

ROBERT

ORME, F.R.S.

MDCCCLXXIV

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From a Bust Executed by

Joseph Nollekens Esq. &c.

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Whose Encouragement Deserves to be Published

W. H. G. Allen

A
HISTORY
OF THE
MILITARY TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
BRITISH NATION
IN
INDOSTAN,

FROM THE YEAR MDCCXLV.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED A DISSERTATION
ON THE ESTABLISHMENTS MADE BY MAHOMEDAN
CONQUERORS IN INDOSTAN.

By ROBERT ORME, Esq. F.A.S.

VOL. I.

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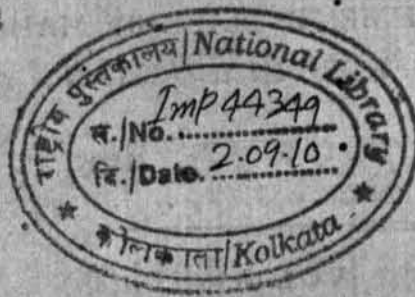
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Luke Hanford, Printer,
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TO HIS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

GEORGE THE THIRD,

THIS ATTEMPT
TO COMMEMORATE THE SUCCESSES
OF THE BRITISH ARMS
IN INDOSTAN

IS MOST HUMBLY DEDICATED,

BY HIS MAJESTY'S
MOST DUTIFUL SERVANT,
AND MOST FAITHFUL SUBJECT,

THE AUTHOR.



A GENERAL MAP
of
INDOSTAN
or the
GREAT MOGUL'S EMPIRE
with the
ADJACENT COUNTRIES.

A
DISSERTATION
ON THE
ESTABLISHMENTS
MADE BY
MAHOMEDAN CONQUERORS IN INDOSTAN:

SECTION I.

EUROPEANS understand by the East-Indies all the countries and empires, which lying south of Tartary, extend from the eastern frontiers of Persia, to the eastern coasts of China. The islands of Japan are likewise included in this denomination; as are all the Malay islands, in which the Dutch have such valuable possessions, and which extend to the southward, as far as the coasts of New Holland, and eastward to lands unknown.

BUT the name of India can only with propriety be applied to the country which is distinguished in Asia as well as in Europe by the name of Indostan.

THAT part of the western side of Indostan, which is not bounded by the sea, is separated from Persia and the Ussug Tartary by desarts, and

b) those mountains which were known to the ancients under the name of Paropamisus: Mount Caucasus forms its barrier to the north, separating it from various nations of Tartars, from the great and little Thibet. From mount Caucasus to Chitigan, marshes and rivers divide it from the kingdoms of Tepra, Assam, and Aracan: the sea, from Chitigan to cape Comorin and from hence to Persia, embraces the rest of Indostan.

THIS great extent of country has been inhabited, from the earliest antiquity, by a people who have no resemblance either in their figures or manners with any of the nations which are contiguous to them. Although these nations have at different times sent conquerors amongst them, who have established themselves in different parts of the country: although the Mogul Tartars under Tamerlane and his successors have at last rendered themselves lords of almost the whole of it; yet the original inhabitants have lost very little of their original character by the establishment of these strangers amongst them.

BESIDES the particular denominations which they receive from the casts and countries in which they are born, there is one more general, which is applied indiscriminately to distinguish the original natives from all who have intruded themselves amongst them, Hindoo, from whence Indian.

THE Indians have lost all memory of the ages in which they began to believe in VISTNOU, ESWARA, BRAMA, and a hundred thousand divinities subordinate to these. These divinities are worshipped in temples called Pagodas in every part of Indostan, the whole extent of which is holy land to its inhabitants; for there is no part in which some divinity has not appeared and done something to merit a temple and priests to take care of it. Some of these fabrics are of immemorial antiquity: they are at the same time monuments of such stupendous labour, that they are supposed to have been built by the gods to whom they are consecrated.

THE

THE history of these gods is a heap of the greatest absurdities. It is Eswara twisting off the neck of Brama; it is the Sun, who gets his teeth knocked out, and the Moon, who has her face beat black and blue at a feast, at which the gods quarrel and fight with the spirit of a mob. They say that the Sun and Moon carry in their faces to this day the marks of this broil. Here and there a moral or metaphysical allegory, and sometimes a trace of the history of a first legislator, is discernible in these stories; but in general they are so very extravagant and incoherent, that we should be left, to wonder how a people so reasonable in other respects should have adopted such a code of nonsense as a creed of religion, did we not find the same credulity in the histories of nations much more enlightened.

THE Bramins, who are the tribe of the priesthood, descend from those Brachmans who are mentioned to us with so much reverence by antiquity; and although much inferior either as philosophers or men of learning to the reputation of their ancestors, as priests their religious doctrines are still implicitly followed by the whole nation; and as preceptors they are the source of all the knowledge which exists in Indostan.

EVEN at this day some of them are capable of calculating an eclipse, which seems to be the utmost stretch of their mathematical knowledge. They have a good idea of logic; but it does not appear that they have any treatises on rhetoric; their ideas of music, if we may judge from the practice, are barbarous; and in medicine they derive no assistance from the knowledge of anatomy, since dissections are repugnant to their religion.

THEY shed no blood and eat no flesh, because they believe in the transmigration of souls; they encourage wives to burn themselves with their deceased husbands, and seem to make the perfection of religion consist in a punctual observance of numerous ceremonies performed in the worship of their gods, and in a strict attention to keep their bodies free from pollution. Hence purifications and

A DISSERTATION on the Establishments

ablutions, as dictated by their scriptures, are scrupulously observed by them, and take up no small portion of their time.

A BRAMIN cannot eat any thing which has been prepared or even touched by any other hand than that of a Bramin, and from the same principle, cannot be married to a person of any other cast in the kingdom, because his own cast is the highest, even above that of the kings. They say that they were formerly the kings of the whole country, and preserve to this day the privilege of commuting capital punishment, when merited, by the loss of their eyes. To kill a Bramin is one of the five sins for which there is scarce any expiation.

THE pre-eminence of the Bramins admitted, it seems as if the Indians had determined to compensate the odium of such a superiority, by forming themselves into a number of distinct tribes or gradations of people, who respectively submit to the different degrees of estimation in which they have at last agreed to abide, as implicitly as the whole agree to acknowledge the superiority of the Bramins.

THE many temporal advantages which the Bramins derive from their spiritual authority, and the impossibility of being admitted into their tribe, have perhaps given rise to that number of Joguees and Facquires, who torture themselves with such various and astonishing penances, only to gain the same veneration which a Bramin derives from his birth.

THE casts or tribes into which the Indians are divided, are reckoned by travellers to be eighty-four: perhaps when India shall be better known, we shall find them to be many more; for there is a singular disposition in the Indian, from very trifling circumstances to form a sect apart from the rest of his neighbours. But the order of pre-eminence of all the casts in a particular city or province, is generally indisputably decided. The Indian of an inferior would think himself honoured by adopting the customs of a superior cast; but this would give battle sooner than not vindicate its prerogatives: the inferior

ferior receives the victuals prepared by a superior cast with respect; but the superior will not partake of a meal which has been prepared by the hands of an inferior cast. Their marriages are circumscribed by the same barriers as the rest of their intercourses; and hence, besides the national physiognomy, the members of each cast preserve an air of still greater resemblance to one another. There are some casts remarkable for their beauty, others as remarkable for their ugliness.

ALL these casts acknowledge the Bramins for their priests, and with them admit the transmigration. In devotion to this opinion, some afflict themselves at the death of a fly, although occasioned by inadvertence. But the far greater number of casts are not so scrupulous, and eat, although very sparingly, both of fish and flesh; but, like the Jews, not of all kinds indifferently.

THEIR diet is chiefly rice and vegetables dressed with ginger, turmeric, and other hotter spices, which grow almost spontaneously in their gardens. They esteem milk the purest of foods, because they think it partakes of some of the properties of the nectar of their gods, and because they esteem the cow itself almost a divinity.

AN abhorrence to the shedding of blood, derived from his religion, and seconded by the great temperance of a life which is passed by most of them in a very sparing use of animal food, and a total abstinence from intoxicating liquors; the influence of the most regular of climates, in which the great heat of the sun and the great fertility of the soil lessen most of the wants to which the human species is subject in austerer regions, and supply the rest without the exertion of much labour; these causes, with various consequences from them, have all together contributed to render the Indian the most enervated inhabitant of the globe.

HE shudders at the sight of blood, and is of a pusillanimity only to be excused and accounted for by the great delicacy of his constitution.

tion. This is so slight as to give him no chance of opposing with success the onset of an inhabitant of more northern regions.

His manners are gentle; his happiness consists in the solaces of a domestic life; to which, sufficiently inclined by the climate, he is obliged by his religion, which esteems matrimony a duty indispensable in every man who does not quit the world to unite himself to God: such is their phrase. Although permitted by his religion, according to the example of his gods, to have several, he is seldom the husband of more than one wife: and this wife is of a decency of demeanour, of a sollicitude in her family, and of a fidelity to her vows, which might do honour to human nature in the most civilized countries.

His amusements consist in going to his Pagoda, in assisting at religious shews, in fulfilling a variety of ceremonies prescribed to him on all occasions, by the Bramin; for, subject to a thousand lapses from the ideas he has adopted of impurity, the Indian is always offending his gods, who are not to be appeased until their priest is satisfied.

In a country of such great extent, divided into so many distinct sovereignties, it cannot be expected that there should be no exceptions to one general assertion of the character of the inhabitants. There is every where in the mountains a wild inhabitant, whose bow an European can scarcely draw. There are in the woods people who subsist by their incursions into the neighbouring plains, and who, without the ferocity of the American, possess all his treachery; and according to Mr. Thevenot, India has had its cannibals in the centre of one of the most cultivated provinces of the empire. The Rajpouts by their courage have preserved themselves almost independant of the Great Mogul. The inhabitants of the countries still nearer to the mountains of the frontier, distinguished by the activity of their character from the indolence of the rest of the nation, have easily turned Mahomedans; these northern converts we suppose to be the origin of the present Affghans and Pitans, who are the best troops
in

Page



Sharp 1801

SEVAGI.

in the emperor's service, and the most dangerous enemies of the throne when in arms against it.

THE arts which furnish the conveniences of life have been carried by the Indians to a pitch far beyond what is necessary to supply the wants of a climate which knows so few. At the same time no ideas of taste or fine design have existed among them: and we seek in vain for elegance in the magnificence of the richest empire of the globe.

THEIR knowledge of mechanical powers is so very confined, that we are left to admire, without being able to account for, the manner in which they have erected their capital Pagodas. It does not appear that they had ever made a bridge of arches over any of their rivers, before the Mahomedans came amongst them.

It is to the suppleness with which the whole frame of an Indian is endowed, and which is still more remarkable in the configuration of his hand, that we are indebted for the exquisite perfection of their manufactures of linnen. The same instruments which an Indian employs to make a piece of cambric, would, under the rigid fingers of an European, scarcely produce a piece of canvass.

His religion forbids the Indian to quit his own shores: he wants nothing from abroad: he is so far from being solicitous to convert the stranger to his own opinions, or from wishing him to assimilate with the nation, that if a foreigner were to solicit the privilege of worshipping Vistnou, his proposal would be received with the utmost contempt.

NOTHING seems to have been wanting to the happiness of this nation, but that others should have looked on them with the same indifference with which they regard the rest of the world. But not content with the presents which nature has showered on their climate, they have made improvements when they felt no necessities. They have cultivated the various and valuable productions of their soil

foil, not to the measure of their own, but to that of the wants of all other nations; they have carried their manufactures of linnen to a perfection which surpasses the most exquisite productions of Europe, and have encouraged with avidity the annual tributes of gold and silver which the rest of the world contest for the privilege of sending to them. They have from time immemorial been as addicted to commerce, as they are averse to war. They have therefore always been immensely rich, and have always remained incapable of defending their wealth.

SECTION II.

LONG before Tamerlane, mahomedan princes had entered, made conquests, and established themselves in India.

VALID, the 6th of the Kalifs named Ommiades, who ascended the throne in the year 708 of our *Æra*, and in the 90th of the *Hegira*, made conquests in India; so that the Alcoran was introduced very early into this country.

MAHMOUD, son of Sebegtechin, prince of **GAZNA**, the capital of a province separated by mountains from the north-west parts of India, and situated near Kandahar, carried the Alcoran with the sword into Indostan in the year 1000 or 1002 of our *Æra*. He maintained himself in a vast extent of territory out of, and seems to have subdued as large a one in India, if it is true that he carried his conquests as far to the south as the present capital of the kingdom of Visiapore near Goa. He treated the Indians with all the rigor of a conqueror and all the fury of a converter, plundering treasures, demolishing temples, and murdering idolaters throughout his rout. His historians are quite extravagant in their descriptions of the wealth he found in Indostan. One of them says, no doubt allegorically, that he found a tree growing out of the earth to an enormous size, of which the substance was pure gold, and this the effect of nature.

THE successors of this Mahmoud are called, from the capital of their dominions, the dynasty of the Gaznavides, and maintained themselves in a great part of the countries which he had conquered in India until the year 1155, or 1157, when **KOSROU SHAH**, the 13th and last prince of Gazna, and of the Gaznavide race, was deposed by **HUSSAIN GAURI**, so called from the country in which he was born, Gaur, a province lying to the north of Gazna.

THIS HUSSAIN founded the dynasty of the GAURIDES, which furnished five princes who possessed in and out of India nearly the same dominions as their predecessors the Gaznavides, and like them made GAZNA their capital.

SCHÉABBEDIN, the 4th of the Gauride emperors, during the life of his brother and predecessor GAIATHEDDIN, conquered the kingdoms of Multan and Delhi. He drew such immense treasures out of India, that his favourite daughter inquiring of the officer who had the care of them, to what value they amounted, the treasurer answered, that there was the weight of three thousand pounds in diamonds only, by which she might judge of the rest: after deductions made for oriental exaggeration, we may still gather from this anecdote, that his conquests in India had given him great wealth. An Indian, rendered desperate by the pollutions and insults to which he saw his gods and temples exposed, made a vow to assassinate Scheabbedin, and executed it.

THE race of Gaurides finished in the year 1212, in the person of MAHMOUD, successor and nephew to Scheabbedin. The days of this Mahmoud, like those of his uncle, though for a different cause, were cut off by the swords of assassins. Whatever dominions Mahmoud possessed out of India, he does not seem to have had any great influence in it, or even in Gazna itself; he, contrary to the practice of his predecessors, made not this city the capital of his sovereignty. His uncle Scheabbedin, who had no children, and was remarkable for a spirit of adoption, had prepared the dismemberment of the Indian provinces from the empire of Gazna, by giving the government of two of them to two of his slaves. Nassereddin received from him the countries of Multan, Cothbeddin-Ibeck those of Delhi. At the same time he made another of his slaves, Tageddin-Ildiz, governor of Gazna.

IN the year 1214 MOHAMED, the 6th Sultan of the dynasty of the KHOWARASMIANS, whose territories were contiguous to those of the Gaurides, took Gazna from the slave who had succeeded the slave, Tageddin-

Tageddin-Ildiz in the government of that city. But although he conquered the capital of their empire, it does not appear that he fixed himself in the Indian dominions of the Gaurides. He imprudently quarrelled with GINGISCHAN, and in the year 1218 was compelled to fly before the arms of that mighty conqueror. In the year 1220 he died a fugitive, at a great distance from India.

THE brave GELALADDIN, son of Mohamed, made head in the province of Gazna against the forces of Gingischan: in the year 1221 he was so hard pressed by them as to be forced to fly into India, where, on the western banks of the Indus, he was totally defeated by Gingischan in person, but saved his life by swimming the river with an intrepidity which raised admiration in Gingischan himself. He remained in Multan until the year 1224, when he left India never more to return into it. He was killed in 1231 in Mesopotamia.

WITH Gelaladdin finished the dynasty of the Khowarasmians; and what share Gingischan or his successors took in the affairs of Indostan, we have not had the good fortune to discover. We find that one Turmechirin Chan, styled in Tamerlane's history a descendant of Gengis, and one of the great emperors of Asia, penetrated in the year 1240 to the city of Mirte lying to the north-east of Delhi, and made conquests which preserved great reputation to his name in India, until the appearance of Tamerlane; but these conquests did not expel from the sovereignty the family which at that time reigned in Delhi.

COTHBEDDIN-IBECK, the slave of Scheabbedin, rendered himself independant in the sovereignty of Delhi, which had been given to him by his master only in vicegerence. He extended the mahomedan dominions, and died peaceably on his throne in the year 1249. He was succeeded by his son ARAMSCAH, who was deposed by his father's slave ILETMISCHE SCHAMSEDDIN.

THIS ILETMISCHE conquered from the slave Nasseroddia the provinces which composed the new kingdom of Multan. By uniting these to the provinces of Delhi, and by governing all these dominions in person without interesting himself in what passed out of India, he became the first regular and the most powerful mahomedan monarch who had hitherto reigned in Indostan. He died in the year 1235.

His descendants formed the dynasty of the first mahomedan kings of Delhi.

FIROUZCHAH ROCNEDDIN succeeded his father Iletmische, and before he had reigned a year was deposed by his discontented grantees, who placed his sister RADHIATEDDIN upon the throne; an extraordinary phenomenon in a mahomedan government. This female sovereign was, after various adventures, deposed by her brother, Beharam Schah, and killed in attempting to make her escape from him.

BEHARAM SCHAH, after reigning two years, was killed in a revolt. MASSOUDSCHAH ALAEDDIN, son of Firouz Schah Rocnaddin, then mounted the throne, and in the year 1246 was deposed by his brother MAHMOUD SCHAH NASSEREDDIN, who made great conquests in India.

AFTER the death of Mahmoud Nassereddin, Firouz his uncle and Alaeddin his nephew disputed the throne. ALAEDDIN caused Firouz to be assassinated, and remained in possession of the throne of Delhi until the year 1217.

HERE we arrive at a chain of near 80 years in the history of these kings, which our guide Mons. D'Herbelot could not find materials to fill up. Sultan MAHMOUD, who reigned at Delhi in the Year 1398, is styled by Tamerlane's historian the grandson of the emperor Firouz Schah, concerning which Firouz Schah we can determine nothing more than that he was of the family of Iletmische.

MAHMOUD

MAHMOUD SHAH, a weak prince, was governed absolutely by his vizir Mellou Cawn, who placed his brother Sarenk in the government of the provinces which depended on the city of Multan, and the two brothers between them ruled the whole kingdom, without any other than a nominal interposition of their sovereign.

THE Mirza Pír Mohammed Gehanguir had in the year 1392 received from his grandfather Tamerlane the sovereignty of all the countries which had formed the empire of Mahmoud the Khowarizmian, whom Gengischan conquered, and who was father of the brave Gelaleddin. Pír Mohammed, at the end of the year 1397, or the beginning of the year 1398, set out from his capital of Gazna, advanced with a numerous army to Multan, and laid siege to the city, which was well defended by Sarenk.

DURING the siege TAMERLANE was advancing from Samarcande. He entered India at the end of the year 1398, descending more terrible than all its inundations from the center of the northern part of the Indian Caucasus. This invincible barbarian met with no resistance from the Indians sufficient to justify, even by the military maxims of Tartars, the cruelties with which he marked his way. He was joined near Multan by his grandson, who had now taken that city, and took in person the strong fortress of Batnir; after which he marched towards Delhi. Here sultan Mahmoud, with his vizir, had the courage to stand their ground, determined to risk a battle with forces every way inferior to their enemies.

TAMERLANE, when in sight of their army, ordered a hundred thousand prisoners, which his own army had gathered in their rout, to be put to death, because they were idolaters, and because some of these wretches had betrayed symptoms of satisfaction at the sight of a skirmish which had been fought with a party of sultan Mahmoud's cavalry. As these marks of disaffection had raised the apprehension of a general insurrection of the slaves, during the battle which

which was impending, Tamerlane enforced his order with the greatest rigour, and it was executed with the utmost diligence.

Two or three days after this massacre, Tamerlane gave battle, and was, as ever, victorious. Sultan Mahmoud and his vizir fled into Delhi, and in the night fled out of it.

DELHI was taken without resistance, and its inhabitants were subjected to the same pillage and cruelties, which we have seen renewed in this century by Thamas Kouli Khan in the present capital of Indostan, which, although bearing the same name, is not situated exactly on the same spot as the antient Delhi.

AFTER having made the regulations necessary to calm the convulsions which his cruelties had raised in the inhabitants of the metropolis of Indostan, Tamerlane marched to the north-east towards the Ganges, not without resistance maintained in some places with resolution, but in all without success. He crossed the Ganges at Togli-poor, and exposing his person in every skirmish that offered with the spirit of a volunteer, advanced to the straits of Kupele.

At the foot of the mountains called Kentassi, in the country of Thibet, and in that part of them which lies between the thirty-first and thirty-second degree of latitude and between the ninety-eighth and the hundredth degree of longitude, the Ganges, formed from several sources, passes successively two great lakes, and flows to the west until the opposition of a part of the Indian Caucasus turns it to the south, and soon after to the south-east, when at length flowing due south, and having completed in these various directions a course of two hundred leagues, it enters India by forcing its passage through the mountains of the frontier.

THE pass through which the Ganges disembogues itself into Indostan is called the straits of Kupele, which are distant from Delhi about 30 leagues, in the longitude of 96, and in the latitude of 30. 2.

These

These straights are believed by the Indians, who look very little abroad, to be the sources of the Ganges; and a rock 15 miles distant from them, bearing some resemblance to the head of a cow, has joined in the same part of the kingdom two very important objects of their religion; the grand image of the animal which they almost venerate as a divinity, and the first appearance of that immense body of holy water which washes away all their sins.

A GREAT multitude of Indians were assembled, probably for the celebration of a feast, at the straights of Kupele. They made some shew of resistance against Tamerlane's army, but were no sooner attacked than dispersed. The field of this victory is the most distant term of Tamerlane's conquests in India and on the globe.

HE now prepared to return to his capital of Samarcande, and re-passed the Ganges; after which he directed his march along the foot of mount Caucasus, until he arrived at the southern frontiers of Kashmire, the mahomedan king of which country sent ambassadors to make submission. As this rout was through countries which the army had not hitherto passed, the sword was not yet sheathed, but large detachments were making excursions to the south, whilst Tamerlane reserved to himself the task of subduing the mountaineers who made any resistance, or refused to acknowledge his sovereignty.

FROM the frontiers of Kashmire to the frontiers of Indostan, the army passed through countries which had submitted to Tamerlane at his entrance into India; and the march out of India was through the mountains of Sheberto, a part of the Caucasus. From hence Tamerlane hastened to Samarcande. Having repos'd a few months in this capital of his vast dominions, he set out on the great expedition in which he subdued Syria and the Kalif of Egypt, vanquish'd Bajazet, and by the addition of these conquests to those he had made before, rendered himself lord of an empire which extended from Smyrna to the banks of the Ganges

TAMER-

TAMERLANE never returned into India, but added the conquests he had made in it to the government of his grandson Pir Mohammed Gehanguir, who ruled from Gazna the mahomedan dominions of Indostan until the death of his grandfather, which happened in the year 1404. An event in which so many princes were interested did not fail to raise great commotions amongst the princes of his family. On his death-bed Tamerlane named Pir Mohammed Gehan Ghir the universal heir of all his dominions. The contempt with which his will was treated after his death, was equal to the veneration which had been paid to his authority during his life. The sultan Khalil, another of his grandsons, immediately took possession of the capital of Samarcande, and proclaimed himself emperor. Pir Mohammed did not live long enough to assert his rights, but was assassinated six months after the death of his grandfather.

THE sultan Sharock, the youngest of the two surviving sons of Tamerlane, succeeded to the inheritance designed for Gehan Ghir: he reigned near 42 years, during which the conquests of his father in India seem to have remained in subjection to his authority.

THERE is in Europe an excellent history of the life of this prince, and of his descendants, continued to the year 1497. There are likewise in England materials sufficient to form a history of the dependance in which India remained to the posterity of Tamerlane, until one of them erected the new dynasty of mahomedan emperors in Indostan, which is that of the present great Moguls; but these tracts, hitherto little regarded by those, whose fortunes alone could furnish the expence of presenting them to the public in languages of common use, remain out of the reach of public curiosity by the difficulties attending the study of those in which they are written.

A FEW scraps detached from one another by considerable intervals of time, and by subjects of little connection with each other, would be of little

little use to guide us through such a length of obscurity as that in which we view at present the history of Tamerlane's successors in India, until the time of Sultan Babr: and this obscurity must remain, until the original histories brought into England by Mr. Frazer, or others equivalent to them, shall be published.

THE SULTAN BABR was the 6th in descent, not from Sharoch, but from the Mirza Miran Schah, another of the sons of Tamerlane; this Babr, yielding to the conquests of the Ulsbeg Tartars, retired from the country of Mawhranhar towards India: after making several expeditions into Indostan, he at last, in the year 1526 defeated Sultan Ibrahim Loudi, and became emperor of Delhi. Who Sultan Ibrahim Loudi was, will in all probability be known, when the commentaries of Sultan Babr, written by himself, and which are at Oxford, shall be translated. After making still farther conquests in Indostan, Sultan Babr died near Agra in the December of the year 1530.

THE pride of the Great Moguls descended from Sultan Babr, in vaunting in their titles and on all other occasions, their descent from Tamerlane, has given rise to the common belief, that the throne of Delhi, and the whole extent of the conquests made by Tamerlane in India, were maintained by his posterity in a regular filiation, and without interruption. But such a succession would have given no room for Sultan Babr's conquests over a stranger, as Sultan Loudi appears to be, and would have excluded him from the honour of being the founder of the present dynasty of Great Moguls.

HOMAION succeeded to his father Babr, and in 1540 fled into Persia before the Pitans, whom we imagine to have been the Mahomedan subjects of Sultan Ibrahim Loudi conquered by Babr. By the assistance of the king of Persia Homaiou recovered his empire in 1555, and died in 1556. Before his flight he had conquered and added to the Mogul dominions the kingdoms of Guzerat and Malva; he had likewise taken possession of the kingdom of Bengal.

ACBAR ſucceeded his father Homaion, and died, after a reign of near 50 years, in 1605. He extended the empire, but not ſo far to the ſouthward as to prevent him from vouchſafing to ſtile the king of Portugal his neighbour, in virtue of the territories poſſeſſed by this nation near Goa on the coaſt of Malabar.

To Acbar ſucceeded his ſon JEHANGUIR, who died in 1627. A weak prince, enſlaved by the influence of his miſtreſs Nourjehan, confined in his perſon, and conſtrained in his government, by the ambition of his ſon Gehan Schah. Sir Thomas Roe was ſent ambaffador to Jehanguir by king James the firſt.

SCHAH GEHAN ſucceeded to his father Jehanguir; and after a reign ſucceſſful until the change of his fortunes, to which a ſickneſs of languor occaſioned by intemperance in his ſeraglio gave riſe, was depoſed and confined by his ſon Aurengzebe, and died in 1666.

THERE is not a more curious piece of hiſtory than that of the rebellion of Aurengzebe againſt his father, written by Mr. Bernier. After having murdered his three brothers and ſome of their children, to acquire the throne, Aurengzebe maintained himſelf in it near 50 years, with ſo ſtrict an attention to the government of his empire, as entitles him to be ranked with the ableſt princes, who have reigned in any age or country. He conquered more than half the provinces of the Peninſula of India in perſon, and his vice-royſ conquered or ſubjected almoſt all the reſt, the ſea coaſts of Malabar excepted. The revenues of the empire amounted in his time to near thirty-eight millions of pounds ſterling. He died in 1707.

BUT all the abilities of Aurengzebe did not give him the power of ſecuring his crown ſo one of his ſons in preference to the reſt, and it appears by his will that he foreſaw the conteſts which enſued amongſt them after his death. His ſons Azem Schah, and Mahomed Mauzm, fought at the head of armies not equalled ſince the time of Tamerlane.

lane. That of Mahomed Mauzm consisted of more than three hundred thousand fighting men, of which one hundred and fifty thousand were cavalry. Azem, who seems by his father's will to have been the favourite, was defeated and killed, and Mauzm was proclaimed emperor, under the title of **BAHADR SCHAH**, after which he attacked his brother Kaunbuksh, who was taken prisoner and died of his wounds. Bahadr Schah died after reigning about six years according to Mr. Frazer.

OF four sons which survived their father Bahadr Schah, three joined against the other, defeated and killed him, and then **JEHANDER SCHAH** separated from the other two, defeated and put them to death; after which he was proclaimed emperor; but as he was a very weak prince, and infatuated by his mistress Lal Koar, who had been a public singer; two brothers the principal men of his court dethroned him, and placed on the throne **MAHOMED FURRUKSIR** son to **AZEM SCHAH**, the prince who fell the first of the three brothers, by whose deaths Jehander Schah acquired the crown.

WE know not what term to give to the reign of Jehander Schah, the predecessor of Furruksir, as Mr. Frazer, who is now the guide to whom we are most indebted for the history of this dynasty, seems to have made a mistake in the chronology of this period. Aurengzebe is said to have died in February 1707, and Mahomed Furruksir in February 1719, which dates give an interval of twelve years. At the same time Bahadr Schah the successor of Aurengzebe is said to have reigned about six years, Mahomed Furruksir the successor of Jehander Schah, to have reigned seven: so that we have in the reigns of these two princes, without the interposition of Jehander Schah, more than the term which elapsed between the deaths of Aurengzebe and Mahomed Furruksir, whose deaths are ascertained by dates. Mr. Frazer has not ascertained the term of Jehander Schah's reign; but if those of Bahadr Schah and Furruksir could be authentically reduced into the space to which they must be confined, it would be sufficient, according to the ideas of Mogul history, that Jehander Schah only

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once performed the ceremony of sitting in public on the throne of Delhi, to intitle him to be ranked in the list of the emperors of Hindostan.

By that dependance to the great men of the kingdom to which their contests for the crown had reduced the descendants of Aurengzebe, the emperors elected, although revered as despotic by the multitude, ascended the throne in bonds, and were in reality nothing more than the slaves of their ministers.

STILL the blood of Tamerlane continued to be held in too great veneration throughout the empire, to permit any others than his descendants to entertain hopes of ascending the throne with impunity. Those who stood nearest to the throne, in virtue of their offices and power, were therefore contented to rule the empire as they pleased, by shewing to the people a pompous sovereign, who in reality commanded nothing but the women of his seraglio.

FURRUKSIR was the first of the Great Moguls, whose father had not been emperor, and we shall soon see more examples of this oblique succession. The same lords who had raised, deposed him as a measure necessary to their own security. Not content with confining him, they put out his eyes; but even this degree of imbecillity and wretchedness did not appease their fears or satisfy their resentments. They murdered him on the 16th of February 1719, aggravating the deed with every indignity and insult.

THESE depoters of Furrukfir placed on the throne his cousin german Rasseih al Dirjat son of Rasseih al Shan, one of the brothers from whom the emperor Jehander Schah won the crown. Rasseih al Dirjat was taken out of the castle in which those of the royal family who are not murdered are suffered to live. This change of his fortunes was not more extraordinary than it was of short duration;

tion; for the same disposers of the throne who had made him emperor, murdered him when he had scarcely reigned three months.

THEY then took Rasseih al Dowlet, brother of Rasseih al Dirjat, probably out of the same place of confinement, and placed him on the throne. The reign of this emperor was of shorter duration than that of his brother, for he died within a few days after his accession, and his death was not suspected to be the effect of poison.

MAHOMED Schah was now proclaimed by the two brothers Abdallah Khan, and Hoffman Ally Khan, whom we have seen powerful enough to make four and depose five emperors of Indostan. If there were no interregns, four of these successions happened in the space of four months.

MAHOMED Schah was son of Jehan Schah, one of the three brothers who perished in disputing the crown with their brother Jehander Schah. So that a son of each of these three unfortunate princes became emperor only to be as unfortunate as his father.

BUT the greatest humiliation, if not the most tragical exit, was reserved for Mahomed Schah. But the beginning of his reign was not without a stroke of vigour in the mode of eastern politics; for his courtiers, to please him, assassinated Hoffman Ally Khan, one of the two brothers whose hands had been imbrued in so much of the blood of his family.

THE other brother Abdullah Caun immediately appeared in arms, and opposed another emperor of his own nomination to Mahomed Schah. A battle ensued, in which Abdullah was taken prisoner. He died three months afterwards of his wounds; having, it is said, received the assurance of his pardon from Mahomed Schah; which, if true, is an example of clemency very rarely found in the politics of Asiatic monarchs.

THE removal of two such dangerous enemies to the throne, placed Mahomed Schah in possession of it with a security unknown to his predecessors, since the reign of Aurengzebe; but this security served only to render him unworthy of it. Indolent, sensual, and irresolute, he voluntarily gave to favourites as great a degree of power, as that which the ministers of the throne had lately possessed in defiance of the will of their sovereigns. The fatal moment approached, in which a foreigner was to determine whether he should exterminate the race of Tamerlane, and annex the richest empire of the universe to his own. Caundorah the vizir and favourite of Mahomed Schah quarrelled with Nizam al Muluck the viceroy of the southern provinces, who had under his jurisdiction very near a fourth part of the empire, and who without rebellion had rendered himself almost independant of the emperor. Bred under the eye of Aurengzebe, Nizam al Muluck censured openly and in the strongest terms, the lethargick and pusillanimous administration, as well as the profligate and dissolute manners of the court; hoping, no doubt, to impair the influence of his rival Caundorah. At last pretending that there could be no remedy to such desperate evils, but in a total revolution of the empire, he advised Thamas Kouli Khan, who had usurped the throne of Persia, to come and take possession of that of Indostan; and Thamas Kouli Khan followed his advice.

MR. FRAZER has left us an authentic account of this extraordinary revolution. An army furnished by its own numbers, commanded by chiefs unanimous in nothing but their unwillingness to fight, and these by an emperor who could not command his fears, submitted to enemies whom they outnumbered five to one; but these enemies had been inured to conflicts under the most desperate soldier of the age, and were rendered invincible by the expectation of plundering the capital of the richest empire in the world. A skirmish decided the fate of this empire. Mahomed Schah laid his regalia at the feet of Thamas Kouli Khan, who took possession of Delhi, plundered it, and massacred a hundred thousand of its inhabitants.

THE conqueror reserving to himself all the countries lying to the westward of the river Indus and Attock, restored all the rest to Mahomed Schah, and reinstated him in the throne with formalities; after which he returned to Persia, carrying with him out of Indostan a treasure, which in effects, silver, gold and jewels, was valued at more than seventy millions of pounds sterling. He entered India from Kandahar in the beginning of the year 1738, and returned to Kandahar at the end of the year 1739. This dreadful incursion is reckoned to have cost Indostan, besides its treasures, the loss of two hundred thousand lives.

THE cruelties exercised in India by Thamas Kouli Khan, were such, that ~~any~~ ^{no} person had the courage to present a writing to him, conceived in these terms: "If thou art a god, act as a god; if thou art a prophet, conduct us in the way of salvation; if thou art a king, render the people happy, and do not destroy them." To which the barbarian replied, "I am no god, to act as a god; nor a prophet, to shew the way of salvation; nor a king, to render the people happy; but I am he whom God sends to the nations which he has determined to visit with his wrath."

SECTION III.

THE northern nations of India, although idolaters, having scarce a religion, when compared to the multitude of superstitions and ceremonies which characterise the inhabitants of the southern countries, were easily induced to embrace Mahomedanism, and are at this day the Affghans or Pitans, who figure so much in all the late revolutions of Delhi. Excepting these, few of the other Indians have been converted.

THE armies which made the first conquests for the heads of the respective dynasties, or for other incursors, left behind them numbers of Mahomedans, who, seduced by a finer climate and a richer country, forgot their own.

THE Mahomedan princes of India naturally gave a preference to the service of men of their own religion, who, from whatever country they came, were of a more vigorous constitution than the stoutest of the subjected nation: this preference has continually encouraged adventurers from Tartary, Persia, and Arabia, to seek their fortunes under a government, from which they were sure of receiving greater encouragement than they could expect at home.

FROM these origins, time has formed in India a mighty nation of near ten millions of Mahomedans, whom Europeans call Moors: to them, under the authority of the Great Mogul, the greatest part of Indostan is now subject: but, although the reigning nation, they are out-numbered by the Indians ten to one.

THIS inferiority of numbers, has obliged the Mahomedans to leave in all parts of Indostan, many Indian princes in possession of their respective sovereignties, which they are permitted to govern without molestation, on condition that they pay the stipulated tribute, and do not
infringe

infringe any other part of the treaties by which they or their ancestors have acknowledged the sovereignty of the Great Mogul. These Indian princes are called Rajahs, i. e. kings: more than one half of the empire is at this day subject to these Rajahs, of whom some are princes of very small territories, and others, such as Jasseing and Jeseffseing mentioned by Mr. Bernier in the history of Aurengzebe, as also the kings of Mysore and Tanjore mentioned in the history of the present wars of Coromandel, possess dominions almost as large as the kings of Prussia or Portugal. Many of them pretend to great antiquity of family, and one, whom the emperor Acbar conquered, boasted his descent from Porus.

BESIDES the Indians who reside in the territories of the Rajahs, there are every where seen great numbers of them in those parts of the country which are immediately subject to the Great Mogul without the interposition of an Indian prince to govern them. They are the only cultivators of the land, and the only manufacturers of the immense quantities of linnen which are made in the empire; insomuch that at a distance from the capital cities, the great trading towns, the encampments of armies, and the high roads, it is rare to see in the villages or fields a Mahomedan employed in any thing except levying contributions or acting in some other respect as an officer of the Great Mogul.

INTELLIGENT enquirers assert that there are no written laws amongst the Indians, but that a few maxims transmitted by tradition supply the place of such a code in the discussion of civil causes; and that the ancient practice, corrected on particular occasions by the good sense of the judge, decides absolutely in criminal cases. In all cases derived from the relations of blood, the Indian is worthy to be trusted with the greatest confidence; but in cases of property, in which this relation does not exist, as a cunning subtil people they are perpetually in disputes; and for the want of a written code the justice or injustice of the decision depends on the integrity or venality of the judge. Hence the parties prefer to submit their cause to the decision of arbitrators chosen by themselves, rather than to that of the officers appointed by the government.

THE Alcoran is to the Mahomedans at once the source of their religious institutions, of their civil law, and of the administration of justice in criminal cases. The two first of these heads have been as copiously commented as in any religion or government whatsoever.

THE Mulla in Indostan superintends the practice and punishes the breach of religious duties, the Cadi holds courts in which are tried all disputes of property, and the Catwal is the judge and executor of justice in criminal cases.

AN accurate description of the functions allotted to the Cadi and the Mulla, would require a volume, which we have not materials to furnish; and if furnished, this volume would leave us but imperfectly informed of the general administration of justice in the cases supposed to fall under the jurisdiction of these officers; since the sovereign or his delegate perpetually wrests all kinds of causes from the common forms of trial, and decides them himself without appeal. Some notion of the Catwal is given by Mr. Thevenot: the punishments inflicted by this tribunal, are different from those prescribed by the Alcoran; from the precepts of which the Catwal likewise deviates in exercising the torture, and it contradicts them, in being always open to bribery.

WE see in those parts of Indostan which are frequented by the European nations, the customs or laws which regard lands subject to contradictions, not easily reconcileable. The husbandman who possesses a few fields has the power of selling and bequeathing them, at the same time that the district in which these fields are included is annually let out by the government to a renter, who pays a certain sum of money to the lord of the country, and receives from the cultivator a certain part of his harvests. The renter sometimes quarrels with the husbandman, and displaces him from his possessions: clamours as against the highest degree of injustice ensue; the prince interferes, and generally redresses the poor man, who has so much need of support in such a cause of misery; and if he fails to give this proof of his inclination to justice, he is held in execration, and deemed capable of any iniquity.

IN all the countries absolutely subjected, the Great Mogul styles himself proprietor of all the lands, and gives portions of them at will as revenues for life to his feudatories; but still these grants take not away from the cultivator the right of sale and bequest. The policy of all the Indian governments of Indostan, as well as that of the Great Mogul, seems to consist more in a perpetual attention to prevent any one family from obtaining great possessions, than in the intention of multiplying oppressions upon the body of the people; for such a slavery would soon leave the monarch little grandeur to boast of, and few subjects to command. As all acquisitions of land are subject to the inspection of the government, the man who should attempt to make himself proprietor of a large estate in land, would be refused the certificates necessary to put him in possession, and would be marked as a victim necessary to be sacrificed to the policy of the state. From what we see in the histories of this and other eastern countries, the violences committed among the great, lead us to think that the man of more humble condition is subject to still greater violences; when, on the contrary, this humility is the best of protections.

THE Feudatory, by the acceptance of a certain title and the pension which accompanies it, acknowledges the Great Mogul his heir. No man, from the Vizir downwards, has any trust of importance reposed in him but on these terms, and on his decease the whole of his property that can be found is seized for the use of the emperor, who gives back to the family what portion he pleases. The estates of all who are not feudatories descend to the natural heirs.

THESE barriers raised against the aggrandizement of particular families became absolutely necessary in a state, necessitated to repose very great trusts in certain individuals.

THE whole extent of Indostan is not divided into more than twenty-four provinces: each of these include several Indian principalities. A very large army ready to move at the first warning was found neces-

sary to coerce the Rajahs; the same force divided under several distinct commanders would have been ineffectual. Hence it was necessary to give a large tract of country to the government of a single officer, or to relinquish the design of extending the dominion.

THIS officer, now well known in Europe by the title of Nabob, was made subject to the controul of others who resided in the province with him, and over whom he had no authority. The sovereign reserved to himself the power of life and death. Civil causes were reserved to the Cadi, and the revenues and expences of the province were subject to the examination of the Duan, who managed the customs and took possession for the emperor of the estates of the feudatories who died. The Great Mogul gave the government of the strongest holds in the province to governors who were in nothing subject to the Nabob. He was called to court, kept there, or translated into another government, whenever the ministry thought these changes necessary; and there was a time when they were so frequent, that a new Nabob left Delhi riding contrary to the usual manner with his back turned to the head of his elephant, and gave for a reason, "That he was looking out for his successor."

THE divisions of the royal family gave the Nabobs of provinces distant from the capital, opportunities of acquiring a stability in their governments, and the court was now content to receive a stipulated sum, in lieu of the real revenues of the province, in which the Nabob became little less than absolute, and had nothing to fear but an army from Delhi, which was always coming, and never came. But even before they arrived at this state of independence, we find them exercising the cruel caprices of despotism on wretches too weak to raise their complaints to the throne. Mandleflow tells a story of a Nabob who cut off the heads of a set of dancing girls, that is, of a company of very handsome women, because they did not come to his palace on the first summons. In Tavernier we see a man, who murders his wife, four children, and thirteen slaves, and is left unpunished, because he is the person on whom the Nabob relied for the cure of a distemper.

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THE relations of all the travellers into Indostan abound with examples of the vices of these princes. It has been observed, that all the Mahomedans established in India acquire, in the third generation, the indolence and pusillanimity of the original inhabitants, and at the same time a cruelty of character to which the Indians are at present happily strangers. Hence we are almost induced to give assent to the opinion, that the prohibition of shedding blood of any kind, inculcated by the Indian religion, was a political institution, wisely calculated to change into gentler manners the sanguinary disposition, which is said to have characterised all the inhabitants of Indostan before the Religion of Brama was introduced amongst them.

The END of the DISSERTATION.

TO THE READER.

SINCE the first edition of this book in 1764, Mr. ALEXANDER Dow has published a translation of *The History of the Mahomedan Conquerors in Indostan*, written originally in Persian by FERISHTA. This work of FERISHTA is an abridgement of other historians, and extends from the beginning of the reign of SEBEGTECHIN, the first of the Ghaznavide Monarchs who made conquests in Indostan, to the end of the reign of the Emperor ACBAR; that is, from the year 977 to 1605 of our Æra; and of the Mahomedan, from 365 to 1014.

FERISHTA gives the origin and regular succession of all the Kings of Ghazna and emperors of Delhi during this period, the progress of their conquests in Indostan, and the other principal events of their reigns; and thus supplies the voids and imperfections of the historical part of our *Dissertation on the Establishments made by Mahomedan Conquerors in Indostan*. We have, nevertheless, left our dissertation in its first state, that the attention of the Reader might be directed to the work of FERISHTA, which is the most curious and valuable piece of Oriental history, of which a translation has hitherto been given to Europe.

A
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
MILITARY TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
BRITISH NATION
IN
I N D O S T À N,
FROM THE YEAR MDCCXLV.

A
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
M I L I T A R Y T R A N S A C T I O N S
OF THE
B R I T I S H N A T I O N
I N
I N D O S T A N,
FROM THE YEAR MDCCXLV.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

THE English establishments in the kingdom of Indostan are divided into three governments, independant of each other. Bombay commands the factories on the western side of the peninsula, commonly called the Malabar coast; together with those in Persia: the establishments and possessions on the eastern or Coromandel coast are under the government of Madras: and those in Bengal depend on Calcutta. From the year 1745 to the conclusion of the late peace, the English have been continually engaged

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engaged in war, in one or other of these divisions : and the preservation of their commerce in the East-Indies absolutely depended on the conduct and success of the wars of Coromandel and Bengal. We have therefore thought that a general history of their military transactions in Indostan, during this period, would not be unacceptable to the public; more especially as there is no part of the world in which the British arms have, of late years, acquired more honour.

B O O K I.

THE WAR OF COROMANDEL.

THE war declared between Great Britain and France in 1744, extended its operations to the settlements of the two nations in India; peace was no sooner restored to them by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, than they took up arms against one another, on the coast of Coromandel, as allies to two Moorish lords contending for the possession of the province of Carnatica. The competition between these lords had its rise in events, which happened several years before the English or French took part in it; it therefore becomes necessary to describe those events; and as the government, policy, and customs of the nations of Indostan differ greatly from those of Europe, we shall endeavour, in the course of our narrative, to give as much of their character and manners, as appears necessary for the intelligence of the facts which we relate.

MOST of the countries which have been conquered by the Great Mogul in the peninsula of India, are comprized under one viceroyalty, called from its situation the Decan, or south. From the word Soubah, signifying a province, the viceroy of this vast territory, is called Soubahdar, and by Europeans improperly Soubah. Of the countries under his jurisdiction, some are entirely subjected to the throne of Delhi, and governed by Mahomedans, whom Europeans as improperly call Moors; whilst others remain under the government of their original Indian princes or Rajahs, and are suffered to follow their ancient

modes on condition of paying tribute to the Great Mogul. The Moorish governors depending on the Soubah, assume, when treating with their inferiors, the title of Nabob, which signifies Deputy : but this in the registers of the throne is synonymous to Soubahdar, and the greatest part of those who stile themselves Navabs, or Nabobs, are ranked at Delhi under the title of Phous-dar, which is much inferior to that which they assume, signifying no more than the commander of a body of forces. The Europeans established in the territories of these Pseudo-Nabobs (if we may be allowed the expression) following the example of the natives with whom they have most intercourse, have agreed in giving them the title they so much affect. In deference therefore to the custom which has prevailed, we shall leave them in possession of it, and in the course of our narration shall likewise distinguish the great viceroy by that of *Soubah*.

A NABOB ought to hold his commission from Delhi, and if at his death a successor has not been previously appointed by the Great Mogul, the Soubah has the right of naming a person to administer the Nabobship until the will of the Sovereign is known ; but a Nabob thus appointed by a Soubah is not deemed authentically established until he is confirmed from Delhi. * The Soubah receives from the several Nabobs the annual revenues of the crown, and remits them to the treasury of the Empire. The Nabobs are obliged to accompany him in all military expeditions within the extent of his viceroyalty, but not in any without that extent. These regulations were intended to place them in such a state of dependance on the Soubah as should render them subservient to the interests of the Empire, and at the same time leave them in a state of independance, which would render it difficult for the Soubah to make use of their assistance to bráve the throne.

THE constitution of the Mogul Empire began to lose its vigour immediately after the death of Aurengzebe, the ablest monarch that ever reigned over Indostan ; but since the dreadful incursion of the Persians under Thamas Kouli Khan, it has declined daily more and more : so that during the last fifty years, Soubahs have been seen to maintain themselves in their governments against the will of the throne, and have consequently appointed Nabobs under them with as little regard to

to its authority; Nabobs likewise have kept possession of their governments in opposition both to the Soubah and the throne; and what is more extraordinary in the offices of a despotic state, both Soubahs and Nabobs have named their successors, who have often succeeded with as little opposition as if they had been the heirs apparent of an hereditary dominion. What we have said of the government of the southern provinces, is equally applicable to all the other Soubaships of the empire.

THE Carnatic is one of the most considerable Nabobships dependant on the Soubah of the Decan; from its capital it is likewise named the province of Arcot; but its present limits are greatly inferior to those which bounded the ancient Carnatic before it was conquered by the Great Mogul; for we do not find that the Nabobs of Arcot have ever extended their authority beyond the river Gondagama to the north, the great chain of mountains to the west, and the borders of the kingdoms of Trichinopoly, Tanjore, and Mysore to the south. The sea bounds it to the east. It was not before the beginning of the present century that this country was entirely reduced by the Moors.

SADATULLA, a regular and acknowledged Nabob of the Carnatic, 1710, having no issue, adopted the two sons of his brother; appointing the elder, Doast-ally, to succeed in the Nabobship; and conferring on the younger, Boker-ally, the government of Vellore; he likewise directed that Gulam Hassen, the nephew of his favourite wife, should be Duan or prime minister to his successor. Having reigned from the year 1710 to 1732, he died much regretted by his subjects. 1732.

THE dispositions he had made were fulfilled without opposition or difficulty; but Nizam-al-muluck, the Soubah of the southern provinces, beheld the accession of Doast-ally with aversion, since it took effect without that deference to his authority which he was determined to establish throughout all the governments under his jurisdiction. The jealousy of this powerful superior prevented Doast-ally from procuring a regular confirmation from Delhi: it is said that he only obtained some letters of approbation from the vizir, without the proper forms of an authentic commission.

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1732. DOAST-ALLY had two sons, of whom the eldest, Subder-ally, was arrived at man's estate when his father succeeded to the Nabobship; he had likewise several daughters, one of whom he had at that time given in marriage to his nephew Mortiz-ally, son of Boker-ally; and another to a more distant relation named Chunda-saheb. This lord gave his own daughter by a former wife in marriage to Gulam Haffein, and availing himself of the incapacity of his son-in-law, obtained the Nabob's permission to administer the office of Duan in his stead.

THE kingdoms of Trichinopoly and Tanjore, although tributary to the Great Mogul, were each of them governed by its own prince or Rajah, and the care of levying the tributes of these countries was intrusted to the Nabobs of Arcot, who were sometimes obliged to send an army to facilitate the collection of them. The death of the king of Trichinopoly in 1736, was followed by disputes between the queen and a prince of the royal blood, which produced a confusion in the government sufficient to give the Nabob of Arcot hopes of subjecting the kingdom to his authority. He therefore determined to send an army under the command of his son Subder-ally and the Duan Chunda-saheb to seize any opportunity which might offer of getting possession of the city of Trichinopoly; but to prevent suspicions, the collection of the tribute was given out as the only intention of the expedition, and the army was ordered to move leisurely down to the sea-coast, before they proceeded to the south: accordingly they came to Madras, where they remained some days, and then went to Pondicherry, where they staid a longer time; during which, Chunda-saheb laid the first foundation of his connexions with the French government in that city; from hence they marched to Trichinopoly.

By intrigues, of which we have not the details, Chunda-saheb prevailed on the queen to admit him with a body of troops into the city, having first taken an oath on the Koran, that he would act in nothing to her detriment: the people of the country say that she fell in love with him; if so, she was ill requited, for he soon after seduced the garrison, seized the city, and confined her to a prison, where she died of grief. The submission of the rest of the kingdom soon followed that

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of the capital; after which, Subder-ally leaving Chunda-saheb to govern these new acquisitions, returned to his father at Arcot, who appointed Meer-assud, the preceptor of Subder-ally, to succeed Chunda-saheb in the office of Duan. 1736.

THE new Duan was well acquainted with the ambitious character of his predecessor, and represented to Subder-ally the consequences which were to be apprehended from a man of such dangerous views, placed in a government of such importance. Subder-ally saw his error when it was too late to redress it; for when he represented to his father the necessity of recalling Chunda-saheb to Arcot, the Nabob, apprehensive of open ruptures in his family, and attached to his son-in-law from an opinion of his abilities, could not be induced to follow Meer-assud's advice.

CHUNDA-SAHEB hearing what had been attempted against him, took measures to secure himself: he put the city of Trichinopoly in a good state of defence, and placed his two brothers in the strongest towns dependant on his sovereignty; Buda-saheb in Madura, and Saduck-saheb in Dindigul: but notwithstanding these preparations, he determined not to throw off his allegiance to the Nabob, before he should be openly attacked.

IN the mean time Nizam-al-muluck's resentments against the family of Doast-ally increased with their acquisitions; for, notwithstanding the independancy affected by Chunda-saheb, he did not doubt that the force of Trichinopoly would always be united with that of Arcot, whenever danger from foreign powers should threaten either of the two governments. But his attention was for some years taken up by affairs of much greater importance than the reducing of this family to his obedience. At one time, he was prepared to join the Great Mogul, whom he wished to see dethroned, against Thomas Kouli Khan, whom he had invited to invade the Empire: and after the Persian left Indostan, he was obliged to keep his arms turned towards Delhi, where he was equally dreaded and detested. Thus prevented from marching into the Carnatic, he at length determined to give the Morattoes permission to attack it. By this measure he satisfied, in part, the obligations he lay under to that na-

tion,


1739. tion, and at the same time employed a force, which, next to his own, was the most capable of conquering the dominions of Doast-ally.

THE country of the Morattoes lies between Bombay and Gol-Kondah: its limits are not known with any degree of certainty to Europeans, and we are equally ignorant of the origin and history of the people. It is now a century that they have made a figure as the most enterprising soldiers of Indostan, and as the only nation of Indians, which seems to make war an occupation by choice; for the Rajpouts are soldiers by birth. Of late years they have often been at the gates of Delhi; sometimes in arms against the throne: at others, in defence of it against the Affghans or Pitans. The strength of their armies consists in their numerous cavalry, which is more capable of resisting fatigue than any in India; large bodies of them having been known to march fifty miles in a day. They avoid general engagements, and seem to have no other idea in making war, but that of doing as much mischief as possible to the enemy's country. This they effect by driving off the cattle, destroying the harvest, burning the villages, and by exercising such cruelties as makes the people of the open country take flight on the first rumours of their approach. The rapidity of their motions leaves the prince with whom they wage war little chance of striking a decisive blow against them, or even of attacking with effect any of their detachments. Hence the expence of maintaining an army in the field with very little probability of even fighting such an enemy, and the greater detriment arising from the devastations they commit, generally induce the governments they attack to purchase their retreat with money. Great parsimony in their expences, and continued collections of treasure by the means now described, have been the principal causes of raising them, in less than a century, from a people of inconsiderable note, to a nation which at present strikes terror into all the countries between Delhi and Cape Comorin. They often let out bodies of men, and sometimes whole armies; but the hiring of them is a dangerous resource; for the offer of better terms seldom fails to make them change sides: and they seldom relinquish their practice of plundering even in the countries which they are hired to defend. But notwithstanding their

their warlike character, they are, in other respects, the most scrupulous observers of the religion of Brama; never eating of any thing that has life, nor even killing the insects which molest them: however, a buffalo sacrificed, with many strange ceremonies, atones for the blood of their own species which they shed in war. 1739.

Before the Carnatic was conquered by the Great Mogul, the Morattoes were in possession of several fortresses and territories in the country: retreating from which before the arms of the Moors, they stipulated to receive annually a portion of the revenues, as a recompence for the possessions which they relinquished, and as a tribute for desisting from their usual predatory incursions into the province. The Nabobs of Arcot had for many years neglected to pay this tribute, and the Morattoes had refrained from their usual methods of obtaining reparation, from no other motive than their great fear of Nizam-al-muluck: but this restraint was now removed by the encouragement which they received from him to invade the Carnatic. At the same time the kings of Mysore and Tanjore, in resentment of the injuries they had suffered from Chunda-saheb in his government of Trichinopoly, incited them, as brethren of the same religion, to attack the Carnatic, and to revenge the violations committed in their temples and holy places by that Mahomedan governor, and the Moors in his service.

In the month of May, 1740, an army of 10000 Morattoes, under the command of Ragooee Bonfola, approached the province with their usual rapidity, and arrived at the mountains, which separate it from the western country, before Doast-ally was able to collect the whole of his forces to oppose them; for a large part of his army happened at that time to be employed to the southward, under the command of his son Subder-ally. The Nabob, however, marched from Arcot with what troops he was able to assemble, about 4000 horse and 6000 foot, and with these determined to defend the passes of Damal-cherri, through which the Morattoes intended to enter the province, until he could be succoured by his son's army, and the other troops of the province, which were advancing to his assistance: it is thought he would have succeeded in this intention. 1740.

1740.  tention if he had not been betrayed by one of his officers, an Indian, who suffered the Morattoes to pass the station where he commanded. The next day, being the 20th of May, the whole army appeared in the Nabob's rear, which was not defended by intrenchments, and having every advantage, attacked his troops with great fury; who, encouraged by the example of their prince, defended themselves resolutely for several hours, until they saw him, together with his son Hassan-ally, fall dead from their elephants on the field of battle; the rout was then general; most of the principal officers of the army were slain, and Meer-assud, the Duan, was taken prisoner.

Subder-ally, with the troops under his command, was advanced as far as Arcot when he heard of his father's fate, upon which he immediately took refuge in Velore. Chunda-saheb likewise took the field with 5000 horse and 10000 foot, giving out that he intended to march to the Nabob's assistance; but by contrived delays he kept at a distance from the field of battle, and as soon as he heard of the Nabob's defeat, hastened back to Trichinopoly.

The Morattoes, after their victory, sent detachments to plunder and levy contributions in every part of the province, but found that what they acquired by these means did not answer their expectations; for the wealthy inhabitants had removed all their valuable effects into the strong holds with which the province abounds. Thus disappointed, they readily listened to the proposals of their prisoner Meer-assud, who was empowered by Subder-ally from Velore to treat with them: it was agreed that they should be paid, at stated periods, 10,000,000 of rupees, equal to one year's revenue of the province, on condition that they quitted the Carnatic immediately; thus much was made public, but another article was kept secret. As soon as the treaty was ratified, Subder-ally assumed the title and authority of Nabob; but this power was now so much impaired, that Chunda-saheb thinking he had nothing to apprehend from it, came to Arcot to do homage to him: however, the splendor of his retinue, and the military force which accompanied him, made him appear rather the equal than the dependant of Subder-ally.

The

1740.

The fortifications of Pondicherry were at this time in such reputation, amongst a people who had never before seen any thing equal to them, that the late Nabob, as well as Subder-ally and Chunda-saheb, had sent their wives, children, and treasures, to remain there during the war. As soon as the Morattoes quitted the province, Subder-ally and Chunda-saheb, attended by a large retinue, went to Pondicherry, where they stayed several days. Subder-ally returning to Arcot, took with him his own and his father's family; but Chunda-saheb proceeding to Trichinopoly, left the women of his family and one of his sons there.

In the month of December the province was again struck with consternation by the return of the same army of Morattoes which had lately afflicted it with so many calamities. This second irruption was in consequence of the secret engagement which they had made with Subder-ally.

Besides the sum of money which he had agreed to pay them, they had farther insisted on receiving some territories in sovereignty, and in this demand Meer-assud found them so inflexible, that, considering the territories of Trichinopoly served only to render the power of Chunda-saheb formidable to his master, he consented to yield those countries to the Morattoes, on condition that they should attack them at their own expence: this they agreed to do, and at the same time engaged to dispose of Chunda-saheb, if he fell into their hands, in such a manner as should be most conducive to the interests of the Nabob of Arcot.

Trichinopoly was strongly fortified in the Indian manner of defence; and Chunda-saheb, on the first news of the approach of the Morattoes against Doast-ally, stored it with a great quantity of grain, which is considered as the best security of a fortified place amongst a people who are very little skilled in the use of cannon or other engines of battery. Meer-assud therefore foreseeing that he would be able to protract his defence as long as his provisions lasted, advised the Morattoes to quit the Carnatic, and to encamp at such a distance as might prevent any suspicion of their intentions to return. This artful conduct produced the effect intended by it; for Chunda-saheb imagining that the Morattoes were meditating expeditions into other

1740. provinces, sold his stores of grain; of which they no sooner received intelligence than they set out from their camp at Sevegunga, and by very expeditious marches appeared in sight of Trichinopoly before he could remedy the distress to which he had so unwarily reduced it.

1741. They invested the city closely, and were attentive to prevent the introduction of any supplies or reinforcements; nevertheless the brothers of Chunda-sahib attempted to relieve it. Buda-sahib advanced from Madura with a large convoy of provisions, escorted by 3000 horse and 7000 foot: the Morattoes detached 20000 men to intercept this reinforcement, which defended itself with bravery until Buda-sahib fell, when the death of the leader was followed by a general rout, as it always happens in the battles of Indostan: they cut off Buda-sahib's head, and sent it to Chunda-sahib as a confirmation of his brother's defeat. Another detachment attacked Saduck-sahib, approaching from Dindigul with 2500 horse and 3000 foot, who were likewise defeated after a sharp fight, which ended with the death of Saduck-sahib.

Chunda-sahib, notwithstanding these misfortunes, continued to defend the city with great resolution, and protracted the siege until the greatest part of his provisions was consumed, and a considerable number of his men, with some of his best officers, killed; the dread of famine had also caused many to desert: those remaining, worn out with fatigues, called upon him with one voice to surrender. He delivered up the city and himself on the 26th of March, 1741, after having sustained a siege of three months. The Morattoes placed him, with his son, and several principal officers, under the strictest confinement, intending to be well paid for the ransom of their persons. After some time spent in draining Trichinopoly of all they could find valuable in it, they appointed Morari-row, one of their generals, viceroy of the kingdom, and leaving 14000 of their best troops under his command, returned to their own country, where they confined their prisoners in a strong fort in the neighbourhood of Sattarah their metropolis.

The Morattoes, by the possession of Trichinopoly, were now become of enemies, allies to Subder-ally; and the imprisonment of Chunda-sahib at such a distance from the Carnatic, removed the
only

only leader deemed capable of exciting intestine commotions. But the resentment of Nizam-al-muluck still remained to be appeased, which could only be done by remitting to him those large arrears of revenues which the Nabob Doast-ally, availing himself of the convulsions of the empire, had withheld. Subder-ally therefore was convinced that a storm would break upon him from this quarter as soon as Nizam-al-muluck himself should have none to fear from Delhi: but as this time was not yet come, he determined not to exhaust his treasures from the apprehension of dangers, which, although probable, were still uncertain; he amused Nizam-al-muluck with humble excuses, founded on the poverty to which he pretended to be reduced by the incursion of the Morattoes, and even demeaned himself so far as to give out he intended to go to Arabia, and there spend the remainder of his days in acts of devotion at the tomb of his prophet. 1741.

The poverty to which he pretended to be reduced was as little real as the spirit of devotion which he affected, for the greatest part of his father's treasures had been preserved under the care of his mother, when she took refuge in Pondicherry. However, the late calamities left such an impression of terror upon his mind, that he did not venture to keep his court in the open and defenceless city of Arcot, but took up his residence in Velore, which was well fortified, and its citadel built two hundred years ago by the Morattoes, the strongest in the Carnatic: with the same spirit of precaution he sent the women and children of his family, together with his treasures, to Madras; giving this preference to the English nation by the advice of Meer-assud, who already suspected the connexions which subsisted between Chunda-sahib and Mr. Dupleix, the governor of Pondicherry. From Velore the Nabob made several visits to his family at Madras, and these journies were reported to Nizam-al-muluck as proofs of his intention to proceed from thence by sea to Mecca. 1742.

The commanders of all the towns and forts in the Carnatic had been assessed in sums proportioned to their incomes, which were levied at stated periods, in order to discharge the ransom of the province due to the Morattoes. The government of Velore was the richest

1742. richest fief subject to the Nabobship of Arcot, and by the treasures which Mortiz-ally inherited from his father, as also by a very parsimonious management of the revenues of his government, he was become the richest man in the province. Having married the sister of Subder-ally, and being likewise nearly related to him by birth, he thought that these titles of kindred, joined to the reception which he gave to the Nabob and his court, would excuse him from the necessity of furnishing what remained due of his proportion of the general assessment; but the Nabob, who knew the Morattoes were not to be disappointed with impunity, and who was as unwilling as Mortiz-ally to disburse his private treasures until the last extremity, determined to oblige him to furnish his contingent with the same punctuality as the other governors of the province. Many of these were attentive to the conduct of the governor of Velore, and were ready to withhold their proportions of the assessment as soon as they should find a respectable leader to set the example, and to support them in the consequences of refusing to obey the Nabob's orders; they therefore confederated with Mortiz-ally, and represented to him, that Nizam-al-muluck, the Subah of the southern provinces, would behold with satisfaction even the most desperate measure which might be taken by the officers of the Carnatic, against a prince who paid so little deference to his authority.

Mortiz-ally, born cruel and treacherous, had no restraints in his composition to stop his hand from the perpetration of any crime by which his avarice, ambition, or revenge could be gratified: he was indeed by many suspected of being uncommonly deficient in personal courage, but this persuasion seems to have taken its rise from the suspicious habits of his domestic life; since he never moved, even in his own palace, without being surrounded by guards, nor ever ventured to taste any thing that was not brought to him in a vessel to which his wife had affixed her seal. The Nabob therefore held the pusillanimous character of his brother-in-law in the greatest contempt, and apprehended no danger from a man who lived in perpetual apprehensions of poison from his own family and domestics. Mortiz-ally still continued to evade the payment of his arrears of the assessment; and the Nabob,

Nabob, wearied by trifling excuses, one day in public imprudently threatened to dispossess him of his government, if he evaded any longer to comply with his orders. This outrage immediately flung him into the closest connection with the dissatisfied governors, who now flattered his ambition, by assuring him that they would acknowledge him Nabob of Arcot as soon as Subder-ally should be removed. 1742.

The Nabob's army was encamped within the suburbs and under the walls of Velore: a body of guards and a numerous retinue constantly attended him within the fort, so that he seemed in no danger from open violence, or secret treachery. But nothing of the conspiracy transpired; and he was unfortunately confirmed in his security by the extreme humility with which Mortiz-ally carried himself after the outrage he had received.

At the time of that festival to which the Mahomedans of Indostan have the greatest devotion, all the Nabob's servants asked permission to be absent for two or three days to celebrate it in their own families. Contrary to the usual custom of the courts of Indostan, the Nabob suffered all his retinue and guards, excepting four persons, to quit him; and so little was he suspicious of the danger to which he exposed himself by this unguarded indulgence, that he even desired some of the officers and menial servants of Mortiz-ally might attend him during the absence of his own. Mortiz-ally determined not to lose this opportunity, which was such as might never offer again, to strike the blow he had meditated. On the 2d of October, the day after the Nabob's retinue had left him, the victuals prepared for his table were poisoned. The Nabob had scarcely finished his meal before he began to be greatly disordered, and although the strength of his constitution, with timely assistance, enabled him to throw off the mortal effects of the poison, yet it left him much enfeebled. Even this attack did not thoroughly awaken his suspicions, which those of Mortiz-ally's family, who waited on him, contributed to stifle, by representing his indisposition to be the access of a bilious disorder, very common in India. Mortiz-ally knew he had no time to lose, and proposed to some of his officers, in whom he had the most confidence, to go and put an end to the Nabob's life. It is said that all refused

1742. refused to serve him in this cruel commission, excepting one, whose wife Subder-ally had formerly debauched: this man, a Pitán, having engaged some Abyssinian slaves, led them at midnight to the Nabob's apartment, where the few servants who attended the Nabob were asleep round his bed. They were immediately seized, and prevented from making resistance. The Nabob himself, instead of taking up his arms, attempted to make his escape through a window. The leader of the assassins seized him before he could pass through it, and upbraiding him with the injury of his adultery, and exulting in the revenge he was taking, killed him with several stabs of a poniard.

Meer-assud the Duan was in the fort, and the inviolable attachment which this minister was known to bear to his master, suggested to Mortiz-ally the intention of destroying so dangerous a witness of the murder which he had committed. The orders were given to put him to death, when some of Mortiz-ally's officers represented to him the necessity of preserving the life of a man, from whom alone he could obtain that knowledge of the affairs of the Carnatic, which would be necessary for his own conduct, as soon as he should be declared Nabob. These representations were dictated by reverence to the character of Meer-assud, whose virtues preserved him in this instant of imminent danger from the destruction to which he had been doomed.

The gates of the fort of Velore were strictly guarded during this night of terror, and those only who produced a particular permission were suffered to pass out the ensuing day. So that the news of Subder-ally Khan's death was carried the next morning to the army encamped near Velore, by emissaries employed by Mortiz-ally himself, who represented it as an accident in which their master had no part, and imputed it to the sudden resentment of some of the principal officers, of whom the Nabob had treated several with ignominious language, and had affronted one by a blow. But such was the general opinion of Mortiz-ally's character, that the soldiery immediately flew to their arms, and cried out in tumult, that their Nabob had been assassinated by the governor of Velore. The principal officers of the army were absent celebrating the
feast;

teat; and the soldiery left to their own conduct, in the first impulse of detestation, threatened to storm the fort immediately, and to massacre all who were in it; but, on recollection of its strength, this resolution subsided, and they agreed to wait the return of their officers, before they should proceed to extremities. The emissaries of Mortizally took advantage of this suspension of their rage, and called to their recollection the great arrears of pay, which were due to them from Subder-ally, who, although well able, had constantly evaded to satisfy their demands: whereas if the army, they said, would admit Mortizally's pretensions to the Nabobship of Arcot, and declare in his favour, he would doubtless agree to pay all that was due to them.

1742

The armies of the Mahomedan princes of Indostan are composed of a number of distinct bodies of troops enlisted by different leaders; who, with their bands, enter into, and quit the service of different princes, according to the advantages which they expect to receive. Hence the degree of reliance which a prince can have on his army is proportioned to the treasures of which he is possessed, joined to his inclination to disburse them; and it is common in the wars of Indostan to see large bodies of troops going over to the enemy on the very field of battle. The army at Velore forgot its resentments against Mortizally in proportion as the terms proposed by his emissaries appeared to be real. The officers, as they arrived in the camp, were immediately brought over to his interest by presents; accounts were adjusted, times of payment were stipulated, and all, officers as well as soldiers, agreed to acknowledge Mortizally Nabob of the Carnatic, within two days after he had murdered Subder-ally.

Mortizally now pitched his tents without the gates of Velore, and caused himself to be proclaimed Nabob. In November he made his entry with pomp into the city of Arcot, and was again proclaimed there.

As soon as the first agitations which this sudden and unexpected revolution had occasioned began to subside, several of the principal officers in the Carnatic communicated to one another their sentiments on his accession, and concurred in a detestation of it: These

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applied

1742

applied to Morari-row, the Morattid governor of Trichinopoly, who did not hesitate to declare openly against him. The English at Madras were requested to protect the son and family of Subder-ally, together with their wealth, notwithstanding any menaces which they might receive from Mortiz-ally; who did not fail to demand this prey, and had the vexation to find it placed out of his reach. Several of the principal officers of the army, won by the friends of Subder-ally's family, engaged to effect a general revolt. On a sudden the army demanded immediate payment of the whole of their arrears, which at Velore they had agreed to receive at distant periods, and surrounding the palace in tumult, accompanied their demands with threats.

Mortiz-ally had not courage to stand this storm; but immediately determined to place himself out of the reach of danger. Women of rank in Indostan never appear in public; and travel in covered carriages, which are very rarely stopped or examined even in times of suspicion. He therefore disguised himself in a woman's dress, quitted Arcot in the night, in a covered Pallankin, accompanied by several female attendants, and in this equipage gained his fort of Velore without interruption.

As soon as his flight was discovered, the army proclaimed Seid Mahomed Khan, the son of Subder-ally, an infant who resided in Madras with his mother. The government of the province was entrusted to a Duan chosen by the friends of the family, and the young Nabob and his mother were removed from Madras to Vandywash, the fort of Tuckia-sahib, who had married one of the sisters of Subder-ally.

743.

These revolutions in the Carnatic happened at a time when Nizam-ul-muluck, having no longer any thing to apprehend from the politics of the court of Delhi, where he had obtained for his son Ghazi-o'din Khan the post of captain general of the Mogul's armies, was preparing to visit the Carnatic. He left Gol-Kondah in the beginning of the year 1743, and arrived at Arcot in the month of March following. His army is said to have consisted of 80,000 horse and 200,000 foot. Their numbers, and the reputation of their leader,

leader, deterred all the princes of the countries through which they passed from making any resistance: and they entered the province of Arcot with as little opposition. When arrived at the city, Nizam-al-muluck was struck with amazement at the anarchy which prevailed in every part of the government. Every governor of a fort, and every commander of a district, had assumed the title of Nabob, and had given to the officers of his retinue the same names as distinguished the persons who held the most considerable employments in the court of the Soubah. One day, after having received the homage of several of these little lords, Nizam-al-muluck said, that he had that day seen no less than eighteen Nabobs in the Carnatic; whereas he had always imagined that there was but one in all the southern provinces. He then turned to his guards, and ordered them to scourge the first person who, for the future, should in his presence assume the title of Nabob. 1743.

The young Son of Subder-ally, accompanied by several of his principal officers, paid his visit of homage to the Soubah, who refused him the permission of returning to Vandiwash, and ordered some of his own officers to take charge of his person, directing them to treat him with lenity and respect. He then appointed Coja Abdulla Khan, the general of his army, Nabob of Arcot, and of all its dependencies, and sent a summons to Morari-row the governor of Trichinopoly, to surrender the city. Finding that the Morattoes persisted in refusing to obey his orders, he marched with his whole army, and sat down before it: presents and promises supplied the place of hostilities in reducing it. In the month of August Morari-row evacuated Trichinopoly, and soon after quitted the Carnatic with all his Morattoes. 1744.

Nizam-al-muluck having thus settled the affairs of the province without unsheathing the sword, returned to Gol-Kondah. Coja Abdulla continued to command the army until it arrived there; leaving one of his dependants to administer the government of Arcot during his absence. It was not before the month of March in the next year that he prepared to return, and after having been distinguished with particular honours on the day that he took leave of the

744. Soubah, was the next morning found dead in his bed. His body bore marks of poison; but as the hand from which it came could never be discovered, it was imputed to the person who received the most advantage from it, by succeeding him in the government of the Carnatic. This was An'war-odean, who was immediately nominated to that employment, and arrived at Arcot in the month of April.

The introduction of this stranger into the Carnatic was the source of many of the events which it is the intention of this narrative to commemorate; and there are so many and such injurious misrepresentations of his origin, and of that part of his life which preceded his accession to the Nabobship, that it is necessary to invalidate them by an impartial description of his history.

Anawar, the father of An'war-odean, distinguished himself by his great erudition, and by the application of it to explanations of the original text of the Koran: he made the pilgrimage of Mecca, without which proof of piety it is difficult, among Mahomedans, to acquire the reputation of a truly devout man. At his return from this voyage he was appointed by Aurengzebe, to be one of those religious officers who are appointed to offer up daily prayers for the health and prosperity of the sovereign. In consequence of this appointment, he received a pension, and was ennobled by being ranked as a commander of 250 horse, with the right of taking the title of Khan, which signifies Lord, or rather Chieftain. This title would appear incompatible with the character of a religious man, if every title of nobility in Indostan did not consist in a military commission; by which it is supposed, although rarely insisted on, that the person who receives the commission shall maintain a certain number of horse for the Emperor's service. With these honours and advantages Anawar retired to Gopee-mahoo, and there finished his days.

His son An'war-odean went to court with recommendations from his father, which procured him a title of the same rank as had been given to his father: he was afterwards raised to the command of 300 horse, and was appointed governor of the district of Coora-Gebanabad.

nabad. Ill success, or perhaps ill conduct, preventing him from being able to pay the usual revenues of his government to the throne, he quitted it privately and went to Amedabad. Here Gazi-o'din Khan, the Soubah of the southern provinces, gave him a post of considerable trust and profit in the city of Surat, whilst his friends at Delhi took care to prevent further enquiries concerning him, by reporting him dead. After the death of Gazi-o'din Khan, father of Nizam-al-muluck, An'war-odean went to pay his court to Nizam-al-muluck, who had succeeded to the Soubahship of the southern provinces, and was by him appointed Nabob of the Yalore and Rajamundrum countries, which he governed from the year 1725 to 1741. When Nizam-al-muluck was preparing to visit the Carnatic, An'war-odean attended his court, and was left by him in one of the principal stations in the city and territory of Gol-Kondah; and a very few days after the death of Coja Abdulla, Nizam-al-muluck appointed him to administer the government of the Carnatic, in which choice he seems to have been influenced by his opinion of the necessity of placing a province, in which he suspected commotions, under the direction of a brave and experienced soldier; such was An'war-odean.

There is no country in which the titles of descent are less instrumental to the fortunes of men than they are in Indostan; none but those of the royal blood are considered as hereditary nobility; to all others, the exclusion is so absolute, that a new act from the sovereign is necessary to ennoble even the son of the Grand Vizir of the empire. The field of fortune is open to every man who has courage enough to make use of his sword, or to whom nature has given superior talents of mind. Hence it happens, that half the grandees of Indostan have arrived to the highest employments in the empire from conditions not less humble than that of An'war-odean Khan; against whose accession to the Nabobship of the Carnatic, the people had taken an aversion, from causes independent of his personal character.

During the 30 years which preceded the visitation of Nizam-al-muluck, the Carnatic had been governed by the same family, in a succession

1744. Succession of three Nabobs, who, availing themselves of the general confusion of the empire, had acquired a greater stability in their office than is the usual lot of governors in Indostan. The Nabobs of this family, considering the sovereignty as a kind of inheritance, had not conducted themselves in their administration with that spirit of ravage, which is the usual consequence of uncertain and transitory possession. The revenues of the Carnatic depend upon the harvests of grain, and these on the quantities of water, which are reserved to supply the defect of rain during the dry season of the year: for this purpose vast reservoirs have been formed, of which not only the construction, but even the repairs in cases of inundation require an expence much beyond the faculties of the farmer or renter of the land. If therefore the avarice of the prince with-holds his hand from the preservation of these sources of fertility, and at the same time dictates to him an inflexible resolution of receiving his usual incomes; the farmer oppressed, oppresses the labourer, and the misery of the people becomes complete, by the vexations of collectors exercised in times of scarcity, of which the cruel parsimony of the prince has been the principal cause.

It is not therefore to be wondered at that the province which had felt the good effects of a mild and generous administration, from the reigns of the family of Sadatulla Khan, should behold with regret the introduction of any stranger whomsoever to govern the Carnatic. The young son of Subder-ally was the only person whom the province wished to see their ruler.

In deference to this affection, and from the danger of shocking it at once too violently, Nizam-al-muluck gave out that he intended to confer the Nabobship of Arcot on this youth, as soon as he should arrive at the age of manhood. At the same time he gave An'war-odean Khan all the powers necessary for governing the Carnatic during this interval, and committed the young prince to his care, with the authority of a guardian. From the palpable impropriety of reposing so delicate a trust in the very person to whom the greatest advantages would accrue from an unfaithful discharge of it, Nizam-al-muluck may be suspected of having dissembled throughout this transaction.

transaction. The general joy with which the youth was received, on his arrival in the province, eclipsed all the homage that was paid to the sovereign power of his guardian; and it is supposed that the provisional Nabob did not behold without jealousy these demonstrations of the public attachment to the son of Subder-ally. 1744.

An'war-odean however did not discover any symptoms of discontent in his treatment of the young prince: on the contrary, he maintained him in a splendor adequate to his birth, and assigned the palace in the fort of Arcot for his residence. Here the young Seid Mahomed passed some time without any other inquietude, than that which he received from the importunities of a band of Pitau soldiers, who had been in the service of his father, and who pretended that a long arrear of pay was due to them.

The Pitans, whose country is in the most northern part of the Empire, are the bravest of the Mahomedan soldiery levied in Indostan. From a consciousness of this superiority, together with a reliance on the national connection which exists amongst them howsoever dispersed into the services of different princes, they have acquired an insolence and audacity of manners, which distinguishes them, as much as the hardness of their physiognomy, from every other race of men in the Empire: they treat even the lords they serve with very little of that respect which characterises all the other dependents of a sovereign in Indostan. From the known ferocity of their temper, it is thought dangerous to inflict punishment on them, even when they deserve it; as a strong spirit of revenge has familiarised them with assassination, which they seldom fail to employ whenever the smallness of their numbers disables them from taking vengeance by more open attacks. The Pitans, who had served Subder-ally Khan, continued to present themselves every day before his son, demanding their arrears with clamour and insolence.

In the month of June a wedding of one of the relations of Subder-ally was celebrated in the fort of Arcot. The young prince, as being the head of the family, was invited to preside at the ceremony. The customary invitations were likewise given to all the other relations,