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## **The History Of Hindostan; From The Earliest Account Of Time, To The Death Of Akbar; Translated From The Persian Of Mahummud Casim Ferishta Of Delhi**

Together With A Dissertation Concerning the Religion and Philosophy of the Brahmins ; With An Appendix, Containing the History of the Mogul Empire, from its Decline in the Reign of Mahummud Shaw, to the present Times ; In Two Volumes

**Ferishta, Mahummud Casim**

**London, 1768**

History of the Mogul Empire, from its decline, in the Reign of Mahummud Shaw, to the Present Times.

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# HISTORY

OF THE

## MOGUL EMPIRE,

FROM

Its decline, in the Reign of MAHUMMUD  
SHAW, to the Present Times.

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### SECTION I.

General Observations.---The Succession, from AKBAR to  
MAHUMMUD SHAW. The growing Imbecillity of the  
Empire.---Governors of the Provinces assume Inde-  
pendence. Their Intrigues at the Court of Delhi.---  
The Invasion of NADIR SHAW.

**M**AHUMMUD CASIM FERISHTA, the author of  
the preceding history, finishes his account of the  
kings of Delhi with the death of Akbar. The trans-  
lator is still in hopes of being able to procure original and au-  
thentic histories of the empire of Hindostan, from that period  
down to the present times. He, therefore, will not break in

*Vol. II. Appendix.*

\*A

upon



HISTORY OF THE DECLINE

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upon his design of giving, some time or other, to the public, a complete history of the reigns of the posterity of Timur in India, by retailing the very imperfect accounts already published in Europe.

But as, to translate from the Persian language is a task of labor and difficulty, his engaging further, in works of this kind, will depend entirely upon the reception the public shall give to his first attempt in that way. If he shall find that he is not capable to acquit himself, in some degree, to the satisfaction of the world, he will, in prudence, lay down his pen; and leave that field to men of greater abilities, who may hereafter turn their thoughts to the subject.

The transactions of the court of Delhi, since the invasion of Nadir Shaw, are very little known in the West. They have not, even in Asia, been hitherto committed to writing; and if the present confusions of the Mogul empire shall long continue, it is probable the memory of them will die with those who were principally concerned in them. This consideration has induced the translator of Ferishta's history, to throw together the most material events, which happened in the empire, since the memorable irruption of the Persians, in the year 1738. He derives his authority, for some of the facts, from a Persian manuscript, now in his hands, concerning six years of the reign of Mahummud Shaw; and as to the rest, he principally follows a short sketch of the affairs of the empire, given to him in writing, by his intimate friend the Rai Raiân, secretary of state to the present mogul.

To continue the line of connection, between the preceding history and the reign of Mahummud Shaw, who sat upon the throne of Delhi when the invasion of Nadir Shaw happened, it may not be improper, just to mention the succession of the kings,  
from



from Akbar to that period. It is necessary to observe, that, after consulting the most authentic Persian histories, the author of this account finds himself obliged to differ from all the European writers, who have treated on the subject, with regard to the duration of most of the reigns.

Upon the death of Akbar, his son Selim ascended the throne, in Agra, upon Thursday the 20th of Jemmad ul Sani, in the 1014 year of the Higera. He, upon his accession, assumed the title of JEHANGIRE, and reigned twenty-two years, nine months, and twenty days, with much more reputation and success than could have been expected of so weak a prince. His death happened upon Sunday the 28th of Siffer, in the 1037 year of the Higera.

A. D.  
1605

SULTAN KURRUM, the third son of Jehangire, mounted the throne at Agra, upon the 8th of Jemmad ul Sani, in the year 1037, and, under the title of SHAW JEHAN, reigned thirty-two years, three months, and twenty days. He was deposed by his third son, the famous Aurungzebe, who dated the commencement of his reign, from the first of Ramzan, in the 1069 of the Higera. Aurungzebe, upon his accession, took the name of Allungire\*.

1627

ALLUMGIRE, having reigned fifty years, two months, and twenty-eight days, died, in a very advanced age, at Ahmednagur, in the Decan, upon Friday the 28th of Zicada, in the 1119 of the Higera.

1648

\* Though Shaw Jehan was confined during the time his four rebellious sons, Dara Shekoh, Sultan Suja, Aurungzebe, and Morad Buksh, contended for the crown, yet as Aurungzebe prevailed over his brothers, and dated his reign from the year 1069, we have included the time of the civil wars in the reign of his father.

\*A 2

Mahummud



- 1707 Mahummud Mauzim, Aurungzebe's second son, succeeded his father in the throne, under the title of BAHADAR SHAW. He died, after a short reign of four years and eleven months, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Moaz ul Dien.
- 1712 Moaz ul Dien, under the title of JEHANDAR SHAW, reigned eighteen months. Some writers do not include him in the succession of kings, as the succeeding emperor, the son of Azim ul Shaw, the second son of Bahadar Shaw, under the name of Firrochsere, dated his reign from the death of his grandfather.
- 1713 FIRROCHSERE, according to his own computation, reigned six years. He was blinded, and afterwards put to death, by the two SEIDS, upon the 12th of Jammad ul Sani, in the 1130 of the Higera.
- 1717 RAFFEIH UL DIRJAT, the son of Raffaih ul Shaw, the third son of Bahadar Shaw, was raised to the throne, by the ambitious Seids; and after a nominal reign of three months, was put to death by the same faction, by whose interest he had obtained the crown.---His brother RAFFEIH UL DOWLAT succeeded him; but he died in a few days.
- 1718 MAHUMMUD SHAW, the son of Jehan Shaw, and grandson of Bahadar Shaw, acceded to the throne of Delhi, in the month of Shawal of the year 1130 of the Higera.---Mahummud Shaw, having rid himself of the two Seids, Abdalla Chan, and Hassen Chan, who had so long tyrannized in the empire, raising and deposing kings at pleasure, gave himself wholly up to indolence, and the enervating pleasures of the Haram. The distractions, before Mahummud's accession, occasioned principally by the ambition of the Seids, gave the first mortal wound to the Mogul empire, under which it has ever since languished. Most of the Omrahs,  
either

either envying or dreading the power of the Seids, formed ambitious schemes of independence in their respective provinces, which the aparent debility of the regal authority very much favored.

Cuttulich Chan, who, as Nizam ul muluck, commanded all the provinces of the Decan, being sensible of the weakness of Mahumud, maintained a great standing army, under a pretence of keeping the unsubdued Hindoo Rajas and Mahrattor \* chiefs in awe. But the real design of this force was to found an independent kingdom for the Nizam in the Decan, as Hassen Caco Bemeni had done in the reign of Tuglick Shaw †.

To facilitate his ambitious views, the Nizam ul muluck began to extend his power in the Decan, by the reduction of the neighbouring Rajas. Though the revenues of his government must have been very considerably increased by these conquests, he remitted none to the Delhi; and, at the same time, to weaken the empire, he encouraged, or at least, permitted the Mahrattors to make hostile incursions into the interior provinces. These irregular marauders ravaged the kingdoms of Malava, Narvar, Biana and Ajmere, in such a manner, that no revenues could be paid by the unfortunate inhabitants.

The weak Mahummud, instead of checking this insolence by the sword, disgraced the dignity of the house of Timur, by submitting to become, in a manner, tributary to these despicable banditti. He agreed to pay them the Chout, or fourth part of the revenues of those provinces, which had been subject to their

\* These are they, who are known in Europe, under the disfigured name of Marattoes.

† This Hassen Caco mounted the throne at Kilbirga in the Decan, which city he called from himself, Hassen-abad, upon the 24th of Ribbi ul Achir, in the 748 of the Higera. He assumed the title of sultan Alla ul Dien.

depre-



depredations. From this pusillanimous conduct of Mahummud, we may date the irretrievable decline of the Mogul empire. That opinion, which supports government in every country, was now destroyed in India; and each petty chieftain began to start into a prince, as he had nothing to fear from a government which had betrayed such evident symptoms of timidity.

Chan Dowran Sumfam ul Dowla was, at this time, Amir ul Omrah, or captain-general of the empire. As the offices of paymaster-general and commander in chief of the troops are injudiciously joined in one person, in Hindostan, Chan Dowran had such an influence in the state, that he engrossed to himself all the ministerial power. He left, in short, nothing but their names in the government to the king and his vizier, Kimmir ul Dien Chan.

Chan Dowran was sly, artful, insinuating; of an active and intriguing disposition; in appearance assuming no authority, when, at the same time, he directed every thing. He executed, in public, as by the king's orders, whatever he himself had resolved upon in private. As the indolent Mahummud was even averse to the trouble of thinking, the suggestions of this artful Omrah, who was full of plausibility, and prompt to execute whatever he advised, were always grateful to the royal ear. The captain-general, though personally brave, permitted his master's authority to be daily insulted by despicable enemies. He foresaw that to take the field, without the king, would probably put an end to his influence over him; for he knew that the disposition of Mahummud was fickle and inconstant; and apt to be swayed to any thing, by every artful person near him.

Dowran made many unsuccessful attempts to persuade Mahummud to accompany him to the field. The dissolute monarch was not to be removed from the luxurious indolence of the

palace.



palace. The Mahrattors, in the mean time, continued their inroads. They ravaged the province of Guzerat, and raised the Chout as far as the Indus. They returned back from that river, by the way of Ajmere and Biana, and spread their devastations to the very gates of Agra.

The captain-general, though much against his inclination, found himself obliged to march against these plunderers. But, instead of chastising them, he ingloriously promised to pay them the Chout, upon condition they should immediately evacuate the provinces.

The barbarians, gaining courage by this submission, and trusting very little to promises extorted by fear, from Dowran, crossed the Jumna, near Calpee, with a design to plunder the province of Oud. Sadit Chan, who then possessed that subaship, opposed them, between the rivers in the district of Korah, and gave them a total defeat. They fled to Feridabad near Delhi, whither they were closely pursued by Sadit, who had, on his way, joined the imperial army under Dowran.

Before the united armies under Dowran and Sadit came up, the Mahrattors made an attempt to plunder Delhi. They were opposed, without the walls, by two imperial Omrahs, Hassen Chan and Amir Chan, the former of whom was killed in the action. The Mahrattors had now possessed themselves of the suburbs, when Kimmir the vizier, coming up with an army, put them to flight. But notwithstanding these repeated defeats, the Mahrattors found means to retreat, with a great booty to the Decan.

The king and his ministers, finding that the Nizam of the Decan favored the incursions of the Mahrattors, devised many schemes





schemes to inveigle him to court, that they might deprive him either of his life or government. The crafty Nizam, penetrating into their designs, conceived an implacable resentment against Chan Dowran, who, he knew, was at the bottom of the whole affair. But as the empire, notwithstanding its growing imbecillity, was still sufficiently strong to reduce the Nizam, had he broke forth in open rebellion, he thought it most prudent to obey the royal command. He, however, previously, strengthened his interest at court, by a coalition with many great Omrahs, who were disgusted with the insolence of Dowran.

Cuttulich Chan, having taken a step so necessary for his own safety, set out for court, leaving his son Ghazi ul Dien in the government of the Decan. He arrived at Agra, with a retinue, or rather an army of 20000 men; and, as he held the office of Vakeel Muttuluch \*, he expected to command Chan Dowran, and to draw all the reins of government into his own hands.

Sadit Chan, Suba of Oud, pluming himself upon his success against the Mahrattors, aspired to the ministerial power. The king continued to favor Dowran, and to support him against the Nizam; for, however weak Mahummud was, he could not but see through that ambitious governor's designs, by his behavior for some years back. But, as the Nizam had, upon the spot, a force to protect his person, and a strong party at court; and as his son, a man of great parts, commanded all the provinces of the Decan, the king was assured, that to deprive Cuttulich Chan of his government, would occasion a revolt, which, in its consequences, might prove fatal to the royal house of Timur.

In the mean time, Sadit Chan, finding that he could not effect any thing against the united interests of the Nizam and vizier,

\* For the nature of this office see the preface.

who



who had joined factions, was easily brought over to their party. The terms of this coalition were, that when the Nizam and Vizier should force themselves into the management of the affairs of government, Sadit Chan should be appointed buckshi\*, with the title of Amir ul omrah, which Dowran at that time possessed.

The accession of Sadit and his party did not render the faction of the Nizam and Vizier sufficiently strong to turn Dowran from his high employ. He had absolute possession of the royal ear, and the army, who depended upon him for their pay, remained firm to his interest. The faction of the malcontents was reduced to despair; and Nizam ul muluck, to gratify his resentment against Dowran, concerted, with Sadit, a plan, which gave the last stroke to the tottering authority of the crown.

The famous Nadir Shaw, king of Persia, was, at this juncture, in the province of Candahar. The disaffected Omrahs resolved to invite him to Hindostan. They foresaw that a Persian invasion would occasion confusions and distractions in the empire, which must facilitate their own schemes of independence in their respective governments; it must, at any rate, ruin Chan Dowran, which was a very capital object to men possessed of such inveterate animosities against that minister.

Whether the Nizam did not even extend his views to the empire itself, admits of some doubt. Many sensible men in India think that he did; and affirm, that his opinion was, that Nadir Shaw would depose Mahummud; and, to secure his conquest, extirpate the family of Timur: he argued with himself, that as it was not probable that the Persian would fix his residence in Hindostan, he hoped, for his services, to secure to himself the vice-

\* Paymaster-general of the forces.



A. D. 1738. royship of that empire; and that afterwards time and circumstances would point out the line of his future proceedings.

Full of these ambitious projects, and at the same time to avenge himself of his political enemy, the Nizam, in conjunction with Sadit, wrote to Nadir Shaw. That monarch received their letters at Candahar, and, in an answer to them, pointed out many difficulties which he had to surmount in the proposed invasion. He represented to them, that it would be extremely difficult to penetrate even into Cabul and Peshawir, which provinces Nafir Chan had governed for twenty years, with great reputation, and kept in pay a formidable army of Moguls and Afgans: that should he even force his way through the government of Nafir, there were five great rivers to cross in Punjâb, where Zekirriah Chan, subadâr of Lahore, would certainly oppose him; and that even should he get over those obstacles, the imperial army still remained to be defeated.

Nizam ul muluck, and his colleague in treason, endeavoured to remove the king's objections, by assuring him, that they would bring over the governors of the frontier provinces to their faction; and that, as they themselves commanded one half of the imperial army, little danger was to be dreaded from the other. Nadir Shaw began his march from Candahar, with a great army, about the vernal equinox of the 1149 of the Higera. He took the rout of Ghizni, and the governor of that city came out with presents, and submitted himself and the province to the king, agreeing to pay the usual revenues to Persia. Nadir Shaw continued his march from Ghizni to Cabul, which city he immediately invested. Shirza Chan, an omra of seventy years of age, was, at this time, governor of Cabul. Being summoned, he

March.



he refused to surrender, and made the proper dispositions for an obstinate defence. A. D. 1738.

The king of Persia finding that neither fair promises nor threats could induce Shirza to open the gates of Cabul, assaulted the place for six days together. In this desperate manner, many of the bravest soldiers, who suffer most upon these occasions, fell; without making any impression on the besieged: upon the seventh day, Nadir Shaw found means to bring over to his party Nafir Chan, governor of the province of Cabul, the son of that Nafir, who was, for twenty years, subadâr of Peshawir. That traitor, with the provincial army, presented himself at that gate of the city which was opposite to the side of the attack, and sent a letter to the gallant Shirza. He requested immediate admittance to the place, to prevent his being cut off by the enemy; insinuating, that his forces, when joined with the garrison, would be a match for the Persians in the field.

The unfortunate Shirza, not suspecting the treachery of the young Omrah, consented to receive within the walls the women and baggage of the provincial army; but insisted that the troops should encamp before the gate, till they should consult together what was best to be done upon this urgent occasion.

The women and baggage were accordingly admitted, with a proper guard, and Shirza, with a few attendants, went out to have an interview with Nafir. No sooner was Shirza out of the city, than the king of Persia began a general assault; while one Abdul Rahim, an officer of the traitor Nafir, seized upon Shirza, and confined him.

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The



A. D. 1738. <sup>Nov</sup> The two sons of Shirza, ignorant of their father's fate, in the mean time defended the gates with great firmness and resolution; till one of them was killed by that part of Nafir's army that had been admitted into the city. The remaining brother, in this desperate situation, knew not which enemy he ought to oppose, while the garrison, struck with terror and confusion, deserted their posts upon the wall. Nadir Shaw took advantage of this panick, forced open the gates, took the place, massacred many of the inhabitants, and inhumanly put to death the gallant Shirza Chan and his son.

The king of Persia found in the treasury of Cabul two crores of roupees, and effects to the value of two crores more: in these were included four thousand complete suits of armour, inlaid with gold; four thousand of polished steel, four thousand mails for horses, and a great quantity of fine tissues and dresses, deposited in Cabul by Shaw Jehan. Nadir Shaw remained at Cabul seven months, before he would attempt to cross the Indus. He, in the mean time, kept up a correspondence with the conspirators in Delhi, and maturely settled his plan of operations. He, at length, put his army in motion, and directed his march to Pishawir.

Nafir Chan, subadar of Pishawir, had wrote, repeatedly, to the court of Delhi, for succours; but Chan Dowran, in his answers, affected to despise the king of Persia; and insinuated, that it was impossible he could meditate the conquest of Hindostan. He, however, promised, from time to time, that he himself would march with the imperial army, and drive the invader back to Persia. The disaffected Omrahs wrote, at the same time, to Nafir, to make the best terms he could with Nadir Shaw; <sup>5</sup>

Shaw; for that there was little hopes of his being reinforced with any part of the royal army. A. D. 1738.

Nafir Chan, finding himself neglected by the court, after a faint resistance, surrendered himself prisoner to the king of Persia, upon the 20th of Shabân. He was soon after taken into favor by that monarch, and appointed one of his viziers. Nadir Shaw had, by this time, crossed the Attock or the Nilâb, one of the most considerable of the five branches of the Indus. He issued out an order to ravage the country, to spread the terror of his arms far and wide. Novemb. 20.

Daily advices of the approach of the Persians came to Delhi. A general consternation among the people, and a distraction in the councils of the government ensued. The king and his minister, Dowran, were so weak, that either they did not suspect the treachery of the disaffected Omrahs, or took no measures to prevent their designs. New obstacles were daily thrown in the way of the military preparations of Dowran, till the Nizam and his colleagues thought, that the procrastination which they had occasioned, had sufficiently weakened the imperial cause.

Upon the first of Ramzan, the Vizier, the Nizam ul muluck, and Dowran, incamped without the city, with a great train of artillery, and began to levy forces. Nadir Shaw, during these transactions, crossed the Bea, and on the first of Shawal appeared before Lahore. Zekeriah Chan, governor of the city and province, who was incamped with 5000 horse before the walls, retreated into the city. He, the next day, marched out and attacked the Persians. A general rout of his army was the consequence, and the conquerors were so close to the heels of the run-aways, that they possessed themselves of the gates.---Zekeriah  
December 11  
1739.  
January.



A. D. 1739. keriah waited immediately upon Nadir Shaw, with a nazir of half a lack of roupees, was politely received by that monarch, and Lahore was preserved from being plundered.

February 14. The king of Persia continued his march towards Delhi, and upon the 14th of Zicada, appeared in sight of the imperial army. Mahummud Shaw was incamped upon the plains of Karnal; so that only the canal, which supplied Delhi with water, divided the armies. The Moguls had only possessed themselves of that ground about two days before the arrival of Nadir Shaw, and had thrown up entrenchments and redoubts before them, mounted with five hundred pieces of artillery. The army, which the king now commanded in person, consisted of 150,000 horse, exclusive of irregular infantry. This unweildy body of militia was composed of all sorts of people, collected indiscriminately in the provinces, by the Omrahs, who thought that a sufficient number of men and horses was all that was necessary to form a good army. Subordination was a thing unknown in the Mogul camp: the private soldier, as well as the Omrah, acted only by the impulse of his own mind.

The Persians, though not so numerous as the Moguls, were under some degree of regulation. The rank of Nadir Shaw's officers was determined; and his own commands were instantly and implicitly obeyed. Severe to excess, he pardoned no neglect or disobedience in his Omrahs. He has even been known to send an *essawil* \* to a general, at the head of 5000 horse; with orders to make him halt and receive corporal punishment, for a misdemeanor, in the front of his own men. Though this rigor may be thought in Europe too tyrannical and repugnant to a military spirit; yet, in a country where the principles of honor are

\* A mace-bearer,



little known, fear is the strongest motive to a strict performance of duty. A. D. 1739.

Sadit Chan, upon the 14th of Zicada, having out-marched his baggage, joined the imperial army. Just as he was receiving an honorary dress from Mahummud Shaw, advice came that the Herawils of Nadir Shaw had attacked his baggage. Sadit Chan requested of the king to be permitted to march out against the Herawils. The whole of this attack was a plan concerted between Nadir Shaw and the traitor, in order to draw the Moguls from their entrenchments. The king, however, laid his commands upon Sadit to wait until the next morning, when, "by the favor of God," he intended to march out, with his whole army, to give the Persians battle. February 14.

But so little did Sadit regard Mahummud's orders, that, as soon as he had quitted the presence, he issued out with 10000 horse, which he had brought from his government, and attacked the enemy. A mock engagement now commenced, between Sadit and a part of the Persian army; who were ordered to retreat before him. He sent repeated messages, from the field to the king, requesting more troops, and that he would drive the enemy back to Persia.

Mahummud, justly incensed at the disobedience of Sadit, would not, for some time, permit any succours to be sent to him. Chan Dowran, at length, prevailed with the king to permit him, with 15000 men, to support Sadit. When Chan Dowran came up to the field, Sadit, in a feigned attack, joined the Persians, and permitted himself to be taken prisoner. His design was to get the start of his partner in treason, Nizam ul muluck, in engaging the Persian monarch in his interest.





In the mean time, the troops of Sadit being strangers to the treachery of their commander, joined Chan Dowran, and continued the engagement. Chan Dowran was immediately attacked on all sides, by the bulk of the Persian army. He, however, for some time, maintained his ground with great firmness and resolution; and was at length unwillingly drawn from the field, though he had received a wound which soon after proved mortal, by three repeated messages from the king, commanding his immediate attendance.

Mahummud Shaw was, with good reason, apprehensive that Nizam ul muluck, who was then in the camp, was preparing to seize him, which made him so anxious for the presence of Dowran. When the wounded general appeared before the king, he told him the situation of affairs, and earnestly intreated him to permit him to return to the field, with the troops which were under his immediate command, as captain-general, consisting of 36000 men, together with two hundred pieces of cannon. "Grant my request," said he, "and you shall never see me return but in triumph."

The king was now perplexed beyond measure. He dreaded the designs of the Nizam, should Dowran be absent, and, at the same time, he durst not permit the traitor to march out of the lines, for fear he should join the Persians. He, therefore, fell into the common error of weak minds, and hesitated, in hopes that delay would give birth to a more favorable concurrence of events.---He was deceived: the happy moment, for the preservation of himself and the empire, was now upon the wing. His troops maintained still their ground, under Muzziffer, the gallant brother of Dowran; and a reinforcement would turn the scale of victory in their favor.

When



When Chan Dowran quitted the field, the command of those Moguls, who were engaged, devolved upon his brother Muzziffer. That brave Omrah made a violent charge upon the Persian army, and penetrated to the very door of Nadir Shaw's tent. There, for want of being supported from the camp, Muzziffer, Afil Ali Chan, Dowran's son, Raja Gugermull, Meer Mullu, Eadgar Chan, and twenty-seven officers of distinction, covered one small spot of ground with their bodies. Ten thousand common Mogul soldiers were slain in this desperate action; which had almost proved fatal to Nadir Shaw, for his whole army were upon the point of giving way; several great detachments having fled back forty miles from the field of battle. After the engagement, the few that remained of the Moguls, retired within the entrenchments\*.

Chan Dowran, though wounded, had that night an interview with the Nizam ul muluck. It was agreed, that the whole army should next morning march out of the lines, and attack the Persians in their camp. But when the morning came, Chan Dowran's wound, which he had received in the arm, was so much inflamed, that he could not act, and, therefore, the meditated attack was delayed. In the evening of the 18th, a mortification ensued, which was then attributed to something applied to the wound by a surgeon bribed by the Nizam; and many in India still continue in the same belief. Be that as it will, Chan Dowran expired that night, amidst the tears of his sovereign, February 18. who had a great friendship for him.

\* Frazer says, that only 4000 Persians were engaged; but we have reason to doubt his authority, as we derive our account from several persons, who were present in the action.



A. D. 1739.

When this brave Omrah, on whom alone the hopes of Mahummud Shaw rested, was dead, Nizam ul muluck stood unrivalled in the management of affairs. The whole authority devolved upon him, and the king became a cypher in the midst of his own camp. The traitor finding now the power of the empire in his hands, under a certainty of being able to dispose of the king at any time, according to his own pleasure, set a treaty on foot with Nadir Shaw, for the immediate return of that monarch into Persia. So little hopes had the Persian, at this time, of conquering the Mogul empire, that he actually agreed for the pitiful sum of fifty lacks of roupees to evacuate Hindostan.

Sadit Chan, who, we have already observed, was in the Persian camp, hearing of these transactions, used all possible means to break off the treaty. The regard of Nadir Shaw to his plighted faith, was not proof against the lucrative offers of Sadit. That Omrah promised to pay to the Persian two crores of roupees out of his own private fortune, upon condition he should reduce the Nizam, and place himself at the head of the administration. In the mean time, the Nizam, who was now appointed Amir ul omrah, by Mahummud, finding that Nadir Shaw broke the treaty, began to talk in a high strain, and to make preparations for coming to action with the Persians, to which the king strenuously urged him. But the active spirit of Nadir Shaw was not idle during these transactions. He possessed himself of several strong posts, round the Indian camp, and totally cut off their supplies of provisions. The Nizam perceiving that he must act with great disadvantage, if he should march out of his lines and attack the Persians, began to renew the treaty, and offered more than Sadit had done to Nadir Shaw.

Mahummud,



Mahummud, being informed that these two villains, without his communication, were making separate bargains, about himself and his empire, and that he even had not the shadow of authority in his own camp, took a sudden resolution to throw himself upon the clemency of Nadir Shaw. "A declared enemy," said he to the few friends who still adhered to him, "is by no means to be dreaded so much as secret foes, under the specious character of friends." Having, therefore, previously acquainted the Persian of his intentions, he set out in the morning of the 20th, in his travelling throne, with a small retinue, for Nadir Shaw's camp.

A. D. 1739.  
February 20.

The king of Persia, upon the Mogul's approach, sent his son, Nisir Alla Mirza, to conduct him to the royal tent. Nadir Shaw advanced a few steps from his Muid, and embraced Mahummud, and, sitting down, placed him upon his left hand. The substance of their conversation has been already given to the public by Fraser: and, therefore, we shall only observe here, that Nadir Shaw severely reprimanded Mahummud, for his pusillanimous behaviour, in paying the Chout to the Mahrattors, and for suffering himself to be invested in his camp, in the very center of his dominions, without making one single effort to repel the invasion.

Nadir Shaw, after this conversation, retired to another tent, called to him his vizier, and consulted with him what was best to be done with Mahummud, in this critical situation. The vizier told him, that, should he confine the king, the Nizam, who commanded the army, would immediately act for himself; and, as he was an able officer, they might meet with great difficulty in reducing him. But that, should the king be permitted to return to the camp with assurances of friendship and protection,

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tection.



A. D. 1739. section, a party would join Mahummud, that would, at least, be a ballance against the influence of the Nizam.

Nadir Shaw saw the propriety of what his vizier advised. He immediately returned to the royal tent, and told Mahummud, that, as hitherto the imperial house of Timur had not injured the Persians, it was far from his intentions to deprive Mahummud Shaw of his kingdom. "But," said he, with a determined look, "the expence of this expedition must be paid, and, during the time of collecting the money, my fatigued army must refresh themselves in Delhi."

February 24. The emperor made little reply to Nadir Shaw's discourse. He was, however, permitted to return to his camp, and the Persian began to lay schemes to seize the Nizam. One Cafim Beg was employed in this affair. He, in Nadir Shaw's name, made the Nizam many protestations of friendship, and obtained a promise, that he would visit that monarch in his camp. He accordingly, upon the 24th, set out, and was, immediately upon his arrival in the Persian lines, seized, and, together with some great Omrahs who attended him, confined.

February 26. Mahummud Shaw, looking upon the Nizam's confinement as a plan laid by the traitor himself, in order that he might negotiate matters with the Persian with more security, determined to pay a second visit to Nadir Shaw.---That monarch had, by this time, secured most of the Mogul omrahs, one after another, and when Mahummud, upon the 26th, arrived in the camp, a tent was pitched for him near the royal pavilion. The unfortunate Mahummud was carried into his tent, and left for some time alone. A collation was brought him, and he ate very heartily; without betraying any symptoms of being affected with his unhappy situation.

situation. Nadir Shaw was greatly astonished when he heard of Mahummud's behavior, and exclaimed: "What kind of man must this be, who can, with so much indifference, give his freedom and empire to the wind? But we are told, by the wife, that greatness of mind consists in two extremes: to suffer patiently, or to act boldly; to despise the world, or to exert all the powers of the mind to command it. This man has chosen the former: but the latter was the choice of Nadir Shaw."

Though Mahummud was hindered from returning to his own camp, he was permitted to have all his domestics about him, who amounted to three thousand. A thousand Kisselbash horse-mounted guard upon him: but this pretended honor, which was conferred upon him, was a certain badge of his forlorn condition. In the mean time, Kummir ul dien, the vizier, Surbullind Chan, Nizam ul muluck, and all the principal Mogul omrahs, were kept in the same kind of honorable confinement. The Persian had now nothing to fear from an army without officers. He entered the camp, seized upon the ordnance, the military chest, the jewel-office, the wardrobe and armory.---He ordered three months pay to be immediately advanced to his troops, and the best of the artillery he sent off to Cabul.

Upon the 2d of Zehidge, Nadir Shaw moved from Karnal towards Delhi. The emperor, guarded by ten thousand men, marched a few miles in his rear. The Mogul army were, at the same time, ordered to march in two irregular columns, one on each side of the Persians, the front of whose column was advanced two miles beyond the other two. By continued marches, Nadir Shaw arrived upon the 8th in the suburbs of the city. He himself, at the head of 12000 horse, entered the city next day.

The

March 2c



A. D. 1739.

The king of Persia, finding himself in possession of Delhi, called Nizam ul muluck and Sadit Chan into his presence, and addressed them in the following extraordinary manner: "Are not you both most ungrateful villains to your king and country; who, after possessing such wealth and dignities, called me, from my own dominions, to ruin them and yourselves? But I will scourge you all with my wrath, which is the instrument of the vengeance of God." Having spoke these words, he spit upon their beards, and turned them, with every mark of indignity, from his presence.

After the traitors were thrust out into the court of the palace, the Nizam addressed himself to Sadit Chan, and swore, by the holy prophet, that he would not survive this indignity. Sadit Chan applauded his resolution, and swore he would swallow poison upon his return home; the Nizam did the same; and both determined in appearance upon death, retired to their respective houses.

Sadit Chan, in the mean time, sent a trusty spy to bring him intelligence when the Nizam should take his draught. The Nizam, being come home, appeared in the deepest affliction: but having privately intimated his plot to a servant, he ordered him to bring him the poison. The servant acted his part well. He brought him an innocent draught, with great reluctance. The Nizam, after some hesitation, and having formally said his prayers, drank it off in the presence of Sadit's spy, and soon after pretended to fall down dead.

The spy hastened back to his master, and told him that the Nizam had just expired. Sadit, ashamed of being outdone in a point of honor by his fellow in iniquity, swallowed a draught of  
real



real poison, and became the just instrument of punishment to his own villainy. The Nizam was not ashamed to live, though none had greater reason. He even prided in that wicked trick, by which he had rid himself of his rival, and afterwards actually enjoyed the intended fruits of all his villainies. A. D. 1739.

The Persian, in the mean time, placed guards upon the gates of Delhi, with orders to permit no person whatever to pass in or out without his special licence. These strict injunctions were given to prevent the inhabitants from evacuating the place, and from carrying away their wealth. He, at the same time, issued his commands, that no person whatsoever should be molested; but he demanded twenty-five crores, as a contribution for sparing the city.

Whilst the magistrates were contriving ways and means to raise this enormous sum, by laying a tax in proportion to their wealth on individuals, famine began to rage in the city, as all communication with the country was cut off. Upon the 10th Nadir Shaw ordered the granaries to be opened, and sold rice at a certain price. This occasioned a prodigious mob in all the public Bazars, particularly in the Shawgunge, or royal market. A Persian kiffelbath in this market, seeing a man selling pigeons, seized by force upon his basket. The fellow, to whom the pigeons belonged, made a hideous outcry, and proclaimed aloud, That Nadir Shaw had ordered a general pillage. March 10.

The mob immediately fell upon the Kiffelbath, who was protected by some of his own countrymen. A great tumult arose, and some persons, bent upon more mischief, cried aloud, That Nadir Shaw was dead; and that now was the time to drive the Persians out of the city. The citizens, who in general carried arms,





A. D. 1719. arms, drew their swords, and began to cut to pieces the Persians, wherever they could be found. The report of the death of Nadir Shaw flew, like lightning, through every street in Delhi; and all places were filled with tumult, confusion, and death. It was now dark, and the Persians, who had been straggling through the city, returned to the citadel, except two thousand who were killed by the mob.

About twelve o'clock at night, the king of Persia was informed of these transactions. He immediately ordered what men he had with him under arms, and, putting himself at their head, marched out as far as the Musgid of Roshin ul Dowlat. He thought it prudent to halt there till day-light should appear. He, in the mean time, sent for the Nizam, Sirbillind Chan, and Kimmir ul dien, and threatened to put them to instant death, charging them with fomenting these tumults. They swore upon the Coran, that they were innocent, and he pardoned them.

March 11. When day began to appear, a person from a neighbouring terrace fired upon Nadir Shaw, and killed an officer by his side. The king was so enraged, that, though the tumult had, by this time, totally subsided, he ordered the officers of the cavalry to lead their squadrons through the streets, and some musqueteers to scour the terraces, and to commence a general massacre among the unfortunate inhabitants. This order was executed with so much rigor, that, before two o'clock in the afternoon, above 100,000, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, lay dead in their blood, though not above one third part of the city was visited by the sword. Such was the panic, terror and confusion of these poor wretches, that instead of bravely opposing death, the men threw down their arms, and, with their wives and children, submitted themselves like sheep to the slaughter.

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One Persian soldier often butchered a whole family, without meeting with any resistance. The Hindoos, according to their barbarous custom, shut up their wives and daughters, and set fire to their apartments, and then threw themselves into the flames. Thousands plunged headlong into wells and were drowned; death was seen in every horrid shape; and, at last, seemed rather to be sought after than avoided.

A. D. 1739.

The king of Persia sat, during this dreadful scene, in the Musgid of Roshin ul Dowlat. None but his slaves durst come near him, for his countenance was dark and terrible. At length, the unfortunate emperor, attended by a number of his chief Omrahs, ventured to approach him with downcast eyes. The Omrahs, who preceded Mahummud Shaw, bowed down their foreheads to the ground. Nadir Shaw sternly asked them what they wanted? They cried out, with one voice, "Spare the city." Mahummud said not a word, but the tears flowed fast from his eyes. The tyrant sheathed his sword, and said, "For the sake of Mirza Mahummud, I forgive."

No sooner had he pronounced these words than, according to our author, the massacre was stopt; and so instantaneous was the effect of his orders, that in a few minutes every thing was calm in the city. He then retired into the citadel, and inquired into the original cause of the tumult. Seid Neaz Chan, the superintendant of the royal market, for having been active in this affair, was put to death. Kifrah Chan, a brave Omrah, for having defended his house against the Persians who came to massacre his family, but who had not been concerned in the tumult, was beheaded.



A. D. 1739.

The tyrant's thirst for blood was not yet satisfied. He sent detachments daily to plunder the villages near Delhi, and to put all the inhabitants to the sword. Six thousand of the inhabitants of Mogulpurra were cut off for a very trivial offence. He sent a party into the royal market, where the tumult first arose, and ordered seven hundred persons to be seized indiscriminately, and to cut off their noses and ears.

When now all disturbances were quelled by the blood of the unfortunate Delhians, the king of Persia had leisure to pillage the city at pleasure. He seized upon the public treasure and the regalia of Mahummud Shaw. In the treasury several vaults were discovered, in which much wealth lay concealed, as well as many valuable effects. In the public treasury was found in specie, three crores of roupees: in the private vaults near two crores more. The Jewaer Channa\* was estimated at twenty-five crores, including the Tucht Taoos, which alone cost ten. The royal wardrobe and armory were valued at five crores. Six crores were raised in specie, by way of contribution, upon the city, and about eight crores in jewels; all which, together with horses, camels and elephants, amount to about fifty crores, or sixty-two millions five hundred thousand pounds of our money.

Great cruelties were exercised in levying the contributions upon the city. Under an arbitrary government, like that of India, individuals find it necessary to conceal their wealth. Some Omrahs, therefore, who had very little were taxed very high, whilst others who were rich came off with a moderate sum. Many of the former, under the supposition, that they actually possessed more wealth, were, after they had given all they were

\* The jewel-office.

worth



worth in the world, tortured to death; whilst others, to avoid pain, shame and poverty, put, with their own hands, an end to their miserable existence.

A. D. 1739.

Upon the 21st of Mohirrim, the king of Persia celebrated the nuptials of his son, Mirza Nasir Alli, with the daughter of Ezidan Buksh, the son of Kaam Buksh, and grandson of the famous Aurungzebe. The Shaw himself discovered a violent desire to espouse the beautiful daughter of Muziffer Chan\*; but he was prevented by one of his wives, who had the art to command the furious spirit of Nadir Shaw, which the rest of the world could not controul.

During all these transactions the gates of the city were kept shut. Famine began to rage every day more and more; but the Shaw was deaf to the miseries of mankind. The public spirit of Tucki, a famous actor, deserves to be recorded upon this occasion. He exhibited a play before Nadir Shaw, with which that monarch was so well pleased, that he commanded Tucki to ask what he wished should be done for him. Tucki fell upon his face, and said, "O king, command the gates to be opened, that the poor may not perish." His request was granted, and half the city poured out into the country; and the place was supplied in a few days with plenty of provisions.

The king of Persia, having now raised all the money he could in Delhi, reinstated Mahummud Shaw in the empire, upon the third of Siffer, with great solemnity and pomp. He placed the crown upon his head with his own hand, and presented him with a rich chelat; distributing, at the same time, forty more among the Mogul omrahs. He then gave to the emperor some instructions concerning the regulation of his army; to which he

\* The brother of Chan Dowran. He was slain in the battle at Karnal.



A. D. 1739. added some general maxims of government. He put him upon his guard against the Nizam, who, he plainly perceived, aspired above the rank of a subject. "Had not I," said the king of Persia, "foolishly passed my word for his safety, the old \* traitor " should not now live to disturb Mahummud."

Every thing being ready upon the 7th, for Nadir Shaw's return to Persia, strict orders were issued to his army to carry no slaves away, nor any Indian women, contrary to their inclinations, upon pain of immediate death. Before his departure, he obliged Mahummud formally to cede to the crown of Persia, the provinces of Cabul, Peshawir, Kandahâr, Ghizni, Moultan and Sind, or, in general, all those countries which lie to the north-west of the Indus and Attoc. The whole of the treasure which Nadir Shaw carried from Hindostan, amounted, by the best computation, to eighty millions of our money.

When this destructive comet, to use the expression of our Indian author, rolled back from the meridian of Delhi, he burnt all the towns and villages in his way to Lahore, and marked his rout with devastation and death. "But before he disappears behind the mountains of Persia," says our author, continuing the metaphor of the comet, "it may not be improper to throw some light on the character of this scourge of Hindostan." Nadir Shaw, together with great strength of body, was endued with uncommon force of mind. Innured to fatigue from his youth, struggling with dangers and difficulties, he acquired vigor from opposition, and a fortitude of soul, unknown in a life of ease. His ambition was unbounded and undisguised: he never fawned for power, but demanded it as the property of his superior parts. Had he been born to a throne, he deserved it; had he conti-

\* The Nizam was near ninety years of age.



nued a subject, his glories would have been less dazzling, but more permanent and pure. A. D. 1739.

In a country where patriotism and honor are principles little known, fear is the only means to enforce obedience. This rendered Nadir Shaw so cruel and inexorable, that often, in his rage and the hurry of action, he inflicted general punishments for the crimes of a few. Courage, which he possessed in common with the lion, was his only virtue; and he owed his greatness to the great defects of his mind. Had his eye melted at human miseries, had his soul shuddered at murder, had his breast glowed once with benevolence, or, had his heart revolted at any injustice, he might have lived to an old age, but he would have died without the name of Nadir\*.

\* Wonderful.

SECTION



## SECTION II.

## The Conclusion of the Reign of MAHUMMUD SHAW.

**T**HE king of Persia having evacuated Hindostan, the Nizam began to discover his own ambitious designs. His rivals were now all removed; some by his villainy, and others by favorable accidents. Without opposition, the management of affairs fell into his hands. Though he ingrossed, in fact, the whole power, he delegated the great offices of state to others. The name of vizier was retained by Kimmir ul Dien, and that of Buckshi, or captain-general, was conferred upon the Nizam's son, Ghazi ul Dien Chan. He appointed Emir Chan subadâr of Allahabad, which so disgusted Mahomed Chan Bunguish, to whom that government was promised by the former administration, that he left the court without leave, and repaired to his Jagier at Ferochabad.

The government of Oud being vacant by the death of Sadit Chan, that subaship was conferred upon an Omrah, called Seifdar Jung, together with the title of Burhan ul muluck. The Nizam, having nothing to fear from the subas of the other provinces, continued them in their employs. Notwithstanding the severe blow which the empire had just received, no measures were taken to revive the declining power of the crown. This was, by no means, the interest of the Nizam, who now assumed every thing of the king, but the name.

Mahummud Shaw having suffered himself to be divested of his power in his capital, it could not be expected that his authority should be much regarded in the provinces. The nabobs  
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and rajas, throughout the empire, paid now little attention to the firmâns of the court of Delhi. Each of them entertained ideas of independence, and actually possessed a regal authority in their governments.---The Mahrattors, who had, for some time back, made large strides to establish the ancient Hindoo government in India, in the year 1153, made an incursion into the Carnatic with an army of eighty thousand horse, under the command of Ragojee. Having forced the passes of the mountains, they fell unexpectedly upon Dooft Ali, nabob of that province, in subordination to the Nizam, who was governor-general of the Decan. The forces of Dooft Ali were defeated, and he himself, together with his son, Haffin Ali, fell in the action, after having exhibited extraordinary feats of bravery and firmness.

A. D. 1740.

Sipadar Ali, the son, and Chunder Saib, the son-in-law of Dooft Ali, had still considerable armies under their command. But both having views upon the government of the province, instead of opposing the Mahrattors, committed hostilities upon one another. The consequence was, that they were obliged to shut themselves up in places of strength, the first in Velour, and the latter in Trichinopoly. The enemy were, by this means, permitted to ravage the province at their leisure, and to raise heavy contributions upon the inhabitants.

Sipadar Ali, finding he could effect nothing in the field against the Mahrattors, set a negotiation on foot with them, by the means of his father's minister, who had been taken prisoner in the action by those barbarians. It was at last determined in private, that, upon condition the Mahrattors should immediately evacuate the Carnatic, they should receive one hundred lacks of roupees, at stated periods; and that, as a security for the payment of this sum, they should be put in possession of the territory of Trichi-





A. D. 1740. Trichinopoly. One of the terms was, that Sipadar Ali should be acknowledged nabob of the Carnatic. Ali, having thus strengthened himself with the alliance of the Mahrattors, his brother-in-law thought it prudent to pay him homage at Arcot; not knowing that Trichinopoly, and those districts which he possessed, had been made over to the Mahrattors. The barbarians, in the mean time, returned to their own dominions; but, about six months thereafter, they made a second irruption into the Carnatic, to take possession of the territories which had been privately ceded to them by Sipadar Ali. Chunder Saib shut himself up in Trichinopoly; and after sustaining a siege of three months, was, upon the seventh of Mohirrim, 1154, obliged to surrender at discretion.

These transactions in the Decan did not disturb the peace at Delhi. The king and his ministers continued in a profound lethargy ever since the invasion of Nadir Shaw, and seemed indifferent about the affairs of the distant provinces. But a pressing danger at home roused them for a moment. A fellow, from the low rank of a grafs-cutter, raised himself to the command of a gang of robbers. As in the debilitated state of government, he committed, for some time, his depredations with impunity, his banditti, by degrees, swelled to an army of twelve thousand men. He immediately assumed the imperial ensigns, under the title of Daranti Shaw. This mushroom of a king was, however, soon destroyed. Azim Alla, a gallant Omrah, was sent against him with an army from Delhi. He came up with the rebels, cut the most of them to pieces, and slew Daranti in the action. This happened in the 1153 of the Higera.

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In the month of Regib, 1154, Sipadar Ali, nabob of the Carnatic, was assassinated by his brother-in-law, Mortaz Ali, who immediately acceded to the Musnud. But a general mutiny arising in the army, the murderer was obliged to fly from his capital, in a female dress; and Mahummud Chan, the son of Sipadar, was proclaimed suba of the Carnatic. A. D. 1741.

The Nizam, who claimed the sovereignty of the Decan, seeing these repeated revolutions in the Carnatic, without his concurrence, began to prepare to leave the court of Delhi. He settled his affairs with the ministry, and returned to Hydrabad. He immediately collected an army, and, in the month of Ramzan, 1155, marched towards the Carnatic with near three hundred thousand men. In the Siffer of 1156, the Nizam arrived at Arcot without opposition; and found the country in such anarchy and confusion, that no less than twenty petty chiefs had assumed the titles of Nabob. The Nizam made a regulation, that whoever should take the name of Nabob, for the future, without permission, should be publicly scourged; and raised immediately Abdulla Chan, one of his own generals, to the subaship of Arcot; ordering the son of Sipadar Ali into confinement. He, at the same time, possessed himself of the city of Trichonopoly by means of a sum of money which he gave to Malhar Raw, who commanded there on the part of the Mahrattors.

The Nizam, without drawing the sword, thus settled the affairs of the Carnatic. He returned in triumph to Golcondah, whither Abdulla Chan, the new governor of Arcot, accompanied him. Abdulla, returning towards his government, was, the first night after his taking leave of the Nizam, found dead in his bed; not without suspicion of poison from Anwar ul Dien Chan, who succeeded him in the nabobship of Arcot, in the year 1157.



A. D. 1741.

The Nizam in this absolute manner disposed of the provinces of the Decan, without the concurrence of the court, and actually became king of that country, though he never assumed that title. In the mean time, the Nizam's son, Ghazi ul Dien Chan, overawed Mahummud Shaw at Delhi, and left that indolent prince no more than the mere shadow of royalty.

Whilst the Decan, that great limb of the Mogul empire, was cut off by the Nizam, Aliverdi Chan usurped the government of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. This fellow was once a common soldier, who, together with his brother Hamed, came from Tartary in quest of service to Delhi. In that city they continued for some time in the service of the famous Chan Dowran, and afterwards became menial servants to Suja Chan, nabob of Cattaek. Suja Chan, after the death of Jaffier Chan, succeeded to the government of the three provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.

The two Tartars, being possessed of good natural parts and some education, rose gradually into office, and were greatly favored by the nabob. Hodjee Hamed had, in a manner, become his prime minister, and, by his political intrigues in the Haram, obtained the place of Naib, or deputy of the province of Behar, for his brother Aliverdi, who was then a captain of horse.

Aliverdi was not long established in his high employ, when he began to tamper with the venal ministry of Delhi, for a separate commission for the province, which he then held of Suja Chan. Money, which has great influence in every country, is all powerful in Hindostan. Aliverdi strengthened his sollicitations

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tions with a round sum, and, by the means of Chan Dowran, A. D. 1741. became independent suba of Behar.

Suja Chan dying soon after, was succeeded in the subaship of Bengal by his son Sirfaraz Chan. We do not mean to insinuate, that he had any right of inheritance to his father's government, or that the subadary had been established in his family by any grant of the crown, which was contrary to the established laws of the empire: but the government was now so weak, that the nabobs took upon themselves to bequeath their governments to their sons, which were afterwards, through a fatal necessity, generally confirmed to them from Delhi.

Sirfaraz, being a man of a haughty and imperious disposition, soon lost the affection of all his officers. He disgraced Hodjee Hamed, and tarnished the honor of the powerful family of Jagga Seat. Hamed, however, took advantage of the general disaffection to Sirfaraz's government. He formed a conspiracy against the nabob, and invited his brother Aliverdi to invade Bengal. Aliverdi accordingly marched from Patna, in the month of Ramzan 1154, and entering Bengal, defeated and killed Sirfaraz Chan, at Geriah, near Muxadabad, and, without further opposition, became suba of the three provinces.

The weak emperor, instead of chastising the usurper with an army from Delhi, fell upon an expedient, at once disgraceful and impolitic. The Mahrattors threatened Mahummud for the Chout, which, before the Persian invasion, he had promised to pay them; and he gave them a commission to raise it themselves upon the revolted provinces. The Suu \* Raja, the chief of the Mahrattors, sent accordingly an army of 50000 horse, from

\* Suu, in the Shanfcrita language, signifies *Glorious*.



A. D. 1742. his capital of Sattara, to invade Bengal. This force, under the conduct of Boscar Pundit, ravaged, with fire and sword, all those districts which lie to the west of the Ganges.

Aliverdi, who was a brave soldier, defended himself with great resolution. But he owed more to his villainy than to his arms. Having found means to assassinate the leader of the Mahrattors, he forced them to retreat.---When the news of this horrid murder reached the ears of the Suu Raja, he ordered two other armies into Bengal; one by the way of Behar, and another by that of Cattack. The first was commanded by Balla Raw, and the latter by Ragojee.---Aliverdi, not being able to cope with this great force in the field, had recourse to art. He sowed dissention between the two chiefs; set a private treaty on foot with Balla Raw; who, having received two years Chout, evacuated the provinces, leaving his colleague to make the best terms he could for himself. The scale was now turned against the Mahrattors. Ragojee retreated to Cattack, and, with constant incursions and flying parties, greatly harrassed the provinces. The good fortune of Aliverdi at length prevailed, and he saw himself independent sovereign of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa: though, to quiet the minds of the people, he pretended to possess grants from the court, which he himself had actually forged.

We have been purposely succinct on the manner in which the Decan and Bengal were dismembered from the empire, as the facts are already pretty well known in Europe. We return, now, to the affairs of the interior provinces. This subject has hitherto been touched by no writer, and very few Europeans in Asia have made any considerable enquiries concerning it.

During



During these transactions, nothing happened at Delhi, but the intrigues and factions of a weak and corrupt administration. In the year 1157, Ali Mahummud, a Patan of the Rohilla tribe, Zemindar of Bangur, and Awla, began to appear in arms. Ali was a soldier of fortune, and a native of the mountains of Cabulistan, who, some years before his rebellion, came to Delhi, with about three hundred followers of his own tribe, and was entertained in the service of Mahummud Shaw. Being esteemed a gallant officer, the command of a small district, upon the road between Delhi and Lahore, was conferred upon him; where he entertained all vagrants of his own clan, who came down in quest of military service, from their native mountains. In this manner Ali expended all the rents of his district, and he was hard pressed for the payment of the crown's proportion of his income, by the fogedar of Muradabad, to whom he was accountable.

Hernind, the fogedar, despairing to get any part of the revenue from Ali Mahummud, by fair means, prepared to use force. He raised 15000 of his own vassals, with a design to expel or chastise the refractory Zemindar. Ali, by the assistance of his northern friends, who lived upon him, defeated the fogedar, with great slaughter, and thus laid the foundation of the Rohilla government, now so formidable in Hindostan.

Kimmir ul Dien, the vizier, upon receiving intelligence at Delhi of this blow to the regal authority, dispatched his own son, Meer Munnu, a youth of great bravery, with an army of 30000, against the rebels. Meer Munnu, crossing the Jumna, advanced to a place called Gurmuchtisher, on the banks of the Ganges, and found that Ali Mahummud had acquired so much strength since his late victory, that he feared the issue of an engagement. A negotiation, therefore, was set on foot, and, after  
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A. D. 1745. the armies had lain three months in sight of one another, a treaty was concluded. The conditions were, that Ali Mahummud should keep possession of the countries, formerly comprehended in the government of Hirpind, upon paying the ancient revenues to the crown, and that, in the mean time, one year's payment should be advanced in four months.

After this treaty was ratified, Meer Munnu returned to Delhi: but the appointed time elapsed, without any payments on the part of Ali Mahummud. He continued to strengthen himself, annexed more districts to his government, and ravaged the neighbouring countries to subsist his army. He, in short, became formidable enough to rouse the indolent Mahummud Shaw from his lethargy. That monarch took the field, with fifty or sixty thousand horse, and, in the year 1158, crossed the Jumna.

Ali Mahummud, upon the king's approach, retreated across the Ganges, and shut himself in Bangur, a place of some strength, where the imperial army invested him. The rebel, for the first two nights, made successful sallies, and killed many in the camp of Mahummud Shaw. The king, however, having drawn lines of circumvallation round the fort, after a short but bloody siege, obliged the garrison to capitulate. Ali made terms for his own life, and he was brought prisoner to Delhi, where he remained in confinement for six months.

The Patan chiefs, who were always, in private, enemies to the government of the Moguls, casting their eyes upon Ali Mahummud, as a very proper person to raise their own interest, solicited the emperor for his release. The weak monarch granted their request; but the Patans, not yet satisfied, obtained for Ali Mahummud



humud the fogedarship of Sirhind.---This was such wretched A. D. 1747. policy in the court of Delhi, that nothing but downright infatuation, folly, and the last degree of corruption in the ministry, could ever have permitted it to take place. The consequence was, that Ali Mahumud collected his dispersed tribe, kept possession of Sirhind, of several districts between the rivers and beyond the Ganges, without remitting one roupee to court.

We have already seen, that all the provinces to the north-west of the Indus were ceded to Nadir Shaw. When that conqueror was assassinated in Persia, Achmet Abdalla, a native of Herat, who had raised himself in his service, from the office of Chobdar, or mace-bearer, to that of Chazanchi, or treasurer, found means, with the assistance of his own tribe, in the confusion which succeeded the Shaw's death, to carry off three hundred camels loaded with wealth, to the mountains of Afganistan. This treasure enabled Abdalla to raise an army, and to possess himself by degrees of the districts of the mountains, Herat, part of Chorassan, and all the provinces ceded by the crown of Hindostan to the king of Persia. Thus Abdalla laid the foundation of an empire, in those countries, which formerly composed the great monarchy of Ghizni.

Achmet Abdalla, perceiving the declining state of the Mogul government in Hindostan, crossed the Attock, in the beginning of the year 1160, and raising contributions upon his march, advanced towards Delhi, with 50000 horse. The poor Delhians were struck with universal panic. The king himself was sick; and there were distractions in the councils of the ministers. The pressure of the danger cemented all their differences. Ahmed Shaw, the prince royal, Kimmir ul Dien, the vizier, Seid Sul-  
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A. D. 1747. Iabit Chan, and Seifdar Jung, took the field, with 80000 horse, and marched to oppose the invader.

The imperial army left Delhi upon the 18th of Siffer, and advanced to a place called Minoura, ten crores beyond Sirhind. Abdalla's army were here in fight; and both, afraid of the issue of a battle, strongly entrenched themselves. In this situation they remained for thirty days; sometimes skirmishing, and at other times negotiating; but Ahmed Shaw having no money to give, Abdalla would not retreat.

Abdalla, in the mean time, found means to advance some pieces of artillery, which bore upon the flank of the imperial army. In the evening the vizier, being at prayers, received a shot in the knee, and died that night. As he was very much esteemed by the army, which in reality he commanded, though the prince bore the name, it was proposed to Ahmed Shaw, by Meer Munnu, the vizier's son, to conceal his death, lest the troops, who depended upon his courage and capacity, should be affected by that accident. The prince, seeing the propriety of this measure, called together a few of his principal Omrahs, and held a council of war. It was resolved, that the body of the vizier should be mounted upon his own elephant, in the Howadar, supported with pillows; and that in the morning, by day-break, they should issue out of the camp and engage the enemy.

Orders were accordingly given that night to the Omrahs, to hold their troops in readiness, and their respective stations appointed to each. In the morning, before day, the imperial army was in motion; but Abdalla, having previous notice of their intentions, had prepared to receive them in his camp. The young prince Ahmed led the attack with uncommon bravery,

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and



and was gallantly seconded by Meer Munnu, who performed surprizing feats of personal valour.---The Persian defended himself with equal resolution, for the space of three hours. At length, his entrenchments were trodden down by the elephants, and the imperial army poured into his camp. A. D. 1747.

An unfortunate circumstance, at this instant, totally changed the face of affairs. Iffur Singh, the son of Joyfingh, raja of Amere, who commanded twenty thousand horse, rode up to the vizier's elephant for orders, and discovered that he was dead. Iffur Singh was naturally a coward, and only wanted an excuse to hide his head from danger. He turned immediately his face from the field, and was followed by all his troops. The flight of so great a part of the army drew many after them, particularly Seifdar Jung, nabob of Oud. Abdalla not only recovered his troops from their confusion, but pressed hard upon the imperialists in his turn.

Meer Munnu, upon this urgent occasion, displayed all the bravery of a young hero, together with all the conduct of an old general. He formed in a column, and encouraging his troops, by words and example, bent his whole force against Abdalla's center. He, at the same time, dispatched a messenger to Iffur Singh and Seifdar Jung, assuring them that Abdalla was already defeated, and if they would return and assist him in the pursuit, he would permit none of them ever to repass the Indus. The stratagem had the desired effect. They returned in full gallop to the field, and renewed the charge with great bravery.

Abdalla, having almost assured himself of the victory, was, by this unexpected check, thrown into great confusion. Meer Munnu took immediate advantage of the enemy's consternation,



A. D. 1747.

drove them off the field, and pursued them five crores beyond their camp. The loss was nearly equal on both sides; but a compleat victory remained to the Moguls; for which they were entirely indebted to the surprising efforts of Meer Munnu.

A single defeat was not enough to discourage Abdalla, who was a brave officer. He collected his discomfited army, disgraced some of his chief Omrahs, conferred their rank and honors upon others, rewarded those who had behaved well, and, with his sword drawn, riding through and through his troops, encouraged them again to action. The Moguls were not a little surprized, next morning, to see Abdalla, whom they prepared to pursue, with his army drawn up in order of battle before their camp.---This uncommon confidence in a defeated enemy, threw a damp upon the courage of the conquerors. They contented themselves with forming the line, and with standing in expectation of the charge.---Abdalla, as the prince had some advantage of ground, at the same time declined coming to action, and, in the evening, encamped at a small distance.

The second day was spent in skirmishes, and a distant cannonade: but, upon the third, to use a Persian expression, the interval of battle was closed, and the shock was very violent. Though irregular armies of horse make little impression upon a solid body of well-disciplined infantry; yet when they engage one another, upon equal terms, each trusts to the strength of his own arm, and the battle is in general extremely bloody. This irregular kind of attack, it must be allowed, requires a greater degree of personal courage, where man to man is opposed, than to stand wedged in a close battalion, where the danger may indeed be as great, but not so apparent.

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The young prince Ahmed distinguished himself in a particular manner in this action; and Meer Munnu, tenacious of the glory he had already acquired, was not to be resisted. Abdalla, after an obstinate resistance, was again driven off the field, and pursued across the Suttuluz. Here Abdalla, in spite of his misfortunes, like an able and gallant commander, put the best face upon his affairs. He had lost all his artillery and baggage, and being now less incumbered than the imperial army, he made a forced march, and, taking a circuit to the right, repassed the river, and next day, to the astonishment of the prince and Meer Munnu, was heard off eighteen crores in their rear, in full march towards Delhi.

Intelligence of Abdalla's march being received in the capital, every thing fell into the utmost confusion, and a general panic prevailed. Ghazi ul Dien, the nizam's son, being at court, collected what forces he could, and marched out of the city to oppose Abdalla. The enemy hearing of this army in their front, would proceed no further. His troops, with one voice, told Abdalla, That, before they advanced towards Delhi, it was necessary to defeat the imperial army which was behind them. He was therefore constrained to march back towards the prince and Meer Munnu, who expected a third battle: but Abdalla thought it prudent to decline it; and, by night, repassed the Moguls, and continued his rout to Lahore.

A change of affairs at the court of Delhi happening at this time, prevented the prince and Meer Munnu from pursuing Abdalla. They encamped on the banks of the Suttuluz, where Ahmed Shaw proposed to confer the subaship of Lahore upon any of his Omrahs who would undertake to recover it from Abdalla. After this offer had been declined by all of them, it

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A. D. 1747. was accepted upon these terms by Meer Mannu; who, with a division of the army, marched towards Lahore, while Ahmed Shaw returned with the rest to Delhi. Mahummud Shaw had an inviolable friendship for his vizier, Kimmir ul Dien Chan. In the tottering state of the regal authority, all his confidence was reposed in that minister. When therefore the news of Kimmir's death came to him at Delhi, he immediately considered his own affairs as desperate. He retired to a private apartment, and wept bitterly all night. In the morning he mounted the throne as usual, to give public audience; and, whilst every flattering courtier was running out in praise of the deceased, the emperor seemed much affected. He, at last, exclaimed: "O cruel fate! thus to break the staff of my old age.---Where "now shall I find so faithful a servant?"---With these words he fell into a fit, to which he was sometimes subject, and expired sitting upon his throne.

The death of Mahummud Shaw happened upon the 8th of Ribbi ul Sani, in the 1160 year of the Higera, after a disastrous reign of thirty years. The court endeavored to conceal his death till his son prince Ahmed should arrive. He accordingly, upon the 7th day after his father's decease, entered Delhi; being sent for by express from Ghazi ul Dien Chan, who was supposed by the ignorant vulgar, who are always ready to ascribe sudden deaths to violence, to have made away with Mahummud Shaw.

MAHUMMUD SHAW was remarkably comely; of a stately stature and affable deportment. He was no small proficient in the learning of his country; and he wrote the Arabic and Persian languages with the greatest elegance and propriety. He was personally brave; but the easiness and equality of his temper made his actions appear undecisive and irresolute. Good-

natured.



natured to a fault, he forgave, in others, crimes which his own soul would abhor to commit; and thus he permitted his authority to become a victim to an ill-judged clemency. Naturally indolent and diffident of his own abilities, his mind perpetually fluctuated from one object to another. His passions therefore took no determined course of their own; but were easily diverted into any channel, by whatever person was near him.--- "The soul of Mahummud," said a Mogul who knew him well, "was like the waters of a lake, easily agitated by any storm, but which settle immediately after the winds are laid." If his easiness or irresolution in politicks led him into many errors, he bore with indifference, if not with fortitude, the misfortunes which were their natural consequence.

Born in the sunshine of a court, brought up in the bosom of luxury, confined within the walls of a zennana, and, in a manner, educated among eunuchs, as effeminate as those whom they guard, we are not to wonder that the princes of the East should degenerate in a few generations. If to these obstructions to the exertion of the manly faculties of the soul, we add the natural lenity of Mahummud, a common but unfortunate virtue in the race of Timur, it ought not to surprize us, that in a country like India, his reign should be crowded with uncommon misfortunes. Had his fate placed Mahummud in Europe, where established laws supply the want of parts in a monarch, he might have slumbered with reputation upon a throne; and left behind him the character of a good, though not of a great, prince.

## SECTION



## SECTION III.

## The History of the Reign of AHMED SHAW.

A. D. 1747.

UPON the 17th of Ribbi ul Sani, in the year 1160 of the Higerah, AHMED SHAW, the son of Mahummud, mounted the throne of Delhi. The first act of this reign, was the appointment of Seifdar Jung, the irresolute suba of Oud, to the vizarit. This fellow was originally a merchant of Persia, known there by the name of Abul Munfur. He travelled to India to sell his commodities; and was retained there as an accomptant, by the famous Sadit Chan, governor of Oud. He behaved so much to his master's satisfaction in that station, that he advanced him to a command in the army, and conferred upon him his daughter in marriage. His alliance with Sadit so much raised his interest at the court of Delhi, that, upon the death of his father-in-law, he was raised to the subaship of Oud. Though he was a very bad foldier, such was the smoothness of his tongue and plausibility of behavior, that he passed upon the weak as a man of considerable parts; which, together with some knowledge in the finances, paved his way to the high employ of vizier. Ghazi ul Dien continued bukshi; and no other material changes in the administration happened upon the accession of Ahmed.

The war with Abdalla, which was now carried on in Punjab by Meer Munnu with various success, ingrossed the attention of the court of Delhi; for the greatest part of the imperial army was employed in that service. Advices, in the mean time, arrived from the Decan, of the death of the famous Nizam ul muluck, in the one hundred and fourth year of his age; and

that



that his second son, Nafir Jung, acceded to the government. A. D. 1747.  
It may not, perhaps, be out of place here, to give a short sketch of the character of the Nizam, who for a long time made so great a figure in India.

The Nizam, though no great warrior, was reckoned a consummate politician, in a country where low craft and deceit, without any principles of honor and integrity, obtain the appellation of great parts. The dark designs of his mind lay always concealed behind an uncommon plausibility and eloquence of tongue. His passions were so much under his command, that he was never known to discover any violent emotion even upon the most critical and dangerous occasions: but this apathy did not arise from fortitude, but from deep dissimulation and design. It was with him an unalterable maxim to use stratagem rather than force; and to bring about with private treachery, what even could be accomplished with open force. He so habituated himself to villainy, that the whole current of his soul ran in that channel; and it was even doubtful whether he could for a moment divert it to honesty to bring about his most favored designs. If the Nizam shewed any tendency to virtue, it was by substituting a lesser wickedness for a greater. When fraud and circumvention could accomplish his purpose, he never used the dagger or bowl. To sum up his character in a few words; without shame, he was perfidious to all mankind; without remorse, a traitor to his king and country; and, without terror, a hypocrite in the presence of his god.\*

\* Nafir Jung, the Nizam's son, having rebelled, was at the head of a great army. The deceitful old man counterfeited sickness so well, and wrote such pathetic letters to Nafir, requesting to see him before he died, that the young fellow was taken in the snare, visited his father, and was imprisoned.

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A. D. 1748. When the news of Nizam ul muluck's death came to Delhi, Ghazi ul Dien, who was his eldest son, applied to the king for his subaship. But Nasir Jung, being possessed of his father's treasure, raised a great army, and marched from Aurungabad towards Delhi; not on pretence of war, but to pay his respects to the emperor. Ahmed dreaded nothing more than this ceremonious visit from a man at the head of so great a force. He judged that Nasir Jung, under that specious pretext, covered a design to extort from him a confirmation of the subadary of the Decan. He therefore durst not favor the pretensions of Ghazi to the provinces of the Decan, and consequently was reduced to the necessity of confirming Nasir Jung in his usurpation. Thus the storm was diverted, and the new Nizam returned to Aurungabad.

In the year 1161, Caim Chan Banguish, jagierdâr of Ferochabad, having differed with Ali Mahummud, a neighbouring Zemindar, they both drew out their vassals and dependents, and fought about ten crores above Ferochabad, and Caim Chan was defeated and slain. Seifdar Jung, the vizier, being informed of these transactions, sent orders to Raja Nevil Roy, his deputy in the province of Oud, to confiscate the estate of Caim Chan. The deputy rigorously executed the vizier's orders. He seized upon Caim Chan's five sons, together with five of his adopted slaves, confined, and afterwards assassinated them at Allahabad. Ahmed Chan, another son of Caim Chan, remained still alive; and, in order to revenge the death of his brothers, raised the Patan tribe, of which he was now acknowledged chief, and marched against Nevil Roy, who had collected all his forces to oppose him.



In the beginning of the year 1162, the two armies met at a place near Lucknow, called Callinuddi. The Patans were scarcely four thousand strong; but the army of the deputy of Oud consisted of at least twenty thousand. The Patan chief, inspired by revenge, and vigorously supported by his friends, attacked in person Nevil Roy in the very center of his army, and slew his enemy with his own hand. The army of Nevil Roy, seeing him fall, immediately quitted the field. Their artillery and baggage, and soon after almost the whole province of Oud, fell into the victor's hands.

When the news of this disaster arrived at Delhi, Scifdar Jung, the vizier, talked in a very high strain, and requested of the emperor, that he might be permitted to lead an army against Ahmed Chan. The sultan consented; but the season being far spent before the army was levied, the expedition was deferred till the solstitial rains should be over. In the month of Mohirrim, 1163, the vizier, with an army of eighty thousand men, marched from Delhi; and, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, put all the Patans he could find to the sword. Ahmed Chan was not intimidated by this great force. With scarce twelve thousand men he marched from Ferochabad, and met the imperialists at Shuru Sahawir, near that city.

The day happened to be very windy, and Ahmed improved that circumstance to his own advantage. He wheeled to windward, and the dust flew in such clouds in the face of the imperial army, that they did not discover the motions of Ahmed; but ascribed the darkness which involved themselves to the effects of a whirlwind, common at that season of the year. The enemy, however, like a thunderbolt, issued from the bosom of this storm, and at once struck the Moguls with terror and dismay.



A. D. 1749. The Patans made such good use of their swords, that they soon covered the field with dead; and the cowardly Seifdar Jung, without making one effort, was the first of his army who fled. The Jates and Rohillas, though thus shamefully deserted by their general, made head against Ahmed Chan, and found means to carry off the greatest part of the artillery, which consisted of twelve hundred pieces of various bores. But neither of those tribes returned the guns to the king: they carried them to their own forts, to strengthen themselves against his authority.

This overthrow was a dreadful stroke to the tottering empire. The greatest part of the province of Oud was lost; the Jates, a numerous tribe of Hindoos, who possessed a large territory near Agra; and the Rohillas, a Patan nation, who inhabited the greatest part of the country between Delhi and Lucknow, seeing the whole imperial force baffled by a petty chief, began to throw off their allegiance. Seifdar Jung, in the mean time, arrived with a small part of his army at Delhi; and Ghazi Chan advised the king to put him to death for the disgrace which he had drawn upon his arms. This punishment would not have been too severe for the vizier's bad behaviour: but that minister had strengthened his interest by a coalition with Juneid Chan, the chief eunuch.

The queen-mother, Begum Kudfia, being a woman of gallantry, had, for want of a better lover, fixed her affection upon the chief eunuch. She had the address to direct the weak monarch in every thing, and to keep him in leading-strings upon the throne. Juneid Chan, though in no public employ, by means of Kudfia's favor, held the helm of government; and, by his influence, not only saved the vizier's life, but continued him in his office.

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In the course of the same year, a treaty was concluded with the Mahrattors, who were spreading their devastations over the southern provinces. The Chout was stipulated to be regularly paid by the empire to those troublesome barbarians. Ahmed Shaw ordered an army to be levied, to recover the province of Oud; and it was soon compleated by the accession of forty thousand Mahrattors, who enlisted themselves in the imperial service. But instead of putting himself at the head of his forces, the weak emperor, by the advice of his mother and her gallant, gave the command of it to his vizier, that he might have an opportunity to retrieve his lost honour.

Raja Sourage Mull, prince of the Jates, by the acquisition of the Mahrattors to the imperial army, judged it prudent once more to join the vizier with all his forces; so that the minister's army now consisted of no less than one hundred thousand men. Seifdar Jung marched from Delhi, in the year 1164, against Ahmed Chan: but the Raja of the Jates, instead of aiding him, found means to frustrate all his designs. Having spent a whole campaign without coming to action, he patched up a very dishonorable peace, and returned to Delhi with the Mahrattor mercenaries at his heels, mutinous for want of their pay.

The demand of the Mahrattors amounted to fifty lacks of roupees, which the government was in no condition to pay: and the sum gradually increased with the delay. Ghazi ul Dien, who had been for some time soliciting for a royal commission for the subship of the Decan, promised to pay off the Mahrattor debt, upon condition he should receive from the emperor that appointment. Ahmed Shaw was glad upon any terms to get rid of those clamorous and dangerous mercenaries, and accordingly issued out the imperial sunnuds to Ghazi. That Omrah having

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satisfied



A. D. 1751. satisfied the Mahrattors in their demands upon Ahmed, engaged them immediately in his own service; and having added to them a great army of other troops, obtained his own office of buckshi for his son Ghazi, a youth of fifteen years of age, and marched towards the Decan.

The elder Ghazi's brother, Nafir Jung, suba of the Decan, and his son Muziffer, who had succeeded him in the government, were both dead. Sillabut Jung, the third son of the old Nizam, now sat upon the Musnud, which Ghazi claimed by the right of primogeniture. In the month of Zehidge, 1165, he, with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, arrived in the environs of Aurungabad. The forces of his brother, Sillabut Jung, the reigning suba, were somewhat inferior in number, but they were strengthened by a body of French mercenaries, which, in all probability, would insure to him the victory. Sillabut Jung, however, was afraid of the issue of a general battle; and, after some slight skirmishes, he found means to prevail with his uncle's wife to take off his competitor with poison. Thus did the perfidious Sillabut Jung secure to himself the empire of the Decan, without a rival.

But to return to the transactions of the court of Delhi: Seifdar Jung, the vizier, finding that his own influence declined, and that Juneid Chan, the favorite eunuch, carried all before him, invited him to an entertainment, and, contrary to the laws of hospitality, and altogether forgetful that he owed to Juneid his own life and fortune, assassinated him by the hands of Ithmaiel Chan, one of his adopted slaves. Ahmed Shaw, being informed of this presumptuous villainy, flew into a violent rage, degraded Seifdar Jung from the vizarit, and banished him the court. This was the effect of a fit of passion; for the unfortunate king was  
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in no condition, in fact, to exert so far his authority. The perfidious vizier, finding that he had nothing to hope from submission, broke out into open rebellion. He soon after, by the assistance of the Jates, advanced to Delhi, and besieged Ahmed Shaw and young Ghazi, the buckshi, in that city. A. D. 1751.

The son of Kimmir ul Dien, who, in the reign of Mahummud, held so long the vizarit, was raised, under the title of Chan Chanan, to the vacant employ of Seifdar Jung, and began to shew some abilities in his new office. Young Ghazi, who was a youth of extraordinary parts, defended the city with great resolution for three months. The rebels were at last so dispirited, that Ghazi ventured to attack them in the field, and gained a complete victory. Seifdar Jung fled towards his former subaship of Oud, and left his allies, the Jates, under Raja Sourage Mull, to extricate themselves from the perilous situation to which he had brought them.

The rebellion of Seifdar happened in the year 1166. The Jates being deserted by him, were in no condition to keep the field against Ghazi. They fled before the imperial army under Akebut Chan, to their own territories near Agra. That general invested the strong fortress of Billemgur, which he took by capitulation; but so little did he regard his plighted faith to the garrison, that he put them all to the sword. The Jates, in the mean time, came before the imperial army; but diffident of their own strength in the field, they separated their forces, and shut themselves up in their forts. The imperial general also divided his army into detachments, and laid at once siege to the two strong forts of Dieg and Combere, lying in the territory between Agra and Delhi.

Ghazi



A. D. 1752. Ghazi ul Dien, in the mean time, to carry on more effectually the war against the Jates, obtained permission from the emperor, to call in forty thousand Mahrattors, under their two chiefs, Jeiapa Malhar Raw, and Raganut Raw. By this acquisition of strength, the imperialists were enabled to carry on the sieges with vigor. At Delhi, young Ghazi and the new vizier contended for the command of the army. This contest was afterwards fatal in its consequences; but for the present Ghazi ul Dien prevailed. He marched with a reinforcement from Delhi; and, upon his arrival in the country of the Jates, took the command of the imperial army.

The sieges continued two months after the arrival of Ghazi, and the garrisons were reduced to the last extremities. The imperialists, in the mean time, had expended all their ammunition; and Ghazi was, upon that account, obliged to dispatch Akebut Mahmood to Delhi, with a good force, to bring him the necessary stores. The vizier seeing that the strong holds of the Jates must soon fall into the hands of Ghazi, should he be supplied with ammunition, and being extremely jealous of any thing that might throw honor upon his rival, poisoned the mind of the weak king against his buckshi, by means of forged letters and villainous insinuations, that the young Omrah aspired to the throne. The enterprizing genius, and great abilities of Ghazi, gave some color to suspicions of that kind; and the unfortunate Ahmed, instead of promoting his own cause against the Jates, took every measure to prevent the success of Ghazi.

The king accordingly began to levy forces in Delhi, and wrote a letter to Raja Sourage Mull, the chief of the Jates, to make an obstinate defence; and that he himself would soon relieve him: that, under pretence of joining the army under Ghazi, he would  
 attack



attack that general in the rear, and at the same time display a signal to the Raja, to sally from the fort of Combere.---Thus the king, as if infatuated by his evil genius, planned his own ruin. His letter fell into the hands of Ghazi, whose friends at court had informed him of the intrigues of the vizier. Struck with the king's ingratitude, and urged on by self-defence, he immediately resolved upon open hostility. He raised the sieges, and crossed the Jumna, to oppose Ahmed Shaw and his vizier, who were marching down between the rivers.

A. D. 1752.

The king, hearing of Ghazi's approach, halted at Secundra, and endeavoured, by fair promises, to bring back that Omrah to his duty. Ghazi, in answer to the king's message, returned to him his own letter to Raja Sourage Mull. He wrote him, at the same time, that "he could place no confidence in a man, who plotted against his life, for no crime; if to serve the state was not one. What mercy," continued Ghazi, "can I expect from Ahmed, in the days of rebellion, when he treated me as a traitor, in the days of loyalty and friendship? A prince, that is weak enough to listen to the base insinuations of every sycophant, is unworthy to rule over brave men; who, by the laws of God and nature, are justified to use the power which providence has placed in their hands, to protect themselves from injustice."

The king perceived, by the strain of this letter, that Ghazi was resolved to push him to the last extremity. He, however, durst not engage him in the field. He made the best of his way to Delhi, and was so closely pursued by Ghazi, that that Omrah possessed himself of one of the gates; upon which Ahmed Shaw and the vizier shut themselves up, with a small party, in the citadel. Ghazi immediately invested the place; and the

king,





A. D. 1759. king, after a faint resistance, surrendered himself. Ghazi, after reproaching him for his intentions against his life, committed him and the vizier to the charge of Akebut Mahmood. The unfortunate sultan was deprived of sight, the next day, by the means of an hot iron. It is said, by some, that this was done by Akebut Mahmood, without orders, to shew his zeal for the service of his patron; but, from the general character of Ghazi, we have no reason to doubt his being concerned in this crime.

Thus ended the reign of the unfortunate Ahmed Shaw: a prince, who, in his first exploits, appeared with some lustre. When he mounted the throne, as if action degraded royalty, he altogether gave himself up to indolence. To save the trouble of thinking, he became the dupe of every specious flatterer, and at last fell the unlamented victim of his own folly. He possessed all the clemency of the house of Timur; but that virtue was now, in some measure, a vice, in a country so corrupt, and in an age so degenerate. Though Ahmed was not defective in personal courage, he may truly be said to be a coward in mind: dangers appeared formidable to him, through a troubled imagination, which, upon trial, he had fortitude to surmount.---He sat upon the throne of Delhi seven lunar years and one month; and was deposed in the month of Jemmad ul awil, in the 1167 of the Higera.

The power and extent of the empire were very much diminished in the reign of Ahmed Shaw. All the provinces, except those between the frontiers of the Jates, a few miles to the east of Delhi, and Lahore to the west, were, in fact, dismembered from the government of the house of Timur, though they paid a nominal allegiance. The rich kingdom of Guzerat was divided between the Mahrattors and a Patan tribe, called Babbé; the

Decan



Decan was usurped by the Nizam ul muluck's family; Bengal, A. D. 1753. Behar, and Orissa, by Aliverdi Chan, and his successors; Oud, by Seifdar Jung; Doab, by Ahmed Chan Bunguish; Allahabad, by Mahummud Kuli; and the countries round Agra, by Raja Sourage Mull, the chief of the Jates.---Budaoon, and all the provinces to the north of Delhi, were in the hands of Mahummud Ali, Sadulla Chan, and other chiefs of the Rohilla tribe of Patans. A number of petty Rajas started up into independent princes in Malava: Bucht Singh seized upon the extensive territory of Marwar, and Madoo Singh reigned in the provinces round Joinagur and Amere.

The gallant Meer Munnu still opposed the torrent of invasion from the north. He maintained the war with success, against Abdalla, for the provinces of Moultan and Punjab, and, for a short space of time, supported the declining empire. Every petty chief, in the mean time, by counterfeited grants from Delhi, laid claim to jagiers and to districts: the country was torn to pieces by civil wars, and groaned under every species of domestic confusion. Villainy was practised in every form; all law and religion were trodden under foot; the bands of private friendships and connections, as well as of society and government, were broken; and every individual, as if amidst a forest of wild beasts, could rely upon nothing but the strength of his own arm.



## SECTION IV.

## The History of the Reign of ALLUMGIRE SANI.

A. D. 1753.

UPON the same day that Ahmed Shaw was deprived of fight, Ghazi ul Dien released from confinement Eaz ul Dien, the son of Moaz ul Dien, and grandson of Bahadar Shaw, the son and successor of the famous Aurungzebe. This prince was placed by Ghazi upon the throne, by the name of ALLUMGIRE. To begin his reign with an act of beneficence, he ordered seventeen persons of the imperial house of Timur to be released from prison, to grace his coronation. It may not be improper here to say something concerning the inauguration of the Mogul emperors.

When a prince is, for the first time, seated upon the throne, with the royal umbrella over his head, the Omrahs, according to their dignity, are ranged in two lines before, one upon his right, the other to his left hand. A herald then proclaims his titles; and the Omrahs, each in his station, advance with an offering in gold, which he himself receives from their hands. The superintendant of the kitchen brings then a golden salver, with bread, confections, and other eatables, over which the king, joined by the whole court, repeats a form of grace; and then he eats a little, and distributes the remainder, with his own hand, among the nobility. This latter is an ancient Mogul ceremony, introduced by the family of Timur. The emperor mounts then his state-elephant, and, attended by all the court, moves slowly towards the great Musgid, throwing, as he advances, gold, silver, precious stones, and pearls, among the populace. In the Musgid he repeats a prayer, and afterwards divine service is performed by

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the Sidder ul suddâr, or the metropolitan of Delhi. The Chutba, A. D. 1753. or the genealogy and titles of the king, are then read, and he returns to the palace with the same magnificence and pomp. The Mogul emperors are never crowned: but upon some festivals they sit in state, under a large golden crown, which is suspended by a chain to the roof of the presence-chamber, and serves the purpose of a canopy.

Allumgire found himself as much a prisoner upon the throne, as he was formerly in his confinement. He was not a man of parts sufficient to extricate himself from the toils of that power, to which he owed his advancement; but had he made no efforts to acquire some authority, the empire might have been, perhaps, restored to its original dignity and splendor, by the very extraordinary abilities of Ghazi ul Dien.---That Omrah now possessed the office of the vizarit. Allumgire, without the capacity of guiding the operations of government himself, began to turn all his mean parts to thwart the schemes of the vizier. Without considering whether the measure was right or wrong, it was sufficient that it came from the vizier, for the emperor to oppose it by his minions.

This aversion in the king to Ghazi, did not long escape the penetrating eyes of that young Omrah. He knew that he was surrounded by many enemies, and therefore was unwilling to resign an employ, from which he derived protection to his own person. In the mean time all business was suspended, and the two factions, like armies afraid of the issue of a battle, watched the motions of one another.---Nothing remarkable happened at Delhi, during the first year of Allumgire, but the assassination of the former vizier, about six months after his imprisonment, by the orders of Ghazi ul Dien.

\*H 2

But,



A.D. 1754. But, in the course of this year, the empire received a severe blow on its frontiers, by the death of the gallant Meer Munnu, by a fall from his horse. He had, in many engagements, defeated Abdalla, and recovered from him the whole province of Lahore. No sooner was this brave Omrah dead, than Abdalla reconquered all he had lost; and, advancing to Lahore, confirmed his son, then an infant, in the government of that place, under the direction of an experienced Omrah.

The great success of Abdalla, in the north-west, began to rouse the court of Delhi. It was at last resolved, that Ali Gohar\*, Allungire's eldest son, should, in conjunction with Ghazi ul Dien, the vizier, march with the imperial army against the Persians. The treasury was now empty; and the few provinces, subject to the empire, were grievously oppressed for money to raise a force for this expedition.

In the beginning of the year 1169, the imperial army, consisting of 80000 men, under the prince and young Ghazi, took the field. They advanced to a place called Matchiwarra, about twenty crores beyond Sirhind. They found Abdalla so well established in his new conquests, that they thought it prudent to proceed no further. The whole campaign passed in settling a treaty of marriage, between the vizier and the daughter of Meer Munnu. It seems that Omrah, to strengthen his interest at the court of Delhi, had, before his death, promised his daughter to Ghazi; but, after that event, both the young lady and her mother were extremely averse to the match. When the imperial army lay at Matchiwarra, the vizier inveigled both the ladies from Lahore to the camp, and finding all intreaty was in vain to obtain their consent, he, with peculiar baseness, closely confined them, to intimidate them into a compliance. This together with op-

\* The present emperor.

pressing



pressing the provinces, through which he marched, comprehended the whole exploits of Ghazi on this expedition. After spending all the public money in this vain parade, the prince and vizier, without striking a blow, returned to Delhi. A. D. 1755.

The cause of this inaction of the vizier proceeded from advices which he daily received from court. The king and his faction gained strength during his absence; and he foresaw his own ruin, in case he should meet with a defeat from Abdalla. Upon his return to Delhi, he found it necessary, in order to support his declining authority, to act with great rigor and tyranny. Some Omrahs he removed with the dagger, and others he deprived of their estates. He confined the king in the citadel, and did whatsoever he pleased, as if he himself was vested with the regal dignity.

Allungire, finding himself in this disagreeable situation, adopted a very dangerous plan to extricate himself. He wrote privately to Abdalla, to advance with his army, to relieve him from the hands of his treacherous vizier. He promised, that upon his arrival on the environs of Delhi, he should be joined by the bulk of the imperial army, under the command of Nigib ul Dowla, a Rohilla chief, to whom Ghazi had delegated his own office of buckshi, when he rose to the employ of vizier. Thus the weak Allungire, to avoid one evil, plunged headlong into greater misfortunes.

Abdalla, having received these assurances from the king, marched from Cabul, where he then kept his court, entered Hindostan with a great army, and, in the year 1171, appeared before Delhi. The vizier marched out with the imperial forces to give him battle; but, in the field he was deserted by his friend,

A. D. 1757.

friend, Nigib ul Dowla, with the greatest part of his army. The ignorance of Ghazi ul Dien of a plot so long carried on, is a great proof of his extreme unpopularity. The consequence was, that Ghazi was obliged to throw himself upon the clemency of Abdalla, who had sworn vengeance against him, should he ever fall into his hands. But such was the address of the vizier, that he not only found means to mollify the Persian, but even to make him his friend. He was, however, at first turned out of his office, but he was soon after restored by Abdalla himself, who now disposed of every thing, as if he was absolute king of Delhi.

Abdalla entered the city, and laid the unfortunate inhabitants under a contribution of a crore of roupees; a sum now more difficult to raise than ten crores, in the days of Nadir Shaw. The Persian remained two months in Delhi. The unhappy Allumgire, not only found that his capital was robbed, but that he himself was delivered over again into the hands of a person, who had now added resentment to ambition and power.

The Persian, after these transactions, took the prince, Hedad Buxsh, brother to the present emperor, as hostage for Allumgire's future behavior; and, having forced Meer Munnu's daughter to solemnize her marriage with Ghazi, marched towards Agra. He, on his way, laid siege to Muttra, took it by assault; and, having sacked the place, put the inhabitants to the sword, for the enormous crime of attempting to defend their lives and property. After this scene of barbarity, Abdalla advanced to Agra, which was held on the part of the king \* by Fazil Chan. This Omrah defended the city with such resolution, that Abdalla,

\* Though the Jates had all the country round Agra, they had not yet possessed themselves of that city.

after



after sustaining some loss, thought it prudent to raise the siege; but, being exasperated at this repulse, he spread death and devastation through the territories of the Jates, who, unable to cope with him in the field, had retired into their strong holds; from which, they at times issued, and cut off his straggling parties.---The Persian returned to a place called Muxadabad, about eight crores from Delhi. Allungire came out to pay his respects to him; and, by his conduct, seems to have been perfectly infatuated. When the cries of his distressed people reached heaven, that contemptible monarch, instead of endeavoring to alleviate their miseries, either by force or negotiation, was wholly bent on the gratification of a sensual appetite. The cause of his visit to Abdalla, was to obtain his influence and mediation with Sahibe Zimany, the daughter of Mahummud Shaw, whom he wanted to espouse; the princess herself being averse to the match. When kings, instead of exerting their talents for the protection of their people, suffer themselves to be absorbed in indolence and sensuality, rebellion becomes patriotism, and treason itself is a virtue.

In the mean time, the news of some incursions from the western Persia, into the territories of Abdalla, recalled that prince from India. Malleké Jehan, the widow of Mahummud Shaw, and her daughter Sahibe Zimany, claimed his protection against Allungire. He carried them both to Cabul, and some time after espoused the daughter himself.---The Persian having evacuated the imperial provinces, the vizier became more cruel and oppressive than ever: he extorted money from the poor by tortures, and confiscated the estates of the nobility, upon false or very frivolous pretences. To these tyrannies he was no less driven by the necessity of supporting an army to enforce his authority, than he was by the natural avidity and cruelty of his own unprincipled mind.

The



A. D. 1758.

The king and his eldest son, Ali Gohar, were, in the mean time, kept state prisoners. The latter made his escape in the year 1172, and levying six thousand men at Rowari, began to raise the revenues of the adjacent territories. After he had continued this vagrant kind of life for nine months, the vizier, by the means of insidious letters, in which Ittul Raw, chief of the Mahrattors, Raja Dewali Singh, Raja Nagor Mull, and many other Omrahs, swore to protect him, inveigled him to Delhi. But, in violation of all oaths and fair promises, he was instantly confined by Ghazi, in the house of Alla Murda Chan, where he remained for the space of two months.

The vizier having received intelligence that the prince was privately attaching some Omrahs to his interest, and fearing that, by their means, he might again make his escape, determined to remove him to the citadel. He ordered a detachment of five hundred horse to execute this service. The prince not only refused to comply with the vizier's orders for his removal, but ordered the gates of the house to be shut, and, with a few friends, betook himself to arms. The houses of the nobility in Hindostan are surrounded by strong walls; and, in fact, are a kind of small forts. The vizier's troops found it therefore extremely difficult to reduce the prince. He was besieged closely for two days; and, finding that he could not defend himself much longer from the thousands that surrounded the house, he formed the gallant resolution to cut his way through the enemy.

He imparted his intentions to his friends, but they shrunk from his proposal as impracticable. At last, six of them, seeing him resolved to attempt this desperate undertaking alone, promised to accompany him. On the morning of the third day, they



they mounted their horses within the court. The gate was suddenly thrown open, and they issued forth sword in hand, with the prince at their head. He cut his way through thousands of Ghazi's troops, with only the loss of one of his gallant followers. Raja Ramnat, and Seid Ali, were the two principal men concerned in this extraordinary exploit; the other four being common horsemen. Seid Ali was wounded, but four and the prince escaped without any hurt.

The prince having thus forced his way through the vizier's army, issued out of the city, and arrived at a place, called Vizierabad, about six crores from the suburbs. Ittul Raw, the Mahrattor chief, lay encamped with ten thousand horse at Vizierabad. Ittul had been hired as a mercenary by the vizier, to support him in his tyrannical proceedings: but resenting Ghazi's breach of promise to the prince, and not being regularly paid, he now thought of plundering the country under the sanction of Ali Gohar's name. He received him, therefore, with very great respect, and promised to support him.

The prince, and Ittul Raw, accordingly continued, for the space of six months, to raise contributions on the provinces to the south of Delhi: but as the petty chiefs of villages had, during the confusions of the empire, constructed mud forts, whither they retired with their families and effects, at the approach of danger, the Mahrattors found great difficulty in supporting themselves, as none of those forts could be reduced without a regular siege, in which they were very little skilled. Ittul Raw, tired of this kind of unprofitable war, proposed to the prince to retire to Gualier, where the Mahrattors had now established a government, promising to give him a tract of country for his maintenance.

Vol. II. Appendix. \*I Ali  
On the morning of the third day  
arrived to accompany him.



A. D. 1759. Ali Gohar thanked the Mahrattor for his generous proposal, but declined to accept of it.

His eyes were now turned to another quarter. Nigib ul Dowla, who had, at the king's request, betrayed Ghazi ul Dien to Abdalla, was, upon the reinstatement of the vizier in his office, obliged to fly to his jagier of Secundra, between the rivers, about forty crores below Delhi. The prince looked upon him as the most proper person to conduct his affairs. He accordingly took leave of Ittul Raw, crossed the Jumna, arrived at Secundra, and was received with great respect by Nigib ul Dowla, who, however, did not think proper to join heartily in his cause.

To return to the transactions at Delhi: Ahmet Abdalla had no sooner settled his affairs, than he prepared for another expedition into Hindostan. He resolved to support his army with the plunder of that country, and to keep them in action there for other enterprizes more arduous. He accordingly marched from Candahar, and, in the month of Ribbi ul awil, 1174, arrived in the environs of Delhi. The unhappy Allungire applied to him for relief; and, if possible, exaggerated his own misfortunes, and the unheard-of villainies of his vizier. He, at the same time, by his emissaries, stirred up factions in the army of Ghazi, who had marched out of the city to give battle to Abdalla. The discerning mind of that minister soon penetrated into the king's machinations against him. He did not for a moment hesitate what to do; his hands had already been imbrued in blood, and he started not at murder. He resolved to take off the king, and then to let future events direct his line of action.

Though



Though the king was in some measure a prisoner, he was permitted to keep his guards and a great retinue of servants. They pitied his misfortunes, and became firmly attached to his interest. Abdalla, who was near with his army, seemed to give some encouragement to Allungire, and that prince's party acquired strength every day. The vizier saw himself hemmed in upon all sides by enemies; he, therefore, thought it high time to assassinate his master.---He knew the weakness and superstition of the mind of Allungire. He, therefore, trumped up a story concerning a Fakier, who prophesied and wrought miracles at the Kottulah of Feroze Shaw. The poor enthusiastic king, just as Ghazi expected, expressed a great desire to see the holy Fakier. As it would derogate from the reputation of the pretended faint, to pay a visit, even to a king; Allungire resolved to confer upon him that piece of respect.---But he had no sooner entered the apartment where the holy impostor sat, than two assassins started from behind a curtain, cut off his head with a scimitar, and threw his body, out of a back window, upon the sands of the Jumna. It lay there two days without interment; none daring to pay the last office to the remains of their unfortunate king. This tragedy was acted at Delhi, in the month of Ribbi ul Sani, 1174.

Such was the end of Allungire, who, in an age of peace and tranquillity, might have lived with some reputation, and have died with the character of a faint. But the times required uncommon abilities in a king, and the most vigorous exertion of the manly faculties of the soul; neither of which that unhappy monarch in any degree possessed. His struggles, therefore, against the ambition of Ghazi, were puerile and impotent. Had he employed the assassin against the breast of that treacherous minister, justice would have warranted the blow; had he possessed



A. D. 1760. courage to have aimed it with his own hand, a thousand opportunities were not wanting. What then can be said in favor of a man, who durst not make one manly effort for his authority, or resent indignities which he daily received in person?

The perfidious vizier ordered the body of the king, after lying two days expofed on the fand of the Jumna, to be privately interred. He then took another prince of the blood, and placed him upon the throne, by the name of Shaw Jehan.



## SECTION V.

Transactions at the Court of Delhi, from the Death  
of ALLUMGIRE SANI, to the present Times.

**N**IGIB UL DOWLA, who had, some time before the  
assassination of Allumgire, made up matters with the  
vizier, had the address to retain the office of buckshi. Shocked  
at the villainy of Ghazi, or desirous to transfer to himself the  
whole power, he again betrayed that minister, and went over  
with all his forces to Abdalla. Ghazi, in consequence of this  
desertion, found himself obliged also to make peace with the  
invader. A. D. 1761.

These factions proved fatal to the unhappy Delhians. Abdalla  
laid the city under heavy contributions, and enforced the col-  
lection with such rigor and cruelty, that the unfortunate inhabi-  
tants, driven to despair, took up arms. The Persian ordered a  
general massacre, which, without intermission, lasted for seven  
days. The relentless Durannies \* were not even then glutted  
with slaughter, but the stench of the dead bodies drove them  
out of the city. A great part of the buildings were, at the same  
time, reduced to ashes, and many thousands, who had escaped  
the sword, suffered a lingering death by famine, sitting upon the  
smoking ruins of their own houses. Thus the imperial city  
of Delhi, which, in the days of its glory, extended itself seven-  
teen crores in length, and was said to contain two millions of  
people, became almost a heap of rubbish.

\* The tribe, of which Abdalla is the chief, are distinguished by that name.



A.D. 1761.

The miseries of the unfortunate Delhians were not yet at an end. The Mahrattors, who now, without intermission, traversed the empire for plunder, advanced to partake of the spoils of Delhi with Abdalla. Jincow and Malharraw, accordingly, occupied the environs of the city. The Persian marched out against them, and both armies joined battle at a place called Mudghenu Tuckia, two crores from the depopulated capital. The Mahrattors were defeated, and pursued one hundred and fifty crores from the field: but they, in the mean time, gave Abdalla the slip, turned his rear, and set out in full march for Delhi. The Durannies, however, were so close to their heels, that, before they could attempt any thing against the city, they were a second time obliged to retreat.

In the mean time news arrived, that the Mahrattor chiefs were advancing with another very numerous army from the Decan, with a professed design to re-establish the ancient Hindoo government. Bisswas Raw, Baow, and Ibrahim Chan Ghardi, commanded this force, which, independent of the army of Mahrattors, whom Abdalla had already defeated, consisted of one hundred thousand horse. The Mahommedans were struck with terror; they thought it necessary to join Abdalla, to support the faith: Suja ul Dowlat, who had succeeded his father, the infamous Seifdar Jung, in the province of Oud, Ahmed Chan Bunguifh, chief of the Patans and all the petty chieftains of the Rohillas, hastened with their forces to Delhi.

The Mahrattors had now entered the territories of the Jates, and summoned Raja Sourage Mull to join them. Though Sourage Mull, as a Hindoo, wished for the extirpation of Mahommedism in India, he was too jealous of the power of the Mahrattors, to obey their orders. Enraged at his obstinacy,



they carried fire and sword through his dominions, and compelled him at last to join them with fifty thousand men. A. D. 1761.

The Mahrattors now consisted of two hundred thousand horse, and the Mahomedans, whom Ahmet Abdalla commanded in chief, of near one hundred and fifty thousand. The eyes of all India were now turned towards the event of a war, upon which depended, whether the supreme power should remain with the Mahomedans, or revert again to the Hindoos. Upon the approach of the Mahrattors, Abdalla evacuated Delhi, and, having crossed the Jumna, encamped on the opposite bank.

The Mahrattors immediately entered the city, and filled every quarter of it with devastation and death. Not content with robbing the miserable remains of Abdalla's cruelty of every thing they possessed, they stripped all the males and females quite naked, and wantonly whipped them before them along the streets. Many now prayed for death, as the greatest blessing, and thanked the hand which inflicted the wound.---Famine begun to rage among the unfortunate citizens to such a degree, that men fled from their dearest friends, as from beasts of prey, for fear of being devoured. Many women devoured their own children, while some mothers, of more humanity, were seen dead in the streets, with infants still sucking at their breasts.---But let us now draw a veil over this scene of horror.

Ghazi ul Dien found, by this time, that Abdalla was become his enemy, and inclined to the interests of Nigib ul Dowla. He therefore endeavoured to make up matters with the Mahrattors, but his proposals were rejected. He then turned himself to the Raja of the Jates, who was in the field an unwilling auxiliary to the Mahrattors, and persuaded him to desert their cause, and retire



A. D. 1761. retire to his own country, whither he himself accompanied him; Thus ended the public transactions of Ghazi ul Dien, who crowded into a few years of early youth more crimes and abilities, than other consummate villains have done into a long life of wickedness and treachery. Though he did not possess the Decan, the fruits of his grandfather's uncommon crimes, he may truly be said to have been the genuine heir of the parts and treasons of that monster of iniquity and villainy.

The Mahrattors, when they entered Delhi, confined Shaw Jehan, who had borne the title of royalty for a few weeks; and, to quiet the minds of some Mahommedan omrahs, who aided them, raised to the throne Jewan Bucht, the eldest son of prince Ali Gohar, who had by this time assumed the title of Shaw Allum in Behar. But this young prince, had he even abilities to reign, had now no subjects left to command; for he may be considered as the image of a king, set up by way of insult in the midst of the ruins of his capital.

Abdalla being informed of the desertion of the Jates, was extremely desirous of repassing the Jumna, and to come to battle with the Mahrattors. He, for this purpose, marched up along the bank opposite to the enemy, to Kungipurra, a place of some strength, possessed by Nizabat Chan, an independent Rohilla chief. The Persian summoned him to surrender, which he refused, and the place was consequently taken by assault, and the garrison and inhabitants put to the sword.---The Mahrattors, at the same time, marched up upon the side of Delhi, and, too confident of their own strength, permitted Abdalla, without opposition, to cross the Jumna, by the ford of Ramra: but observing him more bold in his motions than they expected, they became somewhat afraid, and intrenched themselves at



Karnâl, in the very same ground which was occupied formerly by Mahummud Shaw, while Abdalla chose the more fortunate situation of Nadir Shaw. A. D. 1761.

Both armies lay in their entrenchments, for twelve days, skirmishing at times with small parties. Abdalla, in the mean time, found means to cut off some Mahrattor convoys, with provisions, and, by the vigilance and activity of his Durannies, to prevent all supplies from coming to the enemy's camp.---As famine began to rage among the Mahrattors, they were necessitated to march out of their lines, upon the 20th of Jemmad ul Sani, 1174, and to offer battle to Abdalla, which he immediately accepted. The first shock was extremely violent: the Mahrattors advanced with great resolution, and charged Abdalla sword in hand with such vigor, that he was upon the point of being driven off the field, when Suja ul Dowlat, well known to the British in India, and Ahmed Chan Bunguish, the Patan chief of Doab, fell upon the flank of the Mahrattors, with ten thousand horse.---This circumstance immediately turned the scale of victory. Abdalla recovered from his confusion, renewed the charge, and drove back the enemy. Should we credit common report, fifty thousand Mahrattors fell in this action, and in the pursuit: but be that as it will, the battle was extremely bloody, for all the generals of the vanquished, excepting Malhar Raw, who fled upon the first charge, were slain.

Abdalla, after having pursued the Mahrattors for the space of three days, returned to Delhi. He wrote from thence letters to prince Ali Gohar, who had proclaimed himself king in the province of Behar, under the title of Shaw Allum, requesting him to return to Delhi, and to take upon him the management of the affairs of government. Shaw Allum was too prudent to



A. D. 1761. trust himself in the hands of Abdalla, and therefore that prince, whose affairs on the side of Persia required his presence, confirmed Jewan Bucht \* upon the throne of Delhi, under the tuition of Nigib ul Dowla, from whom he exacted an annual tribute. Abdalla, after these transactions, returned to Cabul.

No sooner had Abdalla evacuated Delhi, than the Jates commenced hostilities against Nigib ul Dowla. They seized upon Camgar Chan, Zemindâr of Ferochagur, and appropriated to themselves his wealth and territory. The minister, upon this, took the field. The Jates advanced against him, with a great army, under the conduct of their chief, Raja Sourage Mull. The Jates being much superior to the force of Nigib ul Dowla, became confident of success; so that, when the armies approached within a few miles of one another, near Secundra, the Raja went carelessly out, with some of his officers, upon a hunting party. Nigib ul Dowla, being informed of this circumstance by means of his spies, immediately detached a party of five hundred horse, under Seidu, a bold partizan, in quest of the Raja.

Seidu fell in with Sourage Mull, whose party consisted of about three hundred. They engaged sword in hand, with great resolution on both sides; but, at length, the Jates were cut off to a man, and the Raja's head was brought to Nigib ul Dowla, who was then upon his march to attack the enemy. The unexpected appearance of Nigib, in the absence of their prince and best officers, struck the Jates with universal panic; when, at that very instant, a horseman advancing at full speed, threw the Raja's head into their line. This circumstance completed their confusion, so that Nigib ul Dowla defeated them with ease, and pursued them, sword in hand, some crores from the field of battle.

\* The present emperor's eldest son.



The minister, after this victory, returned to Delhi. But he had not long remained in that capital, before Joahir Singh, the son and successor of Sourage Mull, hired twenty thousand Mahrattors, under Malhar Raw, and advanced with all his forces to Delhi. Nigib ul Dowla was not capable to cope with the Jates and their auxiliaries in the field. He shut himself up in the city, where he was besieged for three months, and at last reduced to great distress. However, a handsome present to Malhar Raw saved him upon this critical occasion. The Jates, finding themselves betrayed by their mercenaries, were obliged to patch up a peace, and retire into their own country. These transactions happened in the year 1175 of the Higera. Nigib ul Dowla has been since frequently attacked by the Jates to the east, and the Seiks to the west, but he still maintains his ground with great resolution and ability.

A. D. 1762.

But to return to the adventures of the prince Ali Gohar, who, under the title of emperor, now reigns in the small province of Allahabad: we have already observed, that he, after parting with the Mahrattors, threw himself upon Nigib ul Dowla at Secundra. He could not, however, prevail upon that Omrah to take up arms in his favor. He, therefore, left Secundra, with a small retinue of servants, who lived at their own expence, in hopes of better days, with their prince. With these he arrived at Lucknow, one of the principal cities of the province of Oud, where Suja ul Dowlat kept then his court. Suja ul Dowlat received the king with seeming great respect, and paid him royal honors; but this was only the false politeness of an Indian court; which is always less deficient in ceremony than in faith. It was not the interest of Suja ul Dowlat, who, by the villainies of his father, the infamous Seifdar Jung, had become an independent prince, to revive the power of the empire, he therefore declined

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all



all connection with the affairs of Ali Gohar. He, however, made him a Nasir of some elephants, horses, and half a lack of roupees in money, and insinuated to him, to leave his court.

Ali Gohar, in this distressed situation, turned towards Allahabad. Mahummud Kuli Chan, at that time, possessed that city and province. Mahummud received the prince with friendship as well as respect; for being a man of an enterprising genius, he entertained great hopes of raising himself with the fortunes of the Shaw Zadda\*. After maturely deliberating upon the plan of their future operations, it was resolved, that, instead of relieving the unfortunate Allungire from the tyranny of Ghazi at Delhi, they should endeavor to possess themselves of the provinces of Bengal and Behar, the revenues of which might enable them to support a sufficient army to restore the power of the empire. Though the Shaw Zadda was the undoubted heir of the empire, yet, to take away every pretence of right from Jaffier Ali Chan, whom the British, on account of his villainies, had raised to the government of Bengal, he obtained a private grant of the subaships of the three provinces from his father at Delhi.

Every thing being now concerted, public orders were issued to the neighbouring rajas and fagedars, to repair to the standard of the Shaw Zadda; while Mahummud Kuli Chan raised all the troops of Allahabad. Camgar Chan, one of the principal fagedars of Behar, Pulwan Singh, raja of Budgepoor, Bulbidder, raja of Amati, and many other, both Hindoo and Mahomedan

\* Shaw Zadda literally signifies the king's son: a title by which Ali Gohar was distinguished during the life of his father Allungire Sani.

chiefs,



chiefs, obeyed the summons, and joined the prince. Soldiers of fortune, in the mean time, flocked to him from all quarters, so that Ali Gohar found himself soon at the head of sixty thousand men.

In the month of Ribbi ul Sani, of the year 1173, the Shaw Zadda marched from Allahabad towards Bengal. The particulars of this war are well known. Let it suffice to mention here, that the prince was unsuccessful in all his attempts upon Bengal; and was, at last, obliged to surrender himself to the commander of the British forces, at Geiah in Behar. He received intelligence, soon after, of the affassination of his father at Delhi. He was accordingly proclaimed emperor at Patna; but nothing being done for him, by the British, the unfortunate prince found himself obliged to throw himself into the hands of Suja ul Dowlat, who, in the absence of Kuli Chan, had seized upon the province of Allahabad. The villainy of Suja ul Dowlat did not rest there: he invited Kuli Chan to a conference, and basely affassinated him.

Suja ul Dowlat, having possessed himself of the king's person, closely confined him. He, at the same time, mocked the unhappy man with a farce of royalty, and obliged him to ratify all grants and commissions, which might serve his own purposes. Under the sanction of these extorted deeds, Suja ul Dowlat made war upon the neighboring states, in which, however, he was not very successful. When Cassim Ali Chan was driven from the subahship of Bengal, Suja ul Dowlat joined him, in order to recover his government. He was defeated at Buxar, by the British, and the king being, in his flight, left behind him, threw himself a second time under our protection.

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A. D. 1764.

He hoped, now, that as Suja ul Dowlat's dominions fell into the hands of the British, in consequence of this victory, that they would confer them upon him. But the unfortunate prince deceived himself. He had no money, and consequently had no friends. Suja ul Dowlat was still possessed of wealth: and the virtue of the conquerors was by no means proof against temptation. They restored to him his dominions, and, by a mere mockery of terms, called injustice by the name of generosity. A small part of the province of Allahabad was allotted to the king, for a subsistence, and the infamous son of a still more infamous Persian pedlar enjoys the extensive province of Oud, as a reward for a series of uncommon villainies.---But the transactions of the BRITISH SUBAS in India, will furnish materials for a distinct history. We shall not, therefore, break in upon that subject in this place; as to mention them slightly would be, in some measure, detracting from the fame, which those GREAT MEN have so justly acquired.

SECTION



## SECTION VI.

## Of the present State of HINDOSTAN.

**T**HE short sketch which we have given in the preceding sections, of the History of Hindostan, may serve to throw light on the decline of the great empire of the Moguls in that part of the world. We saw it gradually shrinking into itself, till the race of Timur are, at last, confined within the narrow limits of an insignificant province. It must, however, be allowed, that the uncommon misfortunes of that family, proceeded no less from their own weakness, than from the villainy of their servants. Had a man of parts succeeded the debility of Mahumud Shaw's government, the ancient glory of the empire might have been still restored. The revolted subas were not, then, well established in their independence; and the gallant resistance which Abdalla met with, in the reign of Ahmed, shewed that the Moguls could still defend themselves from foreign invasions.

A. D. 1764.

This, like other great states, fell into pieces, more by domestic factions, than by foreign arms. Even the ministers of the unfortunate Mahummud were men of parts; those who managed the affairs of Ahmed were possessed of great abilities; and, in the reign of Allumgire Sani, young Ghazi displayed an uncommon and enterprising genius. But virtue had fled from the land: no principle of honor, patriotism, or loyalty, remained; great abilities produced nothing but great crimes; and the eyes of individuals being wholly intent upon private advantage, the affairs of the public fell into ruin and confusion.

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A. D. 1764. As from the ruins of the extensive empire of the Moguls, many independent governments have started up of late years, it may not be improper, in this place, to take a cursory view of the present state of Hindostan. To begin with the northern provinces. We have already observed, that Candahar, Cabul, Ghizni, Pishawir, with a part of Moultan and Sind, are under the dominion of Ahmet Abdalla. That prince possesses also, upon the side of Persia, the greatest part of Chorrassân and Seistan, and all Bamia, on that of Tartary. Abdalla, in short, reigns over almost all the countries which formed the empire of Ghizni, before it descended from the mountains of Afganistân to Lahore and Delhi. It is highly probable that, as Kerim Chan has settled the western Persia, he may soon extend the empire to its ancient boundaries towards the east, and drive Abdalla into Hindostan; so that a third dynasty of kings of India may arise from among the Afgans.

The revenues of Abdalla are very considerable, amounting to about three crores of roupees. But as he is always in the field, and maintains an army of 100,000 horse, to defend himself from the Persians and Tartars, he is in great distress for money. This circumstance obliges him, not only to oppress his own subjects, but also to carry his depredations to foreign countries. During the competition of the seven conspirators for the throne of Persia, Abdalla had little to fear from that quarter. But as Kerim Chan has established himself, by the defeat and death of his rivals, it is extremely probable, that Abdalla will soon feel, as we have already observed, the weight of his arms, as Chorrassân and Seistan are properly provinces of the Persian empire.

However,



However, Abdalla is, at present, at peace with Kerim, and has taken that favorable opportunity for invading Hindostan. He had, in April 1767, defeated the Seiks in three different actions, and advanced to Sirhind, about forty crores from Delhi, with an army of fifty thousand horse. It is supposed that Nigib ul Dowla, who, in the name of the present emperor's son, manages the affairs of Delhi, had, as he himself was hard pressed by the Seiks and Jates, called in Abdalla, to take upon him the government. Nigib ul Dowla, by our best intelligence, marched out of the city to meet his ally, with forty thousand men. The armies lay in sight of one another, and they were busy in negotiation, and in settling a plan for their future operations. Abdalla, in the mean time, wrote circular letters to all the princes of India, commanding them to acknowledge him KING OF KINGS, and demanding a tribute. Suja ul Dowlat, in particular, had received a very sharp letter from him, upbraiding him for his alliance with INFIDELS, and demanding the imperial revenues, which that suba had converted to his own use for some years back.

Such was the situation of the affairs of Ahmed Abdalla, by our last accounts from Delhi. This prince is brave and active, but he is now in the decline of life. His person is tall and robust, and inclinable to being fat. His face is remarkably broad, his beard very black, and his complexion moderately fair. His appearance, upon the whole, is majestic, and expressive of an uncommon dignity and strength of mind. Though he is not so fierce and cruel as Nadir Shaw, he supports his authority with no less rigor, and he is by no means less brave than that extraordinary monarch. He, in short, is the most likely person now in India, to restore the ancient power of the empire, should he assume the title of king of Delhi.



The SEIKS border upon the Indian dominions of Abdalla. That nation, it is said, take their name of SEIKS, which signifies DISCIPLES, from their being followers of a certain philosopher of Thibet, who taught the idea of a commonwealth, and the pure doctrine of Deism, without any mixture of either the Mahomedan or Hindoo superstitions. They made their first appearance about the commencement of this century, in the reign of Bahadar Shaw, but were rather reckoned then a particular sect than a nation. Since the empire began to decline, they have prodigiously increased their numbers, by admitting profelytes of all religions, without any other ceremony than an oath, which they tender to them, to oppose monarchy.

The Seiks are, at present, divided into several states, which in their internal government are perfectly independent of one another, but they form a powerful alliance against their neighbors. When they are threatened with invasions, an assembly of the states is called, and a general chosen by them, to lead their respective quotas of militia into the field; but, as soon as peace is restored, the power of this kind of dictator ceases, and he returns, in a private capacity, to his own community. The Seiks are now in possession of the whole province of Punjáb, the greatest part of Moultan and Sind, both the banks of the Indus from Cashmire to Tatta, and all the country towards Delhi, from Lahore to Sirhind. They have, of late years, been a great check upon the arms of Abdalla; and, though in the course of the last year they have been unsuccessful against that prince in three actions, they are, by no means subdued, but continue a severe clog upon his ambitious views in India.

The chief who leads at present the army of the Seiks, is Jeffarit Singh; there is also one Nitteh Singh, who is in great



esteem among them. They can, upon an emergency, muster 60000 good horse; but, though in India they are esteemed brave, they chuse rather to carry on their wars by surprize and stratagem, than by regular operations in the field. By their principles of religion and government, as well as on account of national injuries, they are inveterate enemies to Abdalla, and to the Rohilla powers.

To the east of the dominions of the republic of the Seiks lie the countries which are possessed by the Rohilla Afgans. Nigib ul Dowla, whose history is comprehended in the preceding sections, is, from his power, as well as from the strength of his councils and his own bravery, reckoned their prince. He possesses the city of Delhi, in the name of the family of Timur, together with a considerable territory around it, on both the banks of the Jumna, and his revenues amount to one crore of roupees. He publicly acknowledges the unfortunate Shaw Allum, at Allahabad, king, and allows a pension to his son Jewan Bucht, who, without any power, maintains a kind of regal dignity at Delhi.

Nigib ul Dowla has been known, when hard pressed by his hostile neighbors, to raise 60000 horse; but his revenues are not sufficient to support one tenth part of that number. He continues to take the field under the name of buckshi, or captain-general of the Mogul empire; and though he has not the power, or perhaps the inclination, to assist the king, he keeps up a friendly correspondence with him, and, without any necessity, professes obedience and a shew of loyalty.

Besides Nigib ul Dowla, there are chiefs of the Rohilla race, who are perfectly independent; but when danger presses, they unite with him their forces. The most respectable of these chiefs



is Hafiz Rhimut, who possesses a considerable district between the rivers. The next to him, in power, is Doondi Chan; and with him we may number Mutta Husein, Jacob Ali Chan, Fatte Chan Zurein, and others of less note, who command independent tribes beyond the Ganges to the north of Delhi.

The whole power of the Rohillas may amount to 100,000 horse, and an equal number of infantry, upon an emergency; but these are so wretchedly appointed and ill paid, that they furnish more of ridicule, than they can impress of terror in the field. Their infantry are armed with rockets, pointed with iron, which they discharge in volleys among cavalry, which frighten more with their noise and uncommon appearance, than by the execution which they make. The Rohillas are remarkable for nothing more than their natural antipathy to the Mahrattors, which might be turned to advantage by the British in their future views upon Hindostan: but the truth is, that the Hindoos and Mahommedans so equally ballance one another in that country, that by supporting one, we may, with great facility, command both.

There is a small government of the Patans to the east of the Rohilla tribes. Their district is bounded by the dominions of the present king, by those of Suja ul Dowlat, and by the territories of the Jates. The capital of this petty principality is Ferochabad, which is situated upon the banks of the Ganges, a few crores above the ruins of the celebrated city of Kinnoge. Ahmed Chan Bunguith, who made a great figure against Scifdar Jung, the father of Suja ul Dowlat, rules over this district. Ahmed is more distinguished by his abilities and personal bravery, than by the extent of his power. His revenues do not exceed fifty lacks; but he always keeps a standing force of two or three thousand good

good horse, which he pays well; and, upon an emergency, he raises all his vassals, who consist of about 20000 men. His country is full of forts; and he has, consequently, been hitherto able to defend himself against the Mahrattors, Jates, and Sujaul Dowlat, who have respectively invaded his dominions.

The city of Agra, and a very considerable tract of country round it, extending along the Jumna, from forty crores below that city to within five of Delhi, and stretching back to Gualier and Barampulla, are now in the hands of a Hindoo nation, called the Jates. The raja who, commands the Jates, is descended of the ancient race of the Jits, who possessed the banks of the Indus, as far back as the reign of Sultan Mahmood of Ghizni. From their prince, the whole body of the Jates, though made up of many distinct tribes and sects, take their name; but others, with less probability, trace it to JATE, which in the Hindoo language signifies a labourer.

The Jates made no figure in the Mogul empire, as a nation, till the reign of Allumgire, commonly known in Europe by the name of Aurungzebe. In that monarch's expedition to the Decan, they were first heard of as a gang of banditti, under an intrepid fellow, called Chura Mun. They were then so daring as to harrafs the rear of the imperial army. After the death of Allumgire, the Jates took advantage of the growing imbecility of the empire, and fortifying themselves among the hills of Narvar, spread their depredations to the gates of Agra. Mokun Singh, who, after the death of Chura Mun, commanded the Jates, took upon himself the title of Raja. Their power increased under Bodun Singh and Sourage Mull, which last was dignified with titles from the emperor.

Joahir



Joahir Singh, the son of Sourage Mull, now reigns over the Jates, and is a very weak prince. His revenues do not exceed two crores of roupees; his dominions, like the rest of India, being harrassed by the Mahrattors. He may, upon some occasions, be able to bring into the field sixty or seventy thousand men, but he cannot keep long in pay one third of that number. The dominions of the Jates abound with strong fortresses, such as Dieg, Cumberc, and Aliver; in one of which their prince frequently resides, though he spends the most part of his time at Agra.

To the south-west of the Jates, Mudoo Singh, a rajaput raja, possesses a very considerable territory, and resides for the most part at Joinagur. He is the son of Joy Singh, a prince famous for his knowledge in astronomy, and other mathematical sciences. He entertained above a thousand learned brahmins for some years, in rectifying the kalendar, and in making new tables for the calculation of eclipses, and for determining the longitude and declination of the stars.---The revenues of Mudoo Singh are not very considerable, being reckoned only eighty lacks; his dominions being woody, mountainous, and consequently ill cultivated. He can, however, raise forty thousand men; and he himself is esteemed a good foldier.

Bordering upon Mudoo Singh, upon the frontiers of the Decan, is the extensive country of Marwar, ruled, at present, by Bija Singh, the son of Bucht Singh, and grandson of Jessawind Singh. Marwar, when the empire was in a flourishing condition, yielded annually five crores of roupees: at present its revenues do not amount to half that sum, on account of the incessant depredations of the Mahrattors, its next neighbours.

The next Hindoo government to Marwar, is that of Odipour. The raja of this country is distinguished by the name of Rana.

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That prince, more from his nobility of family than from his power, assumes a superiority over all the rajas of Hindostan. His dominions were formerly very extensive, but, of late years, they have been circumscribed within narrower bounds. His territories abound with mountains and forests, and are almost surrounded by the kingdoms of Malava and Guzerat. His revenues are inconsiderable, and he cannot bring into the field above fifteen thousand men.---In the vallies between the mountains of Odipour, there are many petty independent rajas; Bundi, Cottu, Rupnagur, Jesselmere, and Bianere, being governed by their respective princes, each of whom can muster six or eight thousand men.

The Mahrattors are the most considerable Hindoo power in Hindostan. The principal seat of their government is Sattarah, and sometimes Puna, on the coast towards Bombay. Though the genuine Mahrattors all over India do not exceed 60000 men, yet, from their superior bravery and success in depredation, thousands of all tribes enlist themselves under their banners. These, instead of pay, receive a certain proportion of the plunder. By this means an army of Mahrattors increases like a river, the farther it advances; so that it is no uncommon thing for a force of ten or twelve thousand genuine Mahrattors to grow into 100,000, before they arrive in the place which they destine to plunder.

The present chief of the Mahrattors is Ragenot Raw, the son of Bagiraw. He possesses one half of Guzerat, and all the territories between that province and the Decan. He has, of late years, extended his conquests to all the provinces of Malava, and to a part of Allahabad; having reduced Himmur Singh, raja of Gualier, Anarid Singh, raja of Badawir, Anarid Singh, of Chunderi, and the princes of Dittea, Orcha, Elichpoor, Bandere, and





and Jaffey; all of whom have become tributary to the Mahrattors. They have, moreover, possessed themselves of Orissa, which ought, in propriety, to be annexed to the subaship of Bengal, according to the late grant of the king to the British. Thus the dominions of the Mahrattors extend quite across the peninsula of India, from the bay of Bengal to the gulph of Cambait or Cambay.

The amount of the revenues of the Mahrattors cannot easily be ascertained. They must, however, be very considerable. They subsist their armies by depredations on their neighbors, and are become the terror of the East, more on account of their barbarity than their valour. They never want a pretence for hostilities. They demand the Chout, or fourth part of the revenues of any province; and, in case of a refusal, they invade, plunder, and lay waste the country. Their horses being very hardy, their incursions are sudden, unexpected, and dreadful. They generally appoint a place of rendezvous, and their invasions are carried on by detached parties. Should a considerable force at any time oppose them, they decline coming to action; and, as they invigorate their hardy horses with opium, their flight, like their incursions, is very expeditious.

The armies of the Mahrattors do not, like the troops of other Indian powers, incumber themselves with bazars or markets. They trust for their subsistence to the countries through which they march. They are armed with firelocks, some with matchlock guns, and others with bows, spears, javelins, swords and daggers. They have, within three years back, made some advances towards forming a disciplined army of infantry. They have, accordingly, at present, ten or twelve battalions of Seapoys, uniformly clothed and armed.---All the powers of India being now sensible of the advantages which the British have gained by disciplined infantry, turn their thoughts to a similar regulation in their  
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their armies, and to improve their artillery, which was formerly too unweildy and ill-mounted, to be of any service in the field.

To the east of Malava, and to the south of Allahabad, is the country of Bundelcund, governed by Hindoput. His territories are of a considerable extent and very fertile, and he moreover draws great wealth from his diamond mines of Hieragur and Punagur. He also claims a right to the mines of Sommelpour, but another raja possesses them at present.---The annual revenues of Hindoput amount to near two crores of roupees, including the profits arising from his mines. These he farms out to merchant-adventurers, who purchase a certain number of superficial feet of ground, and they are permitted to dig down perpendicularly as far as they please. Diamonds beyond a certain weight are the property of the prince, who has inspectors, to superintend the works.

The raja of Bundelcund possesses the impregnable fortrefs of Callinger and several other considerable strong holds. He has, notwithstanding, been obliged to compound for a certain tribute with the Mahrattors, who generally paid him an annual visit. Between Bundelcund and Cattack, in Orissa, lie the rajaships of Patna and Sommelpour, which are not very considerable; the country being mountainous, woody, and unhealthy, and the inhabitants barbarous in every respect.

Part of the province of Allahabad is now possessed by SHAW ALLUM, by birthright and title, though nothing less so in power, emperor of Hindostan. He keeps the poor resemblance of a court at Allahabad, where a few ruined Omrahs, in hopes of better days to their prince, having expended their fortunes in his service, still exist the ragged pensioners of his poverty, and burthen his gratitude with their presence. The districts of Korah and Allahabad, in the king's possession, are rated at thirty



lacks, which is one half more than they are able to bear. Instead of gaining by this bad policy, that prince, unfortunate in many respects, has the mortification to see his poor subjects oppressed by those who farm the revenue, while he himself is obliged to compound with the farmers for half the stipulated sum. Besides the revenue arising from Allahabad and Korah, which we may at a medium estimate at twelve lacks, the British pay to the king twenty-six lacks out of the revenues of Bengal; which is all Shaw Allum possesses to support the dignity of the imperial house of Timur.---It may not, perhaps, be unacceptable to the public, to delineate, in this place, the character of that unfortunate prince.

SHAW ALLUM is robust in his person, and about six feet high. His complexion is rather darker than that which was common to the race of Timur, and his countenance is expressive of that melancholy which naturally arose from his many misfortunes. He possesses personal courage; but it is of the passive kind, and may be rather called fortitude to bear adversity, than that daring boldness which loves to face danger.---He has been so often dismounted in the course of ambition, that he now fears to give it the rein; and seems less desirous to make any efforts to retrieve the power of his family, than to live quietly under the shadow of its eclipsed majesty.---His clemency borders upon weakness, and his good nature has totally subverted his authority. He is daily induced, by importunity, to issue out orders which he takes no means to enforce, and which, he is certain, will not be obeyed. From this blemish in the character of Shaw Allum, arose the half of his misfortunes; for the great secret of establishing authority, is to give no orders which cannot be enforced, and rather to suffer small injuries, than shew resentment, without the power of punishing.

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His generosity is more than equal to his abilities, and, too often, ill bestowed. He is too much addicted to women, and takes more pains to maintain his Haram, than to support an army.---But though we cannot call him a great prince, we must allow him to be a good man. His virtues are many; but they are those of private life, which never appear with lustre upon a throne. His judgment is by no means weak; but his passions are not strong: the easiness of his temper is therefore moulded like wax by every hand; and he always gives up his own better opinion for those of men of inferior parts.---He is affable in his conversation, but seldom descends to pleasantry. Upon the whole, though Shaw Allum is by no means qualified to restore a lost empire, he might have maintained it with dignity in prosperous times, and transmitted his name, as a virtuous prince, to posterity. It is with great regret that the author, from his regard to truth, cannot speak more favorably of a prince, to whom his gratitude and attachment are due, for repeated testimonies of his esteem and friendship.

The territories of Suja ul Dowlat, who possesses the province of Oud, border upon those of the king. His revenues amount to near two crores of roupees, out of which he pays nothing to the emperor, though he pretends to recognize his title as his sovereign. Since his defeat at Buxar, Suja ul Dowlat attends very much to the discipline of his army, and the proper regulation of his finances. He has already formed ten battalions of Seapoys, and has made great improvements in his artillery. When the news of Abdalla's late invasion came, he levied twelve thousand horse, upon a better footing than is generally practised in Hindostan. He is now the ally of the British in India, and as his revenues will never enable him to support himself in the field against them, it is probable his principle of

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## HISTORY OF THE DECLINE

fear, for he has none of honor or gratitude, will make him stand to the letter of the treaty.

Suja ul Dowlat is extremely handsome in his person; about five feet eleven inches in height, and so nervous and strong, that, with one stroke of the sabre, he can cut off the head of a buffalo. He is active, passionate, ambitious; his penetrating eye seems, at first sight, to promise uncommon acuteness and fire of mind: but his genius is too volatile for depth of thought; and he is consequently more fit for the manly exercises of the field, than for deliberation in the closet.---Till of late he gave little attention to business. He was up before the sun, mounted his horse, rushed into the forest, and hunted down tigers or deer till the noon of day. He then returned, plunged into the cold bath, and spent his afternoons in the Haram among his women.---Such was the bias of Suja ul Dowlat's mind till the late war. Ambitious without true policy, and intoxicated with the passions of youth, he began a wild career, in which he was soon checked. Stung with the loss of reputation, his passions have taken another course. His activity is employed in disciplining his army, and he now spends more time at the comptoir of his finances, than in dallying with the ladies of his seraglio. His authority, therefore, is established, his revenues increased, and his army on a respectable footing. But, with all his splendid qualities, he is cruel, treacherous, unprincipled, deceitful: carrying a specious appearance, purposely to betray, and when he embraces with one hand, will stab with the other to the heart. Together with being heir to the fruits of his father's crimes, he inherits all his latent baseness of mind; for, if we except personal courage, he possesses not one virtue more than Seifdar Jung.

The province of Oud is situated to the north-east of the Ganges, bordering upon Behar, from which it is, on the one side, divided by the river Deo, or Gagera, and on the other by the



the Carumnassa. The country is level, well cultivated and watered. It is divided, on the north, by a chain of mountains from Thibet. In the vallies, which interfect that immense ridge of hills, there are several independent rajas, too inconsiderable to be formidable to Suja ul Dowlat.

The provinces of Bengal and Behar are possessed by the British East-India company, in reality, by the right of arms, though, in appearance, by a grant from the present emperor. This is not a proper place to enter into particulars concerning those provinces: it may suffice to observe, that Bengal and Behar, including what is called the company's lands and duties upon merchandize, yielded in April, 1766, 33,025,968 Sicca roupees. The expences of government, the tribute to the king, and a pension to a nabob, set up on account of the villainies of his father, amounted to 22,450,000 roupees, and consequently the ballance in favor of the company was 10,575,968 roupees, or 1,321,994l. 15s. of our money.---The British force in Bengal consists of three battalions of Europeans, and thirty of Seapoys, regularly armed, disciplined, and uniformly cloathed; so that we are much superior, even upon that establishment, to any other power at present in Hindostan.

In the Decan the British are almost as powerful as in Bengal. We support Mahommed Ali, as nominal nabob of the Carnatic, while, in fact, we govern the country without control, having the possession of the garrisons and the disposal of the revenues. The power of the Nizam, who resides at Hydrabad, though he possesses all the province of Golconda, is, of late, very much circumscribed. He, however, still maintains an army of 60 or 70000 men; but without discipline, and ill paid they are by no means formidable. He, some time ago, entered into a treaty with the British, but he has, of late, shewn no disposition to adhere to it long.

Hydernaig,



Hydernaig, a soldier of fortune, who, by his personal merit, raised himself from a common Seapoy, to be sovereign of almost all the coast of Malabar, threatened, last year, to attack the Nizam, if he did not break his unnatural alliance with the British. The part which the Nizam will take upon this occasion, will entirely depend on the spirit of the councils of the British on the coast.---As Hydernaig had also threatened Mahommed Ali, nabob of the Carnatic, it was judged prudent to march an army against him in March, 1767; but what success may have attended the expedition, has not hitherto reached Europe.

Hydernaig is said to have thirty disciplined battalions of Seapoys, twenty thousand good horse, and a great train of artillery, wrought by five hundred European renegadoes. This prince having served in person in European armies, models his troops upon their plan, pays punctually, and enforces discipline with rigor. Together with being an able politician, he is a daring, active, and impetuous soldier, and if he is not immediately crushed, he may prove the most dangerous enemy that the British have hitherto met with in the East. He is, at present, the most formidable prince in all India, and he will, no doubt, take advantage of the divided state of that country, and endeavor to extend his conquests.

Thus have we, in a few words, endeavored to give a general idea of the present state of Hindostan. The reflexions which naturally arise from the subject, might swell this work into a volume. It is apparent, however, from what has been said, that the immense regions of Hindostan might be all reduced by a handful of regular troops.---Ten thousand European infantry, together with the Seapoys in the company's service, are not only sufficient to conquer all India, but, with proper policy, to maintain it, for ages, as an appendage of the British crown.---This position may, at first sight, appear a paradox, to people unacquainted



quainted with the genius and disposition of the inhabitants of Hindostan: but to those who have considered both with attention, the thing seems not only practicable, but easy.

That slavery and oppression, which the Indians suffer from their native princes, make the justice and regularity of a British government appear to them in the most favorable light. The great men of the country have no more idea of patriotism, than the meanest slaves; and the people can have no attachment to chiefs whom they regard as tyrants. Soldiers of fortune are so numerous in India, that they comprehend one fourth of the inhabitants of that extensive country. They are never paid one third of the stipulated sum, by the princes of Hindostan, which renders them mutinous and discontented; but they would most certainly approve themselves obedient, faithful, and brave, in the service of a power who should pay them regularly.

In a country like India, where all religions are tolerated, the people can have no objection to the British, on account of theirs. The army might be composed of an equal number of Mahomedans and Hindoos, who would be a check upon one another, while a small body of Europeans would be a sufficient check upon both. The battalions ought to be commanded altogether by European officers, who, if they do their duty properly, and behave with justice to their men, may attach them to their persons, with stronger ties than any troops born in Europe. But if justice is not observed to soldiers, human nature, in this, as in all countries, will and must revolt against oppression.

At present, the black officers of the Seapoys must rise from the ranks. This is sound policy, and ought to be continued. Men of family and influence are deterred, by this circumstance, from entering into the service. These officers are, therefore, entirely our creatures, and will never desert a people, among whom  
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alone they can have any power; for no acquired discipline will give weight to a mean man, sufficient to bring to the field an army of Indians.

The advantages of a conquest of Hindostan to this country are obvious. It would pay as much of the national debt, as government should please to discharge. Should the influx of wealth raise the price of the necessaries and conveniences of life, the poor, on the other hand, by being eased of most of their taxes, would be more able to purchase them.---But, say some grave moralists, how can such a scheme be reconciled to justice and humanity?---This is an objection of no weight.---Hindostan is, at present, torn to pieces by factions. All laws, divine and human, are trampled under foot.---Instead of one tyrant, as in the times of the empire, the country now groans under thousands; and the voice of the oppressed multitude reaches heaven. It would, therefore, be promoting the cause of justice and humanity, to pull those petty tyrants from the height to which their villainies have raised them, and to give to so many millions of mankind, a government founded upon the principles of virtue and justice.---The task is no less glorious than it is practicable; for it might be accomplished with half the blood which is often expended, in Europe, upon an ideal system of a ballance of power, and in commercial wars, which must be attended with little eclat, as they are destitute of striking and beneficial consequences.

F I N I S.

