



A MAP of
HINDOOSTAN,
 Illustrating the HISTORY of the REIGN of
SHAH ALTM.
 Engraved by permission of James Rennel Esq.
 To whom it is Incribed with much respect,
 by his most obedient & obliged humble servant
William Franklin

Revised according to Act of Parliament by Wm Franklin Feb 1794.

APPENDIX, I.

Account of Modern DELHI.*

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

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

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

† Persian MS. entitled Hudeeka Al Akauleem.

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

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

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

* Dow, *passim*.

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

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

بجز کپاه و سبزی کسی نپوشد مزار ما
 ۱۰۹۴
 که قبر پوشنم بریان همه کپاه و بس

الغرة العالیت همان ارا بکیم نبت شاه جهان مرید خواجه کار چستی

In English thus :

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

On the margin :

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Colonel Dow.

† Mahmud Shah.

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

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

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

The modern city of Shahjehanabad is rebuilt, and contains many

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Canopy.

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

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

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

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

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

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

اکر فردوسی بر روی زمین است
 همین است همین است همین است

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

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

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

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

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

APPENDIX, II.

A Narrative of the Revolution at Rampore in 1794.

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

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

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

* About 150,000l. sterling.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† Descendant of the Prophet.

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

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

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

Notwithstanding the secrecy with which the order was given, of

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

gance of his fovereign, whose childifhly expenfive turn he knew would not fail of difplaying its pomp on this occafion. He viewed with affright the embarraffments that threatened him, and hoped, by accommodation, to efcape the impending difficulties, and, at the fame time, by a large mulct, to raife a temporary relief to the exigences of the ftate.

The vizir and his minifters, although from different motives, were united in a defire to accommodate, tempted by the magnitude of the fum* now offered, as Nuzzeranah, by Gholaum Mahomed. But, however ftrong the neceffity of the one, or the extravagance of the other, yet neither would venture on a decifive ftep in an affair fo important, without confulting their allies, the Englifh, who were guarantees to the Jaghire Dar by the treaty of Loll Dong.

Accordingly, the vizir communicated the circumftances of the event to the Britifh refident at Lucknow, who conveyed the intimation to the fupreme board in Calcutta; at the fame time, his excellency declared his intention to abide by the advice of that government.

It was fuppofed by many, that the Britifh government would take no part in the bufinefs, and had they been defirous of avoiding trouble, there exifted a plaufible pretext for permitting the vizir to follow his own inclinations,

It was, however, juftly confidered, that were the Englifh, under

* Twenty-two lacks of rupees.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The seal of Mr. Geo. Fre-
derick Cherry on the part of
the English Company as gua-
rantee to the above articles.
(LS)

The seal of Nussur-Ulli
Khan.
(LS)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

APPENDIX, III.

نامه جناب معالي ركاب چهرت صاحب عالم مرزا جهاندارشاه بهادر براي كتيبي آراي
ممالك فزيكي

يايبي هو جمله اول المصاحف الحكيمه الحكيمه الجليله الجليله وانا فتاح به مي افتر درده
السلطنه السلطانيه القطيبيه البعظام انو از مد سكي مي مطالع الله هس و الله فاتق طو
البح و اشهد قدرتك من السمك الي السماك لرباع استاك ان تصاي ماي مكهد
پيشكي و رسوك الكرم و الله و اصحابه العظام الاله يبي هم اساسي الصوراتنا المشتميم
اما بعسه براي عالم آراي جهان بان فرديرون فر داور داه كرباد شاه عادل معدلتك
كستر ملكي ياز افتاب نظر سبهر چشم مهر خدام دوست نواز دشمني كنداز راست پينده كج
بر انداز سگدزو سگاه حمشيد كلاه كچرخسرو پناه خورشيد نگاه كچو
ان آيو ان بر حسين امشان عموي مكاني خد يو كامكار خسرو نامده ار
نوشيرو ان زنجير دار سبهر افتد ار مه خد متكار صاحب دانتي و فرهنك زبده
اكيلل داه رنگ بادشاه ممالك فزيكي دارشكروه راست بزوه اسمان ككرياس نيك
اساس حق شناس مارك طوق و تاج شتاستنده باح و حراج كهف السلاطين ماجاي النجو
اقيبي لا يريج و سا طبع باد كه اين نياز مند سابق از يبي بر سبل تفصيل مشروحا
بدر كاه كتيبي پناه احوال اختلال ممالك و سعت اباد همدو ستان مينو مكان و
اختلاف آراي آراكيب دولت دامراي عظام زشت خوي مفسدان كوته اند پيش و شورش
غاديان بد كپيش دو رود خود پيش عباد الااوله مستر حشني بهادر بر آي استند
اد مرافق ار شاه اقلاب نهاد حضرت خاتران جهان خد يو زمين اسمان خسم و
كبهان خد اذند ككشور ستان داراب در بان ملك باسپان سپان سيرير فلک
سر بر جم جاه سلاطين بناه طلاله مروج احكام خراج مهر شهبهر عظمت و عروج
طوع عسلم و طبل انعام رحمت حق بر كانه انام انبه قدرت كايي الهي بر روي

APPENDIX, III.

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

EXORDIUM *—INVOCATION TO THE DEITY.

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

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

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

زمین اوسمان اگاهي مسند ارای دین درد و ساده امر و ز تو ائین ملک دملت باد
 شاه ابرقم شاه سلطان جن لکاه شمع قهتلان صاحب قرانی مصباح زجاجه دود
 بان کور کانی شاه فلک قدر کو اکب ساه کز علش مچیه بود مهر و ماه نظب
 گهم رکن سهر ایران خرد انطاب زنی دیزلن اظهار سا ختنه مدت چهار سال که با
 ین غریبیت پیش صاحبان انگریز و برادر غریز نوبل وزیر متوقف مانده من صمد
 داد از جناب ان کشور کشای کیتی ارای باند و از جشمت و ایالت مرتبت شو
 کت دیارت مرتلت افعت دوز ایت درجت طلب استند و ازنده مای کیمی انگریز
 بهادر منم بود و دوئین اشاه فور قتمرو و نساد از اطران و اکنان دورود مرتقه و
 سندها پتیل که ریس روس الله شرار بود در حضور ساطع النور باعث مزید شورش
 شور بختان، فتنه بر داز و بغاه کو نه پین باهین نویسی تازه تر شده و هر چند از
 در گاه خلا پت بپناه با سر دار مر کوز بنصایح هوش انرا و کلات درلت پر ارشاد
 قد سنی پسناد برای تا لیب قلوب کانه بریا و حفاظت عامه له عایا که دوایع بد
 ایع ایزدی اند و آبادی ممالک منخرو سه پویست ان با طل کیش، تاعاقبت اندیش
 اند رز کیمپاماند خسروانی اویزه کوش باطل نبوش نکرده پاهرکس طرح منکا
 صمت انفکند حتی که بارز جها که از قدیم انشا طین وار اکین دولت عظمی بودند
 سیما سر آمد نویزبان، عظام دنده فد و بان عقیاب فیرحام سری مهارج ادو هراج ر
 چپ نکرسو ای پرتاب سنگه بهادر که نسبت و کلابی بصد و بخلص لایف لاکر
 مت و لاو اختصاص راسخ ابر هان عمده ار اکین نظام مهارا حد بچی سنگه دارد
 و از قدیم الله بام قرابت گرفته و صلت بان حاند ان عالشیان از اسلان خواتین
 عالیقدر او شاهان ذوی الا قتد ار دارنده طرح پیچش بکا انفکنده مصدر بچی و
 طغیان کشت بالا خوره لاسب با خورده از اوج عظمت و مختتاری حضور سا طمع الوز
 که بوکالت مطاف سر افرار شده بود به حضیض بز یمت و کوراب نذلت جایض
 خاکسور کشت از و مر این انقلاب تازه سر کشی با غبارن زباده از اند از کشت
 بقطر هنکامه انا غنه ملاحظه نمک حرام پسر ضا بته خان به فرجام غلام
 قانر پیداد کر که پدرش علی الله و ام از حالات ذمیمه ذاتی شورش فطری درس بپیغور
 داشت و بقطر دیگر منفرد ان با طل ثبوره افتاد پیر ان خرابی انقدر زیانده
 کشیده که تا بیابیه تخت هند و ستان جنت مکلن رسیده و خاب کپور ان
 ان حضرت ظل میخانه مغیس انیس متو چه اقلای این آتش دوز ان اند و شتجات

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

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

* A king of Persia famous for his justice.

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

‡ Darius the son of Hyftaspes or Kisht-Afp.

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

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

¶ Goorgaun—the family from whom Timoor was descended.

خاصی کرامت اختلاف علی التواتر و توالی بر ای این نیاز مند در گاه الهی و ز برادر غریب نواب و وزیر و صاحبان انگر بزر و حشمت کورنر بهادر شمشین طلب حمورز پناهین دل نشینی که رهز سَنک از آن اب شوره پنا کبید اکبید تمام عز ایراد یافتند هر چند حشمت و مرتبت کورنر بهادر به ابرام الا کلام ابلاغ و رشادات قد سی نموده شد کورنر بهادر بسبب مجبوری که از طرف آن ولایت پیشه عمومی مَنگاری حکم پیش قدمی نسبت مجبور بودند لیکن برادر غریب نواب وزیر هسم اقدام برون امر نمودند و تسال حکم کبیتی مطاع افتاب سماع که ظر ابوام انرزار سته بی حکم آن عمومی مَنگاری سجا این نیازمند لا جرم کمر همت بطلاق غز مینت مستحکم بستند و نظر بر امداد قبیلی و تا مبد اب لاریبی و تو فبقات یزد دانی و تاید ات اسمانی بوده درین طوفان طلاطم خیز و عمارت بلا اینگز رخشن حرات بمید آن غرهیت متو کلا علی الله امکده مضمار قضیب السف از میا من اقبال بی زوال شانشاهی می ربیم و عازم آن ناحیه جاد صف قلت اعراب و انصار هستم اگر درین و قت آن اوزکی ار ای جهان و کشتو ر کشای دوران حکلم مشکل چه کورنر بهادر در باره نصرت او لبایی دولت ابد مدت و رفتن حصنو ریز نور و آمد اد و تپه کورته پنیان کاید بعید از این قنوت و مید می و مروت نکو آمد بود خصا که یوسیه قلی لاد دام ار ظالمه عالیه شاهان سپهر اقتدار و خو اقبین کورون مدار این حرکات که باعث رقاء کانه عباد و امن بلادو نیکو ناهمی درین روزگار بهادر باشد بسضه شهود پیوسته خصو صاصیت احررت درقت مر خمت جنست پنیو عی که حفرت خود برولت آن خلا فت پناه را بجای برادر مشتق شد و این نیاز مند آن سلطنت دستکاه را عمومی مکنان پیش خود قرار داده بجای این امر کراه عادل وازل ولا یت است اقتاب عظمت و ا جلال از اوج کورون عزت و اقبال لا مع باد

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“ For the rest, may the sun of your majesty’s grandeur and pro-
 “ sperity be perpetually resplendent in the sphere of glory and auspi-
 “ cious fortune.”

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

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

APPENDIX, IV.

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

داد بر باد سروبرگ جهانراري ما
بود در شام زوا ال آه سپه کاري ما
که نه نبتيم که کند غير جهان واري ما
کيت جزوات مزه که کند ياري ما
هست اميد که بخشد کند کاري ما
زود ترياقت تلالا في ستمکاري ما
ست جز مکمل مبارک بغير ستاري ما
کرده تاراج نمودند سبکساري ما
مکلبان خوب نمودند وفاداري ما
عا قيمت کشت بچوز پي خونخواري ما
بسکه کشتند مجوز کرفخاري ما
باتي جوو ستم شد بدل افکاري ما
چه قدر که و کالت نیکو رفتاري ما
هر سه بتند کمر بهر دل از آري ما
زود با شد که بايد بمهدد کاري ما
هست مصروف تلا في ستمکاري ما
حيف باشد که سازد بغمخواري ما
کرد تقد بر ازل روزي ما خواري ما
دفع از فضل الهي شده بماري ما
چه عجب که پنمايند مدد کاري ما
باز فروادهد ابرود سرو سرداري ما

صبر حادته بر خاست بي خواري ما
آفتاب فلک رفعت شاهي بودم
چشم ماکنده شد از جور فلک بهتر شد
داد افغان بچه شوکت شاهي بر باد
کرده بوديم کناهي که سزايش اين بود
کرد سي سال نظارت که مر اداد بر باد
ناربتان پيري چهره که همزم بودند
حق طفلان که زسي سال فراهم کردند
عهد و پيمان بيمان داده نمودند دغا
شهر داد يم به انعي بچه پرورد يم
قوم افغان و مغلبه همه بازي دادند
آن که از اده همدان که بدوزخ برود
کل محمد که زمروان بشرارت کم نست
هم اله يار و سلیمان و بدل بیک لعین
شاه یتیمور که داروسر نسبت بامی
مادهوچي سپند هبه فرزند جکر نبدمن
را چه و را ووز مهدي ارا مبرو چه فقير
حالا ما کشته بتره چو امامان زيرند
بود جانکاه زروماله جهان همچو مرض
آصف الدوله وانگريز که دلسوز من اند
آفتاب از فلک امروز تبا هي ديدي

APPENDIX, IV.

*Free Translation, in Verse, of an Elegy composed by Shab-Aulum
after the loss of his Sight, as quoted in chapter 10th, page 180.*

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

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

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

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

* Gholaum Caudir Khan.

† Munfoor Ali Khan, superintendant of the household.

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

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

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

† Afuf Al Dowla, vizir of the empire.

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

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

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

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

CONTAINING
THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE COURT OF DELHI,
AND THE NEIGHBOURING STATES, DURING A
PERIOD OF THIRTY-SIX YEARS:

INTERSPERSED WITH
GEOGRAPHICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL OBSERVATIONS ON
SEVERAL OF THE PRINCIPAL CITIES OF HINDOSTAUN.

VIZ AN
APPENDIX,

CONTAINING THE FOLLOWING TRACTS, VIZ.

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| I. An Account of <i>Modern Delhi</i> . | | <i>Delhi</i> , to his Majesty <i>George the Third</i> , King of <i>Great Britain</i> , in the Year 1785: with a Copy of the Original. |
| II. A Narrative of the late Revolution at <i>Rampore</i> , in <i>Rohitcuna</i> , in 1794. | | IV. Translation in Verse of an Elegy, written by the King of <i>Delhi</i> after the Loss of his Sight. |
| III. Translation of a Letter, written in the <i>Persian</i> Language, from the Prince <i>Mirza Jehaun Bukht Jehaundar Shah</i> , eldest Son of the King of | | |

BY W. FRANCKLIN,

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

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PREFACE.

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

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

who will sit on the throne of Hindostaun) cannot, it is presumed, fail to prove acceptable to a British reader.

A long residence in India has afforded the author frequent opportunities of acquiring much local information; and most of the geographical remarks were obtained by him on the spot, while on a survey, ordered by the Bengal government, through the Doo Ab* and adjacent countries in 1793-4; and on a similar occasion through the province of Rohilcund in 1795-6.

The perusal of the several Persian manuscripts named in the Appendix, and particularly the Shah Aulum Nameh, (a history of the reign of the present king) written by Gholaum Ali, a learned

* A country lying betwixt the rivers Ganges and Jumna.

PREFACE.

xix

native, afforded the author ample materials for relating such transactions as took place within the authority and influence of the court at Delhi: and to his friends, on various occasions, he is happy to acknowledge his grateful obligations.

To Major Charles Reynolds, surveyor-general of the Bombay establishment, Mr. Johnstone of Lucknow, Major Kirkpatrick, Colonel Palmer, and Captain Salkeld, of the Bengal establishment, he begs leave to offer his hearty acknowledgements for the readiness with which they supplied him with a variety of interesting documents for the present work.

Such are the materials from which the History of the Reign of Shah-Aulum has been compiled; conscious, that notwithstanding the pains and care which have been bestowed on it to attain perfection,

numerous errors and inaccuracies may have crept in, the author trusts that the authenticity of the matter it contains, will, in a great measure, counterbalance its defects, and he therefore cheerfully delivers it to the public, with the diffidence naturally attendant on a first attempt in this arduous branch of literature.

LONDON,
Bedford Street, Bedford Square,
March 15, 1798.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

CHAP. I.

<i>A NARRATIVE of the principal occurrences and revolutions of the court of Shahjehanabad from the reign of Mahmud Shah</i>	Pages
- - - - -	-----

CHAP. II.

<i>Shah-Aulum resides at Allababad—Nejeeb Al Dowla at Delhi —Succinct account of the Marbattas—The Marbattas invite the king to return to Delhi—Negotiations—King sets out— Arrival at Delhi</i>	39
- - - - -	-----

CHAP. III.

<i>Proceedings against Zabita Khan—The Marbattas refuse to divide the plunder—Nujuff* Khan in high favour—He quarrels with the Marbattas—His defeat—Pardoned—Cession of Corah and Allababad to the Marbattas—Marbattas retire to Deccan</i>	48
- - - - -	-----

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

CHAP. IV.

	Pages
<i>Administration of Nujuff Khan---Conquests in the Jaut country</i>	
<i>---Rupture betwixt Shuja Al Dowla and the Robillas---Reduction of Robilcund---Description of that country---Death of Shuja Al Dowla---Account of the Oude family</i>	67

CHAP. V.

<i>Return of the captain general to Delhi---Accession of Asuf Al Dowla---Embassy of Illuj Khan to Delhi---Proceedings against Zabita Khan---Defeat of the king's troops---Zabita Khan unites with the Seiks---Succinct account of that nation</i>	
<i>---Occurrences</i>	79

CHAP. VI.

<i>Revolt of the Rajah of Jypore---Succinct account of the principalities of Oudipore, Joudpore, Jypore---The king marches to Jypore---Taking of Narnoul and Dhansney---Disgrace of Mujud Al Dowla---Death and Character of Nujuff Khan</i>	100
---	-----

CHAP. VII.

<i>Transactions at court subsequent to the death of Zulfcār Al Dowla---Afrasiab Khan appointed minister---Dissensions among the Mogul lords---Elevation of Mirza Shuffee Khan---Intrigues---He is assassinated before Deig---Re-appointment of Afrasiab Khan---Reflections</i>	118
--	-----

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

CHAP. VIII.

	Pages
<i>Rise and progress of Madhajeo Sindiah, ruler of Malwah, from the establishment of his family in that province until his interference in the politics of the court of Delhi---Intrigues of Afrafiab Khan---His death and character---Sindiah is made prime minister</i>	133

CHAP. IX.

<i>Occurrences at court---War against Jypore---Intrigues of the Mogul Nobility---Sindiah is defeated---Retires across the Chumbul---Intrigues of Gholaum Caudir Khan---Account of Begum Somroo---Gholaum Cadir Khan besteges the palace---He is repulsed, and pardoned---Prince Mirza Juvvaun Bukht---Review of his Life---Death and Character</i>	162.
--	------

CHAP. X.

<i>Arrival of Ranah Khan in the Doo Ab---Affairs in the Jypore province---Spirited conduct of Begum Somroo---Occurrences---Ismaeel Beg is defeated---Junction of that chief with Gholaum Caudir Khan---Their Intrigues---Shah-Aulum is dethroned---Occurrences---Conclusion</i>	196.
---	------

APPENDIX, I.

<i>An account of modern Delhi</i>	199.
-----------------------------------	------

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

APPENDIX, II.

	Pages
<i>A narrative of the late revolution at Rampore, in Robilcund,</i>	
<i>in 1794 - - - - -</i>	216

APPENDIX, III.

<i>Translation of a letter, written in the Persian language, from the prince Mirza Fuwaun Bukht Jahaundar Shab, eldest son of the king of Delhi, to his majesty George the Third, king of Great Britain, written in the year 1785: with a copy of the original - - - - -</i>	243
--	-----

APPENDIX, III.

<i>Translation in verse of an elegy written by the king of Delhi after the loss of his sight: with a copy of the original -</i>	250
---	-----