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AN
HISTORICAL RELATION
OF THE
ORIGIN, PROGRESS, AND FINAL DISSOLUTION
OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE
ROHILLA AFGANS
IN THE
NORTHERN PROVINCES
OF
HINDOSTAN.

Compiled from a PERSIAN MANUSCRIPT and other
ORIGINAL PAPERS:

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An Officer in the Service of the Honourable EAST-INDIA
COMPANY on the BENGAL Establishment.

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MDCCLXXXVII.

ENTERED AT STATIONERS HALL,

P R E F A C E.

THE following concise history of a People, who, for some time, made no inconsiderable figure in Hindostan, after a delay of many years, is at length presented to the world, at a period when the passions and interests of men being no longer concerned in any of the events of which it treats, it may possibly meet with a more impartial and indulgent reception, than it might otherwise have been supposed entitled to.

But, as some particulars contained in it have been the subject of much acrimoni-

ous discussion, both in England and in India, it may not be improper that the writer should previously state the circumstances which, by possessing him of the materials, first led him at all to think of such a composition, as this may serve to convince the candid reader, that, in venturing to obtrude this little production upon his attention, he is not actuated by any sinister views, nor by that spirit of party, which, unhappily, but too much prevails, even in matters where it ought least to be met with, and where it is most prejudicial to the advancement of truth and knowledge; and, in doing this, he will endeavour to shun, as much as possible, unnecessary egotism, although it must unavoidably compel him to touch upon subjects which would otherwise be altogether foreign and improper.

Soon

Soon after the author's first appointment into the India Company's service (about fifteen years ago) he applied himself, with some assiduity, to the study of the oriental languages, particularly of that grand medium of all correspondence and negotiation in India, the *Persian*; about three years after, he had the honour to be called upon by the officer then commanding that portion of the Bengal army which was on the field station, (who is now in England) for his assistance in that particular department, for which he had by this time qualified himself, to wit, *translation and country correspondence*: Here, as a new field of investigation and inquiry was opened to him, in the probability that he might, in the course of his duty, have the management of political business frequently committed to his charge, he was anxious to acquire such a degree of know-

ledge of the history and connections of the neighbouring states, as might enable him to execute matters of that kind in a manner worthy of so important a trust.—It was, at the same time, his fortune to meet with a person of some consequence, who was an Afgan, then acting on the part of the Rohilla Chief Fyzoola Khan, in a confidential capacity ; and from this person he procured, (among a number of other valuable papers,) a Persian manuscript, containing a compleat relation of the whole Rohilla story, from the first foundation of their power, to the battle of Cutterah, fought between the Rohillas and the Allied army of the Company's and Visier's troops, on the 23d of April, 1774, which, by the defeat of the former, put an end at once to their government and independance.

Pregnant

Pregnant as this appeared to be with many singularly striking and interesting events, the then *recent* transactions had, moreover, rendered it an object of particular curiosity, and these considerations alone were sufficient to induce the writer to employ his first leisure hours in arranging and turning it into English : this determination he forthwith proceeded to execute, and, about ten years ago translated the following narrative, in a form and substance little different from that in which, with becoming diffidence, he now submits it to the public eye.

With respect to the motives which induced the writer so long to withhold this compilation, before he would hazard to commit it to the judgement of the world, he will not offer to encroach upon the patience of his readers, by mentioning the

common-place topics so often used by many before him, such as, that “ the
“ work was originally written with no
“ other view than merely the amusement
“ of a few friends,” and so forth ; declarations, which are commonly as insufficient to cover the vanity of an author, as to impose upon the penetration of others : —In truth, he always regarded the matter contained in this little tract as by no means unworthy of being made known ; but yet, in a point of such moment, he wished not to act with a rashness of which he might afterwards have sufficient occasion to repent : nor was he, indeed, less deterred by an apprehension that, were it to come forth at a period when the contest of opposite factions, respecting the affairs of India, had agitated men’s minds to an uncommon degree of animosity, or whilst the decision of the Legislature upon the
most

most interesting part of its subject was yet pending, it might have been regarded as a frivolous FARRAGO, vamped up merely to serve the purpose of the hour; and, as such, have drawn upon its author suspicions, which, he trusts, cannot, with any support of probability, be imputed to him at present.

The particular reasons which were, for so considerable a period, obstructive to his wishes and intentions have at length ceased to exist:—Those events of the following story in which the *English* were any way concerned have been fully canvassed before the highest human tribunal; and a judgment from which there lies no appeal seems to have been already passed upon it.—Neither are the different parties who were principally interested in its discussion now any longer in a situation to excite the hopes

hopes of partizans, or the apprehensions of opponents; so that the writer of this little tract presumes he may stand fairly acquitted of any undue bias in the production of it.

But, whilst solemnly disavowing any interest whatsoever in the views either of parties or of individuals in this publication, yet will he venture to confess that he is not altogether indifferent in the motives which have led him to it! Concerned for the honour of his country, and anxious for the reputation of a service in which he has spent the flower of his life, he would willingly, if possible, remove even in a single instance, some part of that horrid odium which has of late years, for whatever purpose, been so sedulously excited against those devoted men who, at the expence of all the most comfortable enjoyments

ments of existence, are rendering the public no unimportant nor unmeritorious (though certainly very *thankless*) services in India.

Here, perhaps, the writer might be tempted to enlarge somewhat beyond the bounds which the confined nature of his subject prescribes to him, were it not that, in such a discussion it would be scarcely possible to avoid animadversions which, in the eyes of *some*, would bear the construction of sinister design or of personal invective, rather than of the sober investigation of truth.—Much *abstracted* reasoning, indeed, might be advanced on the absurd *improbability* of the very gross and universal depravity, which has been declared to contaminate the minds of our countrymen in that department of the empire, where they have been depicted,
not

not in the characters of *men*, but of *savages* more fell than the tygers of the region in which they reside. But, in a case of general prepossessions, derived, in many instances, from sources which ought always to *deserve* to be regarded as of the highest authority, it is necessary that time should be allowed for the force of immediate interests to be weakened, and the virulence of contending parties to subside, ere it can be supposed that the admonitions of sober, unimpassioned reason should have any operation in their cure.—He will, therefore, only touch upon this matter at a distance, and merely so far as respects those operations of the English which form a part of the subject of this narrative.

Of all the events which have been made use of for the purposes of crimination
against

against the servants of the East-India Company, none have made a greater figure, either in the national proceedings, or in the perishable publications of the day, than the *Robilla War*, and various efforts have been made to paint both the conduct and the consequences of it in the most horrible colours.

When, in the perusal of history, we read of *whole nations* being *extirpated* by the Goths, or *rooted out* by the Vandals, we picture to ourselves a country invaded by a band of fierce and savage conquerors, who pursue the hapless inhabitants with indiscriminate massacre, carry off the few they spare from the sword into perpetual captivity, and proceed in their destructive career, until the whole territory exhibits nothing but a dreary, silent waste!

Similar

Similar to this is the opinion which, (from the force and extent of the expressions that have been applied to it) have been, by many, conceived of the conquest of Rohilcund.

God forbid that *British troops* should ever be employed in acts of such detestable atrocity!—With respect to those in particular who effected that revolution, it may with confidence be affirmed, that, however high their sense of subordination, however ready at all times to obey the most perilous orders of their superiors, had such a service been allotted to them, they would have turned from it with abhorrence!

To confute aspersions so cruelly injurious to these gallant men is, it must be owned, one, and that not the least, of the author's aims; an aim which, when guided by
truth,

truth, he conceives to be neither blameable nor dishonourable.—He means not, however, to call in the aid of *argument* for this purpose: the *facts* follow, and will speak for themselves: neither is it his business or his intention to enter into any discussion of the principles upon which this celebrated expedition was undertaken, as this point must be referred to a judgment to be formed upon the same grounds: if they were *wrong*, nothing he could here advance would suffice to justify them; if *right*, it is not in his power to arraign them.

Having premised thus much with respect to the circumstances which originally led to this compilation, and the motives for the present production of it, it may not be improper to subjoin a few observations upon the work itself.

The

The difficulty of collecting materials capable of forming a regular, connected, and authentic detail of events in the northern parts of Hindostan within the last century, must be well known to all who have ever made such an inquiry the object of their pursuit: the universal decline of learning in the empire within that period, has affected *history* in particular; in the few crude productions of this kind which are to be found, the *dates* of the most important events are generally misplaced, and often entirely omitted; and it frequently happens that no two authors, in the relation of the most momentous and interesting facts, exactly coincide in the points of place and circumstance:—the writer is therefore sensible that his work must contain some anachronisms, and perhaps, in a few places, deviations from the relations of others; the *former* of
these

these he has as much as possible studied to avoid or rectify ; and with respect to the *latter*, none that he has been able to discover appear of any manner of moment ; indeed, he has been the less solicitous upon this head, as he depends much upon the authority of the person under whose inspection (as he has before intimated) the Persian manuscript, which forms the chief ground of the work, was drawn up ; whose knowledge of the subject must be naturally supposed to be accurate and extensive, as he was a *Robilla*, a confidential servant of one of their chiefs, and had himself been personally engaged in many of the events related in it.

The narrative is preceded by a short view of the actual state of the districts of Hindostan, subject to the Mussulman governments, as they stood at the period of the

B important

important revolutions which have been effected by the unparalleled success of the English : this sketch will, probably, be regarded as very slight and imperfect, considering the magnitude of the subject ; the writer, however, is encouraged to offer it, not only as it may tend in general to the illustration of what follows, but also as it may serve to obviate certain misconceptions which have been, with vast labour and ingenuity, raised in the minds of the public, and to evince with what peculiar ease political revolutions may be brought about in those countries, without inducing any of the dreadful consequences which have been solemnly pronounced (in a place and from an authority too high to be here mentioned) as the constant and necessary result of them.

An appendix is also given, containing
copies

copies of such original papers as may serve the more fully to exhibit the leading circumstances of the first rupture between our Ally the Vizier Suja-al Dowlah, and the Rohillas, as well as of the treaties of peace which put a period to the calamities those countries, both from their natural and political situation, had for many years been subject to.

In the original draft of the work, it was termed a *Translation*; both as it was, in fact, in a great measure literally so, (from the manuscript, as already mentioned) and also, because the writer thought he could thus best cover its blemishes and imperfections: but, as in some parts of it (those, in particular, which treat of such proceedings of the English government as were any way connected with it) he has necessarily had recourse to other sources of

information, so he has thought it most suitable to drop that appellation, and to send it forth under the title of what it really is, a *History* or *Historical Relation*, where all the incidents are combined in their natural connection with and dependance upon each other.

After having said so much, it would be unpardonable to trespass farther upon the patience of the reader ; yet may the writer be permitted to add that, if in this little publication he should appear to have attempted beyond his strength,—if in addition to the several defects he is conscious it contains, the superior penetration of others should chance to discover still more, he nevertheless hopes that every reasonable allowance will be made for him ; the magnitude and importance of a laborious undertaking, in which he is at present engaged

ged, has afforded him but little leisure for *revisal* and *correction*, and none for the study of harmony of language, or elegance of style, were he even disposed to imagine that his efforts in this respect could be attended with success ;—to *excel*, therefore, has not been so much his aim as to *inform* ; and it is to be presumed that, in the eye of the candid and the judicious, some little credit will be given to the *intention*, even though he should be so unfortunate as in any manner to fail in the execution of it.

Some passages in the following narrative must be interesting to every English reader, and, however short its period or confined the scene of its transactions, yet it may perhaps be found, by such as are desirous of drawing their conclusions from plain *fact*, rather than from vague *assertion*, not

to be altogether destitute of useful and entertaining matter ; neither can the history of a government which underwent the whole progressive series of *rise, independance, and dissolution*, within the little space of *Thirty-five* years, be held unworthy the attention of those who, abstracted from any narrow interests or partialities, may be desirous of deriving amusement and instruction, from a review of the unprofitable toils and transitory vicissitudes of *Human Life*.

A SHORT

A
S H O R T V I E W
OF THE STATE OF THE
PROVINCES of HINDOSTAN,
SUBJECT TO THE
MUSSULMAN GOVERNMENTS;
WITH RESPECT TO THE
Relative Situation of their INHABITANTS.

IN order to give a more clear and distinct conception of this subject, it may be necessary to premise, by taking a cursory retrospect to the circumstances, which, through a variety of revolutions effected in the course of many centuries, have led to the modern and very singular state of those districts which are termed the *Musfulman Provinces* in India.

In a country of such vast extent as *Hindustan*, famous from the earliest ages for the richness of its productions, the salubrity of its climate, and the fertility of its soil, it is to be supposed that there are residents of all complexions, and of every religious persuasion : There are, however, only two descriptions to be considered as forming the grand characteristic distinctions under which the inhabitants, in general, may be arranged ; the *Hindoos* and the *Mussulmans*, or *Mahommedans* : Of these, the former are the *Aborigines*, and the latter the descendants of the proselytes from the Hindoo religion, or of those Arabs, Persians, and Tartars, who, in the course of the last eight hundred years, have spread themselves over the face of this extensive region.

The histories of the *Hindoos* trace back the annals of an independant systematic form of government and legislation over the greatest part of this immense space to a period far beyond the date of European chronology,

chronology, and pourtray a people flourishing in all the superiority of civilized life, at a time when we suppose the rest of mankind to have been sunk (with very few exceptions) into the most abject barbarism. Brave, active, polished, and industrious, the Hindoos, in their original state, appear to have been no wise deficient in the qualities necessary to the defence of their widely-extended territories, against the incursions of the various wild and savage nations by whom they were surrounded; and, if we are to credit their accounts, and the more unquestionable testimony of the remains of antiquity which are every where to be found, they enjoyed, for many ages, under a mild and simple form of government, founded on a religion whose very essence seems to be benevolence and an abhorrence of blood, a degree of happiness, the extent and duration of which is not to be equalled in the history of any other portion of the human race.

Had no events taken place calculated
to

A SHORT VIEW, &c.

to effect important revolutions as well in the manners of a great part of mankind as in the fate of many empires; had the barbarous hords around this happy region never been actuated by any more forcible impulse than such as the hopes of *plunder* might inspire; it is probable that several centuries might have been added to the felicity and independence of the Hindoos: time, however, and the concurrence of circumstances, have wrought a great change both in the political situation and personal character of this people, in many of the richest and most extensive provinces of their ancient dominion.

The impostor of Mecca had established, as one of the primary principles of his doctrine, the merit of extending it, either by persuasion or the sword, to all parts of the earth. This injunction his followers so steadily adhered to, and so earnestly pursued, that in less than three centuries after its first propagation, a large part of Europe, Asia, and Africa, was seen to embrace

brace or submit to “the law of *the prophet* ;” and, among the rest, the northern provinces of Hindostan, which had so long flourished in tranquil security, were at length overwhelmed by armies of fierce and hardy adventurers, whose only improvements had been in the science of destruction, who added the fury of fanaticism to the ravages of war, and whom a firm belief in the rewards which, they were taught to expect, awaited all who should be so fortunate as to die in the promulgation of *the faith*, inspired with an energy which nothing could resist. Here, however, the great end of all their conquests met with obstacles such as were no where else opposed to it ; and in India alone, the Mussulman sword, although it could overthrow governments and subjugate kingdoms, was incapable of gaining or of forcing proselytes in any proportion to the numbers who were subdued : Multitudes were sacrificed by the savage hand of religious persecution, and whole countries were deluged in blood, in the vain hope
that,

that, by the destruction of a part, the remainder might be persuaded or terrified into the profession of Mahommedanism: the nature of the Hindoo religion held forth invincible obstacles to their views: original in its nature, and absolute in its decrees, its precepts induce a total seclusion from the rest of mankind; and this seclusive principle extends not only to the whole of the Hindoos, with respect to the rest of the world, but also to every *cast* or *class* of those with respect to every other *cast*:— it neither admits converts from other systems, nor allows of the smallest even *temporary* deviation from its own; insomuch that, if a Hindoo be discovered to have ever *eaten* or *drank*, or to have associated in these acts with others, contrary to the rules prescribed to him by his religion (whether voluntarily, or by compulsion) he “*forfeits his CAST*,”— that is to say, he becomes utterly banished from society, is considered by his friends and relations as dead, and is thenceforth proscribed as an *alien*, with whom no communication can
legally

legally be held : hence every tie which can lay hold upon the heart of man, every enjoyment which constitutes his chief delight, are the pledges of a Hindoo's perseverance in the faith of his ancestors.—The Mussulman Princes and Generals who first succeeded in their attacks upon Hindostan soon perceived the futility of those sanguinary efforts, which might extirpate, but could seldom *convert*, a people whom neither terror nor intreaty could tempt to desert a system upon their adherence to which their whole happiness was thus made to depend : they therefore determined to relinquish the impracticable ideas with which they had, at first, entered upon their career ; and from that period to the present time an universal toleration seems (with few exceptions) to have been the marking characteristick of the Mussulman rules throughout India.

All the countries of Hindostan, from the *Indus* to the *Ganges*, were in course of time subdued by the Mussulman arms ;
they

they afterwards extended their conquests to the eastward and southward ; all the territories on each side of the last-mentioned river (as far as the *Cummorw* mountains) Bahar Bengal, the Decan and the Carnatick, successively fell under the Mahomedans, who settled in the countries they had thus acquired, governing them (for the most part) in the name and under the authority of the Emperor at Delhi, who was recognized as Lord Paramount over the whole : Many other provinces which never were actually subdued, were suffered to retain their ancient laws and form of Government, under their own hereditary chiefs, or *Rajahs*, these acknowledging fealty to the Mussulman court at Delhi, and paying tribute to its officers : —Some few, secured by their insignificance, or their inaccessible situation, still continued to retain their former independance.

Thus the Emperors of Hindostan held dominion, at one period, over a vast Monarchy, consisting of districts, provinces, and

and kingdoms, of *two* different descriptions:— The first, those which, having been conquered by the Mussulmans, were more immediately and completely under subjection; being protected and held in obedience by Mussulman armies; having Courts of Justice established in them upon the same principles as in Persia and other Mahommedan countries, in which all causes were judged and decided by the standard of Mussulman jurisprudence; and governed by Royal deputies or *Nawabs*, whose occasional appointments took place at Delhi:—The second, those, which never having been completely subjugated, still retained their ancient laws and usages, and were governed by *Rajabs*, succeeding each other, in general, according to lineal descent; but, liable to ejection upon any failure, either in the payment of their stipulated tribute, or the furnishing of military aid when required, holding their lands, in fact, by a sort of *feudal vassalage*.

A system so unwieldy from its extent,
and

and composed of such heterogeneous parts, could not long be preserved entire ; and accordingly, the history of Hindostan, for the last five hundred years, exhibits little else than a continued series of rebellions and insurrections, and reiterated efforts on the part of the supreme government to quell them. The vigorous administration of a long line of able princes held it, indeed, for some time, undiminished ; but a few weak reigns undid the work of ages ; and during the decline of the house of Timour, within the last century, this immense fabrick fell rapidly to ruin : Province after province seceded from their obedience, and the extent of the imperial authority was gradually circumscribed, until at length there remained to the descendants of that illustrious family nothing more than a wretched remnant of territory immediately around the capital, and a still universally acknowledged title to royalty expressed by inefficient declarations of subjection and attachment, which, like the ruins of some stately pile,

pile, serves only to point out the splendor it was once possessed of.

In the dismemberment of this unwieldy empire, little alteration was made in the interior government or policy of each particular province :—the *Newabs* neglected to remit their revenues to the royal treasury, and the *Rajabs* withheld their tribute, or renounced their obedience, the countries of each remaining, respectively, under the same laws, and subject to the same modes of public administration as before; excepting only that every chief, as he threw off his allegiance, (in *fact* if not in *terms*,) instead of depending any longer upon the appointment of the Court, assumed to himself the right of establishing the succession to the dominion of his territory in his own family : each successor endeavouring, however, to give ostensible validity to his claim, by procuring *Firmans* or commissions from the Emperor, to whom all still continued to acknowledge fealty, and

to allow the barren privilege of bestowing nominal honours and marks of distinction.

Thus, the empire of Hindostan became, and has from that period consisted of, a number of kingdoms, provinces, and districts, totally independent of each other, or of any supreme head, and of two distinct descriptions or denominations, *Hindoo* and *Mussulman*.

Of the former of these we forbear to speak, as this view is meant to be confined solely to those provinces which, on the general defection, remained, as before, under the dominion of the Mussulmans; and this, although it particularly points at the territories usurped by the Rohilla Afgans, may nevertheless be considered as equally applying to all other provinces of the *same class*.

The Hindoos in these districts, although they have lost much of their pristine purity and simplicity of manners, do yet still
retain

retain the strongest marks of an original character.—Their climate, their food, and the delicate conformation of their bodies concur to render them soft and effeminate; and the singular ease with which the earth yields all her productions contributes to cherish the natural indolence of their dispositions.—They are brave, but their courage requires an impulse to spur them on to action, which seldom offers where all the rewards of military exertion are monopolized by others: they are naturally avaricious; but the total insecurity of property, whilst at the mercy of unprincipled and rapacious tyrants, in general, either considerably checks this passion by discouraging its end, or prevents its assuming any other shape than that of apparent penury, covering the most secret and most sordid accumulation:—hence, they are little desirous of improving their situation or increasing their possessions by any of the bolder or more dangerous pursuits of ambition:—that abasement of mind which is the necessary consequence of a long state

of slavish subjection, seems wholly to have suppressed the energy of spirit necessary to the undertaking of great and daring actions ; and whilst the inhabitants of those Hindoo states which, in the course of various revolutions, have preserved or recovered their original independence, are enterprising and active, these, although acute and ingenious, are yet frigid and inert. These imperfections do not prevent them, however, from being as industrious as the nature of the arts they pursue or the soil they cultivate renders necessary, at the same time that they make them the more easily governed ; and they are accordingly uniformly submissive and obedient.

From this it will appear that their inclinations and imbecilities lead them in general to prefer and pursue the quieter and more peaceable occupations of life ; and, excepting the cast of *Kyettrees*, who are soldiers by birth or by the precepts of their religion, and who hire themselves as mercenaries, indifferently, to any power
under

under which they can procure employment, —they are almost all either manufacturers, or tillers of the ground. The few among them who acquire wealth, finding in *secrecy* their only security against *extortion*, never have their property so situated as would give them any interest in the fate of the country they inhabit; and, with respect to the remainder, if they be indulged in the unmolested exercise of their religious ceremonies, and the current provision of a slender maintenance for their families, they little care under what government they live, or by masters of what complexion they may be ruled: one set of conquerors is driven out by another, and their assumed rights again usurped by a third; whilst the *Hindoos*, whose country is the object, and from whose labour and ingenuity that object derives its value, behold the contest with an indifference of which those who have never had an opportunity of being acquainted with the utter *apathy* of their dispositions can form no idea:—the victors, whoever they may be, find the

few, indeed, of the very lowest sort are traders or mechanicks, manufacturers or labourers.

The only Hindoos of any note are the *Zimeendars* or principal landholders, who are, however, totally dependent upon their Mussulman lords, and answerable to them for the amount of their rents, or for a fixed tribute at which they are assessed, (besides being obliged to assist them with such proportion in men or money as may be required upon every emergency,)—so that the whole of the revenues ultimately centers with the Mahommedans, who fill all the important offices both in the army and in the other different departments of the state, thereby reserving the efficient power altogether in their own hands.

Thus it appears that, in these provinces, the great body of the people is composed of *Hindoos*, who till the ground or carry on the manufactures, and are invariably attached to the soil; whilst the compara-

tively trifling number of *Mahommedans* hold the state in subjection, dispose of its revenues, and are removable by every change in politicks or power.

So long as the supreme government retained a vigour which was imparted to all its subordinate dependencies, the Hindoos in these provinces enjoyed, perhaps, as high a degree of happiness and ease as could be consistent with a state of absolute vassalage.—Whilst the House of Timour continued to flourish, the ear of the Emperor was always open to the complaints of the meanest of his subjects; an unremitting vigilance was preserved over the conduct of all who were entrusted with authority; and the fatal consequences of misconduct or malversation were known (in the prompt decisions of absolute power) to be equally rapid and unavoidable. Moreover, the Mussulmans were not, like other foreigners who visit Hindostan, mere *temporary sojourners*. Obtaining entry into, or dominion over, a territory, their first designs, originating

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originating in the bigotry of a mistaken zeal, or the barbarous rapacity of desultory incursion, were succeeded by the milder and more equitable views of a permanent establishment, secured upon the principles of justice and moderation, which alone could render their acquisitions capable of yielding them any lasting advantage:—they *settled* in the country, and thus becoming naturalized, had a certain interest in the soil.—The stern and harsh features of the Mussulman character insensibly acquired some softer tints from an association with the mild, forbearing, and amiable temper of the Hindoos; and a strong and united system of administration afforded the latter protection, at once, from domestic oppression and external injury.—This pleasing face of things has, however, long since undergone a most deplorable alteration:—the power of one universal despot being overthrown, a way was opened for the intolerable and uncontrolled licentiousness of numberless petty tyrants:—in the anarchy which increased with the increasing

ing weakness of the Imperial Court, the violent and unprincipled factions of contending nobles united to tread all order and subordination under foot ; and the tumultuous distractions hereby engendered extending to the more distant provinces, diffused their fatal effects wheresoever the royal authority had reached, at the same time that the licentiousness of manners which is the usual attendant of civil discord, introduced, perhaps, no small change into the general character and deportment of the Mussulmans about this period ; and thus, from the operation of a variety of causes, they became equally dissolute and rapacious.—In the rapid lapse of revolutions, effected less frequently by the mandate of the prince than by the dagger of the hired assassin, all who could obtain trust or command were anxious to seize the opportunity for making the most of situations so precarious :—as money was the life of every intrigue by which individuals hoped to rise to power or screen themselves from injury, so no means, however nefarious, were

were omitted to acquire it : all regard to the interest of the country or the prosperity of its inhabitants was lost, where the versatile situation of affairs was occasioning a continual change of masters :—and the Mussulman Government every where degenerated into a confirmed system of the most profligate venality and the most abandoned peculation ; whilst the great body of the people, destitute of any effectual patronage or protection, became by turns the prey of every upstart adventurer, whose circumstances or abilities enabled him to aspire at rule : and it was, doubtless, the singular state of these countries in the particulars we have described, which could have alone preserved them from being altogether depopulated and laid waste, in the progress of such a scene of contention and bloodshed.

Such was the actual state of these provinces, when the folly and cruelty of Sujar-al-Dowlah, in its consequences, formed a necessity for the English to act an important and decisive part upon this theatre:—

theatre :—such was the real state of the territory which had been wrested from the Mogul government by the Rohilla Afgans, when the policy (whether justifiable or otherwise) of securing the dominions and supporting the cause of our ally induced the British government in Bengal to assist him in their expulsion.

The deductions to be drawn from these observations, so far as they may apply to the matter contained in the following pages, we shall leave to the judgement of the reader.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE writer has studiously endeavoured in the course of this work, as much as possible to avoid the repetition of Oriental terms and phrases in their original form, which local knowledge alone can render clear and familiar to the European reader, and to substitute such English expressions as bear the most apposite significations to them. But, with respect to *proper names* and *titles*, which so frequently occur, and can neither be omitted nor altered, and of which it is in general very difficult to retain a discriminating remembrance, he has followed a plan not heretofore adopted by any writer on those subjects, and here begs leave to subjoin a list of the principal personages concerned or mentioned in the course of the following narrative, which may serve as a table of occasional reference, in the perusal of it.

The

The narrative begins by a retrospect to the usurpation of *Shere Shah*.

The substance of the history is included within the reigns of

Mahummed Shah

Ahmed Shah

Allumgeer II.

} Mogul Emperors of Hindostan, and

Shah Aulum, the present Emperor.

Kummir-ad-deen-Khan, Vizier under Mahummed Shah.

Sefdar Jung, Vizier under Ahmed Shah.

Ghazee-ad-deen Khan, Prime Minister under Allumgeer II.
not officially Vizier.

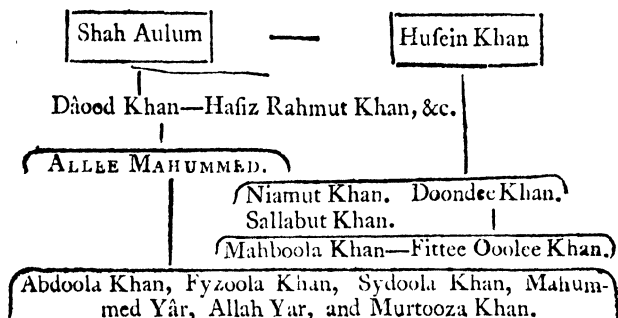
Surjar-al-Dowlah, Vizier under Shah Aulum.

Nadir Shah, King of Persia.

Ahmed Abdallee, Sovereign of Candahâr.

Genealogical Table of the Family of Allee Mahummed,

Founder of the ROHILLA Government.



Offices in Rohilcund, after the death of Allee Mahummed.

Hafiz Rahmut	}	Guardians.
Doondee Khan		

Niamut Khan	}	Assistant Ministers.
Sillabut Khan		

Futteh Khan, *Khansaman*, or Steward, (succeeded by his Son Ahmed Khan.

Sirdar Khan, *Buxy*, or Paymaster, (succeeded by his Son Ahmed Khan.

Other

Other Persons of note.

Meer Munnoo, Son to the Vizier Kummir-ad-deen Khan,
some time Commander in Chief of the Mogul Army.

Nejeeb al Dowlah, an Afgan of eminence, who acted as
Minister at Delhi in the absence of the present Emperor.

Zabita Khan, his Son.

Kacem Jung, Chief of the Bûngish tribe of Afgans,
possessed of Ferrochabad.

Ahmed Khan Bungish, Brother and Successor to Kacem
Jung.

Muzziffer Jung, Son and Successor to Ahmed Khan
Bungish.

&c.

A
R E L A T I O N
O F T H E
Origin, Progress, and Diffolution,
O F T H E
Government of the ROHILLA AFGANS,
&c.

THE *Afgan Tartars*, whose numerous tribes (under the general denomination of PATANS) occupy all the mountainous country which forms the North-western boundary of Hindostan, had for a long series of time held the greatest part of this immense dominion in subjection, and furnished a race of monarchs who filled the imperial throne at Delhi upwards of three centuries, until the subjugation of the northern

D

INDIA,

INDIA, and the overthrow of the Patân government, by the arms of Timur Beg.

About one hundred and forty years after that event, the usurpation of Mahummed Fereed-Sherc-Shah, who in the nine hundred and fiftieth year of the Higera succeeded in his rebellion against the Emperor Humaioon, and drove that monarch into exile, having occasioned a violent distraction throughout all the countries in the neighbourhood of the capital, many of the inhabitants forsook those districts, and fled to the more distant provinces, hoping in the remoteness of their situations to find a security from the extortions of the usurper.

Shere Shah was himself an *Afgan* or *Patân*; and it was at this period that numbers of Afgans, expecting in him and his successors to see another Dynasty of the Patâns established upon the throne of Delhi, hastened from all parts to enlist under the standard of the new emperor.

As

As those who fled from the tyrannical exactions of the usurper and his creatures chiefly consisted of such as had served in the great offices of the state, or as collectors of districts and principal landholders under the former government, to some of these new comers, he presented grants of the evacuated estates and employments ; many he raised to posts of the highest power and distinction, and to all he gave every possible encouragement to settle in that part of Hindostan ; and hence, on the death of Shere, when Humaioon recovered the empire by the defeat of Secunder, the nephew and successor of his former competitor, the Afgans formed a powerful body in those districts.

As the insurrections and rebellions which have at all times disturbed the tranquillity of the Mogul government, presented the most ample field of advancement and distinction to these bold and hardy foldiers of fortune, after the foregoing event, every adventurer who could collect a band

of lawless freebooters, used to repair to Delhi to offer his services to the king ; and, as the appointment of strangers, destitute of any dangerous interests or connexions, was the most eligible policy in the government of the more distant provinces, these offers were generally excepted ; this wise precaution, however, which for a time certainly contributed to support the authority of the Mogul princes, and to preserve their empire entire, tended, in its unavoidable consequences, to precipitate their downfall ; as the influence, credit, and numbers of these adventurers and their descendants at length increased to such a degree, as finally enabled them, in the general dismemberment of this unwieldy monarchy, to secure to themselves the independent possession of many of its richest provinces.

Of the various petty independencies which thus grew out of the ruins of the Mogul monarchy, one of the last (though not the most inconsiderable either in power or extent) was established in the country

of *Kuttaher*, in latter times better known by the name of *Robilcund*.

This territory is situated to the eastward of the Ganges, between the province of Owde, and the first range of northern hills commonly called the *Cummou Mountains*;—as its shape is nearly that of an irregular triangle, embraced on two of its sides by the Ganges and the last-mentioned boundary, it would not be easy to give, in general terms, any accurate idea of its dimensions;—its mean length, however, is about one hundred and eighty, and its greatest breadth about ninety miles, from which dimension it gradually decreases until it terminates in its most northern point at *Hirdewar*, where the Ganges flows through the before-mentioned range.

From a concurrence of happy circumstances, (as it lies in a temperate climate, and is watered by several fine rivers) the country is, in general, rich and fertile, and contains many cities of considerable note, the

chief of which are Owlah, Barilla, Moradabad, and Rampore. All these, previous to the usurpations of the Rohillas, had been the capitals of royal *Fowjedarrys* (or lieutenancies) and the two former have since, at different times, respectively become the seat of government, during the short period of Rohilla independence.

Among other Afgans who, from the causes already related, came to seek their fortunes in the lower countries, in the 1084th year of the Higera, (A. C. 1673) two brothers named Shah Aulum and Hufflein Khan, having forsaken their native mountains, settled in Kuttaher, where they procured some small employments under the officers of the Mogul government; but nothing farther is related of them worthy of note.

Hufflein had three sons; Doondy Khan, Niâmut Khan, and Sillaubet Khan; the first of whom will make a conspicuous figure in the sequel.—The elder brother, (Shah Aulum)

lum) had two sons,—the first named Dâood Khan, and the second Rahmut Khan.

The latter of these not bearing any important part in the ensuing scene of action for several years, it is needless to observe more of him at present than that his first outset in life was in a mercantile capacity, fuitable to the obscurity of his origin ; and that he continued to trade between Lahore and Delhi, until he was called forth to fill more elevated and important stations.

Dâood chose a military life ; and after the manner of other Afgan adventurers, collecting together some followers, offered himself and was admitted as a volunteer into an army sent by the vizier to oppose the incursions of the Mahrattas, who about this period had acquired a considerable degree of power, and were become not a little formidable to the Mogul government, laying waste the country between Narwa and Gowalior, and extending their depredations

towards the banks of the Jumna.—On this expedition Daood distinguished himself by his bravery; and being, on a particular occasion, detached from the main army, had the address to surprize and cut off a party of the enemy, bringing in with him some elephants and other spoils,

As a reward for this service, Dâood, on the return of the royal forces, obtained a grant of a little district in the territory of Budâvon, which forms a part of Rohilcund; but, a retired life ill suiting with his active and enterprising spirit, he presently recruited his little force, consisting of the first followers of his fortune, with a considerable body of his countrymen, and with these rendered many services to the neighbouring Rajahs and Zimeendars, who were happy to procure his support in their frequent disputes with each other, which in those countries are generally decided by force.

The fame of this bold partizan soon
reached

reached the ears of the Rajah of *Cummou* (or *Kummadoon*) who invited Dâood into his service, and in a little time after gave him the command of all his forces ;—in this situation Dâood performed many services of considerable advantage to his master ; not meeting however with those rewards to which he thought his merits and services entitled him, he was preparing to leave the Rajah's employ in disgust ; but in attempting to effect this he was seized ; and the Rajah cruelly ordered his feet to be cut off, and the sinews of his legs to be forcibly drawn out from the stumps ; an operation which soon caused the parts to mortify, and occasioned his death.

Dâood left two sons ; Mahummed, and Allee Mahummed* :—of the former of
D 5 these

* Some accounts have said that Allee Mahummed was *not* the son of Dâood, but by birth a *Hindoo*, and adopted by him :—this however is not only an incongruity (as a Hindoo is seldom or never known to be adopted by a Mussulman,) but is moreover altogether unsupported

these nothing remarkable is recorded ;— but it was to the aspiring abilities and intrepid perseverance of the latter, (co-operating with the turbulence of the times) that the Afgans owed the foundation of their independance in Rohilcund.

Dâood had always indulged a strong partiality in favour of his younger son Allee Mahummed, and had him early instructed in every military exercise, and in all other accomplishments which might enable him to make an eminent and successful figure in the execution of that plan of separate and uncontrolled independence which the increasing imbecility of the Imperial authority had taught him to hope might some time or other, with the assistance of his countrymen, be effected in Rohilcund.

unsupported in the original Persian manuscript, where he is positively mentioned as Dâood's second son.— Of the other son (Mahummed) the MS. takes no farther notice whatsoever, except merely mentioning his name, as above.

When

When Dâood first conceived his design of quitting the Rajah of Cummou's service, he took care previously to transmit the principal part of his property, under the charge of his favourite son, to Budâvon ; so that, upon his death, Allee Mahummed found himself at once possessed of considerable wealth, and supported by a numerous train of his father's adherents, to whom his gallant and munificent spirit had much endeared him, and whose desperate circumstances and experienced bravery rendered them the fittest instruments for the prosecution of his ambitious views.

With these he entered into the service of Azmut-Oolah Khan, a person of rank, who had been appointed from the court of Delhi Fowjdar * of Moradabad :—here he

* A Fowjdar implies, in its literal meaning, a commander of troops ; and is an officer appointed to act as governor or lieutenant of a district, under a commission from the king, which empowers him to levy troops and make war, &c. as occasion may require.

soon ingratiated himself with Azmut-Oolah, so as to procure, through his means, a renewal of the grant which had been bestowed on his father, and also to obtain the collection of a considerable purgunna on the part of the Emperor, together with a *Jeydad*, or assignment of some villages, which he artfully procured for the support of his followers.

Azmut Oolah being shortly after recalled to court, Allee Mahummed seized the opportunity which this interval afforded him, whilst there was no royal deputy at hand who might control his motions or counteract his designs, to raise a strong force, and establish himself in the possession of those lands, the charge of which he had obtained through the favour of Azmut-bolah :—and as these parts of India have at all times swarmed with multitudes of vagrants (chiefly Afgans) who wander over the country in search of employment, and are ready to enlist under any standard that may be raised, or to fight in any cause
that

that may offer, so he soon increased the number of his followers (which, at the time of his father's death had not exceeded *three hundred* in all) to such a degree*, that when a successor to Azmut-Oolah was appointed from Delhi, the Afgan found himself in a condition to make his own terms, and even to engage him (by some valuable presents) so much in his favour as to procure, through his means, a commission from the Court, authorizing him to retain the charge of the lands already mentioned; and also the gift of a small Jageer in addition thereto, for the support of his dignity.

Allee Mahummed thus raised to some degree of rank and consequence, neglected

* It may, perhaps, appear surprising that an obscure individual should be able to collect or support a formidable force with such facility:—it is to be considered, however, that in an Indian army the comparative number of those who receive regular pay is very small: the horse and accoutrements of every trooper are his own property, and he often engages with no other view than *plunder*.

no means in his power to strengthen his interest and enlarged his connections, and the circumstances of the times afforded him ample scope for accomplishing these views by methods the most easy and obvious.—The Court of Delhi being, at this time, torn to pieces by the struggles of contending nobles, had lost much of its power and influence; so that Allee Mahummed, conscious of his strength, shewed little attention to the imperial mandates, and delayed or avoided, on various frivolous pretexts, any payment of revenue into the royal treasury, employing the income of his lands in raising troops, purchasing artillery and military stores, and, above all, in securing the friendship of many of the principal personages in the presence, by a judicious and well-timed liberality; neither was he remiss in cultivating the attachment of the lower orders by the same practices as enabled him to succeed with their superiors; and he now only waited an opportunity to throw off the mask and openly assert his independance, as most of the
governors

governors in the more distant provinces had already done. Such a one presently presented itself, although perhaps somewhat prematurely.


Ômdat al Moolk, who was at this period *Mecr Buchsly* or Paymaster-General of the Empire, and possessed a considerable share of influence at court, held the districts of Owlah and Minnownah in Jageer from the King.—These districts bordered close upon the lands in the possession of Allee Mahummed; and the paymaster had dispatched a favourite confidential servant to collect the rents: whether this person had received any particular instructions with regard to the Afgan is not certainly known; but, very soon after his arrival, he gave occasion for a quarrel, by endeavouring to sequester the rents of some villages to which Allee Mahummed laid claim, but which the deputy insisted lay within the bounds of his Master's Jageer.—An encroachment of this nature the high-spirited Afgan would by no means submit to;
and

and after various disputes, and ineffectual negotiations, the deputy resolved to attempt executing his designs by force ; and, as his power was supported by the name and countenance of the royal authority, he vainly flattered himself that no troops would venture to oppose him :—the event shewed, however, how much he was mistaken in his conjecture, as, in an engagement that ensued he himself was slain, and his troops totally routed.

In this exploit Allee Mahummed strengthened himself with all the stores and numerous artillery of the enemy : but this was not the only advantage he derived from it ; the boldness of his actions and munificence of his disposition had already acquired him some degree of credit with his countrymen, when the fame of this victory raised his character so high among them, that multitudes of Afgans immediately came from every part of the country to offer their services ; and as he attached them strongly to his interest by making
over

over to them almost the whole of the revenues of his districts, those vagrants soon became enthusiasts in his cause, and were ready to support him in any attempt, however desperate.

Nor was Allee Mahummed destitute of a powerful friend at court, to raise his character, and extenuate his opposition to the imperial authority : in truth, so miserably was the Mogul government sunk at this time into the basest venality and corruption, that Rebellion itself could with ease *bribe* advocates to plead its cause ; and where this means failed, the same effect was frequently produced in the outrageous animosities of unprincipled and factious ambition.

The high office of the *Vizaret* was, at this period, held by Kummir-ad-deen Khan, a nobleman of the first character for integrity and abilities :—It is probable, however, that the rectitude of his principles was not altogether proof of against the
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seductions

seductions of immediate interest ; as Allee Mahummed, from the first rise of his fortune, had paid court to him with unremit-
ted assiduity, in the way we have already
mentioned ; and it is certain that the Vi-
zier supported him on every occasion,
where decency and a regard for reputation
would admit of his so doing, in the sequel :
—Neither was he, in the present instance,
unaffected by those other motives we have
mentioned above ; as a mutual enmity,
originating in the jealousy of court in-
trigue, had long subsisted between him and
the before-mentioned Omdat-al-Moolk.—
Allee Mahummed, after his victory over
the deputy of Omdat-al-Moolk, as already
related, seized the latter's Jagheer, and con-
verted the revenues arising from it to his
own use : the paymaster-general, already
incensed at the death of his servant, when
he found that his estate was thus appro-
priated, made loud complaints of the ini-
quity of such violent and flagitious procee-
dings :—but the Vizier, not reflecting how
soon his *own* interests might suffer by the
encroach-

encroachments of such a daring usurper, and happy in supporting any one in opposition to his rival, exerted the whole of his weight and authority at court in behalf of the Afgan Zimeendar, representing his breach with the deputy as arising solely from the rashness and rapacity of the latter, who, instead of attempting to effect the purposes for which he had been sent, had endeavoured to rob Allee Mahummed of all his treasure and effects, with a view to enrich himself with the spoil.—The rashness of the deputy's proceedings certainly afforded some colour of justice to this plea; and although these arguments had been weaker, yet they would have sufficed to turn the scale in Allee Mahummed's favour, when supported by the credit and influence of the Minister.

Another incident took place, shortly after this, which served to give Allee Mahummed a reputation for loyalty, such as his real designs but little entitled him to, and to confirm and increase the interest he

had already laid the foundation of at court.

In the present distracted state of the empire, every petty Zimeendar dared to rise in rebellion against the government.—— There was a settlement of *Seyds* of the tribe of *Barrab*, which had been established some years before in the neighbourhood of *Anopshéer* (a town opposite to Rohilcund, on the western bank of the Ganges) where their leader or chief, Seyd-ad-deen, a man of a troublesome and turbulent disposition, had been admitted as a renter; and at length, in a confidence of his own strength and the imbecility of the government, excited his followers to raise an insurrection, and to murder all the Emperor's officers who were acting in that quarter, or to expel them from their district:—in the suppression of this disturbance Allee Mahummed (from whatever motive) eminently distinguished himself, joining the Emperor's forces, and entirely routing the
the

the insurgents in an engagement in which their ring leader was killed.

It was generally supposed that Allee Mahummed had been induced to engage thus warmly in the royal cause, at the instigation of the Vizier; and in gratitude for the countenance and favour he had lately shewn him; however that might be, Kummir-ad-Deen did not fail to represent the gallantry and loyalty of his conduct on the late occasion in the most favourable light to the Emperor, who, as a reward, conferred upon the Afgan the dignity of an Ameer, with the title of a *Nawab*, accompanied by a *Khelaat*, or honorary dress; at the same time issuing a *Firman*, or royal warrant, confirming him in the lands which he had so surreptitiously possessed himself of, and investing him with other honours and ranks of distinction.

This sudden and extraordinary elevation of a man who had, on more than one occasion, manifested a disposition by no means

consistent with the imperial interest, was as impolitick and short sighted in the court as it was fortunate for Allee Mahummed, whose fame and consequence were enhanced by it in a prodigious degree: but, in the moment when his fortune seemed to be ripening, he was again engaged in a business on which he risked all his interest and support at Delhi.

Rajah Hir-Nund, a Hindoo of some eminence, was appointed by the Vizier to the *Fowjdarrey* of Moradabad.

As the Vizier, however friendly his disposition might be, was well aware of the necessity of curbing and keeping within bounds the aspiring spirit of the Afgan chief, the new Fowjdar had particular instructions to look narrowly into the conduct of Allee Mahummed, whose views had already begun to extend in consequence of his late accession of rank:—He was also directed to make requisition of the proportion due to government from the
rents

rents of the Afgan's lands, which were comprehended within the jurisdiction of the Moradabad *Fowjdarrey*; and, to enable him to do so with effect, he was accompanied by a considerable body of horse, and a respectable train of artillery.

Hir-Nund, on his arrival at his government, intimated his desire of an interview with Allee Mahummed; this, however, (although an indispensable mark of duty and attention to the royal commission) the latter declined: the Rajah, soon after, made a formal demand of the royal quit-rents, to which Allee Mahummed replied only by a repetition of subterfuges and delays; and at the same time began to collect his numerous followers, and to put himself in a posture of defence.—The Rajah appears to have been somewhat violent and precipitate: in fact, the recent honours bestowed upon the Afgan had excited the envy of many; and there were not wanting those who would endeavour, in hopes of effecting his ruin, to stimulate

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the Fowjedar to adapt an absolute and overbearing mode of conduct, tending to provoke rather than to intimidate :—At length presumption on the one hand and disgust upon the other urged both parties to action :—the Fowjdar made some movements with his troops which seemed to indicate a design of seizing on a number of small forts within the country of Allee Mahummed ; but, if he had any such intentions, they were frustrated by the valour and address of his adversary, who attacked the army of Hir Nund one morning by surprise, and gave them a total overthrow, seizing on all their treasure, artillery, and camp equipage ;—and the body of the unfortunate Rajah was found, after the engagement, in his tent, stabbed in several places ; so that it was strongly suspected he had perished by some collusive treachery.

Allee Mahummed immediately made a representation of the nature of this rupture to the Vizier, and endeavoured to discharge himself of any blame in the transaction, as
having

having been in some measure compelled to exert his means of defence in the manner he had done by the headstrong violence of Hir-Nund.—The Vizier, however, was by no means pleased with the business, in which he had been considerably injured in his own property, as the greatest part of the artillery and stores belonged to him;—and he also resented the death of the Rajah, who was an old confidential servant, and his particular favourite.—He therefore dispatched his son, Meer Munnoo, with a considerable force, to demand satisfaction for the injury which the imperial authority had sustained in the discomfiture of the Fowjdar.

The remainder of this transaction is involved in some obscurity.—We shall not, however, hazard any conjectures, but shall simply adhere, in our relation of it, to the account as it stands in the original.

Meer Munno proceeded with his troops to Secunderabâd, and from thence to the banks

banks of the Ganges opposite to Daranágûrr, at which place the river is fordable in the dry season, but by a long winding passage, insomuch that it would be very difficult for any army to cross over there in that manner if opposed by an enemy ;—here he saw the Afgan chief encamped on the opposite shore, with a force so much superior to his own, that he did not judge it prudent to attempt the passage.—In this situation the armies lay in sight of each other for some time, 'till at length the two commanders came to a proper understanding, and a negotiation took place, in the course of which Allee Mahummed found means not only to make his peace, but also greatly to reinforce his interest with the Vizier by bestowing a daughter in marriage upon one of the sons of that minister *with a considerable dowry* ; and (probably in consequence of this politick measure) procured a grant of the lands formerly occupied by Hir-Nund, which he henceforth included within the circle of his possessions, and out of which he engaged to pay a stipulated annual quit-rent

rent into the royal treasury.—As Allee Mahummed, and the greatest part of the followers by whose assistance he had been enabled to rise, were of the tribe of Afgans denominated *Rohees*, or *Robillas*, (so termed from *Rob*, which in the Pâtan dialect signifies *a mountainous country*,) it was about this period that the district of Kuttâher began to be distinguished by the name of *Robilcund**, although this term was not applied to it in any publick instruments or other authentick records until some years after.

Allee Mahummed having thus laid the foundation of independence in Rohilcund, resolved to use the present interval of tranquillity, not only to establish himself in his new acquisitions, but to revenge the death of his father Dâood, by attacking the Rajah of *Kummâoon*.

The district of *Kummâoon* (or *Cummôw*)

* *Anglicé*—"The place or residence of the *Robillas*." lies

lies along the back of those hills which derive their name from it, and which form the northern boundary of the low country to the eastward of the Ganges.—It does not appear that it ever had been before subdued by the Mussulmans, although the Rajah paid a small tribute and acknowledged fealty to the Mogul government.—Preparatory to this expedition, Allee Mahummed settled the interior policy of his country, and put his finances under proper regulations. He then advanced towards the hills with a body of fifteen thousand veteran Afgans. He was joined in the beginning of his march by a multitude of predatory vagabonds, who abound in every part of Hindostan, and are ready to join in any excursion merely with a view to share in the plunder; but they receive no pay, and are of no use in action.—As Allee Mahummed was sensible of the difficulties he would have to struggle with in the course of his undertaking, especially with respect to provisions, he determined to throw off the incumbrance

cumbrance of those useless banditti, and accordingly published a proclamation declaring “ that any stranger or other person not enrolled, who should be found “ within the camp after a certain day, “ should be punished with death.”—The rigorous execution of this menace in a few instances soon drove away all superfluous mouths, and eventually contributed not a little to the success of the expedition.—Allee Mahummed now proceeded to Cospore, a fortress on the borders of the northern Forests which fringe the skirts of the Cummo hills to the depth of several miles;—here he collected a large stock of provisions, and also carriages for as much grain and other necessaries as would serve his little army for two months.—These measures, indispensably requisite to the ultimate success of the Afgans, necessarily occasioned some delay; so that the Rajah was sufficiently aware of the Rohilla chief’s intentions, and prepared for his reception by fortifying all the ghauts or passes over the mountains which led

led into his country.—Allee Mahummed had, some time before, employed his scouts to explore the woody region which (as above observed) runs along the foot of the Cummow hills, in hopes of being able to avoid the Rajah by pursuing an unexpected route.—Some of these messengers returned with an account of their having discovered a practicable passage by which (although their description of it was by no means encouraging) it was determined to advance.—The Afgans, accordingly, boldly penetrated at once through the forests, and after a march of eighteen days, during which they suffered incredible hardships and fatigues, at length gained the upper country, and arrived at *Chumnáwtee*, (a village in *Kummáoon*) which was the first inhabited place they had seen for some time past.—The troops of Allee Mahummed here found themselves reduced to act under every disadvantage, as they had no provisions but what they brought upon their backs, and had been obliged to abandon their artillery, and also to leave all
their

their horses and other cattle behind, these being unable to surmount the steep; the success of this bold attempt, however, so terrified the Rajah, that he never offered to oppose the Afgan troops, but fled his dominion, and took refuge in the neighbouring country of Sirnagur.—Allee Mahummed thus making himself master of the territory without resistance, soon overran it, and acquired a prodigious booty; and having rented the whole district of *Kummáoon* to the Rajah of Sirnagurr for three lacks per annum, he returned with his plunder to Owlah.

The fortunate result of this expedition, and the riches which Allee Mahummed and his followers had acquired by it, would not a little have contributed to the extension and confirmation of his power in Rohilcund;—but soon after his arrival at Owlah, he found himself once more involved in a quarrel with the court, out of which he did not extricate himself with his usual success.

Some of the Afgan chief's Rohilla retainers had a dispute with the servants of Sefdar Jung, Subadar of Owde, who had been sent by their master to cut *Saal** timbers, which abound in the forests at the back of Kuttaher :---this produced a fray, in which several were killed on both sides; and the gumashté (or *agent*) who commanded Sefdar Jung's people, was obliged to fly, leaving behind him all his effects, which, according to their usual custom, were seized as lawful spoil by the Rohillas.

The agent repaired immediately to Owde, and laid a complaint before the Subadar, who, incensed at the treatment his servant had met with, and considering his own honour concerned to resent it, repaired immediately to Delhi, and represented to the sovereign (Mahummed Shah)

* The *Saal* is a very beautiful tree, growing perfectly strait, to the height of 60 or 70 feet; of considerable use in building, &c.

the injurious insult he had sustained in such strong colours, that an order was immediately dispatched to Allee Mahummed, directing him to recover and restore all the Gumashté's effects ; with strict injunctions to deliver up such of the Rohillas as had been concerned in the before-mentioned disturbance.

To this requisition Allee Mahummed returned an answer filled with expressions of the most submissive obedience,—but, at the same time intimating—“ that he
“ would never suffer the Gumashtés of
“ any man to come into his country with-
“ out his consent ; that he could not but
“ approve of what his people had done ;
“ and that he would neither restore the
“ effects nor deliver up the plunderers,
“ who had received, in the insolence of
“ the Subadar's people, a provocation
“ which sufficiently justified their pro-
“ ceedings.”

This incautious reply, which amounted

to an explicit declaration of avowed rebellion, at length roused the court from the supine lethargy into which it had been so long lulled, with respect to the designs of Allee Mahummed; and the Emperor having at present no other object of greater moment to occupy his attention, resolved, if possible, to root out* the Afgan freebooters, and expel them entirely from Kuttâher. Sefdar Jung, who hoped by the disgrace and overthrow of Allee Mahummed to add Rohilcund to the extensive dominion he already held, which from its relative situation would render the whole of his possessions perfectly compact and easily defensible; was induced by every motive of interest, as well as of revenge, to enter warmly into this determination,

* The term, in the original is *isteeṣāl*, the casual interpretation of which (upon another occasion) into “*extirpate*,” has given rise to great and unfounded clamour:—the *true* meaning is here exhibited, both in the *translation* of it, and in the circumstance to which it applies.

and

and to support and urge it to the Emperor by every argument in his power. He represented the notorious turbulence and rapacity of the Afgans, and the contumacious demeanour of Allee Mahummed, which had been sufficiently displayed, not only in his withholding the revenues of the country with the charge of which he had been entrusted, but also in his lately undertaking a predatory expedition against the Rajah of *Kummáoon* without pretext or authority ;—and the disgrace to the imperial honour, in suffering a contemptible tribe of fifteen or twenty thousand lawless adventurers to exercise absolute sway over a territory of such value and extent as *Kuttáber*, under the immediate eye of the court, and almost, as it were, within sight of the royal residence. The Subadar also endeavoured to engage the Vizier, Kummir-ad-deen, to take a decisive part in the measures he proposed ; but that Minister, from a jealousy of the growing influence of Sefdar Jung, although the circumstances of the times obliged him to exhibit an ap-

pearance of coinciding with him, yet endeavoured in secret to thwart and counteract his views ;—this underhand opposition on the part of the Vizier, however, was not sufficient to soothe the Shah's resentment, or to prevent the prosecution of his design.

Although the treasury was, at this period, very low, yet, by the assistance of Sefdar Jung and some other nobles who hoped to share in the fruits of Allee Mahummed's ruin, the Emperor was enabled to levy a considerable army, at the head of which he marched towards Rohilcund in the month *Ribbee-al-Sanee*, A. H. 1154. *

Allee Mahummed does not seem to have acted on this occasion with his usual promptitude and capacity : whether he might hope, by not attempting any resistance, to have the affair made up through the interposition of the Vizier ;—whether he expected that the violent feuds among

* A. C. 1743.

the king's ministers might operate to his advantage,—or was doubtful of the fidelity of his own people ;—whatever was his motive, he never attempted to face the royal forces ; they crossed the Ganges at Rangout without opposition ; and proclamations were forthwith issued throughout the neighbouring country offering protection and reward to all such as should desert Allee Mahummed, and threatened his retainers with the severest punishments.—Sefdar Jung seconded the force of these edicts by a variety of underhand practices, of which his long experience in the school of crooked politics had rendered him a very complete master ; and, by means of numerous emissaries, spread terror and disaffection throughout the troops of Allee Mahummed ; so that he found himself in a short time almost entirely deserted ; and to avoid immediate destruction, was under the necessity of taking refuge, with a few followers who still remained faithful to him, in the fort of *Bangûr*, which was immediately invested and closely besieged by the

royal army.—Here, when seemingly on the brink of inevitable ruin, his affairs were suddenly retrieved by the mediation of the Vizier and some other Amras, who, in opposition to the Subadar of Owde (whom they all feared and detested) joined in prevailing upon Mahummed Shah to be reconciled to the Afgan chief.—He was accordingly permitted to approach the presence and make his peace, on condition of relinquishing his country and attending the King to Delhi. In consequence of this compromise, Allee Mahummed and his garrison surrendered and were honourably treated, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Sefdar Jung, who insisted on the expediency of making an example of the contumacious Afgan.—But the Emperor's lenity was not the only disappointment the Subadar experienced on the present occasion, as he failed in his design of getting charge of *Kuttâ-ber*, which, to his unspeakable mortification, was entrusted to the government of Ferid-ad-deen Khan, the son of Azmut-Ooolih, formerly Fowjdâr of Moradabad.

Allee

Allee Mahummed, on his attending the Emperor to Delhi, left his family and most valuable effects at Budâvon, on the borders of his late possessions, where he hoped he might, some time or other, be able to reinstate himself.

Sefdar Jung, provoked at the unprofitable event of the late expedition, and apprehensive that some future coincidence of circumstances, by restoring Allee Mahummed to his lands, might subvert the hopes he still entertained of adding that tract to the province of Oude, omitted no means by which he might effect the Afgan's ruin; and such sway did he bear in the councils of the King, that Allee Mahummed found it expedient to secrete himself on one occasion, in order to avoid the effects of his malice.

In warding off the blows aimed at him by the insidious and implacable Subadar, Allee Mahummed found himself much assisted by some of the principal nobles who

had before interceded for him at Bangûr, not more perhaps out of regard to him than from hatred to his enemy ; and (as it was deemed proper to keep him for some time in a kind of honourable restraint) the Vizier gave him apartments in his palace, in which he remained confined as a sort of *state prisoner* for several months. In the mean time, in order to avoid any disturbances which might be excited in favour of the Afgan chief, a *Firman* was issued, prohibiting Rohillas, and all other Patâns, of every description, who had formerly acted under Allee Mahummed from crossing the Ganges, or entering Delhi, under any pretence whatsoever.

The only step, however, which could have effectually broken the Afgan confederacy, had been neglected.—When Allee Mahummed surrendered, no precautions were taken for the expulsion of his friends and retainers from *Kuttâber*, (as had been intended,) hence they still continued to hold a local consequence and strength ; and
 shortly

shortly after the Emperor's return to Delhi, a considerable number of them collected at Sumbull (a city in the northern Rohilcund) —and becoming impatient of the absence of their popular and successful chief, and perhaps ashamed of their late pusillanimous desertion of him, resolved to make an effort to release him from his present confinement, and set him again at their head. For this purpose upwards of four thousand of them, by the connivance of some Afghan commanders in the royal forces, eluding the vigilance of the guards at the fords, crossed the Ganges, and passing over the *Doab* * province in separate parties under different disguises, assembled at a garden or villa in the suburbs of Delhi, from whence they issued in a body to the royal palace, and there, with much clamour, insisted on the enlargement of Allee Mahummed. There was at this time but a

* This, (as the name signifies) is the country lying between *two rivers*, the Ganges and the Jumna; Delhi is situated upon the latter.

very small force in Delhi ; a considerable part of those lately levied had been already disbanded ; some had been left under the command of Ferid-ad-deen, to secure the tranquillity of the countries beyond the Ganges ; and the remainder had, a little time before, marched under Meer Munnoo, towards Lahore*, as there was an apprehension of the empire being attacked from that quarter :—thus situated, the court was not a little startled at this unexpected and alarming insurrection ; and their ignorance of its origin and extent increased the terror and perplexity of the King and his ministers.—There were, however, among the latter, some Afgan *Amras*, who were in secret not much displeased at this sedition, and they determined to make use of it as an argument for the immediate release of Allee Mahummed, whose enterprising abilities they conceived might contribute to the aggrandizement of their party : they therefore urged the necessity of taking some step in his favour, in order to avert the gathering storm ; because, being exceedingly

exceedingly popular with his countrymen, there was reason to apprehend that the present tumult might extend to a general insurrection of all the *Patâns* in the northern provinces, which, in the imbecile condition the state was then reduced to, might be attended with the most serious consequences.

The unhappy necessity of present circumstances gave such weight to these arguments as at length induced the ministers to yield to the turbulent clamours of Allee Mahummed's adherents ; and the Vizier found himself constrained reluctantly to give way to the tide of general opinion ;—for, though from family connection, and other considerations, he was much the Afghan's friend, yet he by no means considered him a person fit to be entrusted at any distance from the immediate eye of government.

It would have been dangerous, in the present crisis, to suffer Allee Mahummed
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to return to his former possessions ;—the collection of the country of Sirhind was therefore bestowed upon him, where, being at a distance from his original connections, it was presumed he would remain more amenable to the authority of the court ;—Allee Mahummed accordingly proceeded to that place, leaving two of his children with the Vizier as hostages for his fidelity.

Allee Mahummed had, at this period, six sons,—Abdoola Khan, Fyzoola Khan, Sydoola Khan, Mahummed Yar Khan, Allah Yar Khan, and Murtooza Khan ;—of these, the *first* and *second* were the pledges delivered as above.

It was shortly after the appointment of Allee Mahummed to Sirhind that the famous *Ahmed Shah Abdallee* invaded Hindostan. *

No notice has been taken, in its proper place, of the invasion of Nadir Shah, as that event did not, at the time, bear any

* A. H. 1155, A. C. 1744.

direct relation to the history of the Afgans; —but as its destructive consequences to the Mogul power contributed not a little to the facility of forming the Rohilla, and many other independent establishments which soon after sprung up in different parts of India, and, though not in its immediate operation, yet in its subsequent effects, materially tended to alter the general system, it may here be necessary to take a short retrospect, as a proper introduction to what follows.

——— Nadir Shah, after subjugating all the provinces of Persia, and spreading his ravages over the region which formed the ancient empire of Ghizni, advanced into Candahar, from whence he was induced, by the factions which weakened and distracted the Mogul government, to proceed towards Delhi;—and to this step he was, moreover, invited by some malcontent Amras in India, who expected in the ruin of their monarch, and the overthrow of the state, to find opportunities for
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the gratification of their own flagitious ambition.

It was not probable that a weak and effeminate prince, aided (or rather *governed*) by a council composed (the Vizier only excepted) of men of the most abandoned principles, each of whom was solely occupied in the care of his own little interests, without the smallest attention to or regard for the publick good, should be able to conduct an army so as to make an effectual stand against the incursion of troops who had been bred up in war, and were long accustomed to victory:—after an action in which, however, it appears that the Moguls behaved in a manner not altogether unworthy of their ancient character, some of the principal commanders in Mahummed Shah's army, perceiving that the irregular efforts of personal bravery would, in the end, prove no match for the undaunted firmness of Nadir's disciplined veterans, began to despair; whilst those traitors who had invited the Persian to invade their country, and among whom
were

were some of the chief servants of the Emperor, secretly commenced separate negotiations with the enemy;—and intelligence of this being conveyed to Mahummed Shah, the unhappy prince, tottering on the brink of ruin in the midst of his irresolute officers and perfidious ministers, was advised by his Vizier to throw himself upon the mercy and generosity of his adversary. He accordingly surrendered, and was treated with respect; and the Persian forces proceeded towards Delhi, which city Nadir Shah entered upon the ninth of March, A. D. 1739.

The particulars which followed have been minutely related by others : it is therefore sufficient to observe that having, by the seizure of the royal treasury and regalia, by contributions, taxes, and pillages, collected to the enormous value of *seventy millions sterling*, Nadir Shah returned towards Persia, marking his route with horror and devastation. Not very long after, he was assassinated; upon which event, a number
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of rivals immediately started up to dispute the succession to his extensive conquests; and, as is always the case on such occasions, that empire which he had formed with so much risk and labour, and such destruction to the human race, fell to pieces, and became divided into a number of independent sovereignties.

Among other adventurers who raised themselves to royalty upon this occasion was Ahmed Khan, surnamed *Abdallee*.

Ahmed Khan was an Afgan, a native of Herat, of the tribe of Afgans denominated *Dûran Abdâl*, whose ancestors had held a considerable dominion in the mountains which separate Hindostan from Persia:—the fortunes of his family being ruined, and his country overrun by the arms of Nadir Shah, he was constrained to enter into the service of the Persian; and although at first entertained in a very low capacity, was gradually advanced by that discerning prince, on account of his abilities

ties and merit, until he attained the post of *treasurer*, on the last expedition to Hindostan.

Ahmed Khan, taking advantage of the universal confusion which succeeded the murder of the tyrant, found means to carry off a great part of his wealth, with the care of which he was entrusted by the nature of his employment, into some strong recesses in the hills near Ghôrebund in Zabûlistan, which had been the residence of his ancestors.—Here he was joined by such of his tribe as had served in Nadir Shah's army, and having collected together a body of thirty thousand *Durânnees* (as the Afgans of this region are commonly called) issued forth into the neighbouring country, which being at present without any acknowledged head, was easily subjected to his authority ; inasmuch that, in the course of two or three years, he laid the foundation of a new and powerful monarchy, assuming the title of *Ahmed-Shah Abdâllee*.

Ahmed Abdallee, having perfectly established himself in his new acquisitions, began to turn his thoughts towards Hindostan, where the increasing imbecility of the empire gave him hopes of a success similar to that which had attended the expedition of his late master: and with this view he marched eastward, crossed the *Attuck*, and advanced through the country of *Punjab*, a short time before Allee Mahummed was appointed to Sirhind, as already related.—As Ahmed's army consisted of not less than sixty thousand well-appointed cavalry, when his intentions became known, the Sultan and his Amras, as well as all the inhabitants of Delhi and the surrounding country, who even yet severely felt the cruelties of Nadir Shah, were overwhelmed with terror and dejection.---The same intrigues however, which, on the incursion of Nadir Shah, had been so destructive to the public cause, did not at present exist; and the Vizier found himself at liberty to employ his integrity and

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vigour

vigour, unimpeded by the counter-plots which had then obstructed their operation.

Meer Munnoo (the Vizier's son) was ordered to advance towards Lahore*, with such forces as were then at Delhi, to watch Ahmed Shah's motions and retard his progress:—the farther preparations for defence were likely to have received a considerable check from the insurrection of the Afgans in favour of Allee Mahummed; but that business being settled, and accounts daily arriving of the nearer approach of the Abdallee, the Vizier collected what remaining troops he could muster from Rohilcund and other parts; and being farther reinforced by a considerable body of horse under Sefdar Jung, proceeded to join his son, and oppose the invader.

The Vizier advanced to Sirhind, where he found Meer-Munnoo, who had not thought it prudent to venture farther on account of the great superiority of

* p. 68.

the *Duránnees*; the united troops, having lodged all their heavy artillery and superfluous baggage in this place, pursued their route, and had proceeded three days march from thence, when they came within sight of the enemy at a place called *Minówrá*.—Here the adverse armies, as if unwilling to bring matters to any sudden decision, strongly intrenched themselves, and began their operations against each other by a distant cannonade, which was continued for many days, at intervals, without any material loss on either side.--- At length, it unfortunately happened that the Vizier was killed one evening by a random shot, in his tent :---His body was wrapped up in shawls by the attendants, and it was determined, in a council of the chief commanders, which was immediately convened upon this unhappy accident, to keep his death a profound secret, and to attack the enemy the very next morning, before a knowledge of this event should have disheartened the soldiers, who were known to place their chief dependance on
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the approved valour and abilities of the Vizier. Accordingly, a general action ensued next day, in which, after various successs, the troops of Ahmed Abdallee were at length repulsed, with the loss of a considerable part of their artillery, and driven several miles from the field of battle. Ahmed, a few days after, once more tried his fortune against the Mogul forces, and was again defeated; but this able soldier, far from being dismayed by these failures, at the very point when his fortune seemed to be most desperate, suddenly turned the rear of the imperial army, and with a chosen body of cavalry pushing to the eastward, nothing was heard of him for two days, and it was universally imagined that he had gone off towards Candahâr, when he seemed to spring up out of the earth before Sirhind, which immediately surrendered to him. Having levied a hasty contribution in that place, and plundered the neighbouring country, he retired as rapidly as he had advanced, and passing within four miles of the Mogul army in

the night, proceeded towards the Punjab, carrying with him Fyzoola Khan and Abdoola Khan, the two sons of Allee Mahummed whom the Rohilla had left as hostages of his fidelity, on his appointment to Sirhind,—as before mentioned. These young men had accompanied the Vizier thus far, on his march to oppose Ahmed Abdallee; and had been ordered to remain at Sirhind, by which means they fell into the invader's hands, who considered them as the most valuable part of his acquisition in this desultory incursion; as, by his power over them, he would be able to secure the neutrality of Allee Mahummed (whose abilities and enterprising disposition he was well acquainted with)—and even to render him subservient to his future views upon Hindostan.

The command of the Mogul army, which still remained to the westward as a check upon Ahmed Abdallee, devolved upon the gallant Meer Munnoo, son of the

the deceased Vizier, who had signally distinguished himself in the late actions.

The old Sultan, Mahummed Shah, never recovered the shock which he sustained in the death of his favourite, the faithful Kummir-ad deen ;—he died shortly after, and was succeeded in the imperial dignity by his son Ahmed, who appointed Sefdar Jung, the Subadar of Owde, to the high office of the *Vizaret*.

Considering all circumstances, the repulse of the Abdallee was certainly an event which could scarcely have been expected,—and served, for the moment, to keep alive the dying embers of the royal power.—But, whilst some remains of the empire were thus preserved in one quarter, many of its provinces were alienated in another.

It has already been observed that Allee Mahummed still entertained hopes of being able, some time or other, to recover the

Jagheers and other tenures which he had possessed in Rohilcund.

On his arrival at Sirhind, he immediately began to call together his scattered *banditti*, whom he gratified with whatever he could glean from the country which had in so weak a manner been entrusted to his charge; and in consequence of his lavish profuseness to his followers, could make no remittances of revenue to Delhi;—he was, however, deterred from undertaking any thing openly, for the present, by the circumstance of Meer Munnoo being for some time encamped near Sirhind with the advanced division of the royal forces. When he heard that the Vizier was about to march from Delhi with the remainder of the Mogul army, in order to form a junction with Munnoo, he withdrew to Gungapore, a town about sixteen miles distant from Sirhind, under pretence of collecting the rents of that Purgunna, but in reality to avoid an interview with the minister, and to evade any demands which
might

might be made of him in the present exigency :---and, as soon as he understood that the Vizier had passed Sirhind, he proceeded immediately to the Ganges, and crossing that river at Biceghaut, marched directly into the heart of Rohilcund ; and being there joined by the greatest part of his old retainers, presently possessed himself of all the countries which had formerly been in his hands, as well as the Jagheers of Kummir-ad-deen, Sefdar Jung, and others, comprehending almost the whole of Kuttâher.

As a great part of the royal forces had been withdrawn from these provinces to reinforce the main army under the Vizier, the few who were left never attempted any opposition to Allee Mahummed.—Some of the commanders he bought over to his interest ; others he drove away ; and the circumstances of the time preventing the possibility of any measures being taken to remedy his defection, he was left at full liberty to pursue every step which might
be

be necessary for his establishment. He, by contributions and other means, raised considerable sums, which he employed in levying troops, providing artillery-stores, building some forts and repairing others ; and made so rapid a progress in his schemes, that when the government at Delhi was restored to tranquillity, he found himself able to make his own terms with the new Vizier ; and in consequence of a private bargain with the minister, obtained from the Emperor, soon after his accession, grants of all those territories he had lately seized, including the Jagheer of Moradabad, belonging to Kummir-ad-deen, but which had been vacated by his death, that of the Nizam consisting of the district of Bareilly, that of Sefdar Jung consisting of Dampoor and Sheetkootch, together with other estates of many principal Amras ; so that in fact, (if the grants of an impotent prince could be said to bestow any additional title) Allee Mahummed procured, as a subject of the Mogul government, a full and legal authority

authority over the whole of Kuttaher*.

Nothing can afford so strong an instance of the deplorable imbecility to which the court of Delhi was at this period reduced, and of the corruption or infatuation which reigned in its councils, than this conduct towards a man whose whole life had exhibited a continual series of resistance, and contempt of the imperial authority.—We have just seen an effort made to repel a formidable *foreign* foe, attended with success; whilst, from a want of interior political stamina, every Zimeendar raised the standard of rebellion with success, every lawless ruffian committed his enormities without fear of punishment, and every species of rapine and devastation were perpetrated without restraint!—but to return.

Allee Mahummed finding himself at length permanently fixed in what had so long been the object of his wishes, began immediately to settle the interior police of

* A. H. 1157---A. D. 1746.

the territory under proper regulations; and, that he might not be incommoded by the incursions of the petty Rajahs, who held tracts along the foot of the Cumnow hills, he rooted out all those from whom he had any apprehensions, and drove them to the other side of the Ganges, without any regard to their prior right in those lands, which had been the seats of their ancestors for many centuries. This was a mode of acting diametrically opposite to what had ever been observed by the Mahomedan settlers in Hindostan; the Rohilla chief, however, did not stop here; but conducted himself towards all the Hindoos of any rank or consequence in Rohilcund (the only name by which Kuttaher was after this distinguished) with a cruel and unjustifiable severity. He deprived such as were Zimeendars of their lands, and the public officers of their employments, and filled the places thus vacated with his creatures; so that in the space of a few months the country was put completely under a Patan government. This
decided

decided mode of proceeding, although harsh and tyrannical, yet was certainly the only means of securing Allee Mahummed in that absolute independence at which he aimed, as it formed a combination apparently too strong to be shaken or deranged by any measures the court of Delhi might in future adopt for the recovery of its dominion, leaving the revenue of every district at his sole disposal, and opening to him the most secret sources of intelligence;---and accordingly we do not find that, during the remainder of his life, any attempt was made to disturb or subvert the despotic authority of the Afgans in Rohilcund.

Had the life of Allee Mahummed been prolonged, it is certain that he would have raised this country to a high degree of happiness and prosperity ; as, being altogether unmolested by other interference, he employed his whole time in making various wise and salutary regulations, placing his army on a respectable footing, and correcting and arranging the different departments

ments of government with a skill which distinguished his character as much for his policy and prudence in the exercise of power, as his preceding actions, for the perseverance and enterprize by which that power was acquired.

But the time soon arrived, when Allee Mahummed, in common with other successful heroes, was to prove and experience the idle vanity of all the pursuits of ambition.

He had for some years been subject to periodical returns of deafness, but without any material injury to his health in other respects ;—this disorder, about fourteen months after his reinstatement in Rohilcund, returned upon him with uncommon violence, insomuch that it is said he could not hear the report of a cannon ; he was at the same time seized with a dropfy which baffled the skill of the physicians ; and finding that this last disease increased upon him, and that his dissolution approached,

he was anxious to put affairs on such a footing as would secure the inheritance of his territories to his children.

As all his sons were still under age, Allee Mahummed was sufficiently aware that the transfer of the government into any *one* hand until their maturity would be likely to defeat his intention ;—but he hoped by a judicious partition of the whole power among a number of the principal individuals for that period, to create a counterpoise of interests in the community, which might eventually operate in favour of his heirs.

He therefore called together all the chief persons of the Rohilla party ; and it is on this occasion that the first mention is made of Rahmut Khan and Doondy Khan, as bearing any part in the transactions in Rohilcund : the former of these was the uncle and the latter the cousin of Allee Mahummed :—they had heretofore moved in a very humble sphere ; but their

* See Page 5.

relation, upon his final establishment in that quarter, had bestowed upon them the charge of some of his most important districts in the territories of Barélee, and Bissfoolee. He now constituted the former of these *Hafiz*, or chief *Guardian* of his children during their minority ; he likewise joined Doondy Khan in the guardianship appointing him commandant of the troops. He in their presence executed a will, in which he directed that, until the return of his two eldest sons, Fyzoola Khan and Abdoola Khan, (who had been carried off by Ahmed Abdâlee to Candahâr) the supreme government should, under the direction and control of the guardians, be vested in his third son, Sydoola Khan ; and he received from the guardians the most solemn promises and assurances of their inviolable attachment to all his children, which they ratified by oath upon the Koran. These men were, of course, to be necessarily entrusted with a principal share in the executive authority ;—but as a check on the dangerous influence

fluence with which they would hereby become vested, he united with them his kinsmen, Niâmut Khan and Sillabut Khan, in the general administration of affairs. He also created two principal officers of state ; —Futté Khan, one of his most favourite retainers, who had invariably adhered to his interests in every change of his fortune, he nominated to the post of *Khanfaman*, or steward ; and Serdar Khan to that of *Buxy*, or paymaster, to act immediately under the regents. To all these Allee Mahummed gave the government of different districts, which they respectively swore to hold in trust for his children. The whole were, upon every emergency, to consult together for the good of the general state ; and, in case of necessity, each was to lead his proportion of forces into the field, and to pay a *quota* into the grand treasury under the Buxy for the disbursement of contingencies. Allee Mahummed's last care, previous to his decease, was to discharge, with a scrupulous exactness, all the arrears due to his troops ; he also

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distributed

distributed an *advance* among them to the amount of twenty-five lacks of rupees, taking an acknowledgement from every individual, by which each solemnly bound himself to stand by and adhere to the cause of his family; and these acknowledgements were lodged in the *Toshek-Khané*, or chancery, under the care of Fûtte Khan, khanfaman.

Allee Mahummed did not long survive the new arrangement of the Rohilla government; and the circumstances of his death were not less remarkable than the whole tenor of his life. On the morning of his decease, he was carried into the Durbar, where were assembled all the principal persons with whom he entrusted the management of his territories.—Here he publicly declared the particulars of his will, in which he had settled the different divisions of the country upon his sons, according to a distribution therein mentioned;—and intreating their protection of his children, he
expired

expired amidst the united murmurs of sorrow and applause, on the 4th of the second *Jemâd*, in the 1160th year of the Hîgera*, after acquiring a great and lasting reputation among his countrymen.

Allee Mahummed, at his death, left six sons, whose names have been already mentioned†; the two eldest of these were still with Ahmed Abdallee at Candahar‡; the remaining four,—to wit, Sydoola Khan, Mahummed-Yâr Khan, Allah-Yâr Khan, and Murtooza Khan, being yet infants, were committed for the present to the charge of Futté Khan, *khanfaman*, and the guardians provided an adequate establishment for their support.

The death of Allee Mahummed opened the way for several attempts to overset the Afgan interests in Rohilcund, and to drive them from their usurped possessions.

* A. D. 1749. † Page 70. ‡ Page 80.

With this intention, Kûttub-ad-deen, the grandson of Azmut Oolah, repaired to Delhi, and with ease obtained a *Firman* for the succession to the Fowjdarrey of Moradabad. But the power of the court was now reduced so low, that it could not afford any assistance to its servants to enforce the royal mandates : orders were every day issued which never were obeyed, and districts granted which could never be subdued.—Kûttub-ad-deen fatally experienced the truth of this observation :—marching into Rohilcund under the sanction of the royal commission, but with a force by no means equal to such an undertaking, he was met at Dampoor by the Rohilla troops under Doondy Khan, who entirely defeated him, and put all his followers to the sword.

Scarcely was this disturbance quelled, before another more formidable enemy appeared to contend with.

Some years previous to the events we have
been

been relating, the Afgans of the Bungish tribe had made a settlement at Ferrochabad, which from the subsequent imbecility and increasing weakness of the court, had since been (like many other parts of the empire) erected into a sort of independent principality ; paying only a nominal tribute, and acknowledging the authority of the Mogul government, but without exhibiting any real proofs of dependance upon it.—Kâeem Jung Bungish was, at the period here treated of, chief of that tribe, and was stiled “ *Nabob of Ferrochabad.*”—He entertained the same hopes which had deluded Kûttub-ad-deen, of profiting by the death of Allee Mahummed, concluding that the Afgan chiefs in Rohilcund, being deprived of their usual firm support by this event, would easily yield to the first impression he should attempt to make in that quarter. He accordingly prepared a numerous army, and a formidable train of artillery ; and crossing the Ganges on a bridge of boats at Fatty-Ghur, proceeded up the eastern bank of that river, on pretence of

seeking satisfaction for some encroachments which had been made upon him by the Rohillas, and some affronts his people had received from them in the small portion of his territory which lay on that side of the river.

The chiefs in Rohilcund, when they were certified of Kâcem Jung's intention, were at first struck with terror and dismay; as they were well acquainted with his power and bravery, and their government had not yet attained a sufficient degree of firmness to enable it to withstand such a shock without manifest danger. The two eldest sons of Allee Mahummed were moreover absent; and the third, in whom the ostensible authority of the state was vested, was as yet a child, whose presence could inspire but little stability in their councils, or valour in the field. The guardians therefore sent ambassadors to Kâcem Jung, in the most suppliant terms, to deprecate his resentment, and offering to surrender to him the whole territory they were possessed

ferred of to the westward of the Ganges;— they likewise represented to him the ill policy of the Afgan powers quarrelling with and disabling each other, at a time when their force should rather be combined to resist the machinations of their common enemies.

All this reasoning, however, had no effect upon Kâcem Jung, who was determined to aim at nothing less than the total subjugation of Rohilcund; and the sumifive professions of the chiefs indicating a great degree of confusion and alarm, induced him the more obstinately to persist. The Rohillas were therefore obliged to provide against the worst.

The guardians and other ministers assembled their forces, and set young Sydoola Khan at their head, in hopes that his presence, by reminding the soldiers of their former success under his father, might be regarded by them as a propitious cir-

cumstance, and be attended with some good effect.

Kâeem Jung advanced to Owde, and from thence attempted, by directing his route to the eastward, to penetrate into the heart of Rohilcund.

Shortly after, the adverse armies met upon the plains of Dowrey, about fourteen miles from Owlah, where a bloody engagement ensued, in which, after a variety of success, Kâeem Jung being slain by a matchlock shot, his troops at length gave way, and were totally routed.

The Rohillas after this victory seized on all the possessions of Kâeem Jung, to the eastward of the Ganges.

Sefdar Jung, who had by this time acquired an unbounded authority at Delhi, reigning over the Emperor himself as well as the *Amras* of the court with an absolute sway, was much pleased at this breach between
between

tween the Afgan powers, whose growing influence in the northern provinces was greatly dreaded by him ; and had indeed been no inconsiderable check upon his ambitious designs ;—nor was the consequent defeat and death of Kâeem Jung less agreeable to him, as that chief had often treated the orders of the supreme government, and the Emperor's requisitions of supplies for the service of the state, with the most contemptuous indifference and neglect ; and these events afforded an opportunity for recovering the dominion of Ferrochabad, and seizing on the treasure and effects of the deceased as a punishment for his contumacy. With this design the Vizier marched from Delhi at the head of a considerable force, and invested Ferrochabad.

Kâeem Jung's family having been left at Ferrochabad without any protection, were in no condition to oppose Sefdar Jung, and endeavoured to make their peace, by surrendering to him their whole property ;—but he, in order to prevent any future attempt

tempts to revenge this extortion in behalf of the Emperor, seized Kâeem Jung's mother, and some others of his relations, and sent them to the fort of Allehabad ; —determining to hold them as hostages for the future demeanour of their party.

In the mean time, Ahmed Khan Bungish, the brother of Kâeem Jung, after the battle of Dowrey, collected the remains of the defeated troops at Maw. Here he was joined by his brother's wife, who had contrived to effect her escape from Ferrochabad, and brought with her some money and jewels, and a few faithful followers. These propitious events served to support the declining spirit of the Ferrochabad Afgans ; and numbers of them flocked in every day from all parts of the country to the standard of Ahmed. This soon enabled him to proceed to action ; and he presently marched to Ferrochabad, drove the troops of Sefdar Jung out of that city, and put to death all those who had been any way

way instrumental in the misfortunes of his family.

Rajah Newel Rây, who was a favourite retainer of Sefdar, and acted as his deputy in the province of Oude, immediately marched with a great army from that place to attempt the recovery of Ferrochabad.

Ahmed Khan Bungish had by this time so much strengthened himself, that he took the resolution of marching out to meet the deputy, who had passed over the Ganges at Kinnoge, about thirty miles below Ferrochabad, and was already some way advanced on his route towards that city. Their forces engaged upon the banks of the Calli-Nudee (a small river which runs into the Ganges) and after an obstinate conflict, the Rajah being at length slain, his troops fled on every quarter.—Ahmed Khan pursued them for several cofs from the field of battle with terrible slaughter; and following his blow, he crossed the Ganges on the bridge of boats which Newel Rây had constructed

constructed upon that river at Kinnoge, and marching directly to Oude, seized on all the treasure and effects of Sefdar Jung.

The Vizier, incensed at this overthrow, most basely and cruelly caused all the individuals of the Bungish family, whom he had imprisoned, to be put death ; and taking forty pieces of the royal artillery from Delhi, marched in person with what force he could muster against Ahmed, who immediately returned from Oude toward the Ganges, and passing over on the bridge of boats before mentioned, disposed a part of his troops so as effectually to cover the territory of Ferrochabad, and with the remainder prepared directly to meet and engage the royal forces. This boldness intimidating the cowardly Vizier ; and after some skirmishes, in which Ahmed Khan was generally successful, the contending parties at length met on a large plain near the village of *Pattiáree*, within twelve miles of Ferrochabad, where ensued one of the fiercest engagements recorded in the
struggles

struggles of the declining empire.—At first, the action, from the superiority of forces (particularly artillery) seemed rather to incline in favour of the royal army ; but during the hottest part of the engagement there suddenly arose a *sand-storm*, (common in those parts of India) which blew with violence directly in the faces of the Moguls ; and the Afgans, improving this advantage, rushed on in the bosom of a thick cloud of dust, and charged their enemies with irresistible impetuosity.—The Vizier's troops being blinded by the sand, could neither judge of the number, nor distinguish the attack of their assailants ; their panick was increased by the whirlwind and darkness which surrounded them, and in a few minutes they gave way and fled with the utmost precipitation. All the Vizier's artillery was taken, and his infantry cut off to a man.—He himself escaped with difficulty, and two days after arrived at Delhi in a transport of rage and despair. He now resolved, at all events, utterly to extirpate the Afgans, and to

risk the existence of his own power, and of the ruinous remains of the empire, to effect his purpose, by calling in the aid of the Hindoo powers, whose alliance was scarcely less destructive than their enmity.

In pursuance of this resolution, he drew the whole of the money out of the royal treasury; and finding this to be insufficient, laid Delhi and the neighbouring country under a heavy contribution.—He next entered into a treaty with the Mahratta chiefs, Apa-Jee and Mulhar-Row, procuring their alliance by giving them a large sum in advance, and bonds to a considerable amount, in consequence of which they joined him with a body of fifty thousand horse.—By similar means he procured the assistance of Soorâj Mull with a number of Jâts.

With these united forces the Vizier advanced once more towards Ferrochabad.

Ahmed Khan prepared to oppose them ;
but

but finding himself unable to contend, alone, with so powerful a confederacy, he applied to the Rohilla chiefs for assistance, representing this as a common cause, in which the whole of the Afgan powers should feel themselves equally concerned. These chiefs, however, were much averse to involving themselves in a quarrel, from the most favourable issue of which they could derive no essential benefit, and in case of defeat had every thing to fear;—they would not, therefore, pay any attention to this representation; upon which Ahmed Khan sent his mother, who was a woman of great art, and possessed of a masculine understanding, to endeavour to negotiate an alliance with the Rohillas, and to settle all matters of dispute that had arisen between them and Kâeem Jung.

The Begum accordingly repaired to Kuttaher, and applied severally to the chiefs, but to no purpose; they declared “ that
 “ they had no objection to compromise
 “ every dispute with the Bungish family;
 “ but,

“ but, that they could by no means think
“ of involving themselves in a new quar-
“ rel with the united forces of the Empe-
“ ror, the Jâts, and the Mahrattas, the
“ event of which must, in some respects,
“ be prejudicial to them, and might prove
“ totally ruinous to their interests.”——

As a last resource, the old Begum waited on Sydoola Khan, and using every artful insinuation that could flatter his vanity or inflame his ambition, at length persuaded him to take a part in Ahmed's quarrel with the Vizier, notwithstanding the strong remonstrances of the guardians and other ancient chiefs :—he accordingly prepared to join Ahmed, accompanied only by Futtee Khan and his troops, as Hafiz Rahmut and Doondee Khan so entirely disapproved of this rash proceeding, that they positively refused to take any part in it.

The Rohillas do not appear, on this occasion, to have acted with much systematick prudence.—By permitting a *part* of their forces to join Ahmed Khan they drew
upon

upon themselves the resentment of a power which, if successful in the first instance, they would not be able to withstand;—or, by suffering a narrow and selfish policy to outweigh every more remote consideration, they, in the wilful sacrifice of a natural ally, laid the foundation of their own misfortunes.

Whilst these transactions took place in Rohilcund, Ahmed Khan, in the meantime, finding himself utterly unable to attempt any opposition against the prodigious force of the Vizier, evacuated Ferrochabad, and crossing the Ganges at Futtu Ghur, destroyed the boats upon that river for many miles, and joined Sydoola Khan at Amraopore.—The whole Afgan force, when united, did not much exceed fifteen thousand men.

Sefdar Jung, when he arrived at Ferrochabad, finding that place desolate, immediately dispatched a body of Mahratta

horse to seize the boats at Ramgaut, about seventy miles higher up the river.

It would appear that the allied army of the Afgans was not properly disposed, or that the commanders were not sufficiently active in defending the passages of the river, which Sefdar Jung, in a few days crossed at the above place, with little opposition. This necessarily obliged the Afgans, who had before advanced to the southward, to fall hastily back in order to cover Rohilcund. Sefdar Jung halted for some days at Assidpore, near the fords and from thence wrote to Sydoola Khan and Futtee Khan, requiring them immediately to forsake the Bungish chief, and repair to the royal standard.—He also dispatched *Firmans* in the name of the Emperor, to the other Rohilla chiefs, demanding the Mogul government's proportion of the revenues for the last three years, which they had never rendered any account of.

The guardians now felt the fatal effects
of

of that equivocal and indecisive mode of conduct which they had adopted, in suffering one of their body to engage in this dispute. They found themselves involved, and they must either take an active part, and openly rebel against the acknowledged authority of their sovereign, or submit to such terms as might be imposed upon them. It may readily be conceived that they adopted the former alternative :—instead, therefore, of returning any direct answer to the aforesaid demand, they proposed to join the other confederate Afgans with their forces, in order to oppose the Vizier ;—but before this junction could be effected, Sefdar Jung, aware of their intentions, marched directly to attack Ahmed Khan and his allies, who fell back at his approach, wishing to avoid an action until they should be reinforced ; but the imperial forces still continuing to press upon them, a battle ensued in the neighbourhood of Islamnagurr, fourteen miles from Bissoollee, in which the Afgans, from the

irresistable superiority of the enemy, were, soon totally routed and dispersed.

An universal panick immediately spread among all the Afgans throughout the Rohilla territories.—The guardians carried off Allee Mahummed's children to Owlah, and finding no safety there, fled with their families and treasure to a strong post in the Cummôw hills, a short distance above Loldông.—Here they intrenched themselves, and rendered their situation impregnable against any sudden attack; which they were allowed abundant leisure to accomplish by the unaccountable dilatoriness of their enemies, who, instead of prosecuting their blow with vigour, halted near the field of battle several days, and afterwards advanced towards the hills by very easy marches.—At length, when the imperial troops arrived before the post which the Rohillas occupied, Sefdar Jung, judging it extremely hazardous to attempt an attack, resolved to form a sort of blockade, in hopes of reducing them by famine; and
when

when his heavy artillery arrived (which had been delayed in their approach by the thickness of the woods and the badness of the roads) he commenced a cannonade against the Rohilla works, but with little effect. The Afgans, during these operations, made many sallies, and some with considerable success: they also found means to be supplied with provisions from the hills in their rear sufficient to subsist them for some months;—but they became sickly from the unhealthfulness of the place in which they were pent up, and must soon have been reduced, had not the intrigues of the court, and the obstructions Sefdar Jung met with in his own army, contributed to their deliverance.

Whilst the Vizier was prosecuting his operations against the Rohillas, advices were received from Delhi that Ahmed Abdallee, having repulsed the royal forces, was marching against that place with a large army; determined, as was supposed, to depose Ahmed Shah, and establish himself

upon the imperial throne. The Emperor, at the same time, wrote to the Vizier with his own hand, requiring him in the most pressing terms to return directly to court ; and he moreover found himself greatly embarrassed by the clamours of his allies, the Jâts and Mahrattas, who were already weary of the tedious service in which he had engaged them, and which was so ill suited to their ideas and habits of warfare ; —a severe sickness, also, began to rage in his camp. In the perplexity occasioned by all these untoward circumstances, Sefdar Jung found himself, unwillingly, constrained to accede to the offer proposed to him by the Rohillas ; and he agreed to grant them a peace, on the slender foundation of their delivering him bonds to the amount of fifty lacks of rupees, to be discharged out of the ensuing collections of the country ; with a promise of paying every year in future, a *peishkush*, or quit-rent, of five lacks to the Emperor, of whom they solemnly professed to hold their territories in fealty. The bonds, the obligations of which the
Rohillas

Rohillas had not the most distant idea of ever fulfilling, were delivered by Sefdar Jung to the Mahratta commander, Mulhar Row, as a security for a part of the subsidy still remaining due to him* ; and, on the before-mentioned terms, the Afgans were reinstated in all their former possessions, and affairs in Rohilcund once more bore the appearance of tranquillity †.

The circumstance which had so suddenly recalled the Vizier to Delhi, proved to be only a false alarm.

Ahmed Abdâllee had passed the *Jenâub* ‡, and laid the country to the east-

* It may not here be improper to remark that this event, however remotely, may be considered as the *origin* of all the subsequent revolutions in Rohilcund; being the foundation of the Mahratta claims in that quarter.

† A. H. 1164.—A. C. 1753.

‡ One of the five rivers which, watering the territory of Punjab, fall into the *Indus* in the province of *Moultan*.

ward of that river under contribution ;— but it does not appear that he had any farther intentions at that time ; as, on the approach of a part of the Mogul army under Meer Munnoo, he again retreated towards Candahâr, without offering to come to action. This desultory expedition, however, afforded an opportunity to some of the Afgan Amras at court, who favoured the cause of the Rohillas, and hated the Vizier, to impede the operations of the latter, by greatly exaggerating the danger of the empire from the incursions of the Abdâlles ; and the Emperor, as we have seen, weakly entered into the views of these nobles, in pressing him to return. Thus was lost the only opportunity that perhaps should ever occur, of totally subverting the power of the rebellious Afgans, and reducing these provinces to complete subjection.

It was on this incursion that Ahmed Abdâllee, in order to attach the Rohillas to his interest, released Abdoola Khan and
Fyzoola

Fyzoola Khan, the sons of Allee Mahummed, and loading them with presents, permitted them to depart for Lahore, where they were met by some Rohilla commanders, who conducted them to *Kuttáber*.—

The Abdállee, at the same time, wrote letters to Hafiz Rahmut and the other chiefs, strongly recommending a strict attention to the will of Allee Mahummed, and requiring them to receive and acknowledge these young men and their brothers as his proper heirs, and to establish them forthwith in their inheritance.

On the approach of the brothers, they were met at Banghaut upon the Ganges, by the guardians, who received them with every possible mark of distinction and respect, and accompanied them to Oulah, where their four younger brothers at this period resided.

Here the sons of Allee Mahummed lived together a short time with great cordiality and satisfaction; but some trifling disputes

disputes arising from so many of them residing in the same place, where each was attended by a numerous train of dependants, whose frequent squabbles gave occasion for continual altercation, it was judged expedient by the guardians to separate them ; and, in a general council of the chiefs held upon the occasion, it was determined to effect this by investing them with their inheritance.

Even in this first execution of their trust, however, the guardians deviated considerably from the will of Allee Mahummed :—instead of putting his sons into possession of the respective portions of inheritance therein specified, an equal partition was made of all his acquisitions and usurpations into three parts, each valued at thirteen lacks annual produce, which were allotted to the three eldest brothers respectively ; and the three youngest were severally provided for as coheirs with the others.

By this arrangement, Abdoola Khan
and

and Murtooza Khan got Owlah, and the countries to the northward ; Fyzoola Khan and Mahummed Yar, Barellee ; and Sydoola Khan and Allah-Yar Khan, Moradabad ;—and a treaty of perpetual friendship and alliance being executed by the brothers, Sydoola Khan proceeded to take possession of his government at Moradabad, and Abdoola Khan and Fyzoola Khan remained at Owlah.

But, however anxious the guardians might appear to establish and secure the interests of their wards by the above partition, it is certain they by no means designed that it should be a *lasting* one. If the brothers continued upon terms of mutual amity and good understanding with each other, as they must soon arrive at maturity, the consequence and power of the guardians and other ministers throughout the country would cease of course. Under this apprehension, and actuated by an ambition which overlooks every obstacle, and overleaps every bound of honour and virtue, they

they determined to adopt such measures as must effectually overfet the intentions of Allee Mahummed, and leave the management of the government at all times entirely in their own power.—To obtain this end, nothing appeared fo well calculated as fowing the feeds of diffenfion and diftruff among the family of Allee Madummed: as foon, therefore, as Fyzoola Khan and his brother were fettled at Owlah, the creatures and emiffaries placed about them by the guardians begun, by the moft artful infinuations, to excite a difagreement and jealousy between them, refpecting the claims of fome of their followers: this, at firft, occafioned only fome fmall bickerings, but thefe foon broke out into an open quarrel.

A riot enfued, one morning, among their domefticks; it had originated in fome very trifling circumftances: but each of the brothers warmly efpoufing the caufe of his own fervants, and the minds of all
being

being already sufficiently inflamed by the underhand practices of those employed for that purpose, the disturbance soon became general. Both parties flew to arms,—and every thing bore the appearance of the most alarming insurrection. In the midst of this confusion, a number of Rohillas found an opportunity to gratify their customary avidity for pillage, by plundering the *bazars* of Owlah.—At length, night, and the interference of Hafiz Rahmut and Doondee Khan, helped to quell the uproar.

The guardians had now a specious pretext for carrying the preface to their projected scheme into execution ; and soon after, accusing Abdoola Khan and his adherents of having been the first aggressors in the foregoing affray, they sentenced him to be deprived of his share in the government, and banished him to the other side of the Ganges :—thither he was voluntarily accompanied by his brothers, Allah Yar and Mahummed Yar. This violent measure, however, excited such universal disgust among the numerous retai-

ners to Allee Mahummed's family, that the guardians soon found themselves constrained to make some alteration in their plan ; —therefore, after having previously superseded the seniority of Abdoola Khan by investing his brother Sydoola Khan with the ostensible insignia of authority, they thought proper to recal the former, and settled upon him the districts of Sehswan, Oojânee and Shiddad-Naggûrr, producing between four and five lacks annual revenue, and to the second of the above places he shortly after retired, determining altogether to seclude himself from any farther concern in publick affairs.—At the same time, under pretence of the youth and inexperience of Fyzoola Khan, the guardians took out of his hands the management of those countries which had fallen to his lot in the general partition, and settled upon him a small district of five lacks, including the Purgûnnas of Rampore, Shawbad and Chatcheet ; and Fyzoola Khan soon after repaired to the city of Rampore, which place has from that period been his principal residence,

Having

to their views, the guardians proceeded without farther reserve, to the completion of them, and made the *real* partition of the Rohilla dominion among themselves, which they had intended from the time of Allee Mahummed's death.

By this new settlement, Hafiz Rahi got the districts of Barêllee and Peeleab Morâdabad fell to the share of Doo Khan, together with the country extending from thence to the city of Bissool—and the districts of Owlâh, Budâh Owste, Koot and Ahrat were equally divided between Sirdar Khan, the Buxy, Futtee Khan, the Khanfaman; an acquisition which was sufficient to detach them from the interests of the heirs of their former master. As no territory was set upon Sydoola Khan, whom the guardians to serve their own purposes, still continued to support in the station to which they raised him, a provision was made for him by a pension of eight lacks per annum.

which two were furnished by the Khanfaman, three by Hafiz Rahmut, and three by Doondee Khan. No attention whatever was paid to three younger sons of Allee Mahummed in this adjustment, and they were left either to starve, or respectively to depend upon their brothers, according to the first settlement.—“ Thus” (to use the emphatick expressions of the Rohilla historian)—“ giving their honour
“ to the winds, and suffering the tide of
“ avarice and ambition to sweep away the
“ dying injunctions of their benefactor in
“ to the ocean of oblivion, the guardians
“ iniquitously deprived the children of
“ Allee Mahummed of their birthright,
“ and seized the reins of authority with
“ the hand of ingratitude !”——But this revolution*, although it changed the property, did not make any material alteration in the state with respect to its constitutional arrangement, and the publick business con-

* A. H. 1165---A. D. 1754.

tinued to be carried on in the same train as formerly.

Sydoola Khan, who was a young man of high spirit, being exceedingly incensed at the iniquitous proceedings of Hafiz Rahmut, and his colleagues, retired from Oulah in disgust. Murtooza Khan, from the same motive, went off to Secunderabâd, where he soon after died: and his brother, Allah Yâr, was about this time seized with a consumption, which in a few weeks proved fatal to him,

We have here related all the principal domestick transactions of the Rohillas, until the ultimate settlement of their internal system:—but they had not, in the mean time, remained idle spectators of the contending struggles of the various newly-established powers around them; and several incidents occurred, during the period we have been treating of, which, in their events greatly tended to the increase of their po-
K
litical

litical weight and influence, as well as to the extension of their dominion.

Sefdar Jung, not very long after the fruitless event of his last expedition against the Rohillas, having murdered Juneid Khan, the favourite of the Emperor, Ahmed Shah, and committed many other enormities, was, by that monarch deprived of the *Vizaret*, and degraded from his rank ; in consequence of which he rebelled against his sovereign, and even besieged him in his capital : but he was frustrated in all his efforts, by the superior bravery and abilities of Ghazee-ad-deen Khan, who commanded in Delhi under the Emperor ; and being compelled to relinquish this undertaking, retired to Owde, where he shortly after died, and was succeeded in his dominion by his son, Suja-al-Dowlah, who, however, did not obtain any *royal deed*, by which he might ostensibly fix his claim to the succession, until some time after. This prince, who, whatever defects of character he might labour under, was

an artful and able politician, foreseeing the approaching distresses of the empire, totally withdrew himself for a time from all connections with the court, and wisely gave his whole attention to the regulation of the interior œconomy of his government, and the provision of such means of defence as might secure him from the effect of any change which should happen to take place in the Mogul administration.

Soon after the decease of Sefdar Jung, Ghazee-ad-deen, who now possessed the whole power at court, having reason to apprehend that Ahmed Shah, who equally dreaded and hated him, had formed a plan for his destruction, deposed the unfortunate Emperor, and deprived him of his sight; and releasing from confinement the prince Yâaz-ad-deen, who (with many others of the royal family) had passed the greatest part of his life within the walls of a prison, set him upon the throne, under the title of “ *Allumgeer the Second.*”

Suja-al-Dowlah had ever dreaded the abilities and growing power of Ghazee-ad-deen, whose principles he knew to be as flagitious as his ambition was unbounded. This last bold measure had left all the remaining force and riches of the empire at that minister's disposal; and he had lately made some overtures to an alliance with Ahmed Khan Bungish (who on the capitulation of the Rohillas to Sefdar Jung had been suffered to return to Ferrochabad, and to re-establish himself there) by flattering him with a promise of appointing him to the office of *Meer Buxy*, or paymaster of the empire, evidently with a view to procure his assistance in a plan which Ghazee-ad-deen had at this time formed for the conquest of Oude, as a fief of the Mogul empire, the grant of which had ceased on the death of the former Subadâr.

Suja-al-Dowlah was not a little disconcerted upon the discovery of the minister's designs; and as he was willing to embrace every possible means of strengthening himself

self against the approaching danger, he dispatched ambassadors with considerable presents to the Rohilla chiefs, and wrote a letter to young Sydoola Khan, (whose elder brothers had not, as yet, been liberated by Ahmed Adállee) requesting his friendship, and representing how much the common interest of all independent states was concerned in withstanding the present intentions of the minister.

The chiefs, on the receipt of the Subadâr of Oude's letters, did not long deliberate on what part they should act.—They well knew that, in the event of the subjugation of Suja-al-Dowlah, their own overthrow would be a certain consequence; as they had already incurred the penalties of disobedience and breach of faith by neglecting to fulfil any one of the articles of their late capitulation; and, in case of being attacked by Ghazee-ad-deen, had nothing to hope for from the factions at court, which had formerly impeded the operations of Sefdar Jung. They therefore returned a

favourable answer, and, within a few weeks, entered into a formal treaty of alliance with Suja-al-Dowlah ; each party mutually engaging to support the other against all enemies.

Mean time, Ghazee-ad-deen having effected his treaty with Ahmed Khan Bungish, arrived at Ferrochabad with a considerable army ; and was there joined by that chief with a body of twenty thousand Patâns.—From hence he marched to Mindy-Ghaut, and constructing a bridge of boats upon the Ganges, advanced to Goojer-poor, on the eastern side of the river, and dispatched a message to Suja-al-Dowlah, demanding in the Emperor's name, the immediate cession of the country ; and requiring him forthwith to deliver up the treasure and jewels of his deceased father, forfeited by his disobedience and rebellion. To this peremptory message the Nabob returned an evasive answer, and opened a negotiation with Ghazee-ad-deen, merely with a view to create delay : he had, in
the

the interim, repeatedly dispatched expresses to the Rohillas, informing them of the imminent danger in which he stood.—At length, the chiefs collecting the whole of their forces, proceeded to his relief.

As the Rohilla army amounted to upwards of thirty thousand men, Ghazee-addeen judged it prudent to endeavour to draw them off from their connection with the Subadâr; and for this purpose he caused a *Firman*, under the royal seal, to be directed to Sydoola Khan, “ requiring the assistance
“ of the Afgans against the rebellious son
“ of the traitor, Sefdar Jung.”—The Rohillas, however, understood their own interest too well to join in the views of the minister, as they were fully aware of the depth of his policy and the boldness and extent of his designs, and knew that the inevitable consequence of Suja-al Dowlah’s defeat must be their own extirpation from their assumed dominion in Kuttâher.—They therefore adhered firmly to the cause of their ally, insisted on the royal

forces immediately evacuating his territories, and took post in such a situation that Ghazee-ad-deen could not have attempted to advance without risking an engagement; and apprehending that his army would by no means be an equal match for the united forces of his opponents, the minister agreed to compromise the business with Suja-al-Dowlah for the small sum of five lacks of rupees, and an obligation to pay to the Emperor an annual tribute to the same amount in future; and the cash being paid, and the proper bonds executed by the Nabob, and guaranteed by the counter-signature of Sydoola Khan in the name of the Rohilla states, the royal forces returned towards Delhi; and the Rohillas marched back to their own country.

It was about this period that Ahmed Abdallee released the two eldest sons of Allee Mahummed, as before mentioned.

The northern provinces of Hindostan had already suffered much from the intestine
broils

trons of their rulers, when a new and more destructive convulsion took place, which soon reduced many of them to a state of general desolation.

Soon after the Rohillas had returned from Oude, the *Mahrattas*, encouraged by the debility of the court, and the present discordant state of all the Mussulman powers, invaded the *Doab* with a considerable army, and spread their ravages over the whole country between the Ganges and the *Jumna*, until they reached the territories of *Nijeeb-al-Dowlah*, of whom it may be here necessary to give some account.

This extraordinary man was an Afgan of the *Kummer-Khail* tribe, who had, in his early youth, come from the mountains of *Candahâr*, to seek his fortune under his uncle, *Bisharet Khan*. With him he followed the standard of *Allee Mahummed*, and the uncle dying, succeeded to his command under that adventurer.—*Allee Mahummed*, on his final establishment in *Rohilcund*,
had

had rewarded his services with a grant of a small district which forms the northern part of that province.

After Allee Mahummed's death, Nijeeb-al-Dowlah still remained firmly attached to the interests of the Rohillas; and in their last war with Sefdar Jung, when they took refuge in the hills, he remarkably signalized himself in their defence; and on several occasions, by his valour and good conduct, greatly retarded the approaches of the enemy; in consequence of which, when affairs were settled, he had some additions made to his districts; and Doondy Khan bestowed upon him his eldest daughter in marriage.—Thus strengthened and connected, he was joined by a multitude of Afgan freebooters, and by their means possessed himself of all that valuable tract of country stretching westward from the Ganges to the district of Siharpore, along the foot of the hills, and southward almost to the gates of Delhi; and as,
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in the present distractions of the empire, there were no immediate claimants to dispute his right, he soon established himself in this quarter. From hence he repaired to court, where all ranks and orders of society seemed to be confounded, and every individual, however infamous, was at liberty to raise himself to distinction by the force of his abilities, or the power of his arm.—Here he conducted himself with such address as soon ingratiated him with some of the leading men, and Ghazee-addeen, conscious of his inability to dispossess him of the country he had seized, and in hopes of rendering him subservient to his future views, obtained for him from Ahmed Shah a royal grant of all those territories : thus he soon grew into great consequence, and afterwards became a powerful supporter of the Rohilla interests.

On the approach of the *Mahrattas*, as already related, Nijeeb-al-Dowlah collected

lected his forces together, in order to oppose these powerful invaders; but, after some skirmishes, finding he was unable to withstand them in the open field, he threw himself, with the greatest part of his forces, into some strong entrenchments at *Sooker-Tall* upon the western bank of the Ganges, and wrote to his friends at Kuttâher for assistance; in consequence of which the chiefs immediately dispatched Buxy Sirdar Khan with his forces to Nijeeb-al-Dowlah's aid, and wrote to Sujal-Dowlah, requiring of him, in the present exigency, a return of those good offices which they had rendered him some months ago; in conformity to which, the Subadâr collected together some of his troops, and advanced by rapid marches towards the scene of action.

In the mean time, a body of Mahrattas crossed the Ganges at a ford near *Hirdewar*, and laid waste all the portion of Nijeeb-al-Dowlah's country which was situated to the eastward of that river; continually
eluding,

cluding, by the rapidity of their movements, every attempt of the Rohillas to bring them to action ; but on the approach of Suja-al-Dowlah, they thought it most adviseable to retreat. On the junction of the Subadâr of Owde with the Afgans, the whole prepared to pass the Ganges and attack the Mahrattas in the Doâb ; but, on receiving intelligence of this design, the latter raised the blockade by which they had hitherto confined Nijeeb-al-Dowlah within his intrenchments, and having plundered all the open country, retired towards Agra.—The Rohillas still remained in the field ; but Suja-al-Dowlah, on the Mahrattas going off, returned to Oude.

It was at this period that Ahmed Abdâl-lee directed his attention a second time towards Hindostan.

He had long been checked in his designs upon this side by Meer Munnoo, who with great valour and good conduct protected for a time the shattered remains of the empire

pire towards the *Punjab*.—Unfortunately, this gallant general was killed by an accident: and the royal army were so dispirited by this event, and fell into such disorder from the want of a proper leader, that Ahmed Abdâllee with ease established himself in all the province of Lahore, took that city with little opposition, and obliged the Mogul forces to fall back to Sirhind.

It would be difficult to paint a more distressful scene than what the court at Delhi at this time exhibited. Allumgeer II. the wretched representative of the house of Timur, found himself surrounded by the factions of contending nobles, who, utterly devoid of every sentiment of loyalty and attachment, supported him in the nominal assumptions of regal dignity, merely with a view to render him subservient to their schemes of ambition; and were ready at any time to take him off by the bowl or the dagger, when it should suit their purpose.

Soon

Soon after the death of Meer Munnoo, this unhappy prince privately invited Ahmed Abdâlle to Delhi, and besought his protection against his own servants.

The Candahâr prince had reasons sufficient to induce him to comply readily with this request. He therefore marched from Lahore with an army of seventy thousand Durânees; and whilst upon his march, he wrote to the sons of Allee Mahammed (whom he had lately set free) and to the other Rohilla chiefs, requiring their assistance in settling the affairs of the empire; and promising them such rewards as, by their means in forwarding his measures, he might be enabled to bestow upon them.—He wrote to the same effect to Nijeeb-al-Dowlah; that chief, however, was constrained from political motives to dissemble, as he held a high office under Ghazee-ad-deen; and the minister having resolved to march against the *Durânees*, Nijeeb-al-Dowlah joined him, for the present, with his troops; but secretly pledged himself

himself to the King (whose sole desire was to overthrow Ghazee-ad-deen) that he would go over to Ahmed Abdâllee on the very first opportunity ; and he even gave that prince private intimation of his design. The chiefs in Rohilcund took a more open and decided part in favour of Ahmed Abdâllee. On the receipt of his letters, Fyzoola Khan, with two of his brothers, proceeded to Sirhind, where they found the Candahâr prince ; and giving him many valuable presents, assured him of the inviolable attachment of the Rohillas to his interests.

From Sirhind Ahmed Abdâllee advanced towards Delhi.—Ghazee-ad-deen attempted to retard his progress and was preparing to give him battle, when he found himself suddenly deserted by Nijeeb-al-Dowlah and his forces, which constituted a chief part of his army. The minister soon perceived the snare into which he had fallen ; but his abilities enabled him to ward off the ruin intended by it : with
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a decisive promptitude, and a confidence in the honour of his enemy, which are seldom seen in that part of the world, he delivered himself up to the Abdâllee, and soon found means to allay the resentment and conciliate the favour of that prince ; mean while, the Abdâllee marched unmolested to Delhi, which city he entered on the eleventh day of September, 1757:

He had here an interview with the Emperor, of whom he demanded a *subsidy* to defray the expence of this expedition, which he professed to have been undertaken entirely at his instigation. The weak monarch gave him authority under his seal to levy a contribution upon this account, to the amount of a *crore* of rupees, on Delhi and the adjacent country ; and this exaction being enforced with exceeding severity, some disturbances arose in the course of it, the consequence of which was a dreadful massacre and general pillage of the miserable inhabitants ; and the unhappy Allumgeer saw the result of the desperate step he

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had

had pursued, in the destruction of his capital, and the overthrow of the last remnant of the Mogul greatness.

It were painful to dwell upon such horrid scenes : suffice it to say that, after having permitted his soldiers for fifty-six days to commit at pleasure every lawless outrage, Ahmed Abdâllee reinstated Ghazee-ad-deen in his office, delivered the Emperor back into the power of that minister, who was now become his implacable enemy, and marched southward against the *Jâts*, who had of late erected a powerful establishment in the countries about Agra.

On this expedition, Ahmed Abdâllee was accompanied by Hafiz Rahmut with a large body of Rohillas.

Agra was still held in the Emperor's name.—Fazil Khan, the governor, shut his gates, and refused the Candahâr prince admittance, upon which he besieged it in form ; but the inhabitants, warned by the

recent fate of Delhi, so well seconded the bravery of their governor, that Ahmed Abdâllee, after lying before the place for six weeks, found it adviseable to raise the siege. He next attacked the Jâts, and having taken many of their strong holds, (which he put into the possession of the Rohilla chiefs,) and plundered all the open country round Agra, on the approach of the rainy season, he retired into cantonments at Anapshêér, in June, 1758.

During his stay at this place, Ahmed Abdâllee, into whose hands the preceding events had thrown the whole power of the state, took upon him, under pretence of regulating the affairs of the Mogul government, to give away provinces and depose or set up rulers at pleasure: and as the Rohillas had so entirely coincided in all his measures, he divided among them the districts which he had lately overrun in the *Doâb*: to Nijeeb-al-Dowlah he allotted the Jagheer of Secundna; to Fyzoola Khan, Shikohabâd; and to Sydoola Khan, Jella-

fer and Fyrozabad : and upon Hafiz Rahmut and Doondy Khan he bestowed the government of *Etáwa*, comprehending all the territory between Agra and Kulpec. It is to be observed, however, that the greatest part of this distribution was, for the present at least, merely nominal ; the Rohillas being as yet in no condition to avail themselves of it to any great extent.

On the breaking up of the rains, Ahmed Abdállee proceeded to Delhi, and intended to have spent a few weeks in the neighbourhood of that place ; but having received, about this time, some disagreeable intelligence from his own country, he set off suddenly for that quarter.

The unfortunate Emperor was now entirely in the power of his implacable minister : Nijceb-al-Dowlah, in whom alone he could place any confidence, was busied in securing the districts which had been put in his possession by Ahmed Abdállee ; and Ghazee-ad-deen, no longer feeling any
check

check from the Candahâr prince, behaved with the utmost cruelty to Allumgeer Shah, confined him within certain apartments of his palace, made use of his name as an authority for the commission of every enormity, and even endeavoured to secure the person of the prince, Allee Gohar*, who with difficulty escaped from him.

At length the unhappy Allumgeer found an opportunity to write to Ahmed Abdâllee an account of his situation, and once more applied to him for relief, to which the Candahâr prince returned a favourable reply, promising to settle his own affairs, and proceed to Delhi with all possible expedition, and threatening Ghazee-ad-deen with the severest punishment. By some mismanagement this letter fell into the minister's hands, and he, in revenge of the Emperor's appeal to the Abdâllee, had him assassinated.

As the prince, Allee Gohar, who was the next heir to the throne, had fled from

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* The present Emperor.

the machinations of the minister, and at the period of his father's murder, was wandering through the country, and applying to different princes for protection and relief, the empire was for some time without any acknowledged head, and the reign of the house of Timur seemed to be an end.

The Mahrattas had retired to their own country, as before related, and were prevented from undertaking any thing to the northward again, during the stay of Ahmed Abdâllee;—and it was at this juncture that they were induced, from the deranged posture of affairs, and the universal anarchy which seemed to prevail in every department of the Mogul state, to attempt overturning the Mahommedan, and establishing the ancient Hindoo government.

With this view, Bala Row, the Peishwa, levied an immense army, the command of which he designed for his brother, Ragonet Row;—but a dispute arising between them concerning the provision
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of the necessary supplies, Ragonet Row refused to undertake the management of the expedition, which was, of consequence, committed to Mahdo Sidda Sheô, commonly called the Bhao, the son of Chimna Jee Apa. As the Peishwa absolutely refused to part with any money for the support of the army to be employed in this undertaking, declaring “that a Mahratta army ought always to be able to subsist itself by plunder,” Sidda Sheô first turned his arms against the Nizâm, who being totally unprepared for any contention with such a prodigious force, was obliged to pay him down a considerable sum, and to render up, by treaty, the countries of Burhan-pore and Mâlava. Sidda Sheô immediately laid these countries under contribution, and then marched northward, supposing that the Mussulman powers, from their intestine divisions, would become an easy prey to so great a force*.

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* The particulars of the Mahratta transactions at Delhi and elsewhere, previous to the battle of Paneyput,

The time which had been necessarily occupied in the foregoing preparations, gave the Mahommedans full opportunity for taking the necessary measures to avert the danger which threatened "*the faith*"; and they, for a time, forgot their mutual animosities, and zealously united in this common cause.

Ahmed Abdâllee, in pursuance of his promise to the Emperor Allumgeer, had returned to Gungapore, near Sirhind, where he was joined by Nijeeb-al-Dowlah, and his friends the Rohilla chiefs, with a large body of Afgans; and he was soon after reinforced by the arrival of Suja-al-Dowlah and Ahmed Khan Bungish.

The circumstances of this junction, and the subsequent defeat of the Mahrattas, are already well known.—The Mahrattas,

put, although slightly touched upon by the Rohilla historian, are here omitted, as irrelevant to our principal object.

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contrary to their usual rule of conduct in the field, instead of carrying on the campaign in that predatory kind of war, to which their numerous bodies of horse are best adapted, suffered themselves to be drawn into a situation, from whence they could not by any means be extricated without coming to a decisive engagement. After some disputes among their chiefs concerning their future operations, they intrenched themselves in the neighbourhood of Paneyput-Kurnall.—This was the very point at which Ahmed Abdallee (who acted as generalissimo of the united army of the Mussulmans) had aimed.—The Hindoos were surrounded by the Mussulman armies on every side: their supplies were all cut off, and their foraging parties destroyed; so that they were soon reduced to the utmost distress.—To add to their perplexity, they were deserted by Sooraj Mull, who had strongly disapproved of their intrenching, and foreseeing the probable consequence, with an infidelity which seems to be a marking characteristick of all the Indian

Indian powers, opened a secret negotiation with Ahmed Abdâllee ; and, by the contrivance of the Mussulman commander, an attack being directed against a distant quarter of the Mahratta camp, in the midst of a very dark night, the above chief found an opportunity, whilst the attention of his allies was engaged by this manœuvre, to quit his lines unperceived ; and passing through the Mahommedan army, went off towards Agra, with many thousands of the Jâts, whom the Mahrattas had persuaded or compelled to join them. The attack of the Mussulmans having fully answered the only purpose intended by it, Ahmed Abdâllee sent orders to the assailants to return into their own lines. The necessary consequence of this order was a retreat, which the Hindoos attributing to a wrong motive, they were filled with such a confidence in their own prowess as determined them (independent of the present distress of their situation) to march out of their intrenchments the next day, and attack their enemies.—This brought on *the battle*

battle of Paneyput, one of the most bloody engagements which has occurred in modern times.

The plain on which this action was fought had been celebrated among the Hindoos for some signal victories gained upon it by their ancestors over the barbarians of the north ; and the stake to be now contended for was of the utmost magnitude to both sides, including in it nothing less than the ultimate fate of two rival powers, and the decided superiority or the eventual extirpation of the Mussulmans in Hindostan.

The idea of this being *fortunate ground*, and the presumption inspired by the supposed repulse of their enemies the preceding night, filled the Hindoos, on the present occasion, with an enthusiasm approaching to madness. They rushed out of their intrenchments without any regular order, and where repulsed by the Mahommedans with prodigious loss. The defection of the Jâts was not yet certainly known
among

among them, when a large column of horse, led by the Rohilla commanders, poured down upon them under cover of a cloud of dust, and forming on the ground which the Jâts had occupied, separated the Mahratta army into two parts; whilst a body of six thousand Durânnees, who had been detached by Ahmed Abdâllee as soon as he discovered their intention to engage, having made a rapid circuit of some miles, appeared in the rear of their right wing. This decided the fate of the day. The Mahratta right wing being nearly surrounded, was entirely cut to pieces; and their left, after many desperate efforts, having lost several of their principal leaders, at length gave way, and a total route ensued. The Muffulmans pursued them upwards of sixty miles, and in a short time totally destroyed that army which but a few days before had been so numerous and formidable.—It is computed that the loss of the Hindoos upon this occasion amounted to not less than one hundred thousand men, among whom were their general Sidda Sheô

Sheô, and Viswafs Row, the Peishwa's eldest son ; together with the whole of their treasure, artillery, and baggage*.

Ahmed Abdâllec, shortly after this victory, returned to Delhi, where he placed the prince Jewân Bukht, the eldest son of the heir apparent, Allee Gohar, upon the throne, committing the guardianship and superintendence of the government under the young prince, until the return of his

* As the Rohilla text is the only authority we have consulted in our relation of this action, it is not unlikely that it may contain many inaccuracies.—One thing must be remarked, which is, the total omission, in it, of the eminent part which Suja-al-Dowlah bore in this memorable event.—It was certainly natural for the national pride of a Rohilla to ascribe to his own countrymen more than their due portion of merit, and perhaps, to detract from that of Suja-al-Dowlah, whom a person of this tribe cannot be supposed inclined to represent in any favourable point of view.—It is, however, but justice to observe, that all *other* accounts concur in the circumstance of Suja-al-Dowlah having, by his bravery and activity, rendered the fortune of the day decisive.

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father, into the hands of Nijeeb-al-Dowlah, whom he raised to the office of prime minister, and the dignity of *Ameer-al-Amrab*. The infamous Ghazee-ad-deen, apprehensive of being called to account by the Abdâllee for the murder of the Emperor Allumgeer, had some time before withdrawn himself from all political concerns, and retired to the *Décan*. After settling affairs at Delhi in the best manner that the circumstances of the time would admit, the Candahâr prince returned towards his own country.

The partition of the countries in the *Doâb*, which Ahmed Abdâllee had made the year before, among the Afgan chiefs, could not fail of exciting a war between those powers and the Jâts, who had been the former possessors : but as Nijeeb-al-Dowlah was chiefly concerned in it, and had now all the wealth or force which remained from the ruins of the empire, at his command, the Rohillas, with his assistance, repressed all their attempts to re-
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cover their countries, and established themselves with every appearance of permanent security as well here as in their original possessions in Kuttâher; whilst Suja-al-Dowlah omitted no means to improve his power and confirm his independence in the province of Oude.

In this disposition of things, the jarring interests of Suja-al-Dowlah, the Rohillas, and other Mussulman chiefs in these provinces, who had totally thrown off all farther dependence upon the Mogul government, (which, in fact, at this time, ceased to exist) and now held their dominions in their own right by the tenure of the sword, might have continued to be pretty well balanced, perhaps, for some years;—but, in the mean time, a power sprung up equally formidable and unexpected; the superior influence of which soon wrought a great change in the general political system.

The English, having surmounted incredible

dible hardships and difficulties in Bengal, had been led, from motives of immediate self-preservation, to take such steps as ended in the acquisition of the complete and uncontrolled dominion of that and all the neighbouring dependent provinces. The particulars which led to so important a revolution are foreign to this narrative: suffice it to say, that on their breach with the Nabob Meer Cossim Allee Khan, the British commanders defeated and pursued him out of Behâr, constraining him to seek refuge in the neighbouring province of Oude.—Suja-al-Dowlah was not a little alarmed at the rapid progress and unexampled success of these new neighbours.—At the moment, however, when their good fortune seemed to have operated decisively in their favour, he learned that a dreadful mutiny had broke out in the English army, and that a general desertion threatened its annihilation, whilst he knew that their lately-acquired dominion was still involved in the confusion and derangement incident to recent conquest.—Ever watchful, as he
was,

was, to seize any occasion that might offer for his own aggrandizement, and the enlargement of his dominion, he conceived the present a happy opportunity at once to relieve his fears and gratify his ambition, by possessing himself of the Bengal provinces.—These sentiments, added to the influence and treasure of the expelled Nabob, determined him, without even a shadow of provocation, to make head against the English. He accordingly collected all the forces he could muster, and with a short-sighted and heedless temerity marched towards Patna, on pretence of acting under the orders of the prince Allee Gohar (who had some time before thrown himself on his protection) and restoring Cossim Allee Khan to the Musnud of Bengal.—In this expedition he was joined by a considerable body of Rohillas under Enâit Khan, the son of Hafiz Rahmut.—Being repulsed in the skirmish of Pitchee-Pehârey, and afterwards totally defeated at Buxar, he fled to Fyzabad, and hearing of the march of a detachment of English troops towards

Lucknow, he took refuge in Rohilcund. He was hospitably received and entertained at Baréllee by Doondee Khan.—Here he made many attempts to procure the assistance of the Rohilla chiefs against the English; but they, terrified by the recent fate of Cossim Allee Khan, and Suja-al-Dowlah's ill success, would not venture to take any part in his favour: he at last, however, prevailed on Hafiz Rahmut to join him with a body of three thousand Afgans, and being farther reinforced by a small army of Mahrattas under Mulhar Row, was encouraged to try his fortune once more in the field against the English.—He advanced into the *Doáb*, and made some attempts against the troops under General Carnac, and was again defeated.—Hopeless of success, and deserted by a great part of his troops, Suja-al-Dowlah at length determined to throw himself upon the generosity of his enemies, and soon after came into the British general's camp. These occurrences led to the celebrated "*treaty of Allehabád.*" By this treaty Suja-al-Dowlah

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lah was reinstated in his original dominion of Oude, and every other right he enjoyed previous to the war, except the dominion of the provinces of Korah and Allehabâd, which form the southern part of the *Doâb*. —These districts had been presented by Ahmed Abdâllee (in his general partition of the *Daâb* among the Afghan chiefs) to Sydoola Khan, who, being sensible of his inability to subdue or hold them, as they lay at a considerable distance from Rohilcund, made them over to Suja-al-Dowlah, and that prince had seized the forts of Kurra and Allehabad, and some other strong holds in these territories, but had not yet been able to establish himself in perfect possession of the country, when his unprovoked war with the English drew his attention from every other object. The prince Allee Gohar, whom we have so often mentioned, on the defeat of Suja-al-Dowlah at Buxar, had thrown himself upon the protection of the conquerors, and as successor to his father, Allumgeer, had assumed the title of Emperor, under the name of *Shah Au-*

lum.—This prince was a party in the before-mentioned treaty —The English, by the success of their arms, had already obtained full and entire possession of the province of Bengal, and its dependencies :—it was, however, deemed necessary (from what possible motive of reason or policy we cannot take upon us to judge) to obtain an *ostensible* claim to the tenure of them, on the present occasion, by procuring from an impotent monarch, who was himself a fugitive and a dependant on the English for the very *crown* and *title* which he had assumed,—a commission to the Company of the *Derwanee* of the Bengal provinces ; and the Emperor had, in return, an annual *pension* or tribute * settled upon him, to be paid out of the Bengal revenues, and was guaranteed in the

* The writer is not informed by what appellation this was specified in the treaty of Allehabad.—It is denominated in the MS. *Salleeâna Nizzerâna*, which may be rendered, “ Annual gratuity,” a general appellation which does not imply *positive right*.

possession of the provinces of Korah and Allehabâd, where he resided for some time after.

Although these transactions were not immediately connected with the history of the Rohillas, yet, as they in their consequences led to events of the most material importance with respect to that tribe, it was necessary to take some particular notice of them here. It is also proper to remark that about the period of which we have been treating, the new Emperor advanced Suja-al-Dowlah to the office of the *Vizaret*, an appointment, however, which the present state of the sovereign rendered merely nominal.

On Suja-al-Dowlah surrendering himself to the English, Hafiz Rahmut and his followers returned to Rohilcund, and thither we shall now accompany them.

Abdoola Khan being exceedingly disgusted at the iniquitous conduct of his guardians,

dians, had retired to Oojânee, (as before observed)* and there, putting on the habit of a *Dirveish*, or *Fakeer*, employed himself in distributing the whole of the income arising from the lands allotted for his support, in alms to the poor; and, in conformity to the practice of the order of which he professed himself a member, affected to cherish snakes and other noxious animals, by one of which he was bit in the arm, and almost instantly expired, in August, 1761.—About three years after that event, Sydoola Khan, during the absence of Hafiz Rahmut, was seized with a consumption, and died in 1764; and only *two* of Allee Mahummed's children now remained alive; viz. Fyzoola Khan and Mahummed-Yâr Khan.

These are the only events of note which occurred in Rohilcund during the space of seven years; to wit, from the battle of Paneyput to the second incursion of the

* Page 120.

Mahrattas into the Doâb. During this interval they had no enemies to interrupt their tranquillity from without ; and, although the injustice of the guardians gave rise to frequent jealousies and disputes, yet the vigorous administration of the chiefs who had usurped the government, preserved the country in a tolerable degree of internal harmony ; but we have no documents from which we might enter into a more minute description of the domestick management or political intrigues which occupied their attention within this period ; as all that the Rohilla narrator remarks upon it is—“ The Afgan *Sirdars*, being freed
 “ from the vexatious interruptions of the
 “ marauders of the *Deccan*,” (the *Mahrattas*) “ by their chastisement at Paneyput,
 “ and allaying the ferments of the discordant and the factious by the wisdom of
 “ their auspicious councils, passed seven
 “ years in harmony and ease.”

The Mahrattas had suffered so very severely by their defeat at Paneyput, that

some years passed away before they would venture to do any thing of consequence again in the northern provinces. At length, having resolved to deprive the Afgans of those countries, which, by the favour of Ahmed Abdâllee, they held in the Doâb, Mahdo Jee Sindea, (the successor of Malhar Row) Toke Jee Holcar, and other chiefs, crossed the Jumna with a considerable body of troops, in the year 1769.

Nijeeb-al-Dowlah, who continued to manage affairs at Delhi in the absence of the Kiug, as nominal minister, on hearing this intelligence, and finding that the Mahrattas were in great force, made a merit of necessity, and joined these marauders in their depredations against the *Jâts*; and at the same time a negotiation was opened through his mediation between the Afgan chiefs and Mahratta commanders, respecting the surrender of those districts in the Doâb to which the latter laid claim. Doondee Khan, who had never much concerned himself in the care of these districts,

was

was willing to come to an amicable compromise with the Mahrattas; and, in a council of the chiefs which was held on the occasion, said,—“ I have no ability to
 “ meet the chiefs of the south in the
 “ doubtful strife of war:—if they will,
 “ from a desire of peace and amity, permit me to retain the district of Shikko-
 “ habâd alone, I shall acknowledge their
 “ kindness; but if not, I shall lift my
 “ hands from these possessions altogether.”

—Hafiz Rahmut, who was present, and whose possessions in the Doâb were valuable and productive, with a characteristic boldness, laying his hand upon his scymitar, replied,——“ Whilst I
 “ live, I shall hope; nor will I suffer
 “ an ill-timed and groundless despondence to deprive me of those favours
 “ which, with the help of God, I received from the illustrious Abdâllee!”

—On the council breaking up, Doondee Khan went off to his own district, and Hafiz Rahmut and his party proceeded to take such steps as shewed them determined

to

to oppose the views of the Mahrattas with all their might. For this purpose they entered into a treaty with Ahmed Khan Bungish, promising, in lieu of his support, to cede to him some of those lands which lay contiguous to the Ferrochabad government.—To the first overtures made on this business to Ahmed Khan they received a favourable answer; and relying upon the aid which they should derive from this alliance, a considerable body of the Rohillas marching down to Sandee, crossed the Ganges at Futtý Ghurr. Hafiz Rahmut, however, had not deliberated on this occasion with his usual foresight and sagacity.—Ahmed Khan Bungish, whose country lay open to the inroads of the Mahrattas, was fearful of exposing himself to their indignation; and, notwithstanding his reply to the requisitions of the Rohillas, delayed, on a variety of pretexts, to take any decided part against them; and many of the Rohillas themselves being little interested concerning the retention of territories, from which the immediate possessors

fors alone reaped any advantage, became dissatisfied and mutinous; so that, after some months trifling and fruitless operation, Hafiz found himself obliged to give up the fort of *Etáwa*, and the surrounding country, to the Mahrattas, and retired beyond the Ganges.

Perhaps their loss of territory in the Doâb, by circumscribing their line of defence, might have added to the real strength of the Rohillas, instead of diminishing it: but the Afgan interests, shortly after this, suffered an irreparable blow in the death of Nijeeb-al-Dowlah, who, from the period of his succeeding Ghazee-ad-deen in the office of prime minister, had continued for the remainder of his life to support the last wretched fragment of the fallen empire at Delhi, with a firmness which would in happier times have insured him the approbation and applause of mankind; and although, in this last scene of it, the urgency of present necessity constrained him to take a part
with

with their opponents, yet, as well from natural relation as from political connection, he had always been warmly attached to the Afgan party. — He left a son named Zabita Khan, who succeeded his father in the possession of his territories in the northern part of Rohilcund and the *Doáb*.

The Rohilla confederacy likewise suffered much at this time by the death of Doondee Khan, who had, along with Hafiz Rahmut, been appointed by Allee Mahummed joint guardian to his children. His character stood high among those of his tribe, for generosity of spirit, and gallantry in war—inasmuch, that they assert, that the acquisition of Rohilla independence in Kuttâher may, in a great measure, be ascribed to the popularity of his manners and the prudence of his councils.— Having attained the age of seventy years, he died in Bissfoolee of an apoplexy.—He left three sons, Mahboola Khan, Fittahoola Khan, and Azeemoola Khan, who divided the districts of Moradabad and Bissfoolee (which

(which had fallen to the lot of their father in the usurpation of the territory by the guardians) among themselves.— Not long after this Ahmed Khan Bungish died at Ferrochabad, leaving the inheritance of his possessions to his son Muzziffer Jung.

The expulsion of the Rohillas from the Doab, and the utter extinction of the Mussulman consequence at Delhi, in the death of Nijeeb-al-Dowlah, removed every obstruction to the execution of those schemes which the Mahrattas had at this time planned for extending their dominion and confirming their power in the capital of the empire. They accordingly took possession of Delhi, and wrote to the Emperor Shah Aulum, who then resided under the protection of the English at Allehabad, holding forth to him the most flattering proposals of reinstating him in the ancient seat of government, and restoring him to the dignity of his ancestors, if he would forsake his present friends, and
assume

assume the reins of imperial authority at Delhi.

The situation of this prince at Allahabad, as a pensioner of the English, owing not only his present nominal dignity, but perhaps even his existence to their protection and support, however mortifying it might be to his pride, yet was certainly preferable to any advantage he could expect to derive from throwing himself upon the Mahrattas, who being the hereditary enemies of his family and religion, could not be supposed to feel any attachment to his person; and in fact, only wanted to make him the tool of their own designs.— He was sensible that his relinquishing the protection of the English must necessarily be attended with the loss of his annual stipend, which was drawn from the revenues of the Bengal Provinces; as the state of circulation of specie in the empire was not now by any means the same as it had been, whilst the court and the capital flourished in the vigour of the
Mogul

Mogul Government. — In former times, when the lower provinces used to yield a regular tribute to the Emperors (which they have not done for above half a century past) the greatest part of it was remitted by bills upon Delhi and Lahore, for the payment of which sufficient funds were there supplied in the sale and consumption of the rich manufactures of Bengal; in fact, if it had not been so, no tribute could ever have been remitted; and when the depredations of Nadir Shah, and a variety of other circumstances, contributed, by impoverishing the court, to stop the vent for these commodities in this quarter, the stoppage of the tribute was a necessary and inevitable consequence, independent of any actual defection on the part of the Nabobs of Bengal; as it was utterly impossible that the same, or indeed any considerable sum, could ever be continued to be transmitted in *cash*, from a country of which gold and silver form no part of the natural products. — All these circumstances Shah Aulum must have been well aware of,

of, and knew that the English could not, in common prudence, continue to transmit to him, whilst at so great a distance, large sums in specie (the only mode of remittance now remaining,) which must be at once a fatal drain to the countries from whence they were taken, and an assistance to the Mahrattas, whose views were avowedly inimical to all their allies. -- He was however induced, by the suggestions of a childish vanity, and the idle hope of restoring the Mogul empire to its former lustre, to leave Korah (a city in the neighbourhood of Allehabad, where he then resided) and, contrary to the advice of all his real friends and well-wishers, proceeded to Delhi in the year 1770.

On his arrival at the capital, the Mahrattas enthroned him with the usual ceremonies, (which, in such circumstances, could only be termed a *mockery* of royalty,) and caused him to issue such *firman*s and grants as best coincided with their views : and the Shah, as a reward for their pre-
tended

tended fidelity to his cause, made over to them, by a formal instrument, the provinces of Korah and Allehabâd, and also every territory to the east of Delhi without exception ; thus giving them an unrestrained commission to extend their ravages into all the countries on each side of the Ganges.

In order to understand the designs and subsequent operations of the Mahrattas, it may be necessary here to observe that the river Ganges, which forms the natural boundary of Rohilcund to the west, is fordable only within the compass of that territory, and no where lower down, so that the province of Oude, which lies to the southward, is invulnerable to those marauders, excepting through the former country, as their numerous bodies of horse have no sure means of advance and retreat but by the shallows of the Ganges during the dry season ; their desultory method of carrying on war not suiting with the construction of bridges, and other tedious and expensive military works, (such as might

N

give

give them a command of the passage of unfordable rivers,) nor their mode of fighting calculated for the defence of them.

On taking a view of the extensive theatre of action which now lay before them, the Mahratta commanders perceived that, as the districts of Korah and Allehabâd were in some measure defended by a considerable body of British troops lying in that neighbourhood, their most adviseable plan of operation would be to direct their first attacks against the territories of the Rohillas, so as through them to find an inroad to the dominions of Suja-al-Dowlah, where their principal views were directed.

Under colour, therefore, of the grants which they had procured or exacted from the Emperor, when the season for action arrived, the Mahrattas took the field *,

* Dec. 1771.

and first turned their arms against Zabita Khan, who held the possessions bequeathed to him by his father, in the same independent manner as the other Afgan chiefs. Zabita Khan, little prepared for such an attack, threw himself with what forces he could muster into the intrenchments which had formerly been constructed by Nijeeb-al-Dowlah at *Sooker-Tall**; the enemy, however, being provided with some heavy artillery, pressed so closely upon him, that he was soon constrained to evacuate his lines, and to make a precipitate retreat over the Ganges, under cover of the night. The Mahrattas, two days after, passed that river by the ford at Corrimbofs-gaut, in pursuit of him; and followed him so closely that he fled towards the hills above Lolldong in the utmost consternation, leaving his family and valuable effects at the fort of Pattergúrr or Nijeebabad, the capital of his territory beyond the Ganges, which the enemy presently

* Page 134.

attacked and carried without difficulty. Here they seized Zabita Khan's mother, his wives, two brothers, and four of his children, and sent them off to their camp on the west of the Ganges: they also plundered this city, and all the surrounding towns and villages, with their usual avidity; and with a savage ferocity, directed perhaps by religious prejudices more than by a wanton spirit of desolation, destroyed most of the mosques and other public buildings, and in particular defaced the monument of Nijeeb-al-Dowlah, a piece of remarkably curious and costly workmanship.

The Rohilla chiefs, who appear on this occasion to have been totally unprepared for resistance, were struck with terror at the unexpected progress of the Mahrattas; and following the example of Zabita Khan, retired with their families and treasures into the forests of Gungapore, where they strongly intrenched themselves; and continued shut up in that manner near four months: in the mean time, the Mahrattas
ranged

ranged at pleasure throughout the whole country, plundering, burning and destroying all before them.

At length Suja-al-Dowlah, alarmed by the danger which threatened his dominions, advanced with some English battallions under the command of Brigadier General Sir Robert Barker, (then commander in chief of the Bengal army,) to Shawbâd on the borders of his territories ; and from hence Captain Harper (a gentleman who for some time commanded a corps in the province of Oude, and whose knowledge of the politicks of these countries, was remarkably accurate and extensive) was deputed to the Rohilla chiefs, in order to open with them a negotiation with respect to such measures as might tend to the effectual expulsion of the Mah-rattas from their territories.—Hafiz Rah-mut, on this gentleman's approach, ventured out of his intrenchments, and proceeded with him to the camp of Suja-al-Dowlah, with whom he had an interview

on the banks of the Ramgunga. The particulars of the conference are not related ; but the event of it was a treaty * of mutual defence and co-operation between the Rohillas and the Subadâr of Oude, and an engagement by Hafiz-Rahmut, on the part of the former (expressly comprehending in the obligation of it *all* the Sirdars of Rohilcund) to pay to Suja-al-Dowlah the sum of *forty lacks* of rupees, for his assistance in repelling the common enemy, and restoring the several chiefs to their possessions, in whatever manner this might be effected ; and of which *ten lacks* were to be payable immediately, and the remainder by installments † ; and there was a particular clause in this agreement, that if the Mahrattas should, on account of the lateness of the season ‡, retire for

* See Appendix, No. 1.

† See Appendix, No. 2.

‡ This negotiation took place in June 1772.—The rains generally commence in these northern countries, in the latter end of that month, or the beginning of July, and end in October ; but the great rivers are not fordable until December.

the present, the force and meaning of it were to extend, in every respect, to the year ensuing. This treaty, and agreement, in order to give them greater validity and effect in the minds of the contracting parties, were executed and sworn to in the presence of the British commander in chief, and countersigned by him.

“ It is here necessary to remark,” says the Rohilla historian, “ that nothing except a weakness of judgement from his advanced age, or a decree of unerring providence hanging over him for his injustice to the children of his friend, could ever have led Hafiz Rahmut to enter into this rash and impolitick treaty, by which he threw the Afgans upon the protection of aliens, and with his own hand ratified the instrument of his future ruin.”

The season being so far advanced, nothing of material consequence occurred after this transaction.—The Mahrattas re-

tired unmolested to Delhi, and the Rohillas returned to their respective homes, which, especially in the northern districts, presented them with scenes of the most deplorable desolation.—Suja-al-Dowlah returned to Fyzabad, leaving a few troops cantoned at Sandee for the remainder of the season.

Soon after the retreat of the Mahrattas, Buxy Sirdâr Khan, having contracted a fever in the Gungapore woods, died at a very advanced age ; and the following character of him (literally taken from the original) may not, perhaps, be unacceptable to our readers :—“ For ninety fortunate years Sirdâr Khan lived in this vale of wretchedness and sorrow :—he was an holy and religious person :—from the day of mature discernment to the last aspiration of mortal existence, he was daily seen in the congregations of the mosques, and in the assemblies of the pious : he was a man just in his sentiments, and upright in his dealings ;

“ ings : he was not, like others of his
 “ tribe, a violator of the ties of friend-
 “ ship, or an oppressor of the helpless ;
 “ and excepting the due returns of the
 “ revenue, he took not from the indigent
 “ labourer, or the useful tiller of the
 “ ground, a single exaction.—He retained
 “ his faculties to the last moment of his
 “ life ; and previous to the final departure
 “ of that immortal spark which connects
 “ the *human* with the *divine* existence,
 “ whilst his reason was yet alive to the
 “ concerns of this transitory state, he
 “ made an equitable distribution of the
 “ blessings he enjoyed from providence a-
 “ mong his heirs,” &c.

Ahmed Khan and Meer Mahummed
 Khan, the Buxy's two eldest sons, quar-
 relling concerning the division of their fa-
 ther's country, raised a disturbance which
 tended greatly to inflame some discords
 already prevailing in Rohilcund.

Ahmed Khan, being the senior, ap-
 pealed

pealed to Hafiz Rahmut, who decided in his favour ; upon which Meer Mahummed raised troops, and attempted to possess himself of the district of Ahrat (which had been a part of his father's assumed estates) by force : but Futtee Khan Khanfaman met him on the banks of the *Soot Nulla*, totally routed the insurgents, and took Mahummed prisoner.

This insurrection was not yet quelled, when another of a more capital and dangerous nature arose ; and Hafiz Rahmut, who had unjustly usurped the rights of those children whom his friend had committed to his guardianship and protection, was doomed to see his own son rise up in rebellion against him.

Enâit Khan, the eldest son of Hafiz Rahmut, had always exhibited marks of a quarrelsome and turbulent disposition ; and now, on some trifling difference with his father, raised a body of three thousand of his friends and followers, and surprising the

the fort of Baréllee, shut the gates against him, declaring his resolution to hold that district in future as his own. Hafiz Rahmut, aware that using open force against his son might raise disturbances destructive to Baréllee and the neighbouring country, retired to Peeleabête, from whence he wrote to all the other chiefs requiring their assistance to crush this rebellion. On the troops being collected in consequence of this summons, the wily chief, in order to draw his son from Baréllee, had recourse to a stratagem perfectly consistent with the duplicity of his character; causing a grant to be drawn out, in the name of Enâit Khan, of the district of Selimpore, which he sent to him with a letter — “ assuring him of his forgiveness; “ taking blame to himself for a deficiency “ of parental indulgence, and desiring him “ to go and take possession of the above “ lands, which he hoped would be considered by him as sufficient present provision; and promising to reward his “ obedience in the amplest manner.” This
artifice

artifice was attended with the desired effect. In a few days Enâit Khan and his followers left Barélee, intending to proceed to Selimpore. Hafiz Rahmut immediately detached a select body of troops in order to seize his son, which after a slight skirmish was effected. When the unfortunate and misguided youth was taken, his father declared his resolution to put him to death, but was persuaded to adopt the scarce more lenient measure of banishing him out of Rohilcund, without any means of subsistence.—Enâit Khan, thus left destitute, went to Suja-al-Dowlah, and after remaining at Fyzabad near twelve months, being reduced to extreme want, returned in despair to Rohilcund. His father positively refused him admittance into Barélee, and he returned to a neighbouring village, where he shortly after died of a broken heart, amidst all the misery of too late repentance and unavailing remorse; — thus,” says the Rohilla narrator, “was the parental imprecation amply fulfilled in him; Hafiz Rahmut, three
I “ different

“ different times during his rebellion,
 “ having gone to the Mosque and prayed
 “ aloud, saying, *Cause the cup of his life,*
 “ *O God! to overflow whilst yet in his youth,*
 “ *so that no fruit may ever spring from that*
 “ *inauspicious branch; and never let me be*
 “ *exposed to the shame of again beholding*
 “ *his face.*”

In addition to this, and similar domestic disturbances, the defection of Zabita Khan contributed not a little to weaken the power of the Afgans at this period.—His family having been carried off from Pattergûrr, as already related, he applied to Suja-al-Dowlah, intreating him to intercede with Mahda Jee Sindhea, the Mahratta commander, for their release.—Suja-al-Dowlah accordingly directed his minister, Elitch Khan, who was then at Delhi, to make the proper applications upon this subject, and the request was granted on condition that Zabita Khan should come over to the Mahrattas, which he

he accordingly did, in August, A. D. 1772.

Mahda Jee Sindhea, soon after this, proceeded to Poona by the route of Jeynagûr, being called thither by some late disputes between Mahda Row Nirraen, the Peishwa, and his uncle, Ragonet Row, which were likely to occasion disturbances in the Dêcan. — He left the command of the army to the Mahratta generals, Toko Jee Holcar, and Beyfa Jee Pundit, who, as the season fit for action approached, determined to march once more into Rohilcund.

The Mahrattas, on first taking the field, in November, 1772, as the Ganges was not yet fordable, moved some way down the *Doâb*, with an apparent view of commencing their operations in that country : but, understanding that they were likely to meet with effectual opposition, upon their spies bringing them intelligence that the Ganges had become fordable, they suddenly

denly turned, and directed their route to Ramghaut.

From hence the Mahratta commanders (merely as a pretext for their future proceedings) sent letters to the Rohilla chiefs, demanding payment of the bonds for fifty lacks of rupees, which they had some years ago given to Sefdar Jung*, and which had been transferred by him to Mulhar Row.

The chiefs, instead of returning any explicit answer to these requisitions, assembled their forces at a place about fifteen miles distant from Ramghaut, and from thence detached a chosen body under the command of Ahmed Khan, (who had succeeded Sirdar Khan in the office of *Buxy*) with directions to guard the ford at Ramghaut, and to seize all the boats on that part of the river.

The Buxy accordingly marched, but instead of following his instructions, by

* Page 113.

which

which he would, at all events, have constrained the enemy to seek a passage much higher up, contented himself with throwing a part of his forces into a small fort which commanded the road from the ghaut, or ford, into the country, but was not so situated as to defend the passage over the river. Whatever other measures he might have intended to pursue, it would appear that he did not adopt them with sufficient celerity; as Holcar found means to effect a passage for his army early the next morning, his cavalry fording at the usual place, and his infantry and rocket-men being transported in boats (many of which they found at hand, notwithstanding the injunctions given to the Buxy) a little lower down:—and the next day he attacked the Buxy in the fort, and soon obliged him to surrender, and give up all his artillery and ammunition.—From hence the victorious marauders proceeded to Sumbull, and plundered all the country between that city and Moradabâd;—but they were not long unopposed.

It

It has been already said, that the unfortunate and impotent Emperor, Shah Aulum, on deserting his protectors, and undertaking his romantick expedition to Delhi, thereby throwing himself into the power of the Mahrattas, was compelled to grant *firman*s, making over to them the provinces of Korah and Allehabad*. —Some of their motions, before they proceeded to Rohilcund, having indicated an intention on their part to take possession of these territories, it was judged expedient by the British government to march a body of troops that way, to be at hand, to protect them, if necessary ;—our ally, the Vizier, being greatly apprehensive of the consequences, should the Mahrattas be permitted to establish themselves so very near to him. Accordingly, the first brigade of the English army, then stationed at Dinapore, took the field in the beginning of A. D. 1773, under the command of Brigadier-general Sir Robert Barker, and marched into the province of Owde, from whence a detachment was sent to

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garrison

garrison the fort of Allehabad, and another to occupy the lines at Cawnpore, in order to secure the passage of the Ganges, should there be occasion to cross that river, for the purpose of covering those countries which were apprehended to be the object of the Mahrattas' designs. As soon, however, as intelligence was received of the Mahrattas having marched to Ramghaut, with a view to renew their attacks upon Rohilcund, the combined armies of the English and Suja-al-Dowlah advanced towards that country by rapid marches, and arrived at Shawbad at the period when Toko Jee crossed the Ganges, and defeated the Rohillas under the Buxy, as before mentioned.

The English, immediately after this affair, proceeded to Ramghaut, and had nearly surprised a body of four thousand Mahratta horse whilst fording the Ganges at the Ghaut of Gurrickpore, about five miles below that place, in order to reinforce their friends on that side: the
greatest

greatest part of them was in the middle of the river, when the British army came in fight, upon which they suddenly returned, and marched up the western bank, towards Ramghaut, (where Beyfa Jee was encamped with part of the Mahratta army and all their artillery and heavy baggage) whilst the British and Vizier's troops continued their route along the opposite shore, until they arrived at Affidpore, within sight of Beyfa Jee's encampment.—Here the Mahrattas commenced a cannonade against the English; but this was soon answered by the latter with such effect as presently silenced their artillery, and obliged their whole army to change their ground with some precipitation.

The conduct of Hafiz Rahmut and the other Rohilla chiefs, during these transactions, had exhibited great duplicity; in so much that the British general was not without apprehension of some collusion between them and the Mahrattas; and these suspicions were increased by their so long

delaying to join him with their forces.—The truth was, that Hafiz Rahmut, unwilling, however able he might be, to take upon himself the entire fulfilment of the engagement which he had entered into with Suja-al-Dowlah the preceding year, was desirous, if he could not altogether evade it, at all events to bear as little as possible of the burden; and he had already applied to the other chiefs, endeavouring to convince them of the necessity of their assisting him in the discharge of the obligation which had been agreed to by him for their common benefit. His remonstrances, however, were attended with no effect: some declared that he had no right to bind them to such a condition,—whilst the majority ridiculed the idea of any treaty whatever being held obligatory upon the contracting parties, where it could either be infringed with benefit, or broken without danger.—Many, indeed, were not altogether without a suspicion that if Hafiz Rahmut should obtain their subsidies in this behalf, he would convert the money
to

to his own use, and still endeavour to break his contract with the Vizier, so that they would remain as liable to be involved in a quarrel with that power on this account as ever ; and they unanimously advised Hafiz Rahmut, in case he should be again pressed by the Vizier on this subject, to protract the final adjustment of it on various pretences, to amuse him with delusive hopes, and to trust to future events to extricate him, without expence, from his obligation.—Hafiz did, in effect, adopt this last plan, which was much more consonant to his own ideas of political management than any other ; and determined, in case the Mahrattas should attempt a second irruption into Rohilcund, to avoid soliciting the aid of his former protectors, an interview with whom would inevitably lead to demands which he was now resolved not to comply with ; nor was he without hopes of being able (for he had now complete warning of the enemy's designs) to defend the passages of the Ganges with the Rohilla forces alone. It was with

this view that, on the approach of the Mahrattas towards Ramghaut, he detached the Buxy to guard the fords as already mentioned; and had that officer done his duty, it is probable that Hafiz might not have been disappointed in his expectations, and that the Mahrattas might have met with an effectual check, without any immediate necessity of calling upon the Vizier for his assistance. The mismanagement or treachery of the Buxy, however, opening a way for the invaders, suggested another idea to him, by which he might at once avoid *their* violence, and secure himself against any disagreeable consequences from his non-compliance with the Vizier's demands.—This was no less than to enter into a confederacy with the Mahrattas themselves!—by which they were to obtain, under certain restrictions, a permanent settlement in the country, on engaging to defend the Rohillas against “all their enemies;”—and he actually employed emissaries privately to negotiate this desperate proposal with the Mahratta commanders :—

manders:—but all his schemes were frustrated by the rapid and unwished-for advance of the allied army, and Hafiz Rahmut found himself, by his own crooked and temporizing policy, entangled in a labyrinth of perplexity and distress. Yet, even at this time, when the enemy, notwithstanding his secret overtures to them, were plundering and laying waste all the more defenceless parts of the country, he endeavoured to procrastinate his junction with Suja-al-Dowlah as long as possible:—at length, finding that the allies had already advanced into the heart of the Rohilla territories, and understanding that they were fully aware of his treacherous proceedings, and had even resolved to attack him, should he confirm the suspicions his conduct had excited by any longer delay, he collected his forces, and joined Suja-al-Dowlah the next day after the cannonade between the English and Beyfa Jee*. Some days after that event, as the

* Page 189.

Mahratta army was now divided, part of it being still at Sumbull in Rohilcund under Toko Jee, and the remainder under Beyfa Jee, to the westward of the Ganges, it was determined to attack them in both quarters at the same time.—With this view the British troops forded the river at Ramghaut, whilst Suja-al-Dowlah and Hafiz Rahmut prepared to advance with their united forces against Toko Jee.—Beyfa Jee, when he heard of the approach of the brigade, decamped in the utmost hurry and confusion, and went off to the distance of forty miles in a single march. From some suspicions which Suja-al-Dowlah still entertained of Hafiz Rahmut, the other part of the concerted operation was not executed by him;—but the English, recrossing the Ganges the next day after the flight of Beyfa Jee, proceeded towards Sumbull; upon which Toko Jee retreated to *Póot*, a town upon the Ganges, about fifty miles above Ramghaut, and crossed the river at that place on a bridge of boats, which he afterwards destroyed.—The
Mahratta

Mahratta army made some movements which indicated an intention of again crossing into Rohilcund at Corrimbofsghaut, a considerable distance higher up the river ; but the brigade, advancing by rapid marches to that place, prevented them, whilst the Vizier with his troops guarded all the fords at Ramghaut and the neighbourhood ; and as the hot season approached, and the Ganges began to be swelled by the melting of the snows on the northern mountains, they were constrained for the present to relinquish all thoughts of renewing their depredations to the eastward, and retired to Etâwa.

The Rohilla country being thus entirely freed from the Mahrattas, Suja-al-Dowlah began to press Hafiz Rahmut upon the forty lacks, due by his engagement, of which he (the Vizier) had agreed to make over a moiety to the English (over and above the stipulated monthly subsidy) as a consideration for their assistance ; and he was supported in his requisition by the
British

British commander in chief, who having assisted at the original negociation, and given the treaty the sanction of his counter-signature, had a right to insist on the punctual observance of it.—They could not, however, get any thing more from Hafiz than general professions, and acknowledgments of the justice of the debt, with excuses of the inability of the Rohillas to discharge it, or any part of it, at present, owing to the desolated state of their territories. The Vizier would willingly have taken occasion, from hence, to appropriate the country of Hafiz Rahmut in lieu of the debt ; a step in which he would certainly have been fully justified by the Rohillas' treacherous breach of faith in this as well as in other particulars ;—and he held forth some very advantageous offers about this time to the British government (through the commander in chief) for their assistance in the prosecution of a design he had formed to this purpose :—but as the Mahrattas were still in great force in the *Doáb*, and might probably endeavour

vour to possess themselves of the provinces of Korah and Allehabâd (which were the original objects of protection) whilst Suja-al-Dowlah and his allies should be engaged in this business, it was judged prudent to decline entering upon it; and it was thought at any rate most expedient, both in justice and in policy, * to give the Rohillas full time, that they might have a fair opportunity to fulfil their obligations before any measures should be adopted to compel them.

In the mean time, as the season was already very far advanced, and the country was restored to perfect tranquillity, the British and Vizier's troops returned into the province of Owde, and the former were stationed in cantonments at Sultanpore upon the Gûmty (a river which runs

* Perhaps a want of money and deficiency of political system were more cogent reasons than any other for relinquishing this undertaking at the present period.

through the province of Owde, washing Lucknow in its course) to serve as a check upon the future designs of the Mahrattas.

What farther views these marauders might have entertained is not positively known; but, happily for the peace of those provinces, which had for five years groaned under their wasteful depredations, the whole were about this period suddenly called off by the troubles at *Poona*, where Ragonet Row had put to death the Peishwá, his nephew, succeeded him in his office, and had been afterwards deposed by the faction of Sindhea and other chiefs; so that the affairs of their government were thrown into the utmost confusion, and their country threatened with a civil war; which rendered the presence of Toko Jee Holcar and his army absolutely necessary at *Poona*, in order to give a decided weight in favour of the new administration.— They accordingly called in all their detachments, and withdrawing the whole of their forces from the Doâb, excepting a
J small

small body which was stationed at Etâwa, went off to their own dominions, without leaving any establishment to retain possession or collect the revenues of the districts they had lately overrun in the northern part of that territory.—Ahmed Khan Buxy (who had surrendered to Toko Jee Holcar at Ramghaut)* was at this period released by the Mahratta commander, who presented him with an elephant and palenkin, and dismissed him with such tokens of cordiality and respect as raised a suspicion (perhaps not ill founded) of some collusive management in the affair of Ramghaut, where the Buxy had exhibited such a glaring deficiency in the prosecution of those measures which were necessary for the repulse of the enemy.

In fact, the characteristick treachery of the Rohillas, and their continually endeavouring to circumvent or overturn each other, was ruinous to the cause on every

* Page 186.

occasion which required exertion and unanimity, and seemed to increase with the increase of their misfortunes, so as at once to excite the resentment of their allies, and render them incapable of opposing its effects.—This spirit, so detrimental to their welfare, and so ruinous to them in its ultimate consequences, appears in every anecdote respecting the internal administration of their government; and a most striking instance of it was at this time manifested, in the treatment of Sydoola Khan's Begum, and of Mahummed-Yâr Khan, the fourth son of Allee Mahummed, and now, excepting Fyzoola-Khan, the only survivor.—It has already been observed that the guardians, on making a final partition of the province of Kuttâher among themselves, in detriment to those who, although they possessed no *legal* title, were nevertheless, as the children of Allee Mahummed, the natural heirs to his usurpations, had provided for the subsistence of Sydoola Khan, by a pension *, for the

* Page 121.

payment of which funds were established by each of the four principal chiefs granting assignments (to the amount specified in the agreement) upon that portion of the territory which fell to his share in the aforesaid general partition.—These assignments were made over to the Buxy, who was authorized, from the nature of his office, to collect the money and apply it to the intended purpose.

On the decease of Sydoola Khan, a pension of three lacks of rupees per annum was continued, in like manner, to the Begum his widow :—this, however, was very irregularly paid ; and the late incursions of the Mahrattas having desolated Rohilcund in many places, furnished a pretext for withholding it altogether. — On the Mahrattas withdrawing into their own country, the Begum, shortly after the Buxy's release, seized the opportunity of the chiefs being still together in the field, to lay before them a representation of her claims, and the distress under which
 she

she laboured, and intreated the discharge of the arrears due upon her pension : at the same time Mahummed-Yâr Khan made loud complaints of the injurious and cruel neglect he sustained, and of the misery to which he was reduced from the total want of a maintenance.—Hafiz Rahmut, on their applying to him, with his usual duplicity referred them to the *Buxy*, as the person who was responsible for the liquidation of all publick demands : the Buxy, however, denied in the strongest terms his obligation to continue the payment of the Begum's pension, unless he should be enabled to do so by the several chiefs granting fresh assignments upon those parts of their country which, not having suffered from the late invasions, were now in a productive state : the sons and co-heirs of Doondy Khan, on being solicited in this behalf, at once rejected the appeal, declaring their father's agreement to contribute to the support of Allee Mahummed's family in no wise binding upon them.—At length, after much fruitless negotiation,

negotiation, Hafiz, in order to put an end to the matter for the present, privately sent a message by a confidential servant to the Buxy, advising him to give written obligations to the Begum and to Mahummed-Yâr Khar, as well for the arrears due to the former, as for the payment of a regular annuity to the latter; adding——

“ that when the Rohilla army should be
 “ disbanded, and the people separated to
 “ their several places of abode, he could
 “ then, without danger of any popular
 “ insurrection in favour of the parties,
 “ consult his own convenience with re-
 “ spect to the fulfilment of them:”—This insidious advice the Buxy strictly conformed to, and prevailed upon Mahummed-Yâr and the Begum to accept those frail testimonials of their rights; but never afterwards paid them a single rupee; and even wrested from the former a small farm, producing about seven thousand rupees per annum, which had been settled upon him by Buxy Sirdâr Khan.

Soon after the Mahrattas had evacuated Rohilcund, Futteh-Khan Khanfaman was seized with a palsy in his left side, of which he died in a few weeks.—He left six sons, of whom the two eldest, Ahmed Khan and Azeem Khan, shared his territory between them, the districts of Owlah and its dependances falling to the former, and those of Budàvon and Owste to the latter.—Scarcely were the sons of Futteh Khan instated in their inheritance, when, according to the usual mode of proceeding among the Rohillas, each endeavoured to subvert the other, and to establish himself in sole possession of his father's lands and estates. In this Ahmed Khan, who was by much the abler politician, succeeded.—This feud between the brothers first broke out in consequence of an effort, on the part of Azeem Khan, to retain in his own hands the whole of the elephants, artillery, and camp equipage, of his father, which were stationed at Owste at the period of his decease.—Upon this being compromised through the mediation of Hafiz Rahmut,

Rahmut, who compelled Azeem Khan to deliver up a moiety of the artillery and stores to Ahmed Khan, the latter affected to treat his brother with the utmost confidence and cordiality ; and having by this means thrown him off his guard, suddenly marched to Owste with a few resolute followers, and there seizing on all the treasures and effects which had been left in that place by the deceased, acquired, by this manœuvre, such a decided superiority, as constrained Azeem Khan to relinquish the whole of his inheritance, and to fly for safety to Peeleabete, where Hafiz Rahmut gave him protection, but could not, or would not, procure him any redress ; and even acceded to Ahmed Khan succeeding his father in the office of Khânsaman.

The death of Futteh Khan left Hafiz Rahmut the only remaining person of these into whose hands Allee Mahummed had committed the management of the Rohilla government for his children, and in him the ostensible power of the state now

became vested, as Fyzoola Khan and his brother had never been admitted to any efficient participation of it.—Hafiz Rahmut, notwithstanding his very advanced age, still perhaps possessed spirit and abilities sufficient to have enabled him to bear with success the great weight thus thrown upon his shoulders, had any tolerable degree of harmony subsisted among the other leading members of the community ; but that unanimity which alone could render them formidable now no longer prevailed among them ; the authority of Hafiz, as “ chief guardian of the state,” was slighted by some, and openly renounced by others ; they regarded the superiority he assumed with envy ; and the manner of his attaining that pre-eminence had rendered him particularly obnoxious to the sons of Allee Mahummed and their party ; so that he found himself tottering on the pinnacle of an usurped authority, without the support of a single friend in whom he could venture to confide.

In addition to a total defect in mutual alliance and general co-operation, many other circumstances concurred to weaken the power of the Afgan independances in the northern provinces at this period.—Zabita Khan had been drawn off from their interest, as already related; and the death of Ahmed Khan Bungish left the principality of Ferrochabad in the hands of his son Muzziffer Jung, a weak and ignorant young man, who, so far from being able to add force or stability to any union which might have been entered into by them for their general defence, had it not in his power to support himself; and was constrained, the year before, to have recourse to Suja-al-Dowlah for his aid to protect his city from the attempts of a petty detachment of Mahrattas:—add to this, that in Rohilcund, the seeds of contention, which had been sown in the original formation of the government, had long since sprung up: a mutual jealousy and avowed animosity, which had effectually estranged the different leaders from each other, induced every

man, in the present unsettled state of affairs, to aspire at a separate independence utterly inconsistent with their political consequence as a collective body ; and the total relaxation or suspension of the penal laws, attendant upon such a state of anarchy, could not fail of producing the most mischievous effects, among a people naturally of a fierce and untoward temper, and possessed of a disposition so addicted to violence and rapine, as would at any time have required the severest exertions of justice to restrain it within bounds. The Hindoo farmers, and other *original* inhabitants of the country, groaned under the worst species of military vassalage ; whilst the upstart Mussulman despots who held them in subjection, were, by their perpetual feuds, disabled, as we have seen, from affording them the smallest protection against armies of barbarous marauders, who every year spread their devastations among them, almost without resistance. — The haughty and turbulent spirit of the Afgans could not long submit to that strict controul

troul which was necessary to preserve any tolerable degree of regularity or subordination in a government composed of so many independent members:—consequently orders were no longer heard or obeyed;—the administration of justice,—the collection of revenue,—and the intercourse of commerce, were all at a stand;—the roads were infested with bands of armed ruffians; and every enormity had grown to such a height as was not likely to yield to any remedy which, in the present state of things, could possibly be applied.

Such was the state of the Afghan powers in these countries a few months before the commencement of the celebrated “*Robilla War*.”

Suja-al-Dowlah had, in his correspondence with the English government, repeatedly expressed an earnest desire to have an interview with Mr. Hastings, then governor of Bengal;—and many points of

the utmost consequence having occurred in the course of his intimate connection with the British, the adjustment of which could not any way be so well effected as by a personal conference, the council at Calcutta were of opinion, that a meeting between their President and the Vizier at this season would be productive of great benefit to the affairs of the Company : Mr. Hastings was accordingly provided by them with especial powers of negotiation, and arrived at Benares in the month of August, A. D. 1773.

It may be recollected that Suja-al-Dowlah, at the close of the last campaign against the Mahrattas, in consequence of Hafiz Rahmut's apparent treachery, and breach of his engagements, had conceived an idea of seizing upon the Rohilla country, and had even made proposals to the British commander in chief for the assistance of the English troops in the immediate execution of this design. His proposals were, at that time, for many prudential and political reasons, rejected :

these reasons, however, *now* no longer existed:--the Mahrattas, whose presence had formed the grand obstacle to the undertaking, had gone off, and were now solely occupied in settling the internal dissensions of their own country; and many months had passed, within which the Rohillas, if so disposed, could with ease have discharged the stipulated subsidy so justly due to the Vizier and his Allies, for having twice cleared their country of an enemy; but, instead of so doing, they had answered to the repeated importunities of the Vizier on this subject, by a reiteration of subterfuges, delays, and excuses, which plainly indicated an intention on their part of never discharging the obligation.

In consequence of this state of things, the Vizier, in his conference with Mr. Hastings at Benares, proposed that the British government should assist him with a brigade of the Company's forces, to enable him to effect the complete subjugation

tion

tion of Rohilcund ; and agreed to pay a monthly subsidy of two lacks and ten thousand rupees, for the subsistence of these troops, and to present the Company with a gratuity of forty lacks of rupees, on the final performance of this service ; and the plan of the expedition was projected, and, with the ultimate approbation of the council in Calcutta, determined to be undertaken as soon as the season fit for action should commence, in the event of the Rohillas not discharging their obligations in the interim.—Almost immediately after, however, the Vizier, on a review of the necessary steps preparatory to this important undertaking, began to be apprehensive that the period which he had fixed for its commencement, would scarcely allow him time to settle a variety of concerns, the previous adjustment of which was indispensably requisite to its ultimate success, and which his eagerness for the attainment of his grand object had caused him to neglect or overlook at the time of his proposing it ; neither was he without fears,

fears that, if he should meet with any unexpected difficulty in the prosecution of those preparatory measures, he might, by that circumstance, be rendered incapable of fulfilling his agreement with respect to the promised subsidy, in addition to the many pecuniary obligations which he already lay under to the Company. He therefore suddenly rescinded his proposals respecting the subjugation of Rohilcund, expressing his wish that this matter should (without being absolutely relinquished) remain in *suspence*, the ultimate execution of it to depend upon the fortunate coincidence of future occurrences.

Soon after, Mr. Hastings, having adjusted the publick business with the Vizier, (the particulars of which are foreign to our subject) returned to Calcutta, and the Vizier to Fyzabad; from whence the latter proceeded without delay to the prosecution of those measures by the success of which his resolution with respect to the Rohilcund

hilcund expedition was to be eventually determined.

His first object was the security of the districts of Korah and Allehabad, and the establishment of such a line of defence on their northern frontier, from the Jumna to the Ganges, as would secure him in the undisturbed possession of them.—These countries had been guaranteed to the impotent Emperor, Shah Aulum, by the treaty of Allehabad *, but were abandoned, and virtually relinquished by him on his proceeding to Delhi †, where he shortly after made them over, by a grant, to the Mah-rattas ‡, who would certainly have obtained a permanent settlement in them, which from their situation, must have been highly dangerous, if not utterly destructive, to the safety and independence of all the eastern provinces, had not their schemes been most fortunately frustrated by the timely and decisive interference of

* Page 158.—† Page 170.—‡ Page 171.

the English ;—and they were confirmed to Suja-al-Dowlah in the late conference at Benares.

The Mahrattas, although they had been compelled, by the present deranged situation of their affairs at home, to relinquish a great part of their possessions in the *Doáb*, (as has been already observed) had yet left some small garrisons in the district of Etáwa, which makes the northern boundary of the Korah province ; and, as their establishment here might enable them to give him great disturbance at some future period, the Vizier judged it prudent to begin by ejecting them. He accordingly crossed the Ganges at Mow, and marching over the *Doáb* *, laid siege to the fort of Etáwa.—The Mahratta who commanded in that fortress, after a small resistance, merely to save appearances, was prevailed upon to make a capitulation, by which the Mahrattas in this and other

* Oct. 1773.

places of the Doâb, were permitted to retire unmolested beyond the Jumna, and Suja-al-Dowlah had the good fortune to possess himself of the whole of these districts without any farther opposition; so that his dominion between the rivers now extended from Allehabad near to Agra upon the Jumna, and to Kinnoge upon the Ganges.

This great and unexpected success, by removing every obstacle of any moment, determined the Vizier to adhere to the execution of his original design; and he forthwith wrote to the Council at Calcutta, conveying formal proposals, in the terms already mentioned, which, after due deliberation, were acceded to, nearly on the same conditions as had been specified in the interview at Benares*.

The Rohilla expedition being now irrevocably determined on, as it was yet early in the season †, the Vizier resolved to

* Page 212. — † Dec. 1773.

smooth or remove every remaining obstacle to his views, which, as his main object had been already attained with so much facility, he concluded he might easily effect, before his allies should be in readiness to take the field. Having taken proper precautions for the security of his own acquisitions in the *Doáb*, by placing *Aumils**, supported by considerable bodies of troops, throughout the country, he proceeded to Ferrochabad. Notice has already been taken of the wretched situation to which that state had been reduced by the death of Ahmed Khan Bungish, and the imbecility of his successor, whom Suja-al-Dowlah now easily found means to cajole with assurances of his friendship and support, and finally to draw him into such engagements as left his country, property, and person at the sole disposal of the Vizier, who soon found himself as entirely possessed of Ferrochabad as of any part of his own original dominions. From hence he sent for Zabita Khan, who, having been released from his

* Angice—"Superintendants, or collectors of revenue."

engagements with the Mahrattas, by their precipitate retreat from the *Doáb*, had retired to Nijeebabad, seeming inclined once more to join the fortunes of his countrymen ;—but Suja-al-Dowlah, by his professions, not only detached him from their interests, but even persuaded him to join in the intended undertaking against them. —At the same time, the Vizier, apprehensive, perhaps, of some molestation from Nudjiff Khan, who had lately risen to a considerable degree of power, and, after the retreat of the Mahrattas, managed the Emperor's affairs at Delhi, endeavoured to secure his interest by making him privy to his design ; and, it is said, even went so far as to hold forth some indirect promises of making over to his Majesty a share of whatever he should conquer ; in consequence of which the minister entered with zeal into his designs, and agreed to join the Vizier with a select body of troops as soon as the campaign should commence.

Every thing being now ripe for action,
Suja-

Suja-al-Dowlah direct his general, Litâfet Alee Khan, to march up the Ganges from Ferrochabad, and to construct a bridge of boats over the river at Ramghaut, by which he meant to enter at once into the heart of the Rohilla country ; but whilst Litâfet was collecting materials for this purpose, the Vizier, by the advice of some English officers, abandoned that design, and determined to enter the Rohilla frontiers from his own dominions on the other side of the Ganges ; as from thence the army would be able to draw the most certain and regular supplies, and the operations of the English forces were, by the terms of the treaty, confined to the *eastward* of that river. He accordingly returned to Mow, (where a bridge had been already laid) and crossing the river, advanced up the eastern bank, and encamped at Shawbad, on the Rohilla frontiers. From hence he deputed a Vakeel to Hafiz Rahmut, with a copy of his engagement*, and with orders to make

* App. No. I. and II.

a formal demand of immediate payment, on pain of the consequences.

In the mean time, the second brigade of the Company's forces took the field in the beginning of the year 1774, under the command of Colonel A. Champion, and advanced by easy marches to join the Vizier, according to agreement.

When Litâfet began to collect materials for constructing a bridge at Ramghaut, the Rohillas became sensible of the approaching storm ;—their apprehensions were confirmed by the subsequent march of the English troops ; and, on the receipt of the aforesaid message from the Vizier, Hafiz Rahmut amused the Vakeel with hopes of success in his deputation ; and, in the mean time, applied to the several chiefs, desiring them either to enable him forthwith to discharge this demand, or to join him in the field :—they had already resolved on the latter alternative. The Vakeel, after some delay, was sent back to his master with an evasive

evasive answer, and Hafiz Rahmut proceeded from Peeleabete to Owlah, where he set up his standard, and sent notices throughout the country, requiring the Rohillas to repair thither.—Here he was soon joined by Fyzoola Khan and others; and as no remedy now appeared except open resistance, Hafiz attempted to inspire into the several leaders a resolution to act with unanimity and firmness in support of the common cause: but all his efforts were rendered void by that spirit of jealousy and faction already mentioned, which contributed to destroy them much more effectually than the sword of the enemy.

Hafiz first applied to Ahmed Khan Khanfaman, and Ahmed Khan Buxy, for money for the purpose of raising troops and making the necessary preparations; as these chiefs were, by their offices, invested with the management of all receipts and disbursements that might at any time be necessary for the defence of the general state.—He at the same time offered them

bonds of indemnification, engaging either to hold himself personally responsible, or to give assignments upon his country for such sums as they might advance from their own finances for the public service on the present occasion. Notwithstanding these assurances, however, they did not entertain such an opinion of Hafiz as would induce them to place any dependance upon his promises, and having previously entered into a private league to support each other, absolutely refused to advance any money, declaring “ they would “ oppose with force whoever should offer “ to compel them.” The Buxy, however, was persuaded, by some of the more wise and discreet among his friends, to adopt a more liberal mode of conduct, at least in *appearance*; and advanced two lacks of rupees for *tuncaws*, or assignments, upon the territory of Budâvon, which were given to him by the Khanfaman as a security ;—“ perhaps” (says the Rohilla narrator) “ neither the persuasions of his “ countrymen, nor his own conviction of
“ the

“ the approaching danger, would have
 “ sufficed to induce the Buxy to this exer-
 “ tion ; but, from the period of the quar-
 “ rel between the brothers” (Ahmed Khan
 and Azeem Khan) “ he had regarded the
 “ district of Budâvon with a greedy eye,
 “ and an assignment, which would give
 “ him a future hold upon it, offered such
 “ a temptation as he could not resist.”
 (Here we see, in the midst of immediate
 apprehension and distress, and at a period of
 impending calamity, an involution of sub-
 tile treachery, which is seldom outshone in
 the crooked mazes of political refinement
 in use among the most *polished* nations ;—
 but to return—) Several other chiefs threw
 small sums into the grand treasury upon
 the present exigency ; but this mode of
 supply was not generally adopted, and af-
 ter all, the sum collected was very insuffi-
 cient to defray the necessary charges. In
 fact, so low were their finances reduced by
 their dominions for the two preceding
 years having been the seat of war, that
 few of the Rohilla chiefs had it in their

power to contribute largely :—the only persons among them whose circumstances enabled them to do so were Hafiz Rahmut, the *Khanfaman*, (enriched by the plunder of his brother) and Fyzoola Khan, (who had long held the districts of Rampore, from which, although not exceeding in value *five lacks* per annum, he had saved considerably, besides what he acquired by succeeding to the inheritance of the personal property of his father)— and neither of these were willing to put too much to a risk on the present occasion.—Many other leading men, instead of coming boldly forward on this threatening emergency, seemed either abandoned to inactive dependency, or withheld from exertion by suspicious doubts of their fellows, each conceiving the other to be ready to betray him ; and Suja-al-Dowlah, well aware of their present temper, employed a multitude of emissaries among them, who, by working upon the hopes of some, and the fears of others, increased their mutual jealousy and distrust. Neither the Buxy nor the

the Khanfaman joined the Rohilla army till some time after its formation ; the Vizier having entered into a negotiation with them, and, partly by threats, partly by promises, prevailed on them (whatever appearance prudence might render necessary) to remain essentially *neuter* in the ensuing dispute ; and they were themselves sufficiently disposed, in the present situation of things, rather to *forsake* than to *assist* their countrymen ; as they knew that if the Afgans should make an effectual resistance and repel the invaders, Hafiz would amply revenge himself upon them for their late opposition to him. Mahboola Khan and Fittee Oolah Khan (the sons of Doondy Khan) neglected to appear in the field, or to assist in any measures of general co-operation until several days after the enemy had entered into the country, as they had also privately received a message from Sujal-Dowlah, who sent them a *Koran*, (a sacred pledge of mutual faith among Mussulmans) with assurances of his protection, provided they should not join Hafiz Rah-

mut on the present occasion ; and to this they returned a favourable reply ; but, with a fraudulent inconsistency, perfectly in character, they proceeded to Owlah at the head of a considerable force within four days after !

Perhaps, indeed, these intrigues of Sujā-al-Dowlah (whose character was well known) would have availed but little in shaking the fidelity of any of the chiefs, had not they been strengthened in their operation by the general dread of Hafiz Rahmut.

To investigate the causes of this sentiment, which on the present occasion was attended with such fatal effects to the interest of the Rohilla confederacy in general, and of Hafiz Rahmut in particular, it is necessary to take a short retrospect to some incidents which could not have been related in their proper place without an unseasonable interruption to the narrative,

On the death of Futté Khan Khanfaman, Hafiz Rahmut took advantage of the quarrel between his heirs to seize on some of the lands and effects of that officer, and even refused to pay to his son and successor Ahmed Khan an old debt of two lacks of rupees, which he had owed to the Khanfaman for some years past :—He had, moreover, exacted at another time the sum of two lacks of rupees from the new Buxy, on pretence of defraying the expences of Allee Mahummed's youngest son, Mahummed-Yâr Khan, and applied the money so extorted to his own use ;—and, after the death of Doondee Khan, he had made frequent requisitions of his sons Mahboola and Fittee Oolah, under the same pretence.—In short, from the time that the death of his colleagues had thrown the principal power into his own hands, Hafiz Rahmut had so often made an intemperate use of the ostensible authority with which, as “ chief guardian of the state,” he was vested, (and which he had been able to support only by superiority of military force

force and territorial resources) that, however respected for his abilities and bravery, and revered for the apparent sanctity of his manners, he was almost universally dreaded and disliked; and as he was aware of this disposition in his countrymen, the intrigues he continually kept on foot, to support his influence, had considerably widened the breaches before existing among the members of a naturally turbulent and distracted state:—even Fyzoola Khan, from whom alone he could expect effectual support, was not without suspicions that Hafiz had at this period projected a plan to raise up a dangerous rival against him in the person of his brother Mahummed-Yâr, and looked to the time when his own property might fall a sacrifice to the crooked politicks and insatiable avarice of his wily guardian.—“ To sum
“ up all,” says the Rohilla narrator, “ a
“ surprising degree of animosity and dis-
“ cord had long since arisen in Rohilcund,
“ and each person was employed in (nay,
“ was earnestly *bent upon*) the eradication
“ of

“ of his neighbour ; and in order to effect
 “ the destruction and overthrow of his
 “ own immediate kindred and connec-
 “ tions, was ready to enter into league
 “ with foreigners and strangers : the event
 “ was what might be expected, — what
 “ indeed soon appeared in the course of
 “ the succeeding occurrences.”—In such
 circumstances, it is not surprising that,
 even at *this* awful moment, when a foreign
 enemy was about to overwhelm them, the
 chiefs were so dubious of each other that
 no general system of defence was adopted,
 nor any orders executed with the prompt-
 itude and alacrity necessary in so critical
 a juncture.

Such was the ruinous situation of affairs
 in the Rohilla camp, when the combined
 armies of Suja-al-Dowlah and his British
 allies entered their country on the 12th
 day of April, 1774*.

On

* As the writer has been desirous (for very ob-
 vious reasons) to adhere closely to the account given
 by

On the allied army crossing the river Gûrra, (which intersects the southern boundary of Rohilcund near Shawbad) several Zimeendars, and some governors of districts upon the borders, came in to the Vizier and threw themselves upon his mercy ; and were permitted to remain unmolested in their habitations : but, as it was judged imprudent to leave any shelter to those, who by their behaviour appeared to be inimicably inclined, and who, as the army advanced, might, by returning to their habitations, be the means of interrupting the free communication with the Vizier's country, and cutting off the supplies, his troops burned and destroyed the villages of such as had refused to submit, or had abandoned them on his approach.

Fyzoola

by the *Rohil'a*, in his relation of the subsequent transactions, he hopes that this motive will be considered as a sufficient apology for any inaccuracies that may appear in it ; he has blended the *English* account with it, as far as is consistent with his adherence to the other.

Fyzoola Khan now became so sensible of the inability of the Rohilla forces to resist the power which was brought against them, that he repeatedly applied to Hafiz Rahmut, intreating him, if possible, to come to an accommodation with the Vizier, and offering himself to undertake the payment of his demands, by exerting his interest with the other chiefs, and persuading them to contribute to the discharge of them;—but Hafiz, with a wilful perverseness which seemed to urge him to his fate, declined accepting of any of those overtures, and determined, at all events, to try his fortune in the field.

On the 17th of April, Hafiz, who assumed the chief command of the Rohilla army, marched with his whole force, consisting of about twenty-four thousand horse and foot, four thousand rocket men, and sixty pieces of cannon and amuzettes, and the next day took post near the village of Cutterah, on the banks of the *Bogga*,
his

his rear and one of his flanks being covered by that river.

Colonel Champion, who was commander in chief of the British and Vizier's forces, advanced on the 20th to Shahjehanpôre, and on the two succeeding days made some feints, as if he intended to take a circuit and advance into the interior part of the country, without coming to action; the apprehension of which would constrain the Rohillas to relinquish the advantages of the judicious position they had chosen.

Hafiz Rahmut, who had for two days expected to see the enemy, and kept his troops under arms for several hours each morning to be in readiness for their reception, considerably relaxed his vigilance when he found that, instead of coming directly upon him, they were employed in measures which indicated an intention of turning his rear, and thereby cutting off his communication with Owlah and Barêlle

Barêllee, from whence alone the Rohillas could draw the supplies necessary to their subsistence. Alarmed at this idea, he made some change in his position, with an intention of retreating to the last of these towns, should circumstances render this measure necessary.

On the 22d, the British commander, finding that his manœuvres had produced their intended effect, made the necessary preparation for action, and marching the next morning at two o'clock, without beat of drum, threw his baggage and followers into a small fort which had been deserted by the enemy, and came within view of the Rohilla camp a little after sun-rise.

Nothing could exceed the astonishment of Hafiz Rahmut, when he understood that the whole army of the enemy were drawn up in battle array, within cannon shot of his encampment, after having beat in the out-posted guards, who were the first messengers of the alarm. He directly mounted
ed

ed his elephant in order to go forth and reconnoitre their position, whilst in the mean time the Rohillas were thrown into a general confusion by the near and unexpected approach of their adversaries.—Hafiz Rahmut, when he rode out, had neglected to order the *Nekkâreh* (or alarm drum) to beat, so that a considerable time elapsed before any line was formed, or the artillery prepared for action, and no general plan of operations having been settled, nor any orders received, every leader acted as he thought proper.—About four thousand of their infantry, seeing things in such disorder, retired, panick struck, from the field; and when Hafiz returned to the camp, he found a great part of the troops ready to follow their example; his presence, however, restored them to some degree of order, and inspired them with a resolution to make one brave effort for the preservation of their independence.

Hafiz took his post in the centre of the Afgan army, which was directly opposed
to

to the British troops:—Fyzoola and Mustakeem Khan, with some of the other principal chiefs, led on that division of their forces opposite to the corps of Litâfet and the Vizier's sepoy; and they were at this instant joined by Mahboola Khan and his brother Fittee Oolah, who had left Bissceolee with their followers the preceding day.

The action consisted principally of a cannonade, which was supported above two hours with great spirit on both sides, at first at the distance of a thousand yards, which, as the armies gradually advanced towards each other, was afterwards reduced to five hundred: the powder of the Rohillas being of a very bad quality, most of their shot fell short; and their rockets, although thrown in prodigious quantities, did but little execution; whilst a continual shower of balls fell upon their centre from the English artillery, and made dreadful havock in their unwieldy columns.—Many attempts were made by

R Mustakeem

Mustakeem Khan and others to lead the cavalry to the charge, and to force the enemy's flanks, but without effect.—At length, Hafiz, seeing the spirit of the soldiers begin to droop under the superior fire of the English, descended from the elephant which he had hitherto rode, and mounted an ordinary horse, to convince his followers that he had no intention of escaping, but was determined to conquer or die.—Very soon after this he, on whom every thing depended, fell.—The center seeing the fate of their general, immediately began to give way; and in a few minutes the whole broke, and fled with precipitation, leaving their camp (which was still standing) with all their baggage and artillery to the victors.

Immediately on the Rohillas giving way, some bodies of the Vizier's cavalry were detached in pursuit; and the flying troops, in order to save themselves from total destruction, all separated, and went off to
different

different places, so that in a few hours the Rohilla army no longer existed.

The loss sustained by the Vizier and his Allies in this decisive action was inconsiderable; but that of the Afgans was not less than two thousand killed and wounded; and their whole system suffered an irreparable blow in the death of their gallant leader.

Thus fell Hafiz Râhmut, who (notwithstanding his low original) whether we consider him as a soldier or a statesman, was certainly entitled to some degree of respect.—As the director of a factious and distracted government, he by the superiority of his talents and address kept together its several parts much longer, certainly, than could have been expected, considering the nature of the people with whom he had to deal, and the unfortunate events under which they laboured.—His personal bravery and firmness in the hour of danger would have enabled the

Rohillas to support themselves with success against all their foreign enemies, and to have protected their dominion from the many calamities in which it had been involved for some years past, had he been properly supported by his colleagues; and it was this spirit that determined him, on the failure of every other resource, to prefer an honourable death to an inglorious submission. — But, however praiseworthy his conduct in these situations may appear, the circumstances of his rise to power, as well as the use he often made of that power when acquired, — must detract greatly from his merit! — and it remains to be regretted that such happy endowments should have been blended with the most mischievous of all vices, and that a grasping and unprincipled ambition should have induced him to betray the trust of his friend, and usurp the inheritance of his wards, in a manner which tarnishes all his great qualities and throws a perpetual slur on his memory; nor was the fate he met with less *deserved* than it has been,

been, by numbers, pitied and lamented* :
but, to return.—

Fyzoola Khan and his brother Mahum-
med-Yâr, who had both exerted them-

* It is here necessary to remark that, (among a multitude of similar errors) this person has been confounded with *Hafiz*, the famous poet of *Shirâz*, who flourished above four hundred years ago.—It is much to be lamented that the warmth and eagerness of political resentments, (however laudable their motives) should sometimes stimulate the most eminent characters, by hastily adopting all circumstances which can tend to aggravate imputed guilt, and putting them together without a sufficient inquiry into the foundation of them, to sully the pure and simple beauty of *Truth*, which needs not the turgid inflation of unfounded rhapsody to support it:—"Hafiz Rahmut, the most
" eminent of their chiefs,—as famous throughout the
" east for the elegance of his literature and the spirit of
" his poetical compositions (by which he supported the name
" of *Hafiz*) as for his courage, was invaded*," &c.
&c.—Hafiz was neither a poet nor a man of letters.
—His original name was *Rahmut Khan*:—The title of *Hafiz* (anglicé, the protector) he afterwards assumed, as being expressive of his rank and office.

* Parliamentary Register, No. LXXVI. page 205.

selves with much gallantry in the foregoing action, when they heard that Hafiz was killed, used every effort to keep their troops together.—Fyzoola had attempted to make a charge upon Litâfet's corps ; in this, however, he failed ; and the Afgans saw the British line advancing upon them in such excellent order that, dreading the effects of their musquetry, neither the upbraidings nor intreaties of their leaders could induce them to stand ; and they rode off the field at full gallop, hurrying *them* along with them.—Fyzoola Khan, seeing the army totally dispersed, fled in despair to Rampore ; and taking from thence his family and valuable effects, retired, by the route of Patterghûrr, to the strong pass in the Cummôw hills above Lolldông, which had twice before served as a place of refuge to his countrymen ; and here he was daily joined by numbers who preferred the desperate chance of this last resource to submission to the enemy on any terms.

Nothing could exceed the terror and
confusion

confusion of the Afgans throughout Rohilcund, on learning the disastrous issue of a battle which at once annihilated their power and decided the fate of their dominion ; and the news was quickly spread abroad with all the exaggerations which commonly accompany the relation of any general and unexpected calamity.—Neither were their fears confined to the progress of the victorious army. Wherever the defeat of the Rohillas became known, the Hindoo Zimeendars (each of whom is possessed of a strong hold attaching to the chief village of his district) shut their forts, and refusing their late masters succour or protection, plundered, without distinction, all whom they found flying towards the hills ; so that numbers of the Afgans, who would otherwise have joined their countrymen at Lolldông, returned to their homes, and there quietly waited the event.—Many more, indeed, were encouraged to this by the generous and temperate conduct of the British troops, whose characteristic virtues were not more displayed

by their gallantry in the late engagement, than by their humanity after it.—In the close of the action, whilst yet flushed with recent victory, they advanced by divisions, and marched through the Rohilla camp with all the disciplined coolness and regularity of a review; not a man offering to leave his post, or to seize on any part of the spoil which was scattered over the plain around them: and on the same evening all the wounded Rohillas who appeared to be in a curable state were taken into the English hospital, and attended with the same care as their own people; and these circumstances undoubtedly contributed not only to the reputation of the conquerors, but to the facility of their subsequent success.

On the final flight of the Afgans, Mahummed-Yâr Khan, attended by the Buxy and the Khansaman, went off to Owlah, where they arrived the same afternoon, and spent the night in all the confusion of distracted councils and unavailing lamentations.

tions. In the morning, the two ministers having collected together their families and treasures, proceeded to the hills by the way of Bissōolee and Moradabâd, and joined Fyzoola Khan, (who, on the death of Hafiz assumed the chief command) at Lolldông. Mahummed-Yâr Khan accompanied the ministers to Bissōolee, and from thence went with a few attendants through Sumbull to Fyrozabâd, where he found Mahummed Allee Khan, a person of influence and experience, and an old retainer of his father's. To him he declared his intentions of proceeding to Lolldông to join his brother, but was dissuaded from this design by the arguments of Mahummed Allee, who assured him “ that he
 “ could not possibly pass through the
 “ country in safety, as the Zimeendars
 “ were all up in arms :—that, as the fa-
 “ mily of Doondee Khan still remained
 “ at Bissōolee, and those of Hafiz Rahmut
 “ with all their effects, at Peeleabete, he,
 “ who possessed *nothing*, might surely re-
 “ tire to his own habitation without ap-
 “ prehension

“ prehension of danger, and thereby avoid
“ exposing his family to almost inevitable
“ destruction from the intense heats of the
“ present season ; and the late conduct of
“ the English evinced that he had more to
“ hope from their kindness than to fear
“ from their resentment.”——In conformity to this advice, Mahummed-Yâr Khan retired to his own place of residence at Owlah.

Mahboola Khan, and his brother Fittee Oolah, depending much upon the assurances which they had received from the Vizier previous to the battle of Cutterah, (although they had forfeited all title to this dependance by joining their friends in the engagement) retired to Bissloolee, their own city, and there remained.

The Begum widow of Sydoola Khan, (who resided at Owlah) on learning the death of Hafiz Rahmut, and the defeat of the Rohilla forces, immediately dispatched a messenger to Suja-al-Dowlah, “ request-
“ ing

“ ing to know his pleasure with respect to
 “ her, whether he meant that she should
 “ surrender up her effects, or rely upon
 “ his generosity”.——In reply to this the
 Vizier immediately ordered two of his
 confidential servants to wait upon the Be-
 gum——“ to assure her of his favourable in-
 “ tentions towards her, and to request her
 “ not for a moment to admit any doubt or
 “ apprehension into her mind, nor by ill-
 “ grounded fears to disseminate confusion
 “ and terror in the city of Owlah :—that
 “ her annual allowance, which, under the
 “ Rohilla chiefs, had never exceeded fifty
 “ thousand rupees per annum, should be
 “ increased to something more proportion-
 “ able to her rank and situation ; and that
 “ she might hope for every thing from his
 “ future kindness.” Confiding in these de-
 clarations, the Begum remained at Owlah,
 and thereby preserved the tranquillity of
 the city, where there was no more ap-
 pearance of disturbance or disorder than if
 nothing extraordinary had happened.

The family of Hafiz Rahmut, with a torpid apathy which is not easy to be accounted for, took no measures either for flight or defence, but continued quietly in the fort of Peeleabête, apparently little moved by the late (to them) dreadful catastrophe. Zoo-al-Fukkâr Khan, Hafiz's eldest son, who had fled to Baréllee immediately after the battle, when he heard of Mahummed-Yâr Khan being at Owlâh, went and joined him at that place.

Such were the immediate effects of the battle of Cutterah among the Rohillas: let us now return to the Vizier and his allies.

A body of Suja-al-Dowlah's horse took possession of the city of Baréllee the night after the action. The victors encamped on the 23d, and the succeeding day near the field of battle, and, on the 25th, leaving Baréllee on their left, marched towards Peeleabête.—The family of Hafiz Rahmut, on hearing of the Vizier's approach, were rather pleased than alarmed at the intelligence,

telligence, as their greatest dread arose from the apprehension of some of the Rohillas taking this opportunity to retaliate upon them the former exactions of their deceased chief; against which they hoped, under the shelter of the English or the Vizier, to find a permanent protection.—“ In short,” (says the narrator) “ misfortune and infatuation was “ their lot, in that they did not think “ of taking refuge in the intrenchments at “ the foot of the hills, which were at so “ inconsiderable a distance, and where, “ under the guardianship of Fyzoola “ Khan, their honour and their property “ would have remained secure and un- “ touched, and they would have experi- “ enced every kind of attention and re- “ gard from that benignity for which he “ is so justly famed.” The event, indeed, soon evinced the folly of their inactivity.—The garrison had already abandoned the place; so that, upon the allied troops appearing before it, it was surrendered without any resistance; and the family of Hafiz Rahmut

Rahmut, together with such treasure, jewels, &c. as remained from the wreck of his fortune, fell into the hands of the Vizier without stipulation or condition ; and the next day all the women and children of the Haram were put into pelanquins and other covered carriages, and sent off under a strong guard to Owlah, whither the Vizier accompanied them.

Two days after the surrender of Peeleabête, the English troops fell back to Barélee, where they remained for some time, the commander in chief meaning to canton there during the ensuing rainy season ; however, at the request of the Vizier, they removed from hence, and marched to Bisfoolee. At this place they found Nudjiff Khan, who, in pursuance of his promise, had brought along with him a body of six thousand men to assist in the reduction of the Rohillas, but arrived too late to have any share in the foregoing service.

The two brothers, Mahboola Khan and Fitte

Fittee Oolah, when they beheld the fate of Hafiz Rahmut's family, began to entertain some doubts of the Vizier's intentions with respect to themselves, especially as they were conscious that by their breach of a private agreement previously understood, (in joining Hafiz Rahmut in the battle, notwithstanding their acceptance of the overtures from the Vizier) they must in some measure be considered as having forfeited that protection to which they might otherwise have laid claim :—they therefore now resolved to *divide the hazard*, by one of the brothers proceeding to pay his respects to the Nabob, whilst the other should remain at Bisfoolee (where their families and treasures were deposited) and act as circumstances might direct.—Accordingly, Fittee Oolah Khan proceeded to the Vizier's camp at Baréllee, and there, before he would venture to appear, solicited the mediation of Salar Jung (the Vizier's uncle) in his favour.—Some of his friends endeavoured to dissuade the Rohilla from taking this step, and advised him rather to apply to the British

tish commander “ as it was well known, “ that when the English word was “ pledged it could be relied on ; whereas, “ no faith could be placed either in the “ Vizier himself or in any of his officers.” Fittee Oolah, however, rejected this salutary council ; and procuring an introduction to the Vizier the next day, immediately after being dismissed from audience he was ordered into confinement.—In the interim, Mahboola Khan waited at Biffoolee, under much anxiety to hear of his brother’s success, and would have availed himself of the intelligence he received concerning his reception, by removing with the most valuable part of his treasure to join his countrymen at Lolldông ; but his intention was at once frustrated by the unexpected appearance of Nudjiff Khan, who arrived at Biffoolee the same evening, and either guessing the Rohilla’s design, or being furnished with previous instructions, placed guards around his house, so that all hope of escape was extinguished ; and thus both the brothers experienced the natural effects

effects of their indecisive and *trimming* policy.—Had they boldly rejected the Vizier's insidious offers in the first instance, and openly and gallantly shared the fortunes of their countrymen in their last retreat, their honour would still have remained untouched, and their persons free ; but, by acceding to the Vizier's offers, and afterwards appearing against him in battle, they entailed upon themselves universal odium, and at the same time incurred his implacable resentment,

The day before the arrival of the allied army at Bissfoolee, Mahummed-Yâr Khan came in, and being presented to the Vizier by his servants Mirza Ramzânée and Mirza Agâ, was very favourably received ; nor did he ever afterwards suffer any molestation either in his person or family. Numbers of the other Rohillas, who had not accompanied their countrymen in their flight, on hearing this, came in, and found a similar reception.

From Owlah the Vizier wrote circular letters to all the remaining Afgans of any note throughout the country, desiring them to continue quietly in their dwellings, and giving them the most solemn assurances of protection. These delarations were in general attended with their full effect; in a few weeks all the country south of Rampore was put entirely into the possession of the Vizier, and every thing was soon reduced to perfect tranquillity.

Shortly after his arrival at Bissfoolee, the Vizier sent off the sons of Doondee Khan, their wives and children, together with the family and immediate retainers of Hafiz Rahmut, and numbers of the Afgan inhabitants of Baréllee, Owlah, Bissfoolee, and other places, to Allehabâd, under the conduct of his brother-in-law, the Nabob Salar Jung*.

On

* Much has been said of the *excessive cruelties* practised by Suja-al-Dowlah on his Rohilla prisoners, and
in

On the commencement of the rainy season, Suja-al-Dowlah and his allies built temporary quarters of cantonment in the neighbourhood of Bissfoolee, where a Hindoo named Beâfs Râye (who had been the Dewân of Hafiz Rahmut) insinuated himself into the Vizier's favour, by giving him information respecting the secret deposits of treasure, &c. among the Rohillas, and being himself forward in committing acts of oppression upon them.—To this man Suja-al-Dowlah rented the conquered country, at the rate of *two krores of rupees per annum*; but he was soon after displaced on account of his malversations; the whole body of the people making loud

in particular, on the family of Hafiz Rahmut; the above, however, is *all* that is mentioned by the Rohilla narrator upon this subject; and, notwithstanding every possible inquiry, the writer has never been able to discover a single document from which he might ascertain any one particular of this alledged ill usage, unless the inconveniences necessarily attendant upon *confinement and removal* are to be termed such.

complaints of the sufferings to which they were subjected under his administration.

Fyzoola Khan, on flying to the hills, perceiving the ruinous state of the Afgan cause, resolved to attempt every expedient to screen himself from that destruction in which the fortunes of so many of his countrymen were already involved; and hoped to obtain, by negotiation, a happier and more honourable settlement than the present situation of affairs afforded him any prospect of procuring by other means. Many circumstances, indeed, were in his favour.—As the eldest remaining son of Allee Mahummed, he was the ostensible heir to his possessions, however surreptitiously these possessions were obtained: the injustice done him by his guardians, his innocence with respect to the origin of the war, and his amiable character and manners (independent of other circumstances) all contributed to plead strongly in his behalf. —He therefore wrote to the commander in chief

chief of the British forces at Bissfoolee, proposing, through the mediation of the English, to come to terms with the Vizier; and, on the 19th of May he deputed an Afgan named Abdureen Khan, to negotiate with Colonel Champion.—The Vakeel had instructions to propose *three* several modes of adjustment. The most feasible of these was, “ that his master should hold the whole of “ *Kuttáber* in fealty of the Vizier, paying “ him an annual tribute of forty lacks of “ rupees,—the British government to receive from him a donation of thirty lacks “ (on the part of the Company) as a recompence for their good offices in influencing the Vizier to accede to these “ terms.”—The commander in chief wrote to the Council at Calcutta, strongly recommending the propriety of their procuring this or some similar compromise in behalf of the Rohilla chief: the Council, however, declined any interference between the principals in the war, under an apprehension (probably not ill-founded) that the Vizier might be led to explain such an in-

terposition into a breach of their treaty with him, which would afford him a pretext for not fulfilling his part of it; and they moreover objected to the proposed measure on grounds of political expediency*.

This

* The substance of the arguments used as reasons for the British government declining to interfere between the Vizier and Fyzoola Khan on this occasion is contained in the following extract of a letter written by Mr. Hastings, in answer to the representations of the commander in chief concerning it.

“ WE engaged to assist the Vizier in reducing the
 “ Rohilla country under his dominion, that the bound-
 “ ary of his possessions might be completed by the
 “ Ganges forming a barrier to cover them from the
 “ attacks and insults to which they were exposed, by
 “ his enemies either possessing, or having access to,
 “ the Rohilla country: this our alliance with him,
 “ and the necessity of maintaining this alliance so long
 “ as he and his successors shall deserve our protection,
 “ rendered advantageous to the Company’s interest;
 “ because the security of his possessions from invasions
 “ in that quarter is, in effect, the security of our’s:
 “ but if the Rohilla country is delivered to Fyzoola
 “ Khan, the advantages proposed from this measure
 “ will

This negotiation necessarily occupied some time. Fyzoola Khan, however, did not in the interim neglect any measures which might be requisite to enable him to make a vigorous defence in the last resort. On his arrival at Lolldông, he had issued proclamations, inviting all the Afgans to join his standard there.—During the interval of suspension of hostilities, every means had been used by intrenchments and barricadoes to render the post at this place as tenable as possible ; and multitudes of Rohillas, who would never otherwise have

“ will be totally defeated. The same objections from
 “ the *Vizier* will take place against him as against Ha-
 “ fiz Rahmut :—he will be actuated by the same prin-
 “ ciples of self-defence, and the same impressions of
 “ fear, to seek the protection of other powers against
 “ the *Vizier*, and of course, will create the same jea-
 “ lousies and suspicions in the mind of the *Vizier*,
 “ with the additional and strong incentive of a mutual
 “ animosity, and of an enormous debt, which, pro-
 “ bably, Fyzoola Khan will find no means to get
 “ clear of, but by engaging in hostilities against the
 “ *Vizier*.”

thought of moving, were driven, by the exactions of the renter and his agents, to seek an asylum here; insomuch that, before the rains were yet fully set in, such intelligence was received of the situation and daily augmenting strength of the Afghans, as made it necessary, notwithstanding the severity of the season, to proceed against them without loss of time. There were, moreover, other cogent reasons for pushing the operations to a final conclusion at this period.—It was reported that the Vizier had entered into an agreement with the Emperor Shah Aulum, before the commencement of the Rohilla war, engaging to make over to his Majesty a moiety of whatever territory he should acquire either in the *Dodh* or in Rohilcund; in consideration of which agreement he had received, as *Vizier of the Empire*, a royal *firman*, “authorizing him to reduce the Afghan rebels in Rohilcund to obedience:” and he was now honoured with a letter from the Emperor, “congratulating him in the warmest terms on his late suc-
cesses,

“cess, and hinting at *the expected fulfilment*
“*of his engagements.*” These expectations on the part of the Emperor, whatever their foundation might be, would have given the Vizier little concern; but advices were at this time received that the Mahrattas had settled their political disputes (all their internal commotions having subsided in consequence of the expulsion of Ragonet Row) and were again ready to carry their arms to the northward. This left sufficient room to foresee that the Emperor might renew his connections with them; and as Suja-al-Dowlah, whether the alledged compact had ever been really executed or not, was now determined against acceding to his demands, it was to be apprehended that he would make use of the Mahrattas to enforce them; and the Vizier was aware that if he delayed proceeding against the remaining part of the Rohilla forces until the dry weather, as the Ganges, on the falling of the waters, became fordable in many parts below the post then occupied by the Afgans, he must,
by

by advancing, have left these passages considerably in his rear, which would have given his enemies opportunities to make incursions, and lay waste his dominions during his absence on so remote a service.—These considerations made the Vizier exceedingly anxious to bring the subjugation of Rohilcund to a speedy and decisive issue.—Accordingly, at his repeated solicitation and intreaty, the army again took the field, evacuating their cantonments at Bissfoolee on the 30th day of July, about the middle of the rainy season.

There were, on the route to Lolldông, many posts, the defence of which by the Rohillas, might have greatly retarded the progress of the allied troops at such a season ; but they were so much dispirited by the total defeat they had sustained in the field, and such distractions prevailed in their councils after that event, that none of them had attempted to occupy any of these favourable situations, but, abandoning the plain country altogether, had retired to
their

their intrenchments in the hills; the army, therefore, proceeded entirely unmolested, and took possession of the town of Nijeebabâd, and the fort of Pattergûrr, (situated about twenty miles from Lolldông) without resistance.—The army encamped for some days in the neighbourhood of this place; and a negotiation was here opened between the Vizier and Fyzoola Khan, but without any effect; the Rohilla chief demanding such terms of capitulation as were regarded by the Vizier to be very extravagant and inadmissible, considering the state to which he was reduced.—On the 28th of August the allied army made a forward movement to Mohunpôre, a village near Byceghaut on the Ganges, which brought them within less than fifteen miles from the enemy; and from hence was formed a chain of posts, so distributed as totally to intercept any supplies of provisions from being carried into the Rohilla intrenchments. This measure decided the fate which had been so long impending, and was now about to overthrow the last remains of the Rohilla power.

power. The supplies which the Afgans drew from the hills in their rear were far from being sufficient for their support, as their number amounted to upwards of forty thousand; and to add to their distress, a pestilential disorder (owing to the want of room and the unhealthiness of their situation) broke out among them, and carried off many every day. But, notwithstanding the distress in which they were involved, Fyzoola Khan still continued to hold out with determined firmness and resolution (such as could have been little expected from the general tenor of his character) hoping, by his perseverance, so far to delay the issue of the war, that some favourable circumstances might fall out in the interim, which would constrain the Vizier to come to an accommodation upon terms more honourable than those of absolute and unconditional submission. Near a month was spent in treating on a variety of propositions advanced by the Rohilla Vakeels as the basis of a treaty of adjustment. The general scope of these was, that Fyzoola Khan should

should pay the Vizier a large sum in hand, and rent of him either the *whole* or a *part* of Rohilcund, at a proportionable rate, taking upon himself the disbursement of all expences. The Vizier, however, conceived that these offers were by no means adequate to the magnitude of the object; and, moreover, many reasons of sound policy occurred to prevent his suffering the Afgans to re-establish themselves with any considerable degree of strength in that country, a circumstance which would, in fact, have been utterly subversive of one of the leading principles upon which the war had been undertaken.—Yet, as he was extremely desirous to come to a speedy conclusion, he proposed to grant to Fyzoola Khan a jagheer of fifteen lacks a year in the Doâb, on condition of his delivering up one half of his treasure and effects.—This offer was certainly very equitable, and would have secured the Rohilla chief in much more than he had ever before possessed:—he was advised, however, by the Buxy and the Khanfaman, to reject this advantageous proposal,

propofal; upon which it was judged neceffary to take fuch meafures as would reduce him to a more fpeedy determination; and accordingly, the main body of the Vizier's and Englifh troops advanced from Mohunpôre, and penetrating through the woods, took poft at the foot of the Cummôw hills, within two miles of the Afgan intrenchments, throwing up fome redoubts and other works, (in fight of the advanced poft of the Rohillas) fuch as indicated an intention of affaulting them in their lines. Still, however, the Rohillas continued to hold out with an obftinacy that feemed to increafe in proportion to the mifery which overwhelmed them.--The Buxy and Khanfaman, and fome other chiefs, who were particularly apprehenfive of having offended the Vizier by the duplicity of their conduct, were refolved, at all hazards, not to yield, except on fuch terms as might fecure them againft the effects of his refentment; whilft he, on the other hand, irritated at what he interpreted into a contumacious rejection of his proffered grace,

now

now determined to compel them to surrender themselves and their effects to his sole uncontrollable disposal.

But, whatever obstructions the apprehensions or animosities of the belligerent parties might throw in the way of an amicable adjustment, things were now coming to a crisis.—The Rohillas were reduced to the utmost distress; so that they could not possibly hold out many days longer; and must either have run the desperate chance of throwing themselves upon the Vizier's mercy, or endeavoured to make their escape over the hills by the passes and defiles which lead into the territories of *Sirna-gûr* and *Kummâoon*. The Vizier was not without apprehensions of their making such an attempt, which, however destructive it might be to them, would at any rate deprive him of his expected spoil; and, in order to prevent it, he entertained some idea of storming their intrenchments, a measure, which in the present weak state of the Afgans, must have been attended with

with immediate success. Happily, the prudence of Fyzoola Khan, and the reliance he placed upon the mediating protection of the English, led him, at length, to preclude the necessity of such a sanguinary step. No more than four days provisions now remained in his camp; even the horses and camels had been all consumed;—the nature of the country in his rear, intersected by deep ravines, and covered with impenetrable forests, rendered a retreat impracticable, or, at least, likely to be attended with circumstances more fatally destructive than even the sword of the enemy; and he conceived that he had still a resource in the friendly interposition of the British commander in chief.—He therefore sent a message to Colonel Champion, testifying his desire to come to him, in order that he might personally, through his means, effect an honourable accommodation with the Vizier.—Upon the receipt of this message, two English officers were deputed to conduct the Rohilla chief into the British camp, whither he accompanied them

on the second day of October ; and, on the seventh of the same month, the treaties of peace were agreed upon and finally concluded *.

By this agreement, Fyzoola Khan had guaranteed to him the possession of the districts of Rampore and its dependencies, yielding an annual revenue of more than fourteen lacks of rupees.—In this was included the tract of territory which had formerly been allotted to him, in conformity to the will of his father Allee Mahummed, in the first general partition made by the guardians. Such of the Afghans, found in arms, as were not immediately attached to Fyzoola Khan, (amounting to about twenty thousand) together with a very few of their most obnoxious leaders, were, by particular stipulation, ordered to the westward of the Ganges ; and marching out of their lines, crossed that river under the conduct of Ahmed

* Append. No. III. and IV.

Khan Buxy, and other chiefs. These were the only inhabitants of Rohilcund who were expelled from the country in consequence of the war :—the other Rohillas were permitted forthwith to quit their lines and to retire unmolested to their respective places of abode. Although no stipulation was expressed in the treaty for the delivery of any part of the Rohilla property, yet, in consequence of a verbal agreement, and in consideration of the favourable terms which were granted him, Fyzoola Khan paid to the Vizier one half of the treasure in his hands at the period of his surrender, amounting to about fifteen lacks of rupees *.

Fyzoola

* The number of Rohillas banished to the westward of the Ganges by the treaty of Loldông, amounted (according to the most authentick accounts) to seventeen or eighteen thousand men, (with their families) none being included in the spirit of the treaty, *excepting such as were actually found in arms*. The Hindoo inhabitants, consisting of about *seven hundred thousand*, were no otherwise affected by it than experiencing a
change

Fyzoola Khan, at his last interview with the Vizier, requested permission to carry his brother Mahummed-Yâr Khan with him to Rampore, which was immediately granted; the Vizier at the same time promising, as soon as the new arrangements in Kuttâher should be properly adjusted, to settle on him a *Jeyedad* for his future support. This business being finished, the Rohilla chief retired within a few days after to Rampore (the capital of the districts se-

change of masters, to which, in the course of the preceding revolutions, they had been frequently accustomed.

Having now brought the celebrated *Rohilla war* to a close, it may not be unamusing to offer to the perusal of the reader a summary of it, as delivered in *another place*.—"The *whole nation*, with inconsiderable exceptions, was slaughtered or banished.—The country was laid waste with fire and sword; and that land, distinguished above most others by the *cheerful* face of *paternal* government and *protected* labour, the chosen seat of cultivation and plenty, is now throughout a *dreary desert*, covered with rushes and briars, and jungles full of wild beasts!!!*.

* Parliamentary Register, 1781, No. LXXXVI.
page 219.

cured to him by the treaty) designing to make it the place of his future residence.— He carried with him five thousand Rohilla foldiers, whom he was allowed by the treaty to retain in his service. The English troops commenced their march down the country at the same time ; but, at the request of the Vizier, they halted for some weeks at Ramghaut, in order to be a check upon the neighbouring powers, in case of their making any attempts upon these provinces before they should be restored to permanent tranquillity.

A chief part of the Vizier's troops were dispersed over the different districts of Rohilcund to secure the new conquests ; whilst two of his generals, Hîmmet Behâdur and Amrao Gheâr, were detached over the Ganges to Ferrochabâd, where the weak and unhappy representative of the Bungish family, who had already given up his independence, agreed to pay an annual tribute to Suja-al-Dowlah and his successors, and not to keep any force of his own, but to
trust

trust the protection of his territory, and the collection of his revenues to the troops and Aumils of the Nabob of Owde.

Suja-al-Dowlah accompanied the army on their return as far as Biseghaut, from whence he proceeded to Bissfoolee, and from thence to Fyzabâd, where he died shortly after, in consequence of a disorder with which he had been long afflicted; and was succeeded by his eldest son Mirza Amânee, under the title of *Asuph-al-Dowlah*.

This event, which only twelve months before might have excited the most violent commotions, was not now attended with the smallest obstruction or disorder. Suja-al-Dowlah, conscious of his approaching end, had made a disposition of his forces, as well for the security of his old dominions, as for that of his late acquisitions; and had taken every necessary precaution for the preservation of the publick tranquillity, with that good judgement and sound policy

policy which marked his character. But nothing, perhaps, more effectually contributed to these ends than the subjugation of Rohilcund. Had not that expedition taken place, Hafiz Rahmut and the other Afgan chiefs, who were eager to seize on all opportunities for their aggrandizement, would not have failed to blow into a flame that spirit of tumult and sedition which, in eastern governments, constantly attends the succession of an inexperienced young man, in hopes of gaining something amidst the general confusion.—In Suja-al-Dowlah's court existed a number of parties of opposite interests and inclinations; one faction in particular was suspected to be devoted to his second son, whom the Rohilla leaders, either for pecuniary reward, or the cession of a small portion of territory, would have readily agreed to assist in the destruction of his elder brother; and the undisturbed facility with which Asuph-al-Dowlah attained his inheritance may be regarded as the first good effect of the subjugation of the Afgan power.

Fyzoola

Fyzoola Khan, on his arrival at Rampore, settled upon his brother Mahummed Yâr an annuity of fifty thousand rupees ; but the latter did not long enjoy the fruits of his brother's generosity, as he had been for some time past afflicted with the stone, of which disorder he died in December, 1774.

Fyzoola Khan, now the only remaining son of Allee Mahummed, was certainly a considerable gainer by the terms of the peace with Suja-al-Dowlah ; as he thereby secured to himself the actual possession of as much territory as he could ever have held under the Rohilla government according to his father's will, and more than double in value and extent, of what he had been suffered to enjoy under the administration of his guardians : nor can he be in the least apprehensive that his rights, expressed in the treaty, should be liable to infringement at any future period, whilst he continues to conduct himself with propriety, as the whole was, in the most so-

lemn manner, ratified in the name of the East-India Company, by the British commander in chief*. The countries ceded to Fyzoola Khan by the late convention include the districts of Hazrit-Naggûr, Moradabâd, Shawbâd and Rampôre, the most fertile tract in Rohilcund, being an extent of not less than seventy miles in length and thirty in breadth, the annual value of which has been already mentioned. For the protection of this territory he is permitted to keep up such a force as (with the occasional assistance of the English) will afford him an ample defence against invasion; and the tranquil mode of life he has adopted will prevent him from being hastily engaged in any disputes with his neighbours. He with a laudable and unprecedented generosity settled annuities upon

* The reader will be pleased to carry in his mind that this account was wrote above ten years ago.— Since that period, Fyzoola Khan, doubtful of the validity of the first guarrantee, has procured a new one, under the direct authority of the Bengal government.

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the families of such chiefs as had been killed or died in the course of the preceding service ; and provided in a similar manner for all his principal adherents. He also warmly interested himself in behalf of the families of Hafiz Rahmut and Doondee Khan, (who were confined at Allehabâd *) and at length, assisted by the importunities of Sydoola Khan's Begum, with the Nabob, and the mediation of Mr. Bristow, the British resident in Oude, procured their release, together with that of all the other Rohilla prisoners, on paying a small ransom.

The family of Hafiz Rahmut, on their release, proceeded to Lucknow, where they took up their residence under the protection of the Begum, who had interested herself in obtaining their freedom ; and the house of Sefdar Jung (the Vizier's uncle) was, at her instance, given up for their accommodation.

* See page 252.

Mahboola, and the other descendants of Doondee Khan, remained some time at Lucknow, and were afterwards permitted to proceed to Kuttâher, where they now live. *

Zâbita Khan, who is possessed of an active and enterprizing genius, although he lost that portion of his country which lay to the eastward of the Ganges, (which fell to Suja-al-Dowlah with the rest of Rohilcund) yet still retains his claim to the possessions of his father between that river and the Jumna. He made up a considerable body of troops out of that part of the Rohilla army which had been ordered across the Ganges agreeably to the convention of Lolldông ; and with these, some *Sics*, and other adventurers, he has for some years past made himself of considerable consequence in that quarter.—He has at different times endeavoured to make little predatory expe-

* Here the Rohilla narrator finishes his story.

ditions into Rohilcund at the season when the Ganges is fordable in those parts ; but his force is not sufficiently powerful either in number or quality to render him any way formidable to his southern neighbours*.

Of the other chiefs it is needless to say any thing particularly.—Totally deprived of that self-created consequence which they had for a few years assumed, they have sunk back into their original insignificance. —Many of them have left the country, to seek employment and plunder in other parts ; and the few who remain possess neither the means nor, perhaps, the incli-

* Since this account was written, Zâbita Khan, in consequence of the death of Nudjuff Khan, acquired a considerable lead in affairs at Delhi, which he would still have retained, had not the Mahrattas again interfered in that quarter.—He died very lately, and has been succeeded by his son Goolâm Kâdir Khan, under the title of Nijeeb al-Dowlah-Holhe-Yâr Jung.

nation, to awaken the jealousy of government by exciting disturbances.

The country of Rohilcund, after having, for some years past, exhibited nothing but a scene of repeated devastation, was at length restored to permanent tranquillity. The Hindoo farmers, who had been used, on every return of the dry season, to see their dwellings destroyed and their lands laid waste by bands of foreign depredators, against whom their factious and turbulent masters had not the power to defend them, have since enjoyed their possessions in security and repose ; as, except the trifling and momentary incursions of Zâbita Khan and the *Sics* above remarked, these provinces have been preserved in the most perfect peace during the last twelve years : a happiness which it may be with truth affirmed they had not for half a century before experienced,

Evident marks of the turbulence of former times are still to be seen :—these, however,

ever, appeared in the towns and cities of *Kuttdher*, long before the revolution which gave that country to our ally ; nor can this be deemed surprizing, if we consider the state of this territory, continually subjected, as it was, either to the distraction of intestine broils, or the devastation of foreign invasion.—The exertions of Allee Mahummed, the struggles of the Fowjedars, and the efforts of Sefdar Jung in support of the Imperial authority, (which reduced the Rohillas expressly to the same state in which they stood at the period of the Lollông convention) together with the incursions of the Mahrattas in later times, all contributed to produce this effect. Some part of this apparent decay, indeed, must be attributed to the sudden and total overthrow of two opulent and powerful families*, the circulation of whose wealth
gave

* Those of *Hafiz Rahmut* and *Doondee Khan*.—The reader will readily perceive that these observations are of a date considerably later than the preceding part of
the

gave life to the cities they inhabited, and whose ostentatious magnificence appeared in the erection of *baths*, mosques and palaces, which are now falling to ruin.—With respect to the bulk of the inhabitants, it is probable they have been but little effected by the various revolutions their country has experienced.—The cause of this has been already in part explained; * neither should we be too hasty in forming disadvantageous comparative conclusions, from a reflection on the evils which may appear to attend their *present* state,—evils which are to be attributed to a defective administration, capable of correction and amendment, and not to any consequences *necessarily* resulting from the last of these revolutions:—and, in fact, if this territory has been negligently or oppressively governed

the work, which, however, it would be highly improper to bring to a close without a few cursory remarks, not only on the *immediate*, but also, on the present more *remote* effects, of the transactions here recorded.

* In the *Introductory View*.

since its reduction, (as it most certainly has been at times, and in various degrees) it is not probable that it was much better governed, whilst under the uncertain rule of many contending masters, with that rule often shifting from *one* to *another* :— and if we add to this the circumstance of the country being, during its first administration, involved in a state of almost perpetual hostility, we cannot suppose that a revolution which put a period to these calamitous disturbances can have deducted from the felicity of the inhabitants !—— Strong ideas, indeed, have been conceived (and propagated with the most hyperbolical exaggeration) of the superior happiness of the natives of *Kuttáber* under their *former* Lords, from parallels drawn between the present state of the *other* parts of this country, and that of the particular portion of it under the immediate administration of Fyzoola Khan.—But before we proceed to form a determinate judgement upon grounds which are certainly calculated to mislead the superficial observer, it may be proper

proper to enter into a more discriminating investigation of the particular contingencies in which this difference originates.

Not to remark the very superior state of cultivation and population which prevails in the principality of Rampore would be an injustice to its proprietor:—it must, however, be at the same time acknowledged, that as much of this superiority is owing to a happy concurrence of favourable circumstances, as to any personal exertion on the part of its ruler ; and is such, in fact, as no exertion whatever could have effected independent of them.

The district of Rampore, it is true, owes its actual prosperity to the industry and ability of Fyzoola Khan ;—not, indeed, to these qualities, wholly, as the *means*, but to them wholly, in the application of the advantages which he derived from adventitious causes.—First, his situation ;—his territory being defended on one side by the Ganges, as well as the inter-
jacent

jacent country of Rohilcund (as the above river is about thirty-five miles distant from his western frontier)—and the weakness of his neighbours lying beyond it ;—on the other side and behind, by woods and mountains ;—and on the south, by the protection of the British, virtually saving him from the certain destruction which must have been his lot, had not the *presumption* more than the *exertion* of this safeguard prevented any attempts to effect it.—

Secondly,—the natural advantages which a *small* dominion enjoys over a *large* (exclusive of the peculiar compactness and defensibility of *his*) in admitting the superintendency of its first magistrate, without any delegation of official authority, as well in the *general management* as in the *complete controul* of its detail, both of government, revenue, and expence.—

Thirdly,—in a multitude of little streams which fall from the surrounding mountains, and fill with every dissolution of the snows above, yielding, with the aid of artificial

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tificial dams, a constant and unfailing supply of moisture to the neighbouring grounds, in seasons of universal drought, as in the years 1781, 2, and 3, when all the upper regions of Hindostan were burnt up by the failure of three successive rainy seasons; and the cultivation of Rampore was maintained equal to that which it possessed with the natural influence of the climate.—And—lastly,—in the superior population, and consequent cultivation and wealth it derived from the accession of subjects, within the three before-mentioned years, from the circumjacent country, (which was not so happily circumstanced in the above essential points) as it is natural for men to fly from *famine*, and its inevitable consequence, *oppression*, to a mild and equal government, and abundance;—and, in the same proportion as the territory of Fyzoola Khan *gained* by this circumstance, that of the Vizier *lost* in its *population*, and consequently in its *cultivation* and *revenue*.

Many circumstances have heretofore
concurring

concurring to prevent or interrupt the operation of the interference of the British government in the correction and amendment of those particular grievances under which the inhabitants of these districts labour.—The accumulated distresses of an universal war; the immediate and urgent wants of a government struggling under imminent dangers and almost insuperable difficulties;—and above all, the perpetual struggles of *parties*, either in India or in England, in their effects weakening its influence, circumscribing its authority, and embarrassing all its measures, have hitherto united to render abortive any efforts which might have been made for this purpose.—That means might be adopted, in its present state of uninterrupted tranquillity, to reform the abuses which have heretofore prevented the inhabitants of *Kuttáher* from enjoying the fullest advantages of a situation happier, in some respects, than it perhaps ever was in before, cannot be doubted; nor is there any reason to despair, in the present state of the Bri-

tish government in India, of these means being speedily and effectually exerted.

Thus have we traced the progress of these Afgans in the northern provinces, from their first rise under the gallantry and good conduct of Allee Mahummed, through a variety of fortune, to the final dissolution of their power in Rohilcund by the transfer of the dominion of that district to Suja-al-Dowlah and his successors.

Various and severe are the strictures which have been passed upon the latter part of those transactions, and the prejudice of ignorance and violence of party, aided by the strong assertions of popular declamation, have united to make it the subject of general odium: but by a reference to the *facts* recited in the foregoing narrative, a more accurate and, it is to be presumed, a *fairer* judgement may be formed of it.

But, to enter fully into all the reflections
which

which occur upon this subject would carry the compiler far beyond his original intention, which was only to give an *impartial* and, as far as lay in his power, an *accurate* relation of facts ; and if the perusal of these shall tend to eradicate a single prejudice, or remove a single error, with respect to the judgement which has hitherto been too generally passed upon the latter part of those transactions, in which the honour and interest of Great Britain are so materially and intimately concerned, and the decision upon which involves every thing that can be dear to the feelings and the characters of the actors in it, he shall think himself fully recompensed for the trouble he has taken.

A P P E N D I X.

(N^o. I.)

TRANSLATION of a Treaty entered into between the Vizier of the Empire Suja-al-Dowlah, and the Rohilla Sirdars, reciprocally interchanged.

AGREEMENT—First, friendship is established
“ between us; and Hafiz Rahmut and all the other
“ Rohillas, great and small, have agreed and deter-
“ mined with the Vizier of the Empire, Suja-al-Dow-
“ lah, that we adhere to the substance of this writing,
“ and never deviate from this agreement; that we
“ esteem his friends as our friends, and his enemies as
“ our enemies; and that we and our heirs, during our
“ lives, shall adhere firmly to this our oath and
“ agreement; that we shall be united and joined to-
U 4 “ gether

(N^o. II.)

TRANSLATION of a Treaty entered into
by Hafiz Rahmut Khan (on the part of the
Rohilla Sirdars) with the Nabob Suja-al-
Dowlah, Vizier of the Empire.

“ THE Vizier of the Empire, Suja-al-Dowlah,
“ shall establish the Rohillas in their different posses-
“ sions, obliging the Mahrattas to retire, either by
“ peace or war;—this to depend on the pleasure of the
“ Vizier.

“ If at any time, without either peace or war, the
“ Mahrattas, on account of the rains, shall cross [the
“ Ganges] and retire, and after the rainy season they
“ should again enter the country of the Rohillas, their
“ expulsion is the business of the Vizier.

“ The Rohilla Sirdars, in consequence of the above,
“ do agree to pay to the Vizier Suja-al-Dowlah *forty*
“ *lacks of rupees*, in the following manner.

“ As the Mahrattas are now in the country of the
“ Rohilla Sirdars, the Vizier of the Empire shall ad-
“ vance from Shawbad as far as may be necessary to
“ enable

“ enable the families of the Rohillas to leave the
“ jungles and return to their habitations.—Ten lacks
“ of rupees in specie, in part of the above sum, shall
“ then be paid; and the remaining thirty lacks in
“ three years from the beginning of the year 1180
“ Fûfillée.

“ This agreement sealed in the presence of General
“ Sir Robert Barker,” &c. &c.

(N^o. III.)

TRANSLATION of a Treaty under the seal of the Nabob Suja-al-Dowlah, Vizier-al-Mumâleck-Behâdur, and Colonel Alexander Champion, commander in chief of the Company's forces on the expedition against Rohilcund, executed in camp near Lolldông on the 12th of the month Rujib, in the 1188th year of the Higera (the 7th of October, 1774.

“ PEACE being concluded between us and the
 “ Nabob Fyzoola Khan Behâdur, I have agreed to
 “ give him the country of Rampore and its dependencies,
 “ producing together the yearly sum of
 “ fourteen lacks and seventy-five thousand rupees;
 “ and I have furthermore stipulated that Fyzoola
 “ Khan may retain in his service an armed force consisting
 “ of five thousand men, and not a single man more.
 “ I therefore give this written engagement, that I will,
 “ at all times, and upon all occasions, support the honour
 “ and character of the said Fyzoola Khan, and will promote
 “ his interest and advantage

“ vantage to the utmost of my power,—upon the
“ following conditions. That Fyzoola Khan shall not
“ enter into connection with any person but myself ;
“ and that he shall hold no correspondence with any
“ except myself and the English chiefs ; that he shall
“ consider my friends as his friends, and my enemies
“ as his enemies : and that, with whomsoever I
“ shall make war, Fyzoola Khan shall send two or
“ three thousand men, according to his ability, to join
“ my forces ; and, if I march in person he shall him-
“ self accompany me with his troops , and if, on ac-
“ count of the smallness of the number of the forces
“ he is to retain in his service he be not able to accom-
“ pany me, I will then appoint him three or four
“ thousand more troops, that he may accompany me
“ with a good army ;—and I will be at the expence of
“ supporting them.

“ Upon the performance of these conditions, I
“ have agreed to give the said countries, at the afore-
“ mentioned revenue, to Fyzoola Khan, and to pro-
“ mote his interest and advantage to the utmost of my
“ power.

“ If Fyzoola Khan fulfils the articles of this
“ treaty, and steadily adheres thereto, I will not
“ (God willing) neglect whatever may be to his ad-
“ vantage. He shall send the remainder of the Ro-
“ hillas to the other side of the Ganges.

“ I have

“ I have sworn upon the holy Koran, calling God
“ and his Prophet to witness to the performance of
“ these articles.”

“ Executed in the presence of Colonel Alexander
“ Champion, as aforesaid,” &c. &c. &c.

(N^o. IV.)

TRANSLATION of a Treaty under the seal of Fyzoola Khan Behâdur and Colonel Alexander Champion, executed at the camp near Lolldông on the 12th of the month Rujib, in the 1188th year of the Higera (the 7th of October, 1774).

“ PEACE being concluded between the Vizier-at-Mumâleck and me, and the Nabob Vizier having been graciously pleased to bestow on me a country, I have sworn upon the holy Koran, calling God and his Prophet to witness to what I engage, that I will always whilst I live continue in submission and obedience to the Nabob Vizier; that I will retain in my service five thousand men, stipulated by the Nabob Vizier, and not a single man more; that with whomsoever the Nabob Vizier shall engage in hostilities, I will assist him; and, that if the Nabob Vizier shall send an army against any enemy, I will personally attend him with my forces where he goes himself upon such service;—or I shall otherwise send two or three thousand of my troops to join them;—that I will have no connection with any person but the Nabob Vizier, and will hold no correspondence with any one, the English chiefs
“ excepted;—

“ excepted ;—that whatever the Nabob directs I will
 “ execute, and that I will, in all places, and at all
 “ times, whether in prosperity or adversity, continue
 “ his associate.

“ I have sworn on the holy Koran, calling God
 “ and his Prophet to witness, to the performance of
 “ these articles.

“ May God and his Prophet punish me if I act
 “ contrary to them, or neglect to fulfil the whole of
 “ these conditions.”

“ Executed in the presence of Colonel Champion as
 “ aforesaid,” &c. &c. &c.

(N^o. V.)

TRANSLATION of a *Firman* under the seal
of Nabob Suja-al-Dowlah, Vizier-al-Mumâ-
leck-Behâdur.

L.	Vizier al Mumâleck Suja-al-Dowlah Behâdur.	S.

“ TO the Chowdries, Collectors, Cãnongoes,
“ Tax-gatherers, Farmers, &c. &c. of the Purgun-
“ nas of Shawbâd and Rampore,——Know ye!
“ that we have granted the jagheers of the under-
“ mentioned districts to the Nabob Fyzoola Khan
“ Behâdur, and that the usual and fixed revenues are
“ to be paid into the hands of the proper officers of
“ the said Fyzoola Khan;—obeying him in all
“ things, you shall no way fail in your duty to him
“ but in every respect submit to his authority.

“ Written on the 7th of the month Shaban, in
“ the 1188th year of the Higera.”

Districts, Revenues, and Taxes.

Hazrit Naggurr	- - -	275,000	} Total 14 Lacks and 75,000 Rupees.
Balafs Poor	- - -	150,000	
Ahaloon	- - -	225,000	
Shawbâd	- - -	600,000	
Moradabad	- - -	150,000	
Ar'hud	- - -	75,000	

F I N I S.

