row of close Arcades, resembling a long Gate-way. Upon this Elevation sit all the Clerks, Comptrollers, and other Officers, where they perform the Business of their Function, without being incommoded by the People and Horses that pass below in the Street. The Water of the Canal expands itself all over the Seraglio, and then making two Streams falls into the Moat and fills it. Another Canal, that runs under Covert 5 or 6 Leagues, brings the Water out of the main River, and was conducted with much Labour and Expence cross the Country, and even amid Rocks, which in many Places they were obliged to cut through.

When you enter the Citadel by the other Gate, you come likewise to a broad long Street, that has, like the former, its Divans or Elevations on the Sides, with Shops above instead of Arcades. This is properly a *Basar* or Market, which is very convenient during the rainy and sultry Seasons, because being vaulted all over, with Openings a-top to let in the Light, it defends against all the Inclemencies of Weather.

Besides these two large Streets, there are a great Number of small ones on the Right and Left, which lead to the Apartments where the

the *Omrabs* keep Guard. These are very magnificent Buildings, and have nothing of the Appearance of Guard-houses. You see besides many other Divans and Tents erected in different Places, which are the Offices or Compting-houses of Men in Posts. Likewise many spacious Halls, whither all Sorts of Mechanicks appear in the Morning, work there all Day, and in the Evening go home to their Houses; every one leading an easy, tranquil Life, without aspiring above that Rank or Condition he was born in. Thus one Family are all Taylors, another all Shoe-makers by Descent, and not one among them marries but to a Daughter of the same Profession. This Rule is religiously observed, not only among the *Pagans*, who are obliged to it by their Law, but with very few Exceptions among the *Mahometans* themselves.

Mechanicks.

Beyond all these Apartments, you come at last to the *Amkas*, a Sort of Royal Structure. It is a large square Court, surrounded with Arcades, without any Building upon them. The Arches are separated from each other by a Wall, with a small Postern that makes a Passage thro' them all. Over the great Gate, that is in the Middle of one of the Sides of this Square, there is a large Divan next to the Court, called *Nagar-Kanay*. This is the Rendezvous of the Trumpets, Haut-bois, and Drums, which play together in Concert at certain Hours, both by Day and Night. Over against this Gate, and beyond all the Court, there is a large and magnificent Hall, supported by several Ranks of Pillars, which, as well as the Cieling, are all neatly painted

The *Amkas*, or Place of Audience.

and

and gilt. This Hall is spacious and lofty, and opens on the three Sides that lead into the Court. In the Middle of the other Wall, which separates it from the great Seraglio, there is an Opening like a kind of Window, very broad and high, and so far from the Ground that you cannot reach the Bottom of it with your Hand. Here it is that the King, or Emperor of the *Moguls*, appears seated upon his Throne, with his Sons by the Sides of him, and several Eunuchs standing near, some of whom drive away the Flies with Peacocks Tails, and others give him fresh Air with large Fans. At some Distance below, all the *Omrahs*, all the *Rajas*, and the Embassadors of foreign Princes, stand around him upon a Divan, inclosed with a Silver Balustrade; their Eyes cast down, and their Hands across upon their Stomachs. Lower still are the *Manebdars*, who also stand in the same Posture; and beyond them, spread over all the Hall and the Court, a vast Croud of People of all Ranks. Here his Majesty about Noon every Day gives Audience to his People in general; from whence the Hall received the Name of *Amkas*, which signifies the common Place of Audience.

The *Mogul's* Diversion at the Time of Audience. This Ceremony lasts about an Hour and an half; during which Time, the Monarch diverts himself with looking at some of the finest Horses in his Stables, and several Elephants, who are brought out, and walked before him. The Elephants have their Bodies clean washed, and painted Black, except that two large Streaks of Red descend from the Top of the Head to the Trunk, where they

they unite. They are also covered, on this Occasion, with an embroidered Cloth, from each Side of which hangs down a Silver Bell, and the End of a large Silver Chain, to which the Bell is fastened, and which passes over the Creature's Back. The Tails of Cows, which are brought from *Great Thibet*, and are extremely white and dear, stick out from their Ears like large Whiskers; and two small Elephants, well dressed, walk by the Side of each large one, as if to wait on him. When these vast Colossusses come before the King, the Conductor, who sits on the Shoulders of each with a large Iron Hook in his Hand, pricks his Beast, and by kicking him makes him bend one Knee, lift up his Trunk in the Air, and set up a Sort of Howl, which the People take for a Salutation of his Majesty.

What serves for a Throne at this Ceremony is a small Bed, about the Size of one of our Throne or Campaign Beds, standing upon four Columns, Bed of with a Tester, a Back, a Bolster, and a Coun- State. terpane, all over beset with Diamonds. When the Monarch comes to sit upon it, they spread over it a Coverlid of Gold Brocade, or some other rich variegated Stuff. He ascends to it by three low Steps, of about two Foot in Length. On one Side of the Bed stands an Umbrella, raised upon a Pole of about the Length of a Half-Pike, and to every Column is fastened some Piece of the King's Armour, as to one his Buckler, to another his Sabre, to the Third his Bow, and to the Fourth his Quiver and Arrows.

From the great Hall of the *Amkas* you enter

The Cofel-Kame. enter another not so large, but however very spacious, richly painted and gilded, and with the Pavement raised 4 or 5 Feet above the Ground, like a magnificent Anti-Chamber. Here the Emperor, sitting in a Chair, with his *Omrabs* standing round him, gives private Audience to his Officers, receives their Accompts, and treats of the most important Affairs of State. They are obliged to be present every Evening at this Assembly, as in the Morning at the *Amkas*. They call this State Room the *Cofel Kame*.

Mosques. On the left Hand of the Court that contains the first Hall, you see a small Mosque, extremely well built, the Dome of which is all over covered with Lead most beautifully gilt, which makes it be taken for massy Gold. Here the Monarch goes every Day to Prayers, except *Fridays*, when he repairs to the great Mosque in the Middle of the City, where it stands upon a Rock that was made level to support it, and to give a fine Prospect all around, especially to the four Streets that here meet, and point directly to the four Corners of the Mosque. The three Entries of this Temple are magnificent. To arrive at them, you ascend 25 or 30 Steps of large beautiful Stones. Every one of these Steps quite surrounds the Place, except the last, which is cas'd with other large hewn Stones, to cover the Unevenness of the Rock. This noble Elevation contributes much to make the Building appear to advantage. The whole Structure is of Marble, and all its Gates are covered with Plates of Brass, exceedingly well wrought. Over the principal appear some small

small Turrets of white Marble, and upon the back Part of the Mosque arise three large Domes, which are also of white Marble within and without. The middle one is much the largest, and higher than the others. All the Body of the Mosque, from these three Domes to the grand Portal, is open a-top, on account of the extreme Heat of the Country. The Pavement consists entirely of Marble Squares.

When his Majesty goes on *Fridays* to pay his Devotions at this Temple, two or three Hundred Musketeers, drawn up in Ranks, wait for him at the Gates of the Citadel thro' which he passes, and about the same Number are planted along the great Street that leads to the Mosque. He rides upon an Elephant richly caprisoned, under a Canopy supported by Pillars that are finely painted and gilt; or else on a Throne shining with Gold and Azure, that stands on a Kind of Litter, or rather portable Stage, all covered with Scarlet and Brocade, and carried by eight Hundred Men upon their Shoulders. A long Train of *Omrahs* follow him, some on Horse-back, and others in a Sort of Litters, which they call *Paleki*.

There is in *Delli* one more remarkable Building, called the *Princess's Caravansera*; because *Begum-Sahib*, eldest Daughter of *Chah-Jehan*, had it erected, in Order to contribute her Part towards the Embellishment of the City; a Point in which all the *Omrahs* endeavoured to outvy each other, by Way of Complaisance to their Sovereign. It is a large Square, surrounded with Arcades, each of which is separated from the others by Wain-

scot Partitions. In the back Part of each Arch there is a small Apartment, and over the whole Range a Gallery, which surrounds the Building, and carries to the same Number of upper as there are lower Rooms. This *Caramanfera* is the Rendezvous of all great Merchants, who come from *Persia*, *Usbeck*, and other foreign Countries. The Apartments are so numerous, that they are seldom all full; and so convenient, that no other Lodging is wanted. Such is the City of *Delli*, the Capital of *Indostan*.

Kouli Kan entered this City as a Conqueror, before whom every Thing gave way. The People came out to meet him, and strewed all the Ways he passed with Flowers; either thro' a Principle of Fear, or because the Populace are always inconstant, and still imagine they shall find some private Advantage in all Revolutions of this Nature.

Account
of the
Prisoners.

The *Persian* Army encamped in the Neighbourhood of *Delli*, and had more Prisoners than their own Number amounted to; no fewer than 200,000, all tied together in Couples, and among them many *Omrabs*. Some of these latter were *Dilaat Mahmet-Can*, the Brother of *Sadat-Can*, of whom we spoke before; *Zoufem-Deulla*, *Can-Dowroon*, *Gusefne Sjach*, Governor or Vice-roy of *Indostan*, who had been wounded, it was thought, mortally, but had the good Fortune however to escape. His Brother, named *Messaffier-Can*, was killed in the Field of Battle: His Son, *Miaffier*, was taken Prisoner without being wounded; as were also *Wasselli-Can*, *Amiet-Can*, *Ali-Mahmet-Can*, *Mir-Hassan-Can*, *Son-*

gina, Afferaf-Can, Actabaer-Can, Akkal-Nick-Can, Ali-Achmet-Can, Sjaldet-Can an *Agwan*, and *Jermin Pihay* Great-Master of the Ordnance; not to mention above three Hundred other Officers of Distinction, whose Names have not been transmitted to *Europe*.

It was a very mortifying Spectacle for the *Indians*, to see so many of their Countrymen, their Relations, their Friends, all in Irons. Not a Man however thought of delivering one of them; whether it was that the Name alone of *Kouli Kan* had struck a Damp upon all their Spirits, or that the People had entertained an Antipathy for *Mahmet-Cha*, and the Grandees of his Court. However that might be, every Thing remained quiet; and those Prisoners who were desirous of Liberty, were obliged to buy it at an exorbitant Price; the common Soldiers only excepted, of whom part were sent into *Persia*, to be employed in the Mines; and the rest were sold for Slaves, some at *Delli*, and others in other Cities of *Indostan*, to be carried into foreign Countries. Such was the Fate of this prodigious Number of Troops, which *Mahmet-Cha*, like another *Xerxes*, had brought into the Field with him. I should have mentioned that 30,000 of them fell in the Field of Battle, or were killed in the Flight.

The first Thing *Kouli Kan* did, was to disarm all the Inhabitants of *Delli*. He forbade the *Omrabs* to keep more than one Horse, and one Domestic; which very much mortified those Gentlemen, who till that Time would, some of them, maintain four Hundred Horsemen, with Footmen and Slaves in

How the Victor disposes of them.

His Treatment of the *Omrabs* and *Rojas*.

Proportion. As to the *Rajas*, or Pagan Sovereigns who were Vassals to the *Mogul*, he sent them all Home to their own Territories; well knowing, that he had nothing to apprehend from their Quarter, as there was scarce one of them who was not dissatisfied with *Mahmet-Cha*. He also restored to them those of their Subjects that were found among the Prisoners, without Ransom.

He assumes
pompous
Titles.

All the Honours that had been paid to the Great *Moguls*, did this Conqueror assume to himself in *Delli*. In every Decree he published, he took the superb Titles of *King above all the Kings who have a long Time reigned, Victor over the Turks and the Indians*. He had a Coin struck at *Delli*, in which he was represented on Horse-back, with this pompous Legend round his Effigy.

Catastrophe of the
Mogul
Ladies.

The *Moguls* have a House of Pleasure four Leagues from *Delli*, which is very delightful, and built in a good Taste. *Kouli Kan* went thither to pass some Days, and to relax his Spirits a little after the Toils of War. There he gave Orders to have the late Emperor *Mahmet-Cha* brought before him, with all the chief Ladies of his Court. This was done with regard to *Mahmet-Cha*; but as to the Ladies, *Milko Semanio Begum*, Daughter of the deceased Emperor *Farogzier*, imagining that some Violence was intended against her Person, swallowed a subtle Poison which she had artfully concealed, and advised the other Ladies to follow her Example. The greatest Part of them did so, and died with this unfortunate Princess.

Mahmet-

Mahmet-Cha was taken out of his Cage by *Mahmet* the *Schah's* Order, who received him with great Demonstrations of Affection. They ^{*Chg* dined} ^{with the} *Schah*. They dined together, in Company with the chief Officers of the *Persian* Army. After the Repast was over, *Kouli Kan* told the unhappy *Mogul*, that he would give him his Liberty, and re-establish him in his Dominions, the Moment he had frankly owned where all his Treasures were hid, and given sufficient Security for the annual Tribute stipulated in the Treaty; for that it was no more than just to take from him the Means of assisting hereafter the Rebels of *Candabar*.

The *Mogul* consented to every Thing very sincerely delivered up his whole Wealth, gave the late all the Hostages and other Securities that Treaty were required, and ratified the Treaty before-mentioned, the Breach of which had been the Occasion of the late Battle. He now thought himself very happy, that he could recover his Empire at any Price.

By this Transaction *Kouli Kan* became Master of all the Riches of the *Indies*. He took Possession of the precious Throne before described, and of all the Jewels of the Crown of *Indostan*. ^{The *Del* lians irri- tated by *Kouli Kan's* Exactions.}

Furthermore, under Pretence of taking from the *Mogul* all Means of giving future Assistance to the Rebels of *Candabar*, he put it out of his Power, at least for a long while, to recover the Provinces that he had taken from him by this Treaty. He imposed a Tribute, at the Rate of so much *per* Head, upon all the Inhabitants of *Delli*: Which was looked upon as such an Act of Tyranny, that those who had the Charge of collecting the Capitation, drew

on themselves the Hatred of all the People. This made no Diminution, however, either of their Severity or their Insolence. The People laid their Complaints before the Conqueror's Feet, who shewed not the least Regard to them. Irritated at this, the Citizens began to give ill Language to his Officers, and even to greet them with Blows; which *Kouli Kan* no sooner heard, but he ordered his Army to march into the City, and live at Discretion upon the Inhabitants. The *Persian* Soldiers committed many Excesses, and used the Natives rather as their Slaves than their Hosts, taking every Opportunity of draining their Purfes, and insulting their Persons.

He at-
tempts to
seize the
Effects of
those who
died in
Arms a-
gainst him

But what entirely alienated Mens Minds from the Conqueror, was the Attempt he made to appropriate to himself all the Effects of the *Grandeess*, who died in Arms against him in the preceding Battles. Tho' it was customary for the great *Moguls* to use this Prerogative with Regard to all who died, whether in War or otherwise; they took it however very ill that *Kouli Kan* was not content either with the imperial Treasures, or with the exorbitant Taxes that he had imposed upon private Persons, but that his Avarice should carry him even to deprive the Living of their Inheritance from the Dead. In a Word, all his Conduct appeared to them so odious and so tyrannical, that the greatest Part of the *Omrabs*, to whom he had given their Liberty, conspired against his Life.

A Conspi-
racy a-
gainst him

On the 17th of *March*, fifty of these *Omrabs*, having assembled privately together, agreed to repair to the *Seraglio* where the *Schah* then

then resided. They were to take all, as much as possible, different Ways, and so to meet as it were by Accident in the Guard-Room that lay nearest the Conqueror's Person; there to massacre the Soldiers, then to break open the Door of his Apartment, and finally to lay their Oppressor dead at their Feet.

It is not known by what Means *Kouli Kan* He escaped, and got Intelligence of this Conspiracy: But thus much is certain, that he was not informed of the Conspirators are taken. it till it was just upon the Point of Execution. He had barely Time to make his Escape into a Mosque not far remote, and to send Word to the Captain of his Guards, that a Company of Traitors were coming to assassinate him. The Officer was putting his Men in a Posture of Defence, when the *Omrads* entered the Room Sword in Hand, and were bravely received at the Pike's End. The Conspirators, who did not expect to find Men so much upon their Guard (for it was late at Night) behaved with great Resolution, and pushed with their Swords to the Right and Left: But they were very soon convinced of their Mistake, and obliged to surrender. Not one of them escaped, nor was there one killed upon the Spot; and though more than Twenty were wounded, three only died some Days after.

Next Morning *Kouli Kan*, before he quitted the Mosque he had retired to, resolved to take a bloody Revenge for the Design formed against him. He ordered the captive Conspirators to be empaled under the Walls of the Temple; and then sending for his Generals, commanded them to put all their Troops under Arms, to take Possession of all the Streets

He orders a cruel Revenge.

and Quarters of the City, to plunder every House, and to put to the Sword every Inhabitant, without Distinction of Age or Sex. Immediately was seen the most horrible Slaughter that every History recorded. The *Persian* Soldiers pillaged, violated, and massacred without Mercy. The River *Genma*, upon which the City of *Delli* is built, was very soon dyed with the Blood of these unhappy Victims.

*Nazamel-
molk* ex-
postulates
with him
boldly.

Alarmed at the Noise made by the Tumult of this bloody Scene, *Nazamelmolk*, who was still detained a Prisoner upon the Occasion before related, found Means to escape out of his Captivity, got Information that *Sebah Nadir* was in the Mosque near the *Seraglio*, and rushed into his Presence. He found this Conqueror eating of Sweet-meats, and feeding his Eyes with the frightful Tragedy which his Soldiers were acting. *I know very well*, said the *Omrâh* as he drew near, *that I deserve Death for having broke out of Prison; nor do I come to ask my Life at thy Hands. But what have all these Innocents done, which thou, fierce and relentless, causest thus to be butchered? Have they attempted any Thing against thee? Even if they had, is it just that thou shouldst destroy so many Thousands of Souls, for a Design which thou canst not reasonably condemn? Can any Thing be more natural to Man, than a Desire to deliver himself from Tyranny and Oppression? Consult thy own Conscience; ask it if thou hast made a good Use of thy Victory: Thou wilt then see that it was not Ingratitude which prompted those who conspired against thy Person, but a natural innate Love of Peace and Tranquillity. Why dost thou torment and grieve, by a thousand new Ways, those*
whom

whom thou hast conquered? They are Men, and thou treatest them like Beasts. If thy insatiable Desire of Riches had not prevented, all Indostan had adored thee: But by thy violent Exactions thou hast made Men desperate, and rendered those thy Enemies, who, after having acknowledged thee their Conqueror, would ever have remained thy Friends. How canst thou, who pretendest to exalted and heroic Sentiments, how canst thou fall into these detestable Excesses of Cruelty?

These Words, pronounced with a firm And pre- and intrepid Tone, brought the Victor again vails. to himself. He not only forgave the Omrah the honest Freedom he had made use of, but sent Orders immediately to his Generals to put a Stop to the Massacre. They soon executed their Commission, in Consequence of that good Discipline which the *Schah* makes all his Soldiers observe. *Nazamelmalk* was looked upon as the Deliverer of *Delli*: The *Schah* gave him his Liberty, and shewed afterwards a particular Esteem for his Person.

Having satiated his Vengeance, *Kouli Kan* was willing to give some Proofs of his Generosity. He released the *Mogul* from his Confinement, and re-established him in his Empire. He even made an Abatement in the annual Tribute which he had at first exacted, and reduced it to three *Kourours*. It was upon this Occasion that *Mabmet-Cha* wrote him a Letter, in Form of a Declaration; a Translation of which here follows:

The *Mogul* re-
stored.

His Letter
to Kouli
Kan.

To the most gracious Schah Nadir, King of Kings, comparable to Mahomet, Imitator of Alexander, and the living Image of the Divinity.

‘**Y**OU have sent us an Embassador, to communicate to us your Intentions, with Regard to the Treaty that was concluded by our *Omrab Nazamelmolck*, and you consent to fix the annual Tribute which you impose on us at three *Kourours*, on the Payment of which you engage yourself to assist our glorious Empire with all your Forces, against any Power who shall have the Temerity to attack it. We thank you for this new Favour, and acknowledge that we are indebted to you for Life, Liberty, and the Crown which we wear; and we will forget nothing that may testify our profound Gratitude. In Consequence of this, we acknowledge you for the legitimate Sovereign of the Kingdom of *Cabul*, the *Indian Sea*, the Country of the *Patons*, the Castles of *Iaxel* and *Cudaboor*, and of all that is comprehended between the Districts of *Tatta* and *Retta*, quite to the Banks of the *Indus*.’

Who sets
out for
Persia.

Towards the End of *May*, *Kouli Kan* began his March to return into *Persia* with all his Army, loaded with the rich Spoils of *Indostan*, and conducting with them a prodigious Number of Camels and Elephants, the greatest Part of them labouring under the immense Treasures of the *Mogul*, which were now the Property of his Victor.

Mahmet-

Mahmet-Gha would bear him Company as far as *Agra*. This City, as well as *Delli*, stands upon the *Gemma*, which is the *Jomah* of *Pliny*, in 28 Degrees 30 Minutes North Latitude, at the Distance of 210 Leagues from *Surat*. Before the Reign of *Akbar* it was only a large Town; but that Monarch made it a City, and it is now beyond Dispute the largest in all *India*. The Natives call it *Akbar-Abad*, the City or Colony of *Akbar*. It is at no great Distance from *Delli*, which it also resembles in Form, making a large Crescent, the two Ends of which run to the Banks of the River. *Akbar* at first chose *Fetipour* for the Capital of his Empire, and then established his Residence at *Delli*, which he soon quitted, and made Choice of *Agra*. He enlarged this Place extremely, and the Grandees of his Court vied with each other to build in it magnificent Palaces, upon the common Court Principle of pleasing their Master. *Agra* extends in Length 9 Italian Miles, or three Leagues; but then it is more long than broad. It had no Walls in the Time of its Founder, but only a large Ditch that environed it on every Side. The Number of the Inhabitants amounted, by Computation, to 660,000; not to mention the Foreigners which the Convenience of the Caravanse'ra's, and the Facility of Commerce, brought thither daily from all the Countries of *Asia*.

Akbar began his Works in this City by The Building the Castle, which he affected to make larger than any one that was at that Time in the *Indies*; and as the Situation

of

of the old Castle appeared to him fine and commodious, he had it pulled down, and upon the same Spot laid the Foundation of the new one which stands at this Day. He encompassed it with a Wall of Brick and Stone, which was terraced or rampiered in several Places, and raised to the Height of 25 Cubits; and between the Castle and the River he left a large open Area, for the Performance of such Exercises as it should please his *Mogulian* Majesty to chuse for his Diversion.

Its Imperial Palace.

The Imperial Palace, as at *Delli*, stands within the Circuit of the Castle. It contains three Courts, adorned all round with Porticoes, and fine painted or gilt Galleries. Some Parts of the Building are even covered with Plates of Gold. Under the Galleries of the first Court are situated the Barracks, or Lodgements for those of his Majesty's Body Guard. The Officers have their Lodgings in the second Court; and it is in the third that you see the magnificent Apartments of the *Mogul* and his Women. From this Court there is a Passage to a fine Divan, that overlooks the River, and to which his Majesty repairs when he has a Mind to divert himself with the Battles of his Elephants, or to see his Troops perform their Exercise, or to amuse himself in any other Manner that he shall judge most proper, by Spectacles either on the Water or in the Square.

Other Palaces.

This Palace is accompanied with 25 or 30 other very large ones, which stand upon the same Line, and belong to the Princes or other great Lords of the Court. This makes the

the whole Prospect, from the other Side of the River, the most beautiful Sight in the Universe; and it would be yet finer but for the long and high Walls that are built to enclose the Gardens, and which contribute much to make the City so extensive. Upon the same Side stand several lesser Palaces, and other Buildings. For every one desiring to enjoy the Benefit of this exquisite View, and the Conveniences of the *Gemma*, endeavoured to find a Place upon this Shore. The City therefore is very long, but not broad; and, excepting a few, which are open and well built, the Streets are narrow, and without Uniformity.

What makes the Beauty of *Agra*, next to Caravanserai's, are above 60 Caravanserai's, and more than 12 Squares. Some of these Caravanserai's have to the Number of 6 Courts, all surrounded with Porticoes, or Arcades, which lead into convenient Apartments, for the Reception of foreign Merchants, who trade hither. There are likewise above 800 Bagnios, and a very great Numbers of Mosques, some of which serve for Places of Refuge. You also meet with many Pieces of magnificent Sculpture, which some of the Grandees had the Ambition to erect in their Life-time to their own Memory, or to consecrate to the Memory of their Ancestors. The Founder of the City's Monument stands upon an Eminence, and by much surpasses in Magnificence those of the great Lords; but the most beautiful of all is that of *Tage-Mahal* the Wife of *Cha-Gehan*. One may judge from the Expence bestowed on this

this Structure, the Violence of the Monarch's Love. The magnificent Garden, in which all the Parts of this Monument are divided, the large Pavilions erected there with their splendid Fronts, the fine Portico's, the superb Dome which contains the Tomb, the charming Disposition of its Columns, the Elevation of the Vaults, which support several Galleries above, the Terrasses and other Ornaments, are in a Taste perhaps that to an *European* would seem extravagant; but, though it does not resemble that of the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*, it has nevertheless great Beauties. I will only add, that this *Mausoleum* was 20 Years in building.

Popularity and Houses.

The City of *Agra* is at this Time pretty populous, but not enough so to raise 200,000 Men fit to bear Arms, as some *Europeans* have writ. The Palaces, with their Gardens, take up the greatest Part of its Ground; so that nothing can be inferred from its Extent with Respect to the Number of its Inhabitants. The middling Sort of Houses are low: Those of the common People are mere Cottages, and have very little Room and few People in them. You may walk the Streets without being crouded, except just when the Court is there. At that Time indeed there is great Confusion, and there seems to be an infinite Number of People; but they consist chiefly of the Officers and Servants of the *Mogul*, those of his *Omrabs* and *Rajas*, and the Army which always attends him as his Guard.

Among the different Nations that live in *Agra*, as well as in other Parts of *India*, there seems

seems to be a great Uniformity of Dress. Only the *Mahometans*, whom the *Portuguese* call *Moors*, distinguish them outwardly by a particular Sort of Head-dress; but in every thing else they are clothed exactly like others. The *Indian* Drawers are usually made of Cotton, and extend in some only to the Middle of the Leg; whereas others wear them longer, quite down to their Ankle-bone. Those who are fond of being finely dressed, have their Drawers made of striped Silk, and wear them so long, that they gather them up about the Leg in several Folds; and of these they are as fond, as our pretty Fellows in *Europe* are of their silk Stockings with Gold Clocks. They let their Shirt hang over their Drawers, which is the Custom all over the East. These Shirts are all open, from Top to Bottom; as are also their Upper Garments, which they call *Cabas*. The Reason they usually give for wearing them so, is, that they find them most convenient, as being easily put on or off: But they have yet another Reason for it; which is, that they throw them open to take in the fresh Air, whenever they happen to be alone in sultry Weather.

When it is cold, the *Indians* have an *Arca*-The *Arca-lux*, or Waistcoat, stuffed with Cotton and laced, the Outside of which is usually quilted, the Outside of which is usually a Chints, or some painted Cloth; and their Colours are so lively and lasting, that when the Garment is dirty they may wash it, without doing any Damage.

Over the *Arca-lux* they put, the *Cabas*, The *Cabas* which is an upper Vest; but when they wear

wear both, you are to suppose it not warm, which is very seldom in these Parts, where they have no Winter. The *Cabas* is usually a close Jacket, with a sort of Petticoat fastened to it at the Waist. It is all the way open, and full of Plaits below, that it may be no Impediment in walking. There is a Collar to it of the same Stuff, about 2 Inches broad. They do not button this Vest like us, but lay it over upon the Stomach, first from Right to Left, and then from Left to Right, tying it with Strings of the same Stuff about a Foot long, and two Inches broad. They have six or eight Pair of these Strings from Top to Bottom, but tie only the upper and under Pairs, letting the rest hang down loose by way of Ornament.

Girdles, It is not common for them to use the fine
the *Cadebi*, *Persian* Girdles; at least, they are used on-
ly by Persons of Quality and large Fortune:
Chal. Others wear only one Girdle of white Li-

nen, whereas the *Persians* have two. When it is very cold, the *Indians* put over all these Garments a Vestment which they call *Cadebi*; which among People of Fortune is generally very magnificent. These are of Gold Brocade, or some other beautiful Stuff, and turned up with the finest Sable Fur. They put on, whenever they go abroad, a *Chal*, which is a Sort of Vest made of very fine Linen, and wrought at *Cachemire*. These *Chals* are about two Ells long, and one Ell broad: Such of them as are good will come to from 25 to 30 Crowns. These are some that cost 50 Crowns, but then they are extremely fine. They put this Robe over
the

their Shoulders, and tie the two Ends upon their Stomach; the Fold hanging down below their Reins. Some wear it in Form of a Scarf, and on Occasion bring it over their Head, and make a Sort of Cap of the End of it.

The Turbans which the *Indians* wear, are usually small. That of the *Mahometans* is white. The Rich make it of a Linen so fine, that 25 or 30 Ells of it, which they frequently use, will not sometimes weigh Four Ounces. These Linens are made in the Neighbourhood of *Bengal*: They cost a great Price, and a Turban of this Kind will come to a very large Sum, perhaps 3 or 4 Score Pounds *Sterling*. When they are artfully twisted up, they very much resemble the Shape of the Head; for they are higher three or four Inches behind than they are before. As to the Cloathing of their Legs, they wear in *India* neither Stockings nor Socks; but put their Feet naked into *Morocco* Shoes, which are almost of the same Shape as the *Turkish* Pabouches. Persons of Distinction lace these Shoes with Gold.

The *Mogul* Women, who chuse to distinguish themselves from others, dress themselves almost like the Men; but the Sleeves of their Shifts, like those of the other *Indian* Ladies, never come below their Elbows, that they may have Room to adorn the lower Part of the Arm with Jewels, and with Bracelets of Gold, Silver, or Ivory. Sometimes they glitter with Diamonds, as do also the lower Part of their Legs.

Many People at *Agra* take delight in breed-

Bred Ani- breeding up of Animals, in order to divert
mals. . themselves with making them fight ; and as
Elephants and Lions are very expensive to
maintain, the greatest Part of them are con-
tent to keep Goats, Rams, Cocks, Harts and
Antelopes, to entertain their Friends with the
Battles of these Animals.

Kouli Kan *Kouli Kan* staid a Fortnight at *Agra* with
returns *Mahmet-Cha* ; after which the two Princes
Home. took their Leave of each other ; the latter re-
turning to *Delli*, and the other pursuing his
Journey towards *Persia*. He passed thro' *Fa-
tipour* ; then, turning to the Right, and leav-
ing *Bando* on the Left, he traversed many
Deserts and Mountains, and arrived at *Me-
arta* ; from whence, in a few Days Journey,
he arrived at *Bouckar*, where he repassed the
Indus. He put his Army in Quarters of Re-
freshment, partly in the Kingdom of *Cabul*,
and partly in that of *Candahar*. Thence he
took the Road to *Ispahan*, accompanied by
his Regiments of Guards, with all the Treas-
ures that have been recited, and several *In-
dian* Women, the most beautiful he could
find, in order to people his Seraglio. He was
received in his Capital towards the End of *Sep-
tember*, and no possible Testimonies of Affec-
tion were wanting from his People.

Punishes But he found great Disorder in his Serag-
the Infide- lio, where 4 or 5 of his Wives had had In-
lity of trigues during his Absence, in Consequence
some Wo- of which, two of them were six Months gone
men in his with Child. The *Schah* ordered these to be
Seraglio. ripp'd up, and the others to be buried, both
alive. Some of the Eunuchs, who were sus-
pected of having favoured the Infidelity of
these

these Women, were empaled. He punished with the same Rigour a Secretary, who had fled with 10 or 12 Slaves, carrying away several Papers of Importance. This Man was arrested 4 Leagues from *Ispahan*.

After these Examples of Severity, *Kouli Kan* Conjectured applied himself entirely to the Affairs of State. It was thought, after the wonderful Successes of he had met with in *Indostan*, that he would signs, attack either *Russia* or the *Turks*: But it does not hitherto appear that he chuses to embroil himself with the first of these Powers, nor break in too much Hurry with the other. Time must inform us in what Manner he will employ his numerous Army, which he keeps in continual Exercise.

Thus far the French Author. What follows, under the Title of Appendix, has been added by the Translator in the different Editions of this Book.



APPENDIX.

IT was certainly very judicious in our Author, not to continue his Narrative farther than he thought he could depend upon the Authenticity of his Accounts. But as we have several Times received Advices from the *East*, since the last that he seems to have made Use of, I thought it proper to add what is now farther known concerning the Hero of these Sheets.

Account
of the
Booty taken
by
*Kouli
Kan.*

There has been an Inventory published in *Europe*, and said to be transmitted from *Japan*, of all the Booty which this Conqueror brought home from *India*. The Elephants, Camels, Artillery, Tents, and Amunition, amount to the Value of 3 Kourours; the ready Coin, in Gold and Silver, taken out of the Royal Treasury, to 15 Kourours; the Rings and Jewels of all Sorts, to 8 Kourours; the Emperor's Bed of State, adorned with precious Stones, to 7 Kourours; an Imperial Throne, set with Diamonds, to 9 Kourours; the Basons, and other the like Utensils, adorned also with precious Stones, to 11 Kourours; the ready Money and Jewels taken from the Emperor's Wives and Children, to 3 Kourours; the Plunder of the City of *Delli*, to 10 Kourours; what was enacted from the *Onguils*, and other Persons in the Service of the *Omraht*, the *Nabals*,

hals, and the *Rajas*, to 10 Kourours; what *Commurudien-Gan*, the Emperor's Favourite, was obliged to give, to 16 Kourours: The whole, added to what arose from the Estates of four other Ministers, who were put to Death at the Desire of *Kouli Kan*, amounts to 111 Kourours. The Kourour, according to what has been already said, contains 100 Lacks, and each Lack 100,000 Roupees: So that in each Kourour are 10 Millions of Roupees. The Roupee at Bengal is Thirty-pence, or Two Shillings sixpence *Sterling*; which by Multiplication brings the Kourour to 1,313,000 Pounds of the same Denomination; and this again multiplied by 111, amounts to the almost incredible Sum of 145 Millions 743 Thousand Pounds.

What have I to observe on this Account Reflexive, that it sets the Price of the *Great Mogul's* ^{ons on the} Throne at above double the Sum that our ^{Mogul's} Author has rated it: But if we consider that ^{Throne,} the *Sieur Bernier*, from whom he has taken this Particular, travelled and wrote in the last Century, since when, the Valuation of Things may have greatly altered; and if we reflect likewise that since that Time died the Magnificent *Aureng-Zeb*, and that several Princes have succeeded to this Throne, all of whom have been possessed of the rich Diamond Mines in the *Indian Peninsula*, and would probably endeavour to outvie each other in adorning this Monument of *Oriental Pomp* and *Vanity*; all this, I say, considered, we have no Reason to wonder that what was worth only 4 Kourours when the *French Traveller* resided at *Delli*, should be worth 9 when

when the *Persian* Monarch took Possession of that Capital.

On the Diversity of Accounts in other Particulars. There are some other Particulars, in which later Memoirs seem to disagree with those our Author wrote from. *Sadat-Kan*, who in his Narrative loses his Life at the first Attack of the *Mogul's* Lines, is by others (even in a Letter said to be written with *Schah Nadir's* own Hand) made a Prisoner at the Battle of *Corbaal*. To which add, that instead of 500,000 Horse in the *Mogul* Army, that Number has been with more Probability applied to the Foot, and the Cavalry computed at only 200,000: But then the Number of Elephants and Artillery hath been in Proportion as much enlarged, as that of the Men has been lessened; it being affirmed that there were 3000 armed Elephants, and 8000 Pieces of Cannon in the Army of the *Indian* Monarch.

Kouli Kan remits several Taxes.

There cannot be a more certain Indication of the immense Wealth acquired in this Expedition, nor a stronger Circumstance to confirm what has been here recited, than the *Regam* or Edict sent by the Conqueror from *Delli* into *Persia*, containing a Remittance of a great Number of Taxes for the whole Term of three Years. I cannot but observe likewise, that this Remittance vindicates *Kouli Kan* from that avaritious Character with which he has been charged, and which his Rigour at *Delli* seemed but too justly to fix upon him. At least it proves, that he is not an Oppressor of his own Subjects, however severely he may treat his Enemies: But the prodigious Sum taken from *Com*

maracha.

marudien-Can, the *Mogul's* Favourite, amounting to 21 Millions eight Thousand Pounds, may shew us that a Master's Lenity to his People, may have no great Influence upon a Minister. It is remarkable that this Article, from the private Chest of one Man, a Prime Minister, is the largest in all the Inventory of *Kouli Kan's* Booty.

It is not without Justice therefore that *Mahmet-Mahmet-Cha*, notwithstanding his good natural Disposition, has been charged with bad Government; and that this sudden, and almost unparalleled Revolution, is said to be owing to a Revolt in People's Minds. The Commonalty groaned under the Oppression of the *Grandees*. While the Emperor was taken up with his Pleasures, he left the Management of his Empire to *Commarrudien-Can*, who minded nothing but amassing Riches. The State was without disciplined Troops, except only the Emperor's Guards; because the Generals charged to maintain them, put the Sums appointed for that Use into their own Pockets. Rebels from the Coasts of *Malabar* and *Coromandel* used to advance into the Heart of *Indostan*, where the little Resistance they met with, shewed how easy it would be for such a Leader as *Kouli Kan* to conquer that Empire.

Whether that Hero did indeed receive some little Shock in his Return to *Persia*, or, which is more likely, whether it was owing to the *Turks*, who apprehended that after so much Success he would revive the old Quarrel with them, and therefore strove to keep up the Spirits of their Soldiery, is a Matter that was

Reports
to *Kouli
Kan's* Dis-
advantage

not

not fully cleared up. But certain it is, that we were for some Time amused with a pretended Letter from *Smyrna*, informing us, that the Conqueror was actually in such a Situation as he would not easily extricate himself from; that his Army was reduced to 40,000 Men, and that he wrote to his Son, who was yet in a worse Condition thro' Dissatisfaction at Home, for a Reinforcement; that the *Indians* had retaken most of his Booty, upon his passing the *Indus*, and obliged him to a precipitate Retreat; and that the *Aghwans*, to the Number of 60,000, were ready to attack him on the other Side.

Who conquers the
Usbecks.

However, if there was in Reality any thing in this Report, it served only to shew us that *Kouli Kan* knew as well how to retrieve an adverse Accident, as to pursue his good Success. The Chastisement he soon after inflicted on the *Usbeck Tartars*, a powerful Nation, and his secret Enemies during all his Wars, both in *Candahar* and *Indostan*, sufficiently testifies that neither was his Authority lessened, nor his Men dispirited. We have not had a very particular Account of this *Usbeckian War*; but are well assured that he twice defeated the Enemy, tho' Superior to him in Number, and that he took *Buchara*, the Capital and Residence of the chief *Han* or King, by Storm. The *Persians* spent three Days in pillaging it, and got a vast Booty: Upon which all the Country submitted to the Conqueror.

Usbeck, or *Zagathay*, is bounded on the North by the *Russian Calmucks* and Desert *Tartary*, on the West by the *Caspian Sea*, on the South by *Persia* and *India*, and on the East

East by *Turkestan*. It contains the ancient Provinces of *Sace*, *Sogdiana*, Part of *Scythia*, and *Bactria* in *Old Persia*. In Length it extends 1200 Miles, and in Breadth 840; containing several considerable Towns, of which the chief are *Buchara* and *Samarcand*. *Usbek* is generally reputed the principal and best cultivated Part of all *Tartary*, and the Inhabitants have long carried on a large Trade with their Neighbours of *Persia* and *Indostan*. It has other Princes besides the *Han* of *Buchara*; but he, as being the most Powerful, and able to bring into the Field 100,000 Men, is usually called *Han* of the *Usbecks*. In the Wars of *Peter the Great*, one of these *Hans* offered to lend that Prince 50,000 Soldiers. *Buchara* and *Samarcand* are about 50 Leagues distant from each other. The former lies on the River *Oxus*, and the other upon a lesser River that falls into it. They are both famous; *Buchara* for giving Birth to *Avicenna* the Philosopher, and *Samarcand* for being not only the Birth-place, but the royal Residence of *Tamerlane*; and for an University founded by him, which is in Repute to this Day among the *Mahometans*. It is situated in a pleasant Valley, and defended by a Castle.

As to the *Daghestan Tartars*, we afterwards heard they were so far from having defeated *Kouli Kan*, that Letters from *Derbent*, in the Neighbourhood of *Daghestan*, assured us, the *Persian* Monarch returned with compleat Victory; but so exasperated at the Trouble he had been put to, that he not only sent to Execution the Ring-leaders of the Insurrec-

tion, but ordered a general Massacre throughout the Nation, in which neither Women nor Children were spared. A Stop was put to this Revenge by the Interposition of the *Russians*.

Another Instance, too much favouring of Cruelty, followed soon after. He ordered the King of the *Usbecks*, whom he had defeated, to be beheaded, because that Monarch had been so imprudent, while the *Schah* was pursuing his Success against the *Mogul*, to send him a Letter, in which he made use of the following Expressions. 'I congratulate
' Thee, O King, on thy Victory: But
' greater, much greater, would have been thy
' Glory, if thou hadst defeated Men: Thy
' Opponents rather deserving the Appellation of
' Women. Come now, seek for Conquests
' more worthy of an Hero, and thereby acquire
' undoubted Honour.'

Perhaps in this Letter we should look for the Cause of the *Schah's* first turning his Arms against the *Usbecks*, immediately after his Return from the *Mogulistan*, for which we were at a Loss when we first heard of this Expedition. But the Letters which brought us the above Particulars, tho' of a later Date than those before given from *Constantinople*, and from a Place where such an Event could scarce be a Secret, mentioned nothing of his Son's Rebellion, which has therefore been since very little credited in *Europe*.

Schah Nadir was not so much taken up with War, but that he always found Time to promote the Commerce of his Subjects. This made him listen to Proposals from the *English* Merchants, who formed a Scheme of setting

setting up a Trade to *Persia* thro' the *Russian* Empire. Captain *Elton*, who negotiated this Affair, has given the best Account of it in his Letter to Mr. *Finch* at *Petersburg*, which we shall insert at length, as containing many other curious Particulars relating to our Subject. Though the Negotiation, as will appear from the Dates of the Pieces, was nigh two Years before the Time we are now upon, I chose to put it down after the *Mogul* and *Uzbekian* Expeditions.

Copy of a Paper given to Mr. FINCH at Petersburg by Captain Elton, relating to the Opening a Trade through Russia to Persia.

St. Petersburg, July, 1740.

THE Northern Provinces of *Persia* produce the most and best Sorts of Raw Silk, and from thence the Southern Provinces, and the Silk Manufactories, at *Mushad* as well as *Turky*, are in a manner wholly supplied: The Northern Provinces, most abounding in Silk, may be reduced to three; *Gilan*, whose principal City is *Reschid*; *Sherwan*, whose principal City is *Schamashse*; *Arasb*, whose principal City is *Ganges*: The two former of these Provinces are on the South-west Shores of the *Caspian Sea*, and the latter is adjacent to them not very far from the *Caspian*.

Since *Thomas Kouli Kan* (now *Nadir Schah*) ascended the Throne of *Persia*, he hath made the City *Mushad* the Seat of the *Persian* Empire, and, by the extraordinary Privileges he hath endowed it with, and other Measures he hath taken to aggrandize that

City, he hath almost drained *Ispahan* of its Inhabitants. And *Resau Gulee Mirsa* (sole Regent of *Persia*, and eldest Son of *Nadir Schah*) hath established his Residence at *Mushad*, for these last 4 Years, during his Father's Absence in *India*, in which Time he hath taken the City of *Baulke*, and cleared the Frontiers of *Corasan* (the Province in which *Mushad* is situate) from the *Turkoman* and *Usbeck* Tartars, who used much to infest them: It is expected likewise the City of *Bucharie* itself, as also *Sarmahand*, and several other Cities of *Great Bucharie*, have by this Time submitted to the *Persians*.

The Seat of the *Persian* Empire being thus removed so near the *Caspian*, (for *Mushad* is not quite 14 Days Journey for the *Caravan*, from the Port of *Astrabath*) is a very lucky Circumstance for the *British* Merchants of *Russia*, who on this Occasion have it wholly in their Power to supply that Capital with *European* Commodities, particularly with Woollen Goods, which is an Article of very great Consideration, as the *Persians* from the highest to the lowest all esteem and chuse to wear Woollen Cloths, and that so much that they wear Stockings of no Sort, but what are made of Woollen Cloth. Yet the serving the Capital City of *Persia*, and its adjacent Provinces, with Woollen Goods and *European* Commodities, is not the principal Motive that should determine the *British* Merchants to establish their principal Mart at *Mushad*; but the happy Situation of that City ought much more to prevail with them, as it lies so commodiously to supply all the Demands of both

the *Bucharas*, &c. For who can consider the great Extent of both the *Bucharas*, the Kingdoms of *Tangut* and *Tibet*, and those vast Tracts of Land that border on them, and know at the same Time they contain so many great and populous Cities, (nay, even their uncultivated Lands contain some Millions of People) to all which *European* Commodities are in the highest Esteem, but must conclude, that an advantageous Trade on that Side might be almost infinitely extended.

At *Musbad* arrive *Caravans* from all the Cities in *Great* and *Little-Bucharia*, and from several of the Eastern Cities of *Persia*; also from *Cabul*, *Candabar*, and the Northern Frontiers of *India*; And it is not to be questioned, when those Cities shall be once well informed, that *European* Goods can be had at *Musbad* in such Plenty, as the *British* Merchants may in Time import them thither, and that at the same Time they shall find a greater Demand for their own Commodities; but that those *Caravans* must soon become more rich and numerous, and by this Means alone, without carrying their Goods further than *Musbad*, the *British* Merchants will be enabled to extend their Trade and Commerce to the utmost Limits of all the Countries above-mentioned.

That the *British* Merchants may possess themselves of this *Bucharian* Trade, whenever they please, is too obvious to require any Proof. For it only remains for them to send their Goods from *St. Petersburg* (partly by Land and partly by Water) to *Astracan*, and from thence cross the *Caspian Sea*, to the Port of

Astrabath in the S. E. Bottom of the *Caspian*, and so by Land to *Musbad*.

This will be safer, easier, and almost as expeditious as sending Goods from *London* to *St. Petersburg*, and that because the *Caspian* is a much safer Navigation than the *Baltick*. But the Success of all this does solely depend on the *British* Merchants having their own Vessels to navigate the *Volga*, and *Caspian*, for Reasons too tedious here to mention.

It is also evident, that the *British* Merchants can have no Rivals in the Trade, and that the Eastern Provinces of *Persia*, the *Bucharias*, and adjacent Countries, can be no otherwise supplied with *European* Commodities, than by the Way of the *Russian* Empire, and the City of *Musbad*.

On the strictest Enquiry I could make, whilst I was in *Gilan*, I could not find, that any *British* Woollen Goods, either by Way of the *East-Indies*, or *Turky*, ever reached *Musbad*. The Woollen Goods the *Armenians* import into *Gilan*, either by the Way of *Turky*, or the Empire of *Russia*, are all of them *Holland* Cloths, but few of these are sent to *Musbad*; yet, notwithstanding all this, the Trade cross the *Caspian*, from *London* to *Musbad*, might, in the Course of a few Years, be made as considerable a Branch of Trade, with regard to the Consumption of our Woollen Manufactures, as any one we now enjoy. And it is scarcely to be doubted, but that, if the *British* Merchants will enter in earnest on the *Bucharian* Trade, they will find their Account in it more than in the Trade they now carry on, from *London* to the Empire of *Russia*; and which

which, as it would not in the least interfere with the Trade the *British* Merchants at present carry on to *St. Petersburg*, would be wholly an additional Advantage to them.

Were it necessary, it might be easily proved, that the *Musbad* and *Bucharian* Trade must be a more advantageous Trade to the *British* Merchants, than any they now carry on to any Part of the Empire of *Russia*. For, at *Musbad* and the *Bucharias*, their Woollen Goods would yield so much better a Price, and greater Profit would ensue on their Returns. As in this Trade they would sell all their Goods for ready Money; whereas in *Russia*, the Prices of their Commodities are beat down, or *Russ* Merchants may import them immediately from *Great Britain* themselves. The *British* Merchants in *Russia* are likewise obliged to give long Credit here, which not only robs them of part of their Profit, but subjects them annually to contract bad Debts for no small Sums. And with regard to the *British* Merchants entering on the *Bucharian* Trade, it is a most favourable Circumstance, that *Musbad* stands so advantageously with respect to the Provinces of *Gilan*, *Sherwan*, and *Arrash*, from whence the *British* Merchants can make their Returns for Goods sold at *Musbad* in Raw Silks, to the Amount almost of any Sum. But it is not to be doubted, that, when the *British* Merchants come to be acquainted with the *Bucharias*, and those Cities to the Eastward, they will find other Commodities there: As Gold, Precious Stones, Bezoar, Musk, and the like, to invest their Returns in, should not the Produce of the

Northern Provinces of *Persia* prove sufficient. So that it is almost unavoidable, after the *British* Merchants shall have established themselves at *Musnad*, but that they might come to cloath not only the whole *Persian* Army (by contracting with the *Schah's* principal Merchants) but to supply all those vastly extended and populous Countries abovementioned with Woollen Goods. And this, because no other Nation but *Great Britain*, can supply them with Woollen Goods in such Plenty, and at so easy a Rate, and at the same time afford to give a better Price for their Raw-Silk, and other Commodities that are found there. All this the *Persians* as well as the *Armenians* are well apprized of, which so much alarms the latter, and makes the former so much our Friends. And this Consideration, no doubt, prevailed on the *Schah* to grant us so immediately the Privileges, which I obtained in Favour of the *British* Merchants last Year, and which he confirmed by the following Decree. And although the *Armenians* did since by their Patriarch, soon after I left *Gilan*, strongly solicit the *Schah* to have that Decree reversed, yet their Solicitation had a contrary Effect; for the Consequence was, that the *Schah* again confirmed it, and sent Orders a second Time to the Governour of *Reschid*, to have the strictest Observance of it.

It seems to appear, from what has been above observed, that the Trade, that may be so easily carried on in future, from *London* to *Musnad* and the *Bucharias*, would be entirely a new Branch of Trade, and may shortly become a most important one. That it may be entered upon

upon by the *British* Merchants with the greatest Prospect of Advantage, and may be vastly extended; and that this Trade they can never be supplanted in, so long as they can secure a Passage for their Goods through the Empire of *Russia*, and a Freedom of Navigation on the *Caspian*, both which it will ever be the Interest of the Sovereigns of *Russia* to grant to the Subjects of *Great Britain*.

It may therefore be humbly presumed, that it will not be found unworthy the Wisdom of the legislative Power of *Great Britain*, to give all imaginable Encouragement to this infant Trade of the *Bucharas*, and the North-Eastern Provinces of *Persia*, not only (as we have before observed) because it is a new Branch of Trade, and may be vastly extended, but as there is no other Part of the known World, to which it is possible to strike out a new Branch of Trade, that can in the least vie with the Advantages which this Trade promises both to the Silk and Woollen Manufactories of *Great Britain*. It would create a vast additional Consumption of our Woollen Manufactories, for which the Returns may be made in Gold, Raw-Silk, Cotton, fine Wool, Silk, Yarn, and other unmanufactured Commodities.

And further, the *British East-India Company* have for above five Years past abandoned *Ispahan*, to which City, in all that Space of Time, they have not sent one Bale of Woollen Goods, and (as we are informed) they no more thought of ever sending Goods to *Ispahan* again. Also the *Hollanders*, who reside still at *Ispahan*, send a most inconsiderable

Quantity of Goods there. For the Trade, which *Ispahan* formerly enjoyed, is transplanted to, and centers in, *Mushad*, too far distant from the *Persian* Gulph, or Eastern Ocean, for either the *British* or *Holland East-India* Companies to send Goods there, by the Way of the *Cape of Good Hope*.

It is also more than barely probable, that, when the *British* Merchants shall have established themselves in the *Mushad* and *Bucharia* Trade, that, in a few Years only, it must become a more beneficial Trade to *Great Britain* than the *Turky* Trade is at present. As in this Trade a greater Quantity of Woollen Goods may be vended at a better Price, and that to Countries where the *British* Commerce hath never yet been extended, nor ever can be extended by any other Canal, than in that we propose this Trade should circulate, and from whence may be imported, besides others, the very same Commodities the *Turky* Company now import into *Great Britain*, full 50 per Cent. cheaper than they can do; and this last Consideration alone surely might suffice to intitle the *British Russia* Merchants to the Freedom of importing such Commodities into *Great Britain*, although therein they should chance to interfere with the Privileges of the *Turky* Company.

The *British Russia* Merchants are enabled thus to under-trade the *British Turkey* Merchants, on Account of the Commodiousness of the Road to *Gilan*, and the Northern Provinces of *Persia*; and further, as they can there buy up their Silk at the first Hand, in the very Provinces which produce it, whilst the

the *Turky* Merchants are forced now (and always have been so) to buy up the same Silk at second-hand from the *Turks* and *Armenians* that come from *Aleppo*, *Constantinople*, and *Smyrna*, on purpose to buy up Raw Silk for the *Levant* Exportation. For the Eastern Provinces of *Persia* produce but a very inconsiderable Quantity of that Commodity. Besides, the *Schah's* principal Merchant in *Reschid* denied to give those *Turks* and *Armenians*, which came to buy up Silk in *Gilan*, any Silk at all last Year, unless at an advanced Price of 20 *per Cent.* above the Price he then sold it at, to those *Armenians* who brought it thence by the Way of *Russia*; and he had positive Orders to sell no Silk on any Account for *Turky* Exportation, could he find a Vent for it any other Way, or possibly by any other Means dispose of it. For the *Persians*, who have a settled Aversion for the *Turks*, are too well informed of the Advantage the *Turkish* Empire derives, from being the principal Market for *Persian* Silks. And this is what they have been endeavouring to prevent for upwards of an hundred Years past. They are likewise well apprized, that the only Way to succeed in this Design, is to encourage the *British* Merchants to come and settle in *Gilan*, by which Means they hope in time to divert that Channel of Trade for *Gilan* Silks, which now runs through the *Turkish* Dominions, and make it current through the Empire of *Russia*. Could this be once effected, it would not only be of singular Advantage both to the Empires of *Russia* and *Persia*, with regard to their Trade, but it could not fail of considerably distressing

distressing the *Turk*, who is the common Enemy of both those Empires. So that if the *Turks* and the *Turkish Armenians*, should be continued to be denied the Exportation of *Gilan Silks* by the Way of *Turky*, or be obliged to purchase them on such unequal Terms, we can hope for little or no *Persian Silk* from the *Turky Company*, or else they cannot afford to sell what they import into *Great Britain*, but at a very extravagant Price; a Circumstance which ought to have its Weight, should the *British Russia Merchants* meet with any Opposition on their importing *Persian Silk* into *Great Britain*, from either the *Turky*, or any other Company.

As an Instance, that the Trade to the Northern Provinces of *Gilan* (not to mention *Mushad* and the *Bucharias*) must prove very advantageous to the Woollen Manufactories of *Great Britain*, a certain *British Merchant* here, having procured a Bale of *British Northern Cloths*, of proper Colours for the *Persian Markets*, imported it here last Year, and sent it to *Moscow*. An *Armenian*, that was then in *Moscow*, by Chance seeing the Patterns of those Cloths, bid Money for them, and bought them, and carried them with him into *Persia*. Now these very Cloths are commonly sold in *Moscow* for 140 Copecks per *Arsheen*; but, on Account that they were well sorted for the *Persian Markets*, they were sold to this *Armenian* for 190 Copecks the *Arsheen*, which is above 35 per Cent. Advance.

As the *British Merchants* can at present have no better Information, I shall venture to hint briefly at the Method they ought to take

to establish themselves in this Trade to the *Bucharia's*, and the North Eastern Provinces of *Persia*.

It is necessary they should get them one or two Vessels of about 180 Tons, or somewhat less, to be built at *Casan*, for the Navigation of the *Caspian* Sea, which Vessels may be navigated with half *British* and half *Russ* Seamen; and that they have a few large Boats on the *Volga*, to carry their Goods up and down that River between *Saratoff*, and their Vessels which cross the *Caspian*, and ride at the Entrance of the *Volga*, where it falls into the Sea. These Vessels and Boats will be no Burthen to the *British* Merchants, as to their carrying on a Trade from hence to *Gilan*, &c. because they must necessarily pay the same Freight to the meanest *Russ* Vessels which cross the *Caspian*. And if, in the Infancy of this Trade, the *British* Merchants do not send enough Goods to employ such Vessel or Vessels yet at times, when the *British* Merchants should have no occasion for their Vessels, which cross the *Caspian* themselves, they may find sufficient Employment to maintain them, by carrying Goods and Passengers from one Port of *Persia* to another on the *Caspian*. So that the Difficulty seems to be only at first, to procure such Vessel or Vessels for the Navigation of the *Caspian*: And, on Consideration that it will be absolutely impossible for the *British* Merchants to carry on a Trade to *Musbad*, or even to *Gilan*, without their own Vessels on the *Caspian*, it is submitted, if they ought not by all Means, as soon as conveniently may be, to get such Vessels

Vessels built, since it is indisputable, that a Trade to *Musnad*, the *Bucharias*, and *Gilan*, must greatly answer. The *British* Merchants must likewise establish a House at *Musnad*, one Branch of which should reside at *Reschd*, and the Chief be invested with the Title of Consul to the King, and Agent to the Company. Such a Character, given to the Chief of their House, will have a great Weight with the *Persians*, and firmly establish the Affairs of the new Undertakers; and it is the more necessary, as the *East India* Company have always had their Agent at *Ispahan*; and *Russia* at present has its Consul at *Reschd*.

A Translation of a Decree granted to the Russia Company, by Resau Gulce Mirsa, (eldest Son of Nadir Schah, and sole Regent of Persia) given at the Imperial Residence Musnad, August, 1740.

OUR high Commandment consists in this, That we have condescended to grant the Petitioners the Contents of their humble Petition; and by these be it known to the most excellent Begler Beys, most honourable Governours and Commissioners of our Empire of *Iran* (which resembles Paradise) the Country of *Balk*, and its Dependencies. Whereas some honourable *English* Merchants have arrived here from the Empire of *Russia*, we have given them Liberty, and hereby allow them to land their Goods, with all Freedom, in any of our Ports of the *Caspian*, and from thence to carry them to any Market of our Empire,

Empire, particularly to our Provinces of *Car-
rajan, Irák, Pars, Vauzier, Rodshann, Vemed,
Kerman, Balk, Andiboad, Strabraun*, and to
the Banks of the River *Amu*, and to the Con-
fines of *Badagshann, Cabul, Geshwin, Pflagne*,
and to the Empire of *India*, and to the Banks
of the River *Attukou*: That they be permit-
ted and indulged to pursue their Journeys with
their Merchandize, without the least Inter-
ruption or Disturbance, we have ordered all
the Subjects of our Empire to give them all
reasonable Assistance; and when they shall have
determined, at any Port or Place, to open their
Goods, and expose them to Sale, they may
at all times do so without Interruption; and
what remains unsold, they are left at the Li-
berty to transport them where they please in
Vessels or in Loads. Upon such Vessels or
Carriages on which their Goods shall be loaded,
the customary Duty shall only be taken, and
by no means any more shall be exacted from
them. If these *English* Merchants desire to
buy up and export any of the Commodities
of the Empire, in that they shall meet with
no manner of Hindrance, but shall find the
same Indulgence as any other Merchants
whatsoever. When their Vessels or Merchan-
dize shall happen to arrive at any Port or Place
where there shall be no *English* Consul, or
English House, or though there shall be an
English House there, yet, if they have no
Inclination to land their Goods there, no
Force shall be used to oblige them to land
them; nor shall they, under any Pretence,
be kept up, paying the usual Duty, and taking
a Receipt or Discharge for the same. If it
should

should so fall out that they have no Money ready to pay the Duty on Goods, they shall import into any other Port or Place than *Reschd*, then they may give an Assignment on their House at *Reschd*. If they shall have Occasion to hire, or buy Vessels, for the carrying off, or bringing on Shore their Goods, the Commanders of our Ports are hereby commanded to give them all reasonable Assistance therein. If these Merchants desire to sell their Goods out of their own Quarters, Houses, or Warehouses, we give them full Power so to do; and let none have the Assurance to interrupt them, under Pretence that the Goods have not been regularly viewed by the Custom-house Officers: But at the same Time we expect they will not offer Goods to Sale, that they have not been regularly reported at the Custom-house, to the Injury of our Revenues. If the *English* Merchants desire to hire, buy, or build Houses at *Reschd*, or in any other Port or Place, in that we order them to have all reasonable Assistance, allowing, however, the Inhabitants of such Places their Liberty, none of which shall be constrained to part with their Houses against their Inclination; but they shall treat the *English* with all imaginable Civility and Respect. If any of the Goods they shall import be thought proper by our Commissaries for ourself, such may be taken by them for our Use, at the same Price they shall be sold to other People at, our Commissaries paying ready Money, and they shall not be obliged to part with, or deliver Goods, without ready Money; and in such Payments let none dare to give them the least Trouble,

Trouble, under Pain of our highest Displeasure. And whatsoever Goods they shall bring, that shall not be thought proper for our Use, they have Liberty to sell them to whom they please, without Hindrance or Delay; and these the *English* Merchants have Leave to ship off, and carry to what Place they shall think most convenient. If any Differences shall happen in Trade, and they shall come to Hearing or Trial, the Commissaries of the Place are ordered to give immediate Sentence without Partiality. In whatsoever Port the *English* Merchants shall pay their Duty, there they are to have a written Discharge, in which shall be set forth, for what Goods they have paid Duty, and the Amount of the Duty, that they may not be liable to pay Duty for them again, in any other Port or Place. The Custom-house Officers are not to break open and unpack their Bales, but to take the Merchant's Word for the Contents of them, that they may sustain no Damage. In whatever Province the *English* Merchants shall arrive, our most excellent Begler Beys, and other our honourable Commanders, are hereby ordered to shew them all imaginable Respect, nor to allow or suffer any Person whatsoever to affront or molest them. And, seeing the Petitioners are only acquainted with the *European* Language, and cannot confer with our Subjects without an Interpreter, it is necessary their Brokers should be Men acquainted with both Languages. If they desire such Interpreters, if even they are Christians, they have Leave to make Use of such without Restraint. The Petitioners are received under

our

our most gracious Protection, and the Watch which they sent was received; and, as a Mark of our Favour, by the Bearer hereof, we present them with 50 Rubles; and we hereby command our most high trusty Treasurers and Registrators of our Empire, to register this our high Decree, and put it in Execution, under Pain of our highest Displeasure.

Written (at *Musbad*) in the *Shumafnel Saneuf* 1152 Years.

[] The Place of the Seal of
Resau Gulee Mirsa.

N. B. *Iran is the ancient Name of Persia, and the Persians at present call it by that Name. Iran, pronounced Irun, is Persia at large; Pars is proper Persia.*

In the beginning of the Year 1735, I was sent from the Imperial Cabinet of *Russia*, to attend the *Ozanburgh Expedition*, as a Captain of the Fleet, having been bred up to the Sea. The Intention of this Expedition was in some measure to ascertain and cover the South-east Frontiers of the Empire, by building Fortifications, and making small Settlements on the River *Samara* and *Yaick*, and to open a Communication betwixt *Samara City* on the River *Wolga*, across the *Step* (or Desert) quite to *Siberia*, the Distance about 800 *English Miles*. This, it was presumed, would be a Check to the Inroads of the neighbouring *Tartars*, called *Kirgeese*, and would in time be a Means of civilizing them; and it was then imagined, that a safe Road, cross their Country

try to the *Bucharias*, might be discovered from some of their new Settlements. In order to accomplish this last, it was resolved, that I should be sent first on the Discovery of a very large Lake, which lies to the Eastward of the *Caspian*, named the Lake *Arall*: But this Lake I could never arrive at, on account of some intestine Troubles which then broke out among the *Bafikirki Tartars*, who, although they have been in Subjection to the Empire of *Russia* for upwards of 100 Years, yet have, during that Time, frequently rebelled. Hence it came I could not perform what was intended on the Lake *Arall*, but employed myself, all the Time I attended the *Ozanburgh Expedition*, in laying down some Part of the great Rivers *Bella*, *Kama*, *Welga*, and *Yaick*, and of several considerable Rivers that fall into them, and in drawing a Geographical Map of the South-east Frontiers from the Spring of the *Yaick*, which arises out of the Mountains of *Arall*, on the Confines of *Siberia*. I traced that River to *Yaick City*, full 600 *English Miles*; also from *Yaick City*, to the City of *Samara*, is, cross the *Step*, 150 *English Miles*. In this Manner of Life I spent four Years, which gave me constant Opportunity of conversing with all those different Sorts of roving *Tartars*, which inhabit those vast and uncultivated Countries, that lie betwixt the *Bucharias*, and the Western Boundaries of *Siberia*; also with the more civilized trading *Tartars*, called *Sarts*, which inhabit the Cities of the *Bucharia's*, as well as those Cities to the Eastward of them.

Some

Some of them annually cross the *Step* to some of these new Settlements on the *Yaick*, from the Cities of *Chiva* and *Bucharia*, *Turkestan*, *Tashant*, *Cloghan*, &c. and I have had many *Yaick Cossacks* under my Command, that had several Years been Slaves in *Bucharia*, having been taken Prisoners in that unhappy Expedition of *Backowitz's*. From the Conversation I had frequently with these People, (for I had always an Interpreter of my own, for the *Tartar* Language, and of the *Russian* I understood sufficient) I found that, if a safe Road could be once struck out to those Cities, a very advantageous Trade might be carried on thither, and where great Quantities of Woollen Goods might be vended, a Commodity in the highest Esteem in all those Parts. But at length I found it absolutely impracticable to cross the *Step* from any of those new Settlements on the *Yaick*, either to *Chiva*, *Turkestan*, or *Tashkent*, without infinite Hazard on account of the *Kirgise*, *Karakilpacks*, and *Chivink Tartars*, who inhabit the *Bucharia Step*, and are continually plundering one another; therefore I concluded the only safe and easy Road to the *Bucharias*, lay down the River *Wolga*, and cross the *Caspian* to *Astrabad*, or to some other Port in the South-East Bottom of the *Caspian*; and, having a strong Curiosity to visit the *Bucharias*, I quitted her Imperial Majesty's Service, and returned to *St. Petersburg*, Jan. 1738; with an Intention to make a Journey to the *Bucharias*. I tarried here about a Month, and then set out for the City of *Saratoff* on the *Wolga*, from *Saratoff* I proceeded, down the
Wolga,

Volga, to *Astracan*, and then cross the *Caspian* to the City *Reschd*, in *Gilan* (one of the Northern Provinces of *Persia*) where I arrived about the Middle of *June*. Finding every Thing there conspire to promote my Design, and having procured the above Decree from the *Schah*, about the Middle of *August* I left *Reschd*, in my Return back to *Astracan*. It was the middle of *September* before I reached *Astracan*, having had a tedious Passage back cross the *Caspian*, of a Month; (although the *Caspian* is not 170 *English* Leagues in Length) and as I was detained Two Months in Quarantine, so it was the latter End of *January* last, before I could return again to *St. Petersburg*, having been eleven Months on my Journey. It was by these Means I became informed of all those Particulars which I have related. *

Captain

* This curious Paper, which we have given entire, was the Foundation of the Act passed in the subsequent Session. It may be necessary to observe, that the Names of the Places therein mentioned, are written differently in Authors. *Gilan*, *Ghilan*, or *Kilan*; *Reschd*, *Reschd* or *Resht*; *Sherwan*, *Sbirwan*; *Schamafche*, *Shamahki*; *Ganges*, *Gangeas* or *Ganged*; *Thomas Kouli Khan*, *Tahmas Kuli Kan*; *Nadit Shah*, *Nadivir Schach*; *Isfahan*, *Isfahan*; *Baulcke*, *Baulkb*; *Corasan*, *Khorasan*, or *Carrafan*; *Usbeck*, *Ousbeg*, or *Uzbek*; *Bucharis*, *Bukara*; *Sarmahand*, *Samarhand*; *Astrabath*, *Astrabad*; *Astracin*, *Astrakhan*; *Mulhad*, *Mesched*; *Moscow*, *Moskwa*; *Coswin*, *Kaswin*; *Resau Gulee*, *Riza Guli*; *Attakau*, *Attock*; *Kirgeele*, *Kirgis*; *Basirkirki*, *Baskir*; *Chiva*, *Kbirva*; *Iassant*, *Tajbasant*; *Cloghan*, *Khojand*; *Karekilpacks*, *Karaanpak*; *Chivanki*, *Kbrvinski*.

Captain *Elton* delivered also a second Paper to Mr. *Finch*, which contained an Account of the Privileges, Regulations, and Indulgences, necessary to be obtained of her Imperial Majesty's Cabinet, in order to facilitate the new Trade proposed to be carried on by *British* Merchants, through the Empire of *Russia*, to the Northern Provinces of *Persia*. Mr. *Finch* having transmitted these Papers to the Duke of *Newcastle*, his Grace, by the King's Order, laid them before the Commissioners of Trade, who, on *December 11*, 1741, made the following Representation to his Majesty.

To the King's most Excellent Majesty.

May it please your Majesty,

IN Obedience to your Majesty's Commands, signified to Us by his Grace the Duke of *Newcastle*, one of your Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, in his Letter dated the 16th of *September* last, we have taken into our Consideration two Papers put into the Hands of Mr. *Finch*, your Majesty's Minister at *Petersburg*, by Captain *Elton*.

“ Containing a Proposal for opening a
 “ Trade by the *British* Merchants in *Rus-*
 “ *sia*, to those Parts of *Persia* which are adja-
 “ cent to the Southern Coasts of the *Caspian*
 “ *Sea*.” And do find,

That Captain *Elton*'s Papers do contain a Proposal to the *Russian* Company for supplying *Musbad*, the present Capital of *Persia*, and the Countries adjacent, with all Sorts of Woollen Goods, to a far greater Degree, and

at much easier Rates than they are now vend-
ed there: And for investing our Returns to
Great Britain in the best Raw Silks, and other
Commodities, produced in those Countries,
near 50. per Cent. cheaper than at present by
the Way of *Turky*.

The Method Captain *Elton* proposes for
carrying on this Trade, is “ for the Mer-
chants to send their Goods from *Great*
“ *Britain* to *Petersburg*, and from thence,
“ partly by Land and partly by Water, down
“ the *Volga* to *Astracan*; there to be shipped,
“ and carried cross the *Caspian Sea* to *Astra-*
“ *bath*, on the South-east Coast of the said
“ Sea; from whence, by Land Carriage, to
“ *Musbad*, is not quite 14 Days Journey for
“ a Caravan.”

Captain *Elton*, in setting forth the many
Advantages this Trade must necessarily be at-
tended with, observes, amongst other Things,
“ That, after the *Russian* Merchants shall have
“ established themselves at *Musbad*, they will
“ not only have it in their Power to supply
“ many extensive and populous Countries
“ with Woollen Goods, but may also in
“ Time come to cloath the whole *Persian*
“ Army.”

Having on this Occasion been attended by
Sir *John Thompson*, Governour of the *Russian*
Company, and also by several of the principal
Merchants concerned in that Trade, we com-
municated to them Captain *Elton's* Project,
and have received their Opinion in Writing
on the Subject-matter thereof, wherein they
inform us:

“ That the great and many Advantages
“ that

“ that with accrue to this Kingdom, by so
“ cheap and easy a Conveyance of the Ma-
“ nufactures thereof in this Channel of Trade,
“ appeared to them so manifest, that they
“ humbly conceived this Proposal deserved the
“ utmost Attention and Encouragement.

“ That a Trade through *Russia* to *Persia*, is
“ certainly practicable, for as much as the
“ same is at present carried on by the *Arme-*
“ *nians* between *Holland* and *Persia*, through
“ the *Russian* Dominions.

“ That the Branch of Trade, which will
“ consist principally in the Exportation of
“ Woollen Goods, and Importation of Raw
“ Silk, must be of singular Benefit to this
“ Kingdom, as it will be a Means of send-
“ ing the Manufactures of our own Produce
“ in the easiest Manner to Market, and of
“ bringing home the first Materials of ano-
“ ther great and beneficial Manufactory,
“ vastly cheaper than they can be had in any
“ other Manner.

“ That by authentic Accounts transmitted
“ to them, the Charge of bringing Raw Silk
“ from *Persia* to *Petersburgh*, by means of
“ the Water-carriage, will be very inconfi-
“ derable, in Proportion to the Land-car-
“ riage, from *Gilan* in *Persia* to *Aleppo* or
“ *Smyrna*, the only two Ports in *Turky* for
“ Exportation to *England*.

“ That the Sophy of *Persia*, from an In-
“ clination to distress the *Turks*, his natural
“ Enemies, and to favour the *Russians*, may
“ possibly prohibit all Trade with *Turky*,
“ provided he can have a sufficient Demand
“ for his Silk through *Russia*; in which Case,

“ un-

“ unless this Channel should be open'd to us,
“ we should be entirely deprived of that Com-
“ modity.

“ That since the Commencement of the
“ War with *Spain*, *Persian Silk* is advanced
“ very much, and if the War continues may
“ still be higher, and must always, on any
“ Rupture with *France* or *Spain*, be exposed
“ to the like Difficulty, which can only be
“ remedied by opening another Channel, and
“ having the Choice of two Ways to supply
“ the Kingdom with that Commodity.

“ That the *French* do now chiefly supply
“ *Turky* with Woollen Goods, and gain
“ upon us in that Trade every Day, and
“ probably do and may, through them, sup-
“ ply great Part of *Persia*; whereas, by this
“ easy Conveyance, we shall be enabled to
“ under-sell them, and carry our Woollen
“ Manufactures into all Parts of *Persia* cheap-
“ er than they can.

“ They conclude with observing, That
“ the only Objection, that occurred to them
“ against opening this Trade, was the pre-
“ sent *Act of Navigation*, by which they ap-
“ prehend themselves debarred that Liberty;
“ and as the Restrictions of the Act make it
“ necessary for them to apply to Parliament,
“ they humbly hoped, that, considering how
“ beneficial this Trade will be to the King-
“ dom, and that they can have no private
“ Views, nor any exclusive Trade from the
“ rest of his Majesty's Subjects (any Person
“ having a Right to be made free of their
“ Company for five Pounds) they should
“ meet with Encouragement, for an Exemp-

tion from that Clause in the aforesaid *Act of Navigation*, from whence the present Impediment arises."

Whereupon we humbly beg leave to represent to your Majesty, That it appears to us, as well from Captain *Elton's* Papers, as from the Representation of the *Russian* Company, and our Discourse with them thereupon, that this Scheme, for opening a new Branch of Trade to *Persia* through *Russia*, may be very beneficial to this Kingdom, and may deserve your Majesty's Royal Protection; but as no Steps can be made therein, till the Company shall have applied to Parliament, for an Exemption from the above-mentioned Clause in the *Act of Navigation* (whereby no Goods or Commodities that are of foreign Growth, Production or Manufacture, can be brought from any Place or Country, but only from those of the said Growth, Production, or Manufacture, or from those Ports where the said Goods and Commodities can only, or are, or usually have been, first shipped for Transportation) we shall at present only observe to your Majesty, that when the said Application shall be made, the Advantages or Inconveniences, that may attend this Channel of Commerce, will be thoroughly weighed and discussed.

All which is humbly submitted.

Signed M. BLADEN.

R. PLUMER.

Whitehall, Nov.

J. A. BRUDENELL.

11, 1740.

AR. CROFT.

Application

Application being accordingly made in the next Session of Parliament, an Act passed in favour of the *Russia* Company, for the Encouragement of this Trade. The *English* Reader will excuse me for continuing this Digression a little farther, upon a Subject that so much concerns our Nation, in order to insert an Abstract of this Act.

Abstract of the Bill, for opening a Trade to and from Persia, through Russia.

WHEREAS, by Letters Patent dated 26 Feb. in the 1st and 2d Years of King Philip and Queen Mary, their Majesties did grant to the Merchant Adventurers of England, for the Discovery of Lands, Territories, Isles, &c. unknown, and not, before their late Adventure or Enterprize, by Seas or Navigation, commonly frequented, the sole Privilege of trading to the Dominions and Territories of the Emperor of *Russia*: And whereas, the Liberties, &c. granted by the said Letters Patent, were afterwards by Act of Parliament, in the 8th of Queen Eliz. confirmed to the said Merchants and their Successors, by the Name of *The Fellowship of English Merchants for Discovery of New Trades*, (now commonly called the *Russia* Company) by which the said Fellowship is to have the sole Privilege of trading to and from the Dominions and Territories of the Emperor of *Russia*, lying Northwards, North-east-wards, and North-west-wards from London; as also to the Countries of *Armenia Major*, or *Minor*, *Media*, *Hyrcania*, *Persia*, or the

the *Caspian Sea*: *And whereas*, by an Act in the 10th and 11th Years of K. Will. III. to enlarge the Trade to *Russia*, any Subject of this Realm hath a Right to become Free of the said Fellowship, on Payment of Five Pounds, and no more: *And whereas*, by an Act of the 19th of his late Majesty K. Charles II. for encouraging and increasing of Shipping and Navigation, it is enacted, That no Goods of Foreign Growth and Manufacture, which by the said Act are to be brought into *England, Ireland, &c.* in *English* or other Shipping, navigated in such Manner, as therein is mentioned, shall be shipped, or brought from any other Place or Places, Town or Country, &c. but only from those of the said Growth, Production, or Manufacture; or from those Ports where the said Goods and Commodities could only, or usually had been first shipped for Transportation, and from none other, under the Forfeiture of all such Goods, as also the Ship in which they are imported, with all her Guns, Tackle, &c. to be recovered and divided as in the said Act directed, with Proviso that the said Act shall not extend to prohibit the importing of the Commodities of the *Streights* or *Levant* Seas, in *English*-built Shipping, navigated as therein directed, from the usual Ports or Places for landing them within the said *Streights* or *Levant* Seas, or the importing any *East-India* Commodities laden in the like Shipping, and navigated as abovesaid, to the Southward and Eastward of *Cabo bona Speranza*, altho' the said Commodities be not of the very Growth of the said Places respectively: *And whereas*, at the Time of passing the said last-mentioned

mentioned Act, it was not usual to bring to this Kingdom Raw Silk and other Commodities of the Growth and Manufacture of *Persia*, through *Russia*: And whereas, it may be of great Advantage to this Kingdom, to open a Trade to and from *Persia* through *Russia*, by promoting the Consumption of the Woollen and other Manufactures thereof, if Raw Silk, and other Goods, the Produce of *Persia*, be permitted to be imported into this Kingdom from *Russia*, in return for such Woollen and other Manufactures as shall be exported from hence into *Russia*, and from thence carried into *Persia*, and not otherwise: Be it enacted, &c. That, from and after the 24th of June, 1741, it shall be lawful for every Member of the aforesaid Fellowship, or *Russia* Company, exclusive of all others, to import into this Kingdom, in *British* built Shipping, navigated according to Law, from any Port belonging to the Czar, Raw Silk or any other Goods of the Growth and Manufacture of *Persia*; provided such Manufacture, of the Growth and Produce of *Persia*, be purchased by Barter with Woollen and other Manufactures, or Goods exported from *Great Britain* to *Russia*, and from thence carried into *Persia* (Gold and Silver in Coin, and Bullion excepted) or with the Produce arising from the Sales of such Manufactures, &c. exported to *Russia*, and carried into *Persia* as aforesaid; and not otherwise, upon paying or securing the Duties now payable for the same, according to such Rules and Directions, &c. as are by Law prescribed and practised, on the Importation of Goods of the Growth and Manufacture of *Persia*, imported into this Kingdom from any Port of the *Levant* Seas, by any

Person free of the *Turky*, or *Levant* Company.

And be it enacted, &c. That no Silk, or other Produce or Manufacture of *Persia*, shall be imported into *Great Britain*, through *Russia*, by Virtue of this Act, unless the Importer take an Oath, or make Affirmation before the Collector, &c. at the Port of Importation, that, to the best of his or their Knowledge and Belief, the Silk and other Produce or Manufactures of *Persia*, contained in his or their Entries, was or were really purchased by Barter with Woollen, &c. Goods exported from *Great Britain* to *Russia*, and from thence carried into *Persia* (not being Gold or Silver in Coin, or Bullion) or with the Produce arising from Sales of the said Goods, and not otherwise. And in Default of taking such Oath, or Affirmation, being a *Quaker*, all such Silk, &c. shall be liable to be seized and forfeited, as if the same had been imported contrary to the said Act of the 12th of *Charles II.*

Provided always, and be it enacted, &c. That nothing in this Act shall extend to the permitting, using, or wearing in this Kingdom, any wrought Silks or other Manufactures of *Persia*, mentioned in the Act of 11th of *William the Third*, which may be imported by Virtue thereof through *Russia*, but the said Act or any Clause thereof, &c. for re-exporting the same, to be in full Force, &c.

And be it further enacted, &c. That if any Question, &c. shall arise, whether any of the Goods, to be imported by Virtue of this Act, be of the Growth or Manufacture of *Persia* or not, or were imported contrary to the true Meaning

Meaning of this Act, and shall on that Account be seized, the Proof shall lie on the Importer or Claimer, and not upon the Officer or Informer.

Provided also, That this Act shall not extend to hinder the *East-India* Company from having all such Privileges, &c. as do or shall belong to them, &c. any thing in this Act notwithstanding.

As to the Use and Benefit of this *Persian* Trade, I am positively informed by some of my Friends, who know the State of our Commerce, that it is already in a great measure experienced, large Quantities of Raw Silks having been by this Way brought to *England*; and it is expected that our Woollen Manufacture, the Basis of our Wealth and Trade, will in a few Years receive so many Advantages from it, as will more than balance the Losses they have sustained from the Rivalship of the *French*.

The *Caspian* Sea, which has in a great measure remained as an almost useless Lake in the midst of the Continent, is now like to become as famous for Navigation, as the *Red* Sea was of old. It is very remarkable of this Sea, that, till the *Czar Peter's* Expedition against *Persia*, little more than twenty Years ago, so much as the Figure of it was not known: All our Geographers, from *Ptolomy* to *Moll*, having made it nearly an Oval, whose greatest Extent was from East to West: But that great Prince had it all over surveyed and sounded, when it was found to be an Oblong, from North to South; what was taken for the East

Trade
Persia
increase

Account
of the
Caspian
Sea.

Part of it being a vast Desert, between this Sea and the Lake of *Aroll*.

Upon this Sea it is expected, that *Kouli Kan* will have a Royal Fleet, either at *Resht* or *Airabad*.

Kouli Kan's Views on the Black Sea. That he had such Views also with respect to the Black Sea we were informed the very next Summer, this being alledged as his Motive for endeavouring to penetrate towards *Trebizond*, in his first Expedition against the *Turks*, on whom he now actually began to make War. His design was to make this City and Port the Residence of either himself or his Son, and to set up there a Naval Power in order to ruin the *Ottomans*. It was in the Month of *February*, 1742, that he advanced toward it, at the Head of 70,000 Men, having at the same Time sent his Son with 50,000 to besiege *Bagdad*. The *Turks*, not ignorant of the Importance of that City, sent thither 24,000 *Janizaries*, and 12,000 *Spartans*, to prevent it's being surprized, and ordered the Inferior *Bashaws* immediately to take the Field with their respective Forces. The *Persian* did not succeed in this Enterprize, but contented himself with taking some other Towns in *Armenia*.

Towards the End of the Year, we were informed, that he had assembled together a Body of Christian Priests and Jewish Rabbies, with their several Institutions translated into *Persian*, which made some imagine he wanted to establish a New Religion. He also made some Alterations in the Dress of the *Persians*, and, instead of *Mundels*, gave them Caps of *Drab*.

Drab-cloth, resembling those of our Grenadiers.

All this while he discovered a strong Inclination to raise a Naval Force ; for he not only bought some Ships of the *English* Merchants at *Gombroon*, but declared a Resolution to build some himself, in a very extraordinary Manner. The Timber he ordered from the Province of *Mazanderan*, on the Coast of the *Caspian* Sea : It was to be carried upon the Backs of Mules and Camels, the only Way of Carriage the Country afforded. He also required Workmen of the *Europeans*, and, being told of the Size of an *English* First Rate, said, he would have some built eight times as large, which should mount 500 Guns. This Piece of Extravagance, without question, was owing to his not having yet a competent Knowledge of the Use and Practicability of what he proposed : For a Prince of *Kouli Kan's* Genius, who in every thing consults his Advantage, would certainly yield to the Demonstration, when it was given him, that such enormous unwieldy Hulks could be of no Service.

Resolves
to build
large
Shipping.

His Enemies now gave out, and made use Reports of this Declaration for a Handle, that his his Disordered Brain was intoxicated and distempered with false Notions of Grandeur, inspired by an uninterrupted Series of Success. They added, that he had lost in a great degree the Hearts of his Subjects. We had indeed Accounts, that he was three times shot at within a Year by his Soldiers ; once his Hand was wounded, as he was riding out privately, with his eldest Son ; another time the Shot grazed on his Horse's

Neck; and the third time it fell near him as he was sitting before his Tent.

These Attempts were ascribed, at *Constantinople*, to the general Dislike of his Soldiery to a *Turkish* War. But it did not appear that the *Schah* himself was sensible of this Dislike; or, if he was sensible of it, his Greatness of Mind despised the Danger that might result from it: For, so far was he from lessening his Demands on the *Porte*, that he still insisted on the Restitution of all the Frontier Places belonging to the *Persians*; upon imprisoning the Governor of *Rislar*, who formerly had assisted some rebellious *Persians*; the Expence of maintaining his Army for 15 Years; a Quarter Part of the Revenues of *Mecca*; a considerable Present for himself; and some other hard Conditions, besides an Alliance by Marriage.

The *Russians* alarmed.

While our Conqueror was in the North-west Parts of his Dominions, of a sudden the *Russians* were alarmed, and the *Turks* gave out, that he was going immediately to attack them. This was the greater Surprise, as the *Persian* Ambassador at *Petersburg* had always declared the favourable Inclinations of his Master towards the *Russian* Empire, and his Resolutions to observe inviolably the Treaty of 1732, by which *Derbent* and *Babu* had been ceded to him: But the *Schah* now demanded the Restitution of all the Acquisitions made by the *Czar Peter I.* to which he was thought to be tempted by the Improvements made in Trade on the *Caspian* Sea. The *Russian* Generals all desired to be excused from undertaking to repel this Storm; which however soon blew over, the *Schah* appearing to be again entirely satisfied, and declaring

declaring as much to the *Russian* Minister residing in *Persia*.

The *Daghestan Tartars* had not yet any *Daghestan* Good-will to the Eastern Conqueror. Upon *Russians* put hearing that a Rupture was like to happen between him and the *Czarina*, their Princes sent a Letter to Mr. *Tercanow*, her Majesty's Lieutenant General in those Parts, to the following Effect. "We the *Daghestan* Princes, &c. " have long expected such a General as your " Excellency on our Frontiers, and on the " first Notice have sent our Deputies, to engage you humbly to beseech her Imperial " Majesty on our Behalf, that she would be " graciously pleased to take under her high " Protection, and receive us into the Number " of her loyal Subjects; being unanimously " resolved, at all Events, to shelter ourselves " henceforth under the Shadow of her Imperial Robe, and never look for any other " Sovereign. In consequence whereof we are " ready to take an Oath of Fidelity to her " Imperial Majesty". To this Letter they added a List of their Forces, amounting to 66,000 Men. But, as the Peace was immediately afterwards renewed, we heard of no particular Consequence of this Application.

But the *Lesghis*, a neighbouring Nation of *Lesghis* the *Daghestans*, had about this Time a farther *republic* Concern with *Kouli Kan*. This People having *Kouli* some how offended him, he marched against them, and made one of the most unsuccessful Expeditions of his whole Life. They attacked him at the Head of 52,000 of his best Troops, and by means of the natural Strength of their Country, which is all mountainous,

rainbow, destroyed him a great number of Men, before he could get back into the Plains. Some Accounts said, that in this Retreat, which was very precipitate, he left behind him 16,000 Carriages and Beasts of Burthen, with their Lading, among which was his own Plate and Equipage, and also his Artillery and military Chest.

Proceeds
against
Tacks, and
takes Kir-
kut by
Storm.

This did not discourage him, however, from pursuing his Designs against the *Turks*, whom he looked upon as his chief Enemies. The old Dispute about Religion was revived, and the *Schah* sent word to the *Sultan*, That, since he would not send him some Doctors, learned in the Law, to instruct him as to the Points controverted amongst the different Sects of *Mohamedans*, he resolved to come in Person to the Frontiers of *Turky*, that he might be more at hand to clear up his Doubts. To this the Grand Vizir answered, That the Doctors of the Law were just setting out to wait upon his Highness, and that they only staid for an Escort of 30,000 *Janizaries*, and some other Troops. Soon after we heard, that the *Schah* was marching towards *Bogdad*, and that he had destroyed one of the *Ottoman* Frontier Towns, which by subsequent Advices appeared to be *Kirkut*. During the Siege of this Place he defeated 50,000 *Turks*, that came to relieve it: And the Reason he assigned for his Severity, in putting the Garrison and the Inhabitants to the Sword, was their giving him the Trouble of a second Assault, when the Place was no longer tenable.

This War
of Benefit
to the
Christian
Power.

We need not doubt but the *Turks* were very much alarmed, while the Christian Powers,

at War among themselves, looked on with Pleasure to see the two greatest *Mahometan* Princes destroying one another. This Circumstance was peculiarly fortunate to the Queen of *Hungary*, who, with the Assistance of *Great Britain* and *Holland*, found it difficult to preserve the Inheritance descended to her from her Father. But if, together with the Claimants to her Dominions, she had had the Enemies of Christianity to contend with also, she must in all probability have been overwhelmed.

One Stroke of the *Turkish* Policy was at this Time very much admired, and seems to have been copied from the Refinements among his *European* Neighbours. It was the setting up a Pretender to the *Persian* Crown, in order to divide the People, who could not be All heartily attached to the Man that had risen upon the Ruins of their antient royal Family. This Claimant personated a Nephew of the late *Schah*, and was sent into *Asia* with an Army and Retinue, and the splendid Title of Monarch of *Persia*. As there are no People who bear a greater Veneration than the *Persians*, for the Race of their former sovereigns, the Enemies of *Kouli Kan* flattered themselves, that this was a Blow he would not be able to parry.

We found him however but little affected by this Attempt. The new *Schah*, whose Name was *Rode*, for a little Time made a Figure in the *Turkish* Army, and we then heard no more of his Name. Whether *Kouli Kan* found Means to get him destroyed, or the *Turks* perceived him incapable of supporting the Dignity they had invested him with, has been hitherto uncertain in this Part of the World.

The

Works by
Intrigues
as well as
Arms.

The Conqueror went on ravaging the Borders of *Turky* with an Army of an hundred and ten thousand Men, meeting for some Time with little Resistance. It was not only by Arms, but by private Intrigues that he worked against the Enemy; the *Porte* themselves publishing their Fears, that he had obtained an Interest not only among the *Arabian* Princes, but with the People of *Egypt*, and even some of the *Ottoman* Bashaws. In the mean time he met with some little Damage before *Mosul*, by the springing of a Mine, but not sufficient to put a Stop to his Progress, for he afterwards took the Place. He was now so exasperated, as to declare, that, since the *Turks* had taken upon them to set up a Monarch of *Persia*, he would soon shew he had an equal Right of making a Grand Signor. But, sitting down before *Bagdat*, a Negotiation of Peace was set on foot, which for some time suspended the Operations.

Thinks of
making
himself
Kalif.

During this Suspension we were amused with a Project, said to be formed by *Kouli Kan*, which was of a more extraordinary Nature than any of his former. It was, that he had renounced the *Persian* Religion, and solemnly embraced the Opinion of *Omar*, in order to take upon him the Dignity of *Kalif*, or supreme Prince of the *Mussulmen*, and, by Virtue of this Title, to deprive the *Turks* of their Superiority at *Mecca*, and render both the Grand Signor and the *Magul* his Substitutes. Whether he had really formed any such Scheme, or whether he found it impracticable to put in Execution, we could not learn from the Event: But this is certain, that the *Turks* about this Time complained heavily, that his Pretensions were

were so extravagant there was no satisfying him, and that therefore they were necessitated to continue the War at all Events.

Having hereupon made all the Preparations in their Power, in the Summer of 1744, the *Persians* under their Monarch, and the *Turks* under the Seraskier, *Achmet* Bashaw, approached one another upon their Frontiers, and came to a bloody Engagement. At first the *Turks* gave out, that the *Schah* had attacked the Seraskier in his Entrenchments, under the Cannon of *Kars*, and was repulsed with the Loss of 12,000 Men: But, as the *Ottoman* Ministers, in the very Time of their Rejoicings for the pretended Victory, began to remove their Effects into the Islands of the *Archipelago*, for fear of a Revolution, the Truth of their Report was from the first doubted: And it was not long before it was well known, that the Victory was quite on the other Side, the Seraskier having been obliged, after the Battle, to throw himself into *Kars*, having been defeated with the Loss of 19,000 Men. The Consternation spread by this Shock, over all *Armenia* and *Asia Minor*, was so great, that the Women and Children fled from their Habitations about *Erzerum* with the utmost Confusion, and were seen in Crowds on the opposite Shore to *Constantinople*, crying out for Protection. It was in vain therefore, that Rejoicings were made for three Days together at the *Porte*, and that it was confidently reported the *Schah* had retreated in Haste to his own Dominions, when such a Number of indisputable Circumstances attested the direct contrary.

However, though the *Turks* had no solid Cause for this Appearance of Joy, it is certain, on the other hand, that *Keuli Kan* found him-
Kouli Kan does not wholly succeed.

A bloody Battle, of which different Accounts,

self unable to carry his Point. If he won a Victory, the Enemy still made a brave Stand, and he was disappointed of penetrating to the *Black Sea* by *Erzerum* or *Kars*, as he had been before of reaching the *Mediterranean* by the Way of *Mosul* and *Aleppo*.

There seems, in short, to have been a very hard Struggle on both Sides for about these two Years past. The *Turkish* Ministers have had much ado to prevent Insurrections, and find Resources for carrying on the War. And *Persia* has not been without intestine Commotions, which prevented *Kouli Kan* from turning all his Attention to a foreign War. One Master-stroke however he has lately struck, which must doubtless greatly distress and embarrass the *Porte*, if Means be not found to prevent the bad Effects of it. It was the setting up of *Achmet* Bashaw, Governour of *Bagdad*, for himself, as Sovereign of that City and *Mesopotamia*, but with some Kind of Dependence on *Persia*; and at the same Time fomenting Discontents in *Egypt*, and other Provinces of the *Turkish* Empire. These are Events of which the Consequences are yet expected, and of which it is difficult to form any Judgment at this Distance.

Sets up
Achmet
Bashaw.

His Character.

Achmet Bashaw is a Man 80 Years of Age, and has no Children; but he has a Nephew of about 56, a very gallant Officer, who has two Sons. This Nephew is General of all his Forces, consisting of 28,000 choice Foot, and 10,000 Horse, which *Kouli Kan* has engaged to reinforce upon Occasion with 30,000 *Persians*.

u Soon

Soon after this new Sovereign made his Appearance, we had News of a great Victory won by *Kouli Kan* in the Neighbourhood of *Erzerum*, which City he afterwards took by Storm. Upon this Success, he was quickly joined by 100,000 *Armenians*, and we heard of him upon the full March for *Trebisonde* on the *Black Sea*, the Place he has so long had the Design of getting into his Possession. Tho' he did not succeed in this Project, we had sufficient Proof of the *Turks* Apprehensions, which were so great, that they even dropped their Mediation between the Christian Powers at War, which they had before offered, and bent their whole Care to their own Preservation.

Among the next Advices we had of the Civil Affairs of *Persia*, we were told that the *Schah*, growing in Years, design'd to leave his Diadem to a Grandson, and that his great Care was to get this Youth acknowledged lawful Successor by all the *Persian* Grandees. The *Turks* from this Time endeavoured to persuade us, that he was sinking in Reputation among these, and that he even had met with a fresh Repulse from the *Ottoman* Arms. Of the latter Particular we had not any Certainty; but the Catastrophe of this extraordinary Man shews that there was some Truth in the former.

Concerning this intended Establishment of his Grandson, we received an Account by the Way of *Petersburg*, which is generally looked upon as a better Channel than *Constantinople*. Part of the Story that came with it was at first thought too much like (a) one that was before propagated and disbelieved, and too little agree-

(a) See Page 159 of this History, where the

able with that Politeness which at other Times was ascribed to the *Persian* Conqueror, for the whole to deserve the utmost Credit. But, perhaps, it is more credible now than it was at that Time, from later Accounts that we have received of his Conduct, which bordered on Madness. The Article is dated *July* the 4th, 1745.

“ According to the Letters that the Court
 “ has received from *Riatsche*, in the Province
 “ of *Ghilan*, *Kouli Kan* has convoked together
 “ in *Ispahan* all the Governours and Gran-
 “ dees of the *Persian* Empire, to the Number
 “ of near 30,000, to gain their Consent to
 “ the solemn Disposition he has resolved to
 “ make in Favour of his Grandson, *Abel*
 “ *Schah*, whom he is going to declare pre-
 “ sumptive Heir to the *Persian* Throne.

“ The same Advices give to understand,
 “ that it is not likely the War between the
 “ *Persian* and the *Grand Signor* will be soon
 “ terminated; the first, on the contrary,
 “ seeming determined to pursue it with all his
 “ Forces. Two *Turkish* Ambassadors having
 “ arrived at his Court, with Propositions rela-
 “ tive to a Peace, he received them at first
 “ with the utmost Haughtiness, and, upon
 “ their mentioning certain Restitutions which
 “ the *Porte* demanded of *Persia*, would not
 “ hear them a Word more: And one of his
 “ own Secretaries, much in his Favour, hav-
 “ ing, from his Inclination to Peace, attempt-
 “ ed to support the *Turks*, he ordered him a
 “ Bastinading of three Days successively, 200
 “ Blows each Time; declaring, that he would
 “ inflict the same Punishment on any other
 “ Mi-

“ Minister, who should be bold enough to mention the like Propositions.”

Soon after we received a remarkable Particular concerning this extraordinary Man, which, we must confess, favours too much of that cruelly vindictive Temper, with which his Enemies have all along charged him, and from which his Friends have been as careful to vindicate him : As the Story is not long, I shall give it exactly as translated from the *Utrecht Gazette*, into one of our public Papers, without making the least Reflection upon it.

“ *Aleppo, May 2.* According to the last Advices from *Persia*, *Thomas Kouli Kan* sent 30,000 Men to engage a Rebel, named *Taki Kan*, Sub-governour of the Province of *Schiras*. After the Town of that Name had been blocked up for some Days, it was taken by Assault. All the Inhabitants thereof were killed excepting those that were unable to bear Arms. Most of the Women and Male Children were made Slaves of. *Taki Kan*, with his Wives and the rest of his Family; were conducted to *Isfahan*, where they were exposed in all the public Places to the Insults of the People. Some Days after that Rebel was led into the Square, called the *Atmeidan*, where he was Witness of the Dishonour done to his Wife by the Soldiery, into whose Power she was delivered. After which he saw his Son, and fifty more of the principal Accomplices in this Rebellion, beheaded; which done, one of his Eyes was put out, and he underwent another kind of Punishment not less severe. In this Condition *Thomas Kouli Kan* ordered him to be brought before him at *Kars*, and some Part of his Flesh to be cut off in every Town through which he passed. But these shocking Cruelties were so

Instance
of great
Cruelty.

far from answering the End proposed by them, namely, that of strengthening his Government, that instead thereof they have made him odious, even among those that he thought best affected to him."

*Kouli
Kan's
Monu-
ment.*

It was added, that, as he foresaw his Tyranny would soon be the Occasion of his Death, he had caused a stately Sepulchre to be made in his own Country, all of Marble; on the Top of which was a kind of Pyramid, formed of Golden Apples, one placed above another, out of which issued a Hand holding a Sword, all of massy Gold: The Sepulchre was covered with a Dome of Marble. *Thomas Kouli Kan* appointed twelve Priests to guard this Monument, who were to relieve each other by four and four, and sing Day and Night Hymns in Praise of him, some of them carrying Wax-Lights in their Hands, and others burning Lamps with Perfumes. Whether his Remains have been honour'd with a Place in this Monument, we have not been inform'd.

*State of
Affairs
between
the Turks
and Per-
sians.*

To return to public Affairs; The *Turks* in general, provoked at their late Disgrace, were very earnest at *Constantinople* for carrying on the War with more vigour against the *Persians*: But there was a Party in the Divan, headed by *Bashaw Osmin*, formerly Count *Bonneval*, who, thinking Advantage might be taken of the Wars among the Christian Powers, were for making a Peace with *Schah Nadir*, and turning the *Ottoman Arms* against *Hungary*. This Party, in the Beginning of the Year 1745, was pretty strong; but the other, which was the more general Sentiment, prevailed. The Death of *Bonneval*, not long after, put an End to this Controversy, and gave the Em-

press-

press-Queen entire Confidence in the *Ottoman Porte* during the War with *Persia*.

On the other Hand, the *Persians* were not fully satisfied with the Success of their Hero, who, though he had the better in the *Turkish* War, did not support the Character they had formed of the Vanquisher of his own Country, and made them think the Yoke, which he seemed to press more heavily on their Shoulders, might not be immovable when it became intolerable. This Opinion, and the Factions thence ensuing about his Person, were, perhaps, the Reasons that, though the War between the two *Mahometan* Powers continued about a Year longer, we had no Account of any memorable Action betwixt them, after what was brought us in the Month of *October*, 1745, when we were informed, that the *Turkish* Army, consisting of 1,30,000 Men, The had been totally routed by *Schah Nadir*, with *Turks* de- the Loss of their General *Yeghen* Bashaw, three feated. other Bashaws of three Tails, near 30,000 Men, besides all their Cannon and Baggage. This was all the Narrative we had of the Matter; and indeed we ought not, at so great a Distance, and from Nations who do not cherish Letters equally with the *European* Christians, to expect often such circumstantial Relations as we have from the Seats of War where almost every Officer is a petty Historian.

The Year 1746 seems to have been spent rather in Negotiation than Action; and about the End of it we were told, that a Peace had been formally concluded. But this was contradicted again, at the Beginning of the present Year, and we were assured that *Nadir Schah* had proposed such Conditions as were not acceptable to the *Turks*. These Conditions, as

given in the Foreign Prints, were, 1. That the Grand Signor should deliver up to him the Pretender to the Throne of *Persia*. 2. That he should give in Marriage to his Grandson a Princess of the Blood, with some of the principal Frontier Towns on the Side of *Persia* for her Dowry. And, 3. That the *Porte* should grant Liberty to the *Persians* to visit the Tomb of *Mecca*, on the same Footing with their own Subjects. It was added, that the bad Reception these Propositions met with, caused a Suspension of the Negotiations.

Whether this Interruption really happened, and the Cause of it was the same as is here assigned, we cannot yet pretend to ascertain. It is obvious however, that if the Fact was true, the Pretender to the Crown of *Persia* was not yet destroyed: And this will furnish a Suggestion, that, as we are assured that all the Race of the old *Sophi's* was destroyed before *Nadir Schah* met his Catastrophe, it is not impossible that the *Turkish* Policy, though it would not consent to deliver up this young Prince in Form, might submit, by some Means or other, to put him out of the Way; for a very short Time intervened before the Conferences were resumed, and we had confirmed Advice that a Treaty of Peace was actually signed, in which no Mention was made of a Pretender.

A Peace. The principal Article of the Peace was, that the Limits of the two Empires were to stand as they were settled in the Reign of *Amurath* IV. about 110 Years ago. This *Amurath*, before the Peace, had conquered *Bagdad* from the *Persians*, which was confirmed to him: So that *Nadir Schah*, we perceive, by all his Wars against the *Turks*, in which he was for the most Part successful, did nothing but re-

cover, on that Side, such Parts of the *Persian* Monarchy as had been lost from it within a Century past. But on the East and North, by taking from the *Mogul* all that lay between the former Limits of *Persia* and the River *Indus*, and subduing the whole Country of the *Ussbecks*, he has vastly enlarged the Bounds of that Empire, which perhaps will now fall to Pieces through Factions.

As to the Article concerning the Privilege of Pilgrimages to *Mecca*, he obtained in it all that he required: But being a Trimmer in Religion, and rather most inclined to that *Persian* Opinion which is not the established Religion, it is thought he in some Measure lost the Hearts of the orthodox *Persians*, by being suspected of Heresy, as well as by the Cruelty of his Government.

No sooner was Peace confirmed between the *Persians* and *Turks*, but the latter, by bringing back a Part of their Troops out of *Asia* into *Europe*, gave Umbrage to the Court of *Vienna*, which was not made easy but by repeated Assurances of Amity from the *Porte*, and by diligent Enquiry into the true Cause of these Motions. The *Russians* were alarmed, and not so easily satisfied as the *Hungarians*, because they had both the *Mahometan* Powers to fear, as confining on both: But as strong Protestations had their Effect on the Side of *Turkey*, the Death of *Nadir Schah* made them easy on the Side of *Persia*.

The earliest Rumour we had of his Murder was, that it had been perpetrated by his second Son, who feared an Attempt on his own Life, and had seen the Eyes of his elder Brother put out through Jealousy. But a few Months we were the Truth in the Particular.

and Authority gave us the following Article in the *London Gazette*.

Hague, Sept. 26. N. S. “ We have Ad-
 “ vices from *Persia*, by the Way of *Russia*,
 “ of the 6th of *July*, according to which the
 “ Revolt in that Empire was become so gene-
 “ ral, that *Schah Nadir*, seeing his Affairs de-
 “ sperate, had resolved to fly, with some *Aw-*
 “ *gaitzes* and *Usbecks*, that still adhered to him,
 “ to the City of *Kelat*, an inaccessible Place,
 “ where he had lodged all his Treasures; but
 “ that, before he could execute this Resolu-
 “ tion, he was fallen upon and murdered in
 “ his Tent by the *Persians* who still remained
 “ about him. His Head was immediately sent
 “ to his Nephew, *Ali-Koulikan*, in whose Fa-
 “ vour the *Persians* had revolted, who there-
 “ upon dispatched Orders over the whole Em-
 “ pire, to suspend and abolish all the Contri-
 “ butions imposed by the late *Schah*.

The *Gazette* hath since told us, that there
 are five or six Competitors for the Crown of
Persia, and that the Kingdom is in the utmost
 Confusion. The same Paper hath also inform-
 ed us, “ That the *Porte* is taking all necessa-
 “ ry Precaution, by ordering a large Body of
 “ *Janissaries* to the Frontiers of *Persia*, and
 “ large Quantities of Ammunition and Provi-
 “ sions to *Erzerum*, that they may not be sur-
 “ prized, in case the Treaty with the late
 “ *Schah Nadir* should not be observed by his
 “ Successor.”

It was the *Hospodar* of *Moldavia*, who com-
 municated to the *Poles* the first certain Account
 of this Revolution. We have since had two or
 three Letters Concerning it from *Petersburgh*,
 the most ready Way of Advice from *Persia*.

Petersburgh, Sept. 5. " We have received
" authentick Advices from *Persia*, relating to
" the Death of the late *Schah*; he had been for
" some time in a State that border'd very near-
" ly upon Distraction, so that none who went
" near him were one Moment sure of their
" Lives. His Army began to desert in great
" Bodies, with their Officers at their Head.
" Upon this he called a Council of War, in
" which he charged many of the Officers with
" being Traitors, and threaten'd their Lives,
" upon which most of those in the Room fell
" upon him with their Daggers, and put him
" to Death. His Nephew, *Ali-Kaulikan*, has
" taken the Title of *Schah*, and has plunder'd
" his Uncle's Seraglio. He is like to meet
" with many Competitors, and all *Persia* is at
" present a Scene of Bloodshed and Confu-
" sion.

Petersburgh, Sept. 9. " An Express is ar-
" riv'd here from the Knees *Galliczin*, the Em-
" perers's Ambassador in *Persia*: The Letters
" he has brought contain in Substance, that a
" great Revolution had happen'd at *Hispahan*,
" the Grandees and People having risen up a-
" gainst *Shach Nadir*, and murder'd him, with
" all his Family. These Letters add, that
" this unexpected Event has occasion'd such
" Disorders and Tumults all over *Persia*, that
" her Imperial Majesty's Ambassador, who
" was at *Ghilan* when it happen'd, not think-
" ing himself in Safety there, thought fit to re-
" tire, with all his Retinue, to *Astracan*,
" where his Excellency intends to continue 'till
" the Troubles of *Persia* are over, or the Na-
" tion chuses a new *Shah* or King. But the
" Tranquility of the Country is not likely to
" be soon restored, as there are already several

“ that put up for the Crown ; and as the longest Sword is the best, and indeed the only
“ Right at present in that Empire, the late
“ *Schah* having cut off all the Race of the old
“ *Sophies*.

“ Such has been the inglorious End of that
“ Ufurper, who, after having been for some
“ Time the Terror of the East, and more than
“ once made the *Grand Signor* tremble in his
“ Seraglio, fell at last a Dupe to the Politicks
“ of the *Ottoman Porte*, who wheedled him
“ into a Peace, rightly judging, that when he
“ should have no Employment left for his formidable Army, the People would but very
“ ill bear the Expence of keeping it up, or else
“ the Officers and Soldiers might first quarrel
“ with their Master, and then turn their
“ Swords against one another.”

The Knees *Galiczin*, we are told since, foreseeing no End of the Confusions in *Persia*, has given over his Thought of waiting at *Astracan* for that Event ; which makes him expected at *Petersburgh*.

I shall add no Reflection to that of our *Russian* News-Writer above, it not being yet Time to enquire into Motives, Causes, and Consequences, while we are not certain with respect to all the Circumstances of the Murder itself. Posterity may have a better History of *Ksuli Khan* ; but we have been careful to bring together all the Materials towards it, that the present Age, from his first Appearance on the high Theatre of Life, to his Catastrophe, ha furnished.

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